THE SYNTACTIC EXPRESSION OF TIME IN
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC: A COMPARISON WITH
NEW TESTAMENT GREEK
VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * * *

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ABBREVIATIONS

GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY

ACC accusative
DAT dative
GEN genitive
INS instrumental
LOC locative
NOM nominative
PL plural
SG singular
FEM feminine
MASC masculine
NTR neuter

MANUSCRIPTS CITED

Asm Codex Assemanianus evangelia, 10-11th c., Aprakos Gospel
Cloz Glagolita Clozianus, 10th c., Collection of homilies
D Dobromirovo evangelie, 12-14th c., Tetravospel
Mar Codex Marianus tetraevangelia, 11th c., Tetravospel
Mir Miroslavjevo evangelie, late 12th c., Aprakos Gospel
Ost Ostromirovo evangelie, 11th c., Aprakos Gospel
Sav Savvina Kniga, 10-11th c., Aprakos Gospel
Supr Codex Suprasliensis, 11th c., Menaion for March + sermons for Holy Week & Easter
Z Codex Zographensis tetraevangelia, 11-13th c., Tetravospel
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0.1 In the year 862 the Great Moravian Prince Rostislav requested of Byzantine Emperor Michael III a mission which would introduce Christianity to his people in their native language. Michael chose two brothers from Salonika, Constantine and Methodius, who were fluent in both Greek and the Slavic dialect of their region, noting that ΤΟΙΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΟ ΩΣ ΟΛΟ ΣΟΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΚΑΔΟΥΤΕ (Life of Methodius 2).

Before departing for Moravia, Constantine created a new alphabet for the Slavs, which later came to be called Glagolitic. 3 Once in Moravia, he and his brother set about their missionary task—training Moravians as clergymen, and translating the most important liturgical books from Greek into Slavic. The language of these translations was based upon the dialect of Slavic spoken around Salonika and adapted to the dialect spoken in Moravia. In English this language is usually called "Old Church Slavonic" (hereafter abbreviated as OCS).

0.2 Many Slavists believe that Cyril and Methodius' native Greek influenced their translation of the holy books to the point that it is impossible to study the syntactic

1 "All Thessalonians speak pure Slavic".

2 Taken from the manuscript Uspenskij Sbornik (late twelfth or early thirteenth century) as published by the Michigan Slavic Papers in Dostal 1976.

3 Although the Cyrillic alphabet was named in honor of Constantine (who took the monastic name Cyril), it is now widely accepted that he did not create this alphabet, but rather the Glagolitic alphabet, which is based on the Greek minuscules. The Cyrillic alphabet was in all likelihood created later by his disciples, probably in Bulgaria. For more information see Carlton 1990, Diels 1963 and Lunt 1973.
structure of OCS without comparing it to that of Greek. For example, O. von Güldenstube, in explaining why he is not studying the syntax of OCS, states, "Ohne ständige Rücksichtnahme auf den griechischen Urtext hat daherc eine altkirchenslavsische Syntaxuntersuchung keinen Zweck" (1923, 150). J. Kurz explains this position by saying that "OCS from the very beginning was only a written language, and it developed under strong Greek influence" (1972, 159).

However, Kurz himself cautions against approaching the syntax of OCS solely from the Greek point of view. OCS syntax can, and does, stand on its own. He advises that "the analysis of the syntactic means of OCS translations must be approached above all from the point of view of the Slavic language itself, from the point of view of its inner rules/regularities" (1972, 159).

Thus, in consideration of the fact that Greek syntax probably did influence OCS syntax, on the one hand, but that OCS was an independent language, on the other, one should study OCS syntax as an internal phenomenon of OCS, but should also make a comparison to the Greek. This should be done not only to establish what is Greek in the OCS text, but, more importantly, to delineate what is Slavic. According to H. Birnbaum, "Erst so liesse sich ja echt Slavisches, Altererbtes von Nachgeahmten [sic-SF] und Entlehntem trennen und dadurch in manchen Punkten ein deutlicheres Bild der ältesten genuin slavischen Syntax, ihrem Bau und den ihr zu Gebote stehenden Ausdrucksmitteln, gewinnen" (1958, 241).

0.3 The question of whether Cyril (Constantine) translated mechanically, bound to the syntax of the Greek text, or freely, using Slavic structures to express Slavic meanings, is crucial in determining whether or not the language found in the oldest OCS

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4 All quotes from scholarly works in the Slavic languages will be translated; quotes from German or French scholarly works will be given in the original.
texts is indeed Slavic or just Slavic words molded into a Greek sentence structure. Many OCS scholars believe that Cyril, being a talented polyglot, opted to translate freely, creating a text which would be comprehensible to the Slavic audience for which it was intended, instead of mechanically reproducing the Greek text in Slavic. As P. Dinekov states, "[although] Cyril exerted himself to translate precisely, this does not mean that he blindly translated his original, nor that he translated it literally. His primary care was above all else to transfer the true meaning of the text" (1985, 637 [italics mine]). T. Carlton explains the reason for this: "After all, the point of the entire enterprise was to preach and teach in the language of the people." In addition, "the students trained by St. Cyril and Methodius were local people accustomed to speaking their own dialect. They could hardly have been able to copy the dialect of their prestigious teachers in all respects as, for example, in copying the translations of their masters"; therefore, he concludes, "The two apostles very probably adjusted their language to make it more acceptable to the local population" (1990, 38). K. Horálek writes: "Il est caractéristique pour la traduction de Constantin que là où il n'existait aucune possibilité de traduction littérale, il se servait de périphrases" (p. 274) and "il ne jugea nécessaire de suivre dans tous leurs détails, les particularités de la syntaxe du texte grec original que là où l'exigeait le sens de la phrase. On peut dire avec raison que l'esprit du texte lui importait davantage que les particularités de la langue" (p. 177 [italics mine]).

0.4 In spite of the obvious importance of syntactic studies of OCS, very little concrete work has been done in this field. A thorough, in-depth study of all syntactic structures of OCS is ultimately necessary. As a contribution towards this labor, my goal in this study is to discuss one particular aspect of syntax, and to examine it thoroughly.
The aspect of syntax which I will discuss here is the syntactic expression of time in OCS—which case constructions and which prepositional constructions are used to convey which temporal meanings. I intend to show that in this particular aspect of syntax—the use of case to convey meaning—in the overwhelming majority of instances we do not see loan translations from Greek but rather native Slavic elements at work. When faced with the task of choosing form or meaning, the translators most frequently opted for correspondence in meaning rather than correspondence in form. By comparing the OCS expressions to the Greek, not only will I show that that, in the overwhelming majority of instances, Greek syntax was not copied, but I will also establish a framework of syntactic structures used to express temporal concepts in OCS.

0.4.1 I have chosen the syntactic expression of time to examine because it is an area of syntax which does allow some choice in which syntactic structure is used and does present some differences between the two languages in question (as opposed to those aspects which they share, often due, perhaps, to a common structure inherited from Proto-Indo-European; e.g., both place the direct object in the accusative case). The convergences, due to a common inheritance or mere coincidence, do not permit us to separate the native from the borrowed. However, OCS used five cases (accusative [ACC], genitive [GEN], dative [DAT], locative [LOC], and instrumental [INS]) as well as numerous prepositional constructions and adverbial phrases to express different temporal frames, while Greek used three cases (ACC, GEN and DAT) as well as

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5 I will not be discussing either nominative (NOM) phrases or DAT absolute phrases which were used in temporal expressions. The former existed in statements such as "It was the Sabbath" and, being identical in both languages, are not of interest for comparison. The latter has been discussed in numerous works on the DAT absolute, which for the most part always render an equivalent Greek GEN absolute. For more on the DAT absolute, see V. Polák "Poznámky k staroslovenskému dativu absolutnímu", Šbirka statí věnovaných prof. Josefu Vajsovi, Prague, 1948, pp. 106-110; J. Stanislav "Datív absolutný v starej cirkevnej slovančine", Byzantinoslavica, 5, 1933/34, pp. 1-112; and P. Trost
numerous prepositional constructions and adverbial phrases also. With rare exceptions, where meaning converged in the two languages, form diverged. Thus, by demonstrating how the form in OCS diverged from that of the Greek, I intend to show that meaning took precedence over form in the translated texts, and also to establish the native Slavic means for the expression of time.

0.4.2 In addition to the case constructions listed above—the ACC, GEN, DAT, LOC and INS—I will also discuss the prepositional constructions and adverbial phrases which were used to express time. First I will discuss the most prevalent construction for the expression of time in OCS, the construction with $e z + \text{ACC}$. As this is the most common and most important construction, I have chosen to devote a separate chapter to it and to begin the discussion with it. Then I will discuss the prepositionless cases in the following order: ACC, INS, LOC, GEN. These constructions are discussed in descending order of frequency. This is followed by a discussion of the corresponding constructions with prepositions. I have chosen to do them in the same order as with the prepositionless cases: ACC, INS, LOC, GEN. In the chapter on the INS with prepositions, I also will discuss the prepositionless DAT and the DAT with prepositions. Although these three constructions have nothing in common, there are so few examples of each that I do not think that each warrants a separate chapter. Rather, they are the "marginal" constructions which can be grouped together simply on the basis of their marginality. The final chapter will discuss adverbial phrases. These adverbial phrases do not include case forms which, although originally nominal constructions, at some point in the history of the Slavic languages became adverbalized (such as $n o j i h i x$ 'in the night' or $o j i t p o x$ 'tomorrow') and may even have been adverbs during the period.

"O dativu absolutním", Sborník slavistických prací věnovaných IV mezinárodnímu sjezdu slavistů v Moskvě, Prague, 1958.
under consideration. Rather, I will discuss those adverbs not derived from nouns, including those which were also used as prepositions (such as προσφέρειν 'before' and πολλάκις 'after'), as well as several ordinal numerals in the NTR SG ACC form (for example πρώτος 'first') and a few other adjectives which were used adverbially.

Each individual chapter will discuss the meaning(s) of the construction under discussion, demonstrate with examples which nouns could occur in each construction, and give the Greek equivalent(s) for each construction. The meanings of the Greek constructions will be discussed only as they relate to the OCS constructions, but not separately, as the goal of this study is to establish an OCS syntax, not Greek. The conclusion will draw the data together for overall observations and as evidence for the thesis that the syntax of OCS as seen in the extant manuscripts is native Slavic and not merely translation syntax from the Greek.

0.4.3 Throughout this study, various temporal frames are referred to in conjunction with the various constructions. The temporal frames are as follows: (1) the time at which an action occurs, which may be a time which is not completely filled by the given action, or the time during a segment of which or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place or begins; (2) a time completely filled by an action; (3) a time completely filled by an action with emphasis on the duration of the action throughout the entire period in question; (4) a time within which an action is completed; 6 (5) a time since which an action occurs; (6) a time before which an action occurs; (7) a time after which an action occurs; (8) a time until which an action occurs; (9) a time around which an action occurs; (10) a time for which or up to

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6 This meaning differs from that expressed in (2) by the emphasis on the completion of an action, with the achievement of a result. This is discussed in Chapter 4, on the prepositionless INS.
which an action continues:7 (11) a time for which an action is repeated or intended to last: (12) the times between which an action occurs; (13) a time towards which an action occurs; and (14) how many times an action is repeated.

In discussing these temporal frames, it is important to keep in mind that the modern concepts of the measurements of time differ greatly from those of ancient times. The day did not always have twenty-four hours—nor was there always a concept of 'hour' as a time period lasting sixty minutes. These concepts of the division of time into ever-smaller parts vary from culture to culture and epoch to epoch. In Daniel J. Boorstin's *The Discoverers* (1983), the historical development of such concepts as year, week, day, hour and minute are discussed. He says:

> While the ancients measured the year and the month, and set the pattern for our week, the shorter units of time remained vague and played little part in the common human experience until the last few centuries. Our precise uniform hour is a modern invention, while the minute and the second are still more recent. Naturally enough, when the working day was the sunlit day, the first efforts to divide time measured the passing of the sun across the heavens (26).

He notes that, regardless of the means used to measure time (sundials and water clocks being among the ancient devices), the hours which were measured varied from day to day, season to season, region to region. Thus, for example a daylight hour in the summer in the Middle East was longer than a daylight hour in the winter. The result of this was that "[t]hese variant 'hours'—equal subdivisions of the total hours of daylight or darkness—were not really chronometric hours" (30), and "it was only around 1330 that

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7 This meaning differs from that expressed in (8), although they are both expressed in OCS with ḥa + GEN. This is discussed in Chapter 10, especially §§10.20 and 10.32. The meaning expressed by ḥa + GEN in (8) is an unmarked until, while the meaning expressed by ḥa + GEN in (10) is marked for extension of the action.
the hour became our modern hour, one of twenty-four equal parts of the day. This new 'day' included the night. It was measured by the time between one noon and the next" (39). Another question Boorstin raises is "When does a 'day' begin?" (40). This, too, varied from culture to culture: "The Babylonians and the early Hindus calculated their day from sunrise. The Athenians, like the Jews, began their 'day' at sunset, and carried on the practice through the nineteenth century" (40). The result?

The archeology of our everyday life leads us all over the world. The 365 days of our year acknowledge our debt to ancient Egyptian priests, while the names of months--January, February, March--and of the days of the week--Saturday, Sunday, Monday--remain our tie to the early Hebrews and to Greek and Roman astrologers. When we mark each hour of our 24-hour day, and designate the minutes after the hour, we are living, as a historian of ancient science reminds us, by 'the results of a Hellenistic modification of an Egyptian practice combined with Babylonian numerical procedures'" (43).

These different cultural and historical concepts of the division of time will be especially important in this study of time in discussions of hours, which were different for the Hebrews and Greeks and of the New Testament period. These differences were carried over into the Slavic translation. Where, for example, the Greek text shows περὶ τρίτην ὥραν (Mt 20:3; cf. §2.6.2), this does not refer to 3:00, but rather 'around the third hour'. Phrases such as μέσης νυκτὸς, μεσονυκτίου or μεσονύκτιον, rendered by OCS (σάρα) πόλυνυκτί (cf. §5.3), refer to the general time 'middle of the night' rather than 'midnight', although the phrases in the modern languages descended from them do mean 'midnight' (for example, Modern Greek μεσάνυκτα, Modern Russian полночь).
In the discussion of various temporal expressions, frequent reference is made to
the substantivization of adjectives or adverbs and the adverbialization of prepositional or
nominal phrases. By substantivization I mean the process whereby an adjective or
adverb functions as a noun due to its usage in a prepositional phrase (for example, ѧп
дзіп 'until now'). Often when an adjective is substantivized it is through the ellipsis
of a head noun (for example, ѧп дзіпшіпнаго 'until now', with the ellipsis of a
noun such as ѧліп 'day' or дзіп 'time'; нд артпіп, also with the ellipsis of the
noun дзіп, meaning 'in the morning' or 'on the next day'). In general, such
substantivized adjectives are not used exclusively in prepositional phrases; within the
sphere of temporal expressions, however, they are. By adverbialization I mean the
process whereby a prepositional or nominal phrase functions adverbially and therefore at
some point in time ceases to be seen as a prepositional or nominal phrase and becomes
instead lexicalized or univerbated as an adverb. Of course, since all time expressions
which answer the question 'when?' could be viewed as adverbs, we could say that this
entire study deals only with adverbial expressions. However, most of the phrases can
still be interpreted as either a prepositional or nominal phrase. In the history of the
Slavic languages, many of the prepositional or nominal phrases as found in OCS do
indeed become lexicalized (for example, зд орта 'in the morning' gives звтп in
Russian, зі тра in Czech meaning 'tomorrow'; ртп 'tomorrow', gives утре in
Bulgarian also meaning 'tomorrow'). Sometimes the two processes may be combined;
for example, the adjective дзрлп з 'ancient' is substantivized in the phrase нд з
дзрлп 'from a long time ago' which functions adverbially. At some time, the phrase
became lexicalized, resulting in (for example) Russian издавна also meaning 'from a
long time ago'. In some instances the phrases as found already in OCS may be
interpreted as adverbialized or lexicalized (for example, дзп 'on this day' which
gives Serbo-Croatian 
данас, Bulgarian днес, Macedonian денес, Czech/Slovak днес 'today' was possibly already an adverb meaning 'today' in OCS); this is difficult to determine, as we have no extant dictionaries which could categorize such phrases for us. The possibility of adverbialization will be discussed for each occurrence that warrants it.

0.5 I have chosen six canonical OCS manuscripts as sources for this study, with three non-canonical manuscripts for the purposes of comparison. "Canonical" manuscripts include those which were written in the appropriate era (tenth to eleventh centuries) and which are generally believed to show a more "pure" OCS dialect (i.e. Old Bulgarian), vs. later manuscripts and those which reveal dialectal elements which come from later periods or different regions. Of these nine manuscripts, four are Aprakos Gospels, three are Tetragospels (the meaning of both of these terms will be discussed in Chapter 1, §§1.2.1 and 1.3), one is a collection of homilies and one is a Menaion. The three non-canonical manuscripts which I have chosen to examine represent the earliest written stages of three recensions of Church Slavonic: the Ostromirovo evangelie (Ost) which is an eleventh-century Russian Church Slavonic Aprakos; the Miroslavjevo evangelie (Mir) a late twelfth-century Serbian Church Slavonic Aprakos; and the Dobromirovo evangelie (D) a twelfth-fourteenth-century Bulgarian/Macedonian Church Slavonic Tetragospel. I examined these manuscripts to see both how their syntax differed from and how it was similar to the syntax seen in the

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8 Cf., e.g., Carlton 1990: "No texts later than the end of the eleventh century are accepted into the canon. This date is considered the cut-off point because by the end of the eleventh century, the spoken language had changed to such an extent that the written form no longer reflected the spoken. In other words, the written language lost its living base and became an entirely artificial one" (41).

9 For example, the proper use of the nasal vowels can distinguish a canonical manuscript from a non-canonical one, or the phonemic realization of Proto-Slavic *tj/*dj as št/žd. The proper use of the jers (š and ž), on the other hand, marks a manuscript as East Slavic, and therefore non-canonical.
canonical manuscripts. I did not use them to draw conclusions, but only as supporting evidence. The canonical manuscripts examined are: *Codex Assemanianus* (Asm) and *Savvina Kniga* (Sav), both *Aprakoi*, *Codex Marianus* (Mar) and *Codex Zографensis* (Z), both *Tetragospels*, *Glagolita Clozianus* (Cloz), a collection of homilies, and *Codex Suprasliensis* (Supr), a *Menaion* for the month of March with sermons for Holy Week and Easter. The data which I will discuss is exhaustive for the Gospel texts and Cloz, but only selective for Supr. Due to the length of the latter (452 printed pages; 285 folia), I chose only representative examples of each construction. For example, the phrase no *τομή* 'after that' occurs quite frequently, but is cited for only a few of its occurrences. Greek equivalents are given for all examples taken from the Gospel texts and Cloz, but not for Supr. The reason for this is simply that the edition of Supr which I read did not contain the Greek edition of the text.

0.6.0 Appendix A is a list of all occurrences of the substitution in the *Aprakoi* of the phrase ΕΖ  for other expressions found in the Tetragospels. Appendices B-M contain charts which list each occurrence of each phrase as found in the OCS manuscripts: appendices N-T contain charts which list each occurrence of each phrase as found in the Greek text. Appendix U contains examples of various time expressions in selected Slavic languages, and Appendix V contains examples of those expressions in New Testament and Modern Greek.
CHAPTER I

TEXTOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

1.1 A major obstacle for any study of OCS is the fact that, although the Slavic liturgical tradition began in 862/863, the oldest surviving manuscripts date from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, a gap of at least 150 years. Because of this, we can only conjecture as to the nature of Cyril and Methodius' original translation. As K. Horálek states, "Nous ignorons (également) comment était l'évangéliaire original et nous n'en savons rien de certain" (1959, 268). If we were to assume that our oldest surviving manuscripts faithfully reproduce the original translations, then we could have a good picture of the nature of these translations. However, we cannot assume that later copyists did not make any changes, be they accidental or intentional. Horálek continues:

...nous n'avons pas le texte direct de l'évangéliaire cyrillo-méthodien, ni celui du Tétraévangile. Les manuscrits conservés datent d'une époque bien postérieure... Le texte vieux-slave de l'Evangile subit déjà avant le Xe siècle, un développement assez complexe dont nous ne pouvons nous faire qu'une idée très approximative. Il est évident que la version cyrillo-méthodien de l'Evangile, de même que d'autres textes bibliques conservés en manuscrits, n'a pas gardé sa forme originale. Ceci résulte avant tout de la technique de reproduction des manuscrits. Chaque manuscrit diffère du texte qui lui servit de modèle, et plus un texte fut recopié à la chaîne plus le résultat s'éloigne du texte originale... (268-9 [italics mine-SF]).

H. Lunt explains:
It is assumed that most of these manuscripts [the early, extant ones] contain translations made by Cyril and Methodius, and the rest are translations made by their disciples, probably during the first decades after the deaths of the saints. However, since we lack contemporary manuscripts, or even the immediate copies which were doubtless made in the heyday of the states of Simeon and Samuil, we cannot know in detail exactly what the language the Slavic Apostles used was. Their own works, taken to Bohemia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, were copied and recopied, edited and modified by generations of workers, and we possess only a few random examples of these copies (1974, 2-3).

Because of the nature of this problem, I do not propose here to reconstruct the syntax of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translations; rather, I make my claims based solely upon the information which is found in the extant manuscripts. To be sure, it is unlikely that the earliest extant manuscripts differ that greatly from the Cyrillo-Methodian autograph, as most of the disciples probably did not know any Greek and were therefore unable to go back to the Greek prototype and retranslate it. If changes were made, they would have been "Slavicizing" changes to correct anything in the language of the Cyrillo-Methodian autograph which seemed strange to them. Recall, however, T. Carlton's hypothesis that "the two apostles very probably adjusted their language to make it more acceptable to the local population" (1990, 38), an adjustment which would have occurred during the period of the initial translating process, rather than later. For this study (which aims to demonstrate the Slavic nature of the language of the manuscripts) what is relevant is that the language recorded in these manuscripts, whether it represents the language of the Cyrillo-Methodian autograph or of versions "edited" by their disciples and/or later generations of scribes, is Slavic and not Greek.

1.2 It is commonly accepted among Slavists that the first text which Cyril translated was an Aprakos Gospel (called a "Gospel Lectionary" in Western [i.e. Roman]
Christianity), a hypothesis which leads many to the conclusion that the earliest Aprakoi "generally represent the original Slavic translation of the Gospel as it was made by the hands of Constantine and Methodius" (Nevostroev 1865, 212). This tradition is accepted by Slavists on the basis of the description in the Life of Constantine:

As these are the opening words of the Gospel according to John, this leads most scholars to the conclusion that Cyril's first translation was most probably an Aprakos text (see for example Moszyński 1957, 373) rather than a Tetragospel, which would begin with Matthew 1:1. There are other reasons for believing that the Aprakos was translated first: on a statistical level, there are many more Aprakos manuscripts than manuscripts representing other textual types. Also, the Aprakos was much more practical than the Tetragospel or a Menaion (collection of saints lives), as it was the Aprakos which was used on a daily basis for readings at church services. Given the scarcity of materials for writing in the period and the intense labor which went into producing just a single manuscript, it is logical that Cyril would have first translated a text which would be the most useful and the most necessary—the Aprakos.

...and then he created letters and began to write the Gospel: In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God, etc... Taken from the Vladislav Grammaticus manuscript (1469; XIV, 17-19) as published by the Michigan Slavic Papers in Dostal 1976.
1.2.1 The *Aprakos* \(^2\) is a collection of readings taken from various parts of each of the four Gospels, each of which is designated for a certain day in the Church calendar. The *Aprakos* or Lectionary text always begins with the reading for Easter. Often at the end of the text is found the *mesiaceslov*, which gives a liturgical calendar listing the appropriate readings for each sermon (Nevostrovev 1865, 210). Bruce Metzger details the development of the *Aprakos* text in the history of the Christian Church:

Following the custom of the synagogue, according to which portions of the Law and the Prophets were read at divine service each Sabbath day, the Christian Church adopted the practice of reading passages from the New Testament books at services of worship. A regular system of lessons from the Gospels and Epistles was developed, and the custom arose of arranging these according to a fixed order of Sundays and other holy days of the Christian year. For the added convenience of the reader, lectionary manuscripts were prepared which present in proper sequence (beginning with Easter) the text of the several passages of Scripture appointed to be read on Sundays, Saturdays, and, in some cases, on week-days throughout the year. Such lectionaries are called *synaxaria*. Another service book is the *menologion*, which supplies Scripture lessons for feast days, saints' days, and the like, starting with the first of September, the beginning of the civil year. It is noteworthy that substantially the same choice of Scripture passages in lectionary manuscripts dating from the seventh or eighth century is still followed by the Greek Orthodox Church today (Metzger 1992, 30-31).

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\(^2\) Žukovskaja gives the source of the Slavic term *aprakos* as having been derived from the Greek word 
\[\textit{ἀπρακτός}\] meaning "holiday, festal" (1973, 358-9). In this Greek adjective we see the root 
\[\textit{πρακ},\] which means 'work', with the alpha-privative prefix \(-a\). Therefore 
\[\textit{ἀπρακτής ημέρα}\] is a 'non-working' or 'idle' day, which could only be a holiday.

\(^3\) Note that these terms have different meanings in the different traditions. Metzger is actually describing the Roman tradition. In the Greek Orthodox tradition, the *synaxaria* are abbreviated saints' lives which are read after the sixth ode of the canon in the daily matins. The *menologion* is the *mesiaceslov*, which is the calendar (or index) listing the daily readings at the end of the lectionary text (consultation with Father Mateja Matejić, Serbian-Orthodox Priest).
1.2.2 Assemanianus, as a Glagolitic text dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century, is the oldest known Aprakos. Assemanianus, and the other oldest Slavic Aprakoi—Savvina Kniga and the Russian Ostromirovo evangelie, both Cyrillic texts—are short Aprakoi: they contain readings not only for Sunday liturgies, but for all seven days of the week for the first cycle—the fifty days from Easter to Pentecost. For the cycle from Pentecost to Lent the short Aprakoi contain readings for Saturday and Sunday only. For Passion Week (the last week of Lent before Easter) again there are readings for every day of the week (Žukovskaja 1973, 371-2).

1.2.3 The full Aprakoi contain daily readings for the entire year, except for the weeks of Lent when there are readings only for Saturday and Sunday. There are only about 150 surviving parchment manuscripts of the full Aprakoi, the oldest of which are Mstislavovo (c. 1117) and Jurjevskaje, neither of which fall into the period of canonical OCS. Even the oldest examples of full Aprakoi are not consistent in either content or order of readings. The rarest kind of Aprakos text is the праздничный (lit. 'fesal'). It includes daily readings only for Passion Week, and also readings for twelve major holidays (Žukovskaja 1973, 372).

1.3 The Tetr-gospel is the complete work of the four Evangelists in their standard order. Again, the oldest surviving manuscript is not the Cyrillo-Methodian autograph, although tradition ascribes the translation of the Tetr-gospel to Methodius and his disciples after the death of Cyril. The oldest extant Tetr-gospels are Zographensis and Marianus, both glagolitic manuscripts dated to the tenth century.
1.4 Another major obstacle facing students of OCS textology is the fact that we do not know from which Greek manuscript Cyril or any of his followers made their translations. In fact, we are not even certain of the textual "family" of the Greek prototype--Byzantine (or "Neutral"), Western, or Alexandrian. For example, K. I. Logačev writes:

Neither the "Textus Receptus" (TR) nor the Alexandrian type editions can be considered the editions of the oldest Slavic translations... If we consider the oldest Slavic manuscripts, then it is not difficult to see that the type of text represented by these manuscripts either differs from the Alexandrian type, coinciding with the TR..., or differs from the TR and coincides with the Alexandrian type..., or, finally, differs from them both... (1976, 96-7).

The fact is that we now possess thousands of manuscripts of the Greek New Testament. According to Metzger (1992, 262) statistics (as of 1989) show the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papyri catalogued</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncial MSS. catalogued</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miniscule MSS. catalogued</td>
<td>2,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectionaries catalogued</td>
<td>2,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,488</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even taking into account that some manuscripts have been double-catalogued (counted twice), we are still dealing with over 5,000 documents. And as with the Slavic manuscripts, the scribes made alterations from their sources, either by accident or by deliberate choice, with the result that "no two manuscripts of the New Testament are identical in their wording" (Tuckett 1987, 21).
1.4.1 To complicate matters even further, the Greek manuscript tradition covers a millennium and a half: from the original texts written in the first century to the advent of printing in the fifteenth. This can be divided into three periods: the papyrus period, from the mid-first century to the beginning of the fourth; the uncial period, from the fourth to ninth century, characterized by vellum used as a writing material and large letters formed separately; and the miniscule (or cursive) period, from the ninth to fifteenth century, in which the writing is in small characters, often linked together; vellum is increasingly replaced by paper from the thirteenth century onwards (Kenyon 1912, 19-20).

1.4.2 As stated earlier, Greek manuscripts are traditionally divided into three "families"--Byzantine (or "Neutral"), Western and Alexandrian--on the basis of the work of Johann Jakob Griesbach (Metzger 1992, 119). However, later investigations by Westcott and Hort led to a division into four families: Syrian, Western, Alexandrian and Neutral. Their differences can be described as follows:

(1) The latest of these four forms of text is the Syrian, which is a mixed text resulting from a revision made by an editor(s) in the fourth century who wished to produce a smooth, easy, and complete text. This conflated text, the farthest removed from the originals, was taken to Constantinople, where it was disseminated widely throughout the Byzantine Empire [italics mine-SF]. It is best represented today by codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels, not in the Acts and Epistles), the later uncial manuscripts, and the great mass of miniscule manuscripts [italics mine-SF]. The Textus Receptus is the latest form of the Syrian text.

(2) ...[T]he so-called Western type is both ancient and widespread. It is preserved in certain bilingual uncial manuscripts, notably codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts (D)... Its date of origin must have been extremely early, perhaps before the middle of the second century... One of the marked characteristics of the Western text, according to Hort, is a love of paraphrase...

(3) The Alexandrian text, according to Westcott and Hort, is preserved to a greater or less extent in codex Ephraemi (C), codex Regius (L), codex 33, and the Coptic versions... Its characteristic is that which
might be expected from the influence of a Greek literary centre—a delicate philological tact in correcting forms, syntax, and in subtle changes made in the interest of attaining a greater degree of polish in language and style (such as the rearrangement of words to avoid hiatus)...

(4) The Neutral text, as its question-begging name implies, is, in the opinion of Westcott and Hort, the most free from later corruption and mixture, and comes nearest to the text of the autographs. It is best represented by codex Vaticanus (B), and next by codex Sinaiticus (\textit{\textit{K}}). The concurrence of these two manuscripts is very strong, and cannot be far from the original text... (Metzger 1992, 131-3).

Thus the "Neutral" family contains the oldest Greek manuscripts which can be considered protographs for the rest of the Greek tradition. The "Western" family is also very ancient, but already contains changes. The "Alexandrian" family is later and shows linguistic and stylistic "corrections". The "Syrian" is probably the youngest text, one which spread widely throughout the Byzantine Empire and thus is of great interest for those dealing with the Byzantine tradition. It was this text (or type of text) which was adopted as the Byzantine \textit{Textus Receptus}.

1.4.3 What makes textological studies even more difficult is the variety of names which have been assigned to these "families". The "Syrian" family is also referred to as: Koiné, Byzantine, Constantinople, Antiochan or Received Text (\textit{Textus Receptus}). Hort calls the "Alexandrian" family the "Neutral". There is yet one more grouping yet to be mentioned—the "Caesarean", which contains a mixture of "Western" and "Alexandrian" readings (Metzger 1992, 213-14). In addition there is a whole class of "authorities" which are seen as having "less value" for the study of the Greek text—the lectionaries. They are grouped in two classes, known respectively as \textit{Evangeliaria} when they contain lessons from the Gospels, and \textit{Apostoli} or \textit{Praxapostoli} when they contain the Epistles or Acts (respectively). According to Kenyon, in the catalogues of the lectionaries, uncialis and miniscules are counted together, but the uncialis are never of
very early date, being almost invariably of the ninth century or later (Kenyon 1912, 128). However, we know little about the Greek lectionary tradition: "many of the miniscule manuscripts (especially those which are still preserved in the monasteries of the East) have been only superficially studied; and the lectionaries have been even more neglected than the miniscules" (Kenyon 1912, 128-9). Says Metzger (1992, 31):

Scholars have only recently begun to appreciate the importance of lectionary manuscripts in tracing the history of the text of the New Testament during the Byzantine period. Inasmuch as the form of the citation of the Scriptures in official liturgical books always tends to be conservative and almost archaic, lectionaries are valuable in preserving a type of text that is frequently much older than the actual age of the manuscript might lead one to suspect.

1.5 Although the lectionaries have been neglected in Greek studies, they are quite useful for Slavists since in all probability the earliest translations were done from these texts. The question as to the family of the Greek prototype for these translations has not yet been definitively answered. According to A. A. Alekseev, "the existing viewpoint in Slavistics of the Slavic New Testament base was defined in the 1920s and 1930s in the works of J. Vajs on the material and mass of the Tetragospel. In his works, Vajs wrote on the textological theory of the Greek Gospel of Hort (1881) and...Soden (1906)" (1984, 4). Based on Hort's theories of the division of New Testament texts into four "families" or "groups" ("Neutral", "Alexandrian", "Western" and "Syrian", with "Neutral" being the "Byzantine" or "Constantinople" redaction) and Soden's divisions of the texts into three "families",

Vajs determined that the Greek manuscript from which the original translation was prepared was the "Constantinople" text with a large inclusion of "Western" readings...(and) in the path of reconstruction.
of the Slavic text, each time chose the Slavic variant which corresponded to the "Western" reading of the Greek records (Alekseev 1984, 6).

However, as Alekseev points out, "Vajs's main miscalculation was, that in searching for the Greek basis of the Slavic Gospel, he did not consider that the original was a translation of the Greek lectionary and not the Tetratext" (Alekseev 1984, 6).

A large part of the problem in determining which Greek original(s) served as the basis for the oldest translations is based on the large amount of variant readings found in the various texts and text-types. Between the Greek Aprakoi and Tetra texts, as well as among the Greek Aprakoi and Tetra texts, there are many differences. There are many "hybrid" texts, with reading apparently from one tradition in some places and from another tradition in others. According to I. Dobrev (from the Кирило-Методиевска Енциклопедия. P. Dinekov, ed.), under the topic "Евангелие",

...During the time of Constantine and Methodius the Byzantine redaction was still completely dominant... According to Vajs, in the Old Bulgarian text of the Gospel according to Mark, over 1,000 Byzantine variations exist, but there are also over 500 (Western) and about 500 Alexandrian variations. Vajs established that in Marianus there are more Byzantine variations than in Zographensis... (1985, 633)

Here, too, Vajs's claim for a 'Western' source of the original translations is disputed, with the explanation that "part of the 'Western' variants can result from a later collation of an Old Bulgarian text from a Greek model which contained deviations from the more standard Byzantine redaction text" (ibid. 633-4).

1.6 What role do these controversies play in the study of OCS? According to many Slavists, it leads to the conclusion that the student comparing the OCS text to the Greek
text must consider more than one Greek text as a possible source or influence. As. B. l. Skupskij writes.

Therefore we suggest that in the study of the language of the OCS monuments it should be necessary to consider the evidence of not one, but, possibly, of a whole series of the greatest number of manuscripts of various redactions of a certain age, because each one of them could have been either a potential original for the original translation, or could have been related to those original manuscripts which exercised influence on this translation... (1977, 129).

In spite of these seemingly overwhelming obstacles to a successful study of OCS syntax, it is possible to complete a study on the syntactic expression of time without reading all 5,000-plus Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. The Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* contains all variant readings, and B. Metzger discusses in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* all of the disputed points, ranging from the inclusion vs. exclusion of a definite article to the inclusion vs. exclusion of entire lines of text. An examination of this book provides an account of all points of contention which could have an effect on the outcome of this dissertation. Most examples are insignificant—for example, in Matthew 13:40 some texts have ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος 'at the end of the age', whereas later texts add τοῦτο 'this'. The meaning may differ slightly, but the syntactic structure is unaltered. Examples, however, such as the one found in Matthew 8:13, could be of importance. The oldest Greek texts have ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ 'at that hour'; whereas other, later, texts have either ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ 'at (on) that day' or even ἀπὸ τῆς ὡρας ἐκείνης 'from that hour'. 
If the Slavic manuscripts exhibit different readings, it could be due then to differences found in their sources. For example, the first example given, which has variants either with or without the demonstrative 'this' has the same structure regardless: \( \epsilon\nu + \text{DAT} + \text{GEN} \) phrase. In fact, all Slavic manuscripts which attest this verse (Asm, Ost, Mar, Z and Mir) have the demonstrative: \( \varepsilon z\zeta k\kappa n\nu y\gamma a n\nu e\ \varepsilon t\kappa a\ c\epsilon\rho o\). This tells us that the Greek prototype probably came from the group with the demonstrative, but it does not change our interpretation of the syntactic structure: \( \varepsilon z\ + \text{ACC} + \text{GEN} \) phrase. More interesting is the fact that in Matthew 8:13, all of the Slavic manuscripts which attest this verse (all except D) show \( \varepsilon z\ \tau\zeta\ \gamma a c z\). This means that the Greek prototype probably had the phrase \( \epsilon\nu \ \tau\varphi\ \varepsilon k\epsilon\iota n\eta \) rather than \( \epsilon\nu \ \tau\varphi\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\eta\ \varepsilon k\epsilon\iota n\eta\). This is not definite, however, because sometimes the Slavic manuscripts also translate \( \alpha\nu t\\delta\ \tau\varphi\ \varepsilon k\epsilon\iota n\nu s\) with \( \varepsilon z\ \tau\zeta\ \gamma a c z\). If we were to compare which Greek manuscripts had \( \tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\) in Matthew 13:40 and \( \epsilon\nu \ \tau\varphi\ \varepsilon k\epsilon\iota n\eta\) in Matthew 8:13, we would see that the following manuscripts had both of the readings as seen in the Slavic manuscripts: L, 0106, 0233, 0242, f.13 and M. Only the last could reasonably be considered of interest: M is the symbol chosen to represent the "Majority of Lectionaries". Although a decision cannot be based on only two out of thousands of variant readings, these two examples appear to suggest that the prototype for the Slavic translation was indeed a lectionary.

Another example, in J 13:36, shows how a change in word order in Greek changes the meaning. The Slavic text shows:

\[
J 13:36 \quad \ldots \ \text{послѣдѣ} \ \chi\epsilon \ \eta\upsilon\chi\nu\nu \ \iota\delta\epsilon\omega\nu\iota
\]
In which the adverb ἀρκατ' 'after, later' occurs phrase-initially and is a temporal expression. Only a very few Greek manuscripts, including M, show the same structure:

\[ J 13:36 \quad \ldots \text{ὑστερον} \delta \varepsilon \:\text{ἀκολουθήσεις} \:\mu\sigmai \]

Thus: '...later you will follow (after) me'. The preferred reading, however, shows a different word order and omits the pronoun:

\[ J 13:36 \quad \ldots \text{ἀκολουθήσεις} \delta \varepsilon \:\text{ὑστερον} \]

Thus: '... you will follow later'. In this instance, the Slavic text shows a structure which is indicative of a prototype that contains the alternate reading (also found in C3, ψ, and \( f^1 13 \)) rather than the preferred reading.

Variant readings will be discussed as they arise, although very few have any consequence for the discussion of time expressions. For example, many variants have to do with word order; others, with the inclusion or exclusion of an article. Although interesting for the larger question of the Greek prototype, they play no role here. However, even such examples of variant readings in time expressions as discussed above would not prevent a successful comparison of the OCS syntactic structure to that of the Greek or, the more important outcome of this dissertation, an analysis of the OCS syntactic structure as an independent phenomenon. What we are most concerned with is which structures OCS used to convey the meaning found within the Greek text, and most often this can be discovered regardless of variant readings among the Greek manuscripts.
CHAPTER II
THE ACCUSATIVE CASE WITH THE PREPOSITION ἐν

2.1 By far the most prevalent means in OCS for expressing a time when an event occurs is with the preposition ἐν with the accusative (ACC), which occurs over 500 times in the extant texts (Xodova 1971, 124). This expression designates a time which is not completely filled by the given action, i.e. a time during a segment of which or at one moment of which an event takes place or beings (ibid, 124). The verb which expresses this action most often is of perfective aspect. ἐν + ACC in OCS most often corresponds to the Greek preposition ἐπί with the dative (DAT) or the plain DAT case, which is used, according to Smyth (1984, §1539; 1542),

to denote a definite point of time (chiefly day, night, month, year, season), at which an action occurred. The dative contrasts one point of time with another, and is usually accompanied by an attributive...; ἐπί is added: (a) To words denoting time when there is no attributive... (b) When the attributive is a pronoun (sometimes)... (c) To statements of time within the limits of which an event may take place...; to statements of how much time anything takes; with numbers, ἔκατος, πολύς, etc.

Blass (1949, §200), says that the DAT continues to be used in this way in the New Testament period, answering the question 'when'.
However, in certain expressions or in certain circumstances \( BZ + \text{ACC} \) can correspond to other Greek structures. These will be discussed as they arise.

2.2 The following set of words is used in the construction with \( BZ + \text{ACC} \) in OCS (as taken from the entire canonical corpus):  

- \( \text{Δληνь} 'day' \),  
- \( \text{ΣΤΩΣ/ΣΤΩΤΣ} 'sabbath, Saturday' \), and other days of the week,  
- \( \text{ΓΩΝΙΑ/ΓΩΝΙΑ 'hour, time'} \),  
- \( \text{ΒΡΗΧΩ 'time'} \),  
- \( \text{ΝΟΜΗ 'night', ΒΕΤΕΡΩ 'evening', ΜΑΣΑΜ 'month', ΑΤΟ 'year', ΒΟΚΖ 'century, age'} \); also \( \text{ΜΑΥΛΟ 'beginning'} \), \( \text{ΚΟΝΣ 'end', ΣΤΡΑΖ 'guard (shift, watch)'} \), \( \text{ΝΗΚ 'Passover'} \) (eventually, 'Easter'), \( \text{ΠΡΑΖΔΝΙΚ 'festival, holiday'} \); and the following, found rarely:  
- \( \text{ΣΤΑΡΟΣ 'old age', ΚΟΥΡΟΓΛΑΨΗ 'middle of the festival', ΠΡΣΕΛΕΝΕ 'movement, migration'} \) and \( \text{ΡΟΖΔΣΤΡΟ 'birth'} \).

2.3 The noun \( \text{Δληνь} (\text{PL. Δληνη}) 'day' \) is never found alone in the ACC with the preposition \( BZ \): it is always accompanied by a modifier, be it an adjective or a genitive phrase. In such phrases, the construction bears the meaning 'on (a certain) day'. This is not similar to the restriction given by Smyth for the Greek use of \( \text{ἐν} \) with the dative.
because the latter construction bears the same meaning as its corresponding prepositionless construction. However, the prepositionless ACC construction with ἄλημα bears the meaning of time spent, not of time at which an event occurs (see Chapter 3). ἄλημα is also used in the ζα + LOC construction; in this it is always unmodified. However, in this construction ζα ἄλημα bears the meaning 'in the day(time)' (i.e. vs. 'in the night(time)') rather than 'on (a certain) day'.

In all, ἄλημα occurs about 200 times in OCS manuscripts in the ζα + ACC construction (Xodova 1971, 124). The following adjectives are used with it in this construction: the demonstratives στ (PL στ) 'this', τζ (PL τζα) 'that', ονζ (PL ονζα) 'that'; τρες 'third', πολεμίζομαι 'last, final', εκ ἄλημα 'judgement', οὔμενον 'morning', and various others. When ζα ἄλημα (or PL ἄλημα) is followed by a genitive phrase, the noun in the genitive is usually a person, such as in Mt 2:1 ἤκουσαν τὴν ἁγιασμόν τότε . . . ζα ἄλημα ηρμῆτα ζορᾶ (Sav); in such occurrences, ἄλημα bears a metaphorical meaning 'in the time of'. Phrases such as ζα ἄλημα πορεύεται μου 'on the day of my burial', however, which are also found (J 12:7), demonstrate that in such constructions ἄλημα can also bear its concrete meaning 'day'. The phrase ζα κελεύς οτζα ἄλημα3 'on one of the days' also occurs a few

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1 Xodova does not give an exact number of occurrences for ζα ἄλημα.

2 The difference in the meanings of the various demonstratives is one of distance: στ 'this one here' (temporal example: 'on this day' perhaps referring to today); τζ 'that one there' (temporal example: 'on that day' i.e. on a day further removed, perhaps referring to yesterday or tomorrow), ονζ 'that one over there', further away than τζ (temporal example: 'on that other day' i.e. on a day even further removed, perhaps referring to the day before yesterday or the day after tomorrow).

3 This is a normalized spelling, based on idealized orthographic norms never actually realized in the extant mss. ἄλημα, as a consonant-stem noun, should have a GEN PL with a back jers (κ); however, none of the extant mss. shows ἄλημα in this phrase. Instead, we see ἄλημα or ἄλημαι, which demonstrate a shift to the i-stem class, with different vocalizations of tense jers.
times, as do variations of the relative clause phrase—RX ΔΛΝΥ RX ΝΔΕ 'on the day on which', which appears in various forms.

2.3.1 Variations of RX ΔΛΝΥ + demonstrative (RX ΤΞ ΔΛΝΥ, etc.) appear 34 times in the Gospel text alone. Examples include:

Mt 7:22 ΜΙΝΩΣΗ ΕΩ ΡΕΚΧΤΞ ΝΔΗΡ ΡΞ ΤΞ ΔΕΝΗ (Mar)
Mk 8:1 RX ΤΞΙ ΔΛΝΥ ΝΑΚΖΙ ΜΝΟΓΟΥ ΡΟΔΟΥ ΣΧΣΤΗ... (Z)
J 14:20 RX ΤΞ ΔΛΝΥ ΡΑΖΟΥΗΣΕΤΕ RXI... (Sav)

The phrase RX ΤΞ ΔΛΝΥ also appears in Supr:

Supr 19:22-23 RX ΤΞ ΟΥΒΟ ΔΕΝΥ ΣΧΕΡΒΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑ ΝΑΡΟΔΟΥ
Supr 91:2-3 RX ΤΖΑΔΕ ΑΛΗ ΠΡΙΔΕ ΤΖΑΔΕ ΝΑΛΟΝΟΤΣΤΞ
Supr 94:20 ΜΙΚΟ RX ΤΞΙ ΔΛΝΥ ΑΤΗ ΕΖΙΛΑΤ ΚΗΝ ΚΖ ΚΑΡΜΝΙΚ

In some instances, the Aprakos texts (Asm, Ost, Sav and Mir) have RX ΡΡΩΜΑ ΟΝΟ or the abbreviation RX Ω in place of RX ΤΞ ΔΛΝΥ (etc.). Most often these occur at the beginning of a new reading and are possibly stylistic devices used to signal this.

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4 Variations in ΔΛΝΥ occur because of spelling (e.g. a weak jεr represented as a full vowel: ΔΕΝΥ); or because it is used in the plural (ΔΛΝΗ).
5 For a complete list of all occurrences of this and all other constructions, see Appendix B.
6 For a complete list of all instances of such variations with RX Ω, see Appendix A.
All occurrences of **ἐξ τῷ ἐλλασ** (etc.) correspond to the Greek construction with the preposition ἐν with the DAT:

Mt 7:22  ολλοι ἐροῦν μοι ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
Mk 8:1  ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῶι ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ολλοι ὀχλου ὄντος...
J 14:20 ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώσεσθε ὑμεῖς...

A few examples of **ἐξ τῷ ἐλλασ** (etc.) correspond to something slightly different in the Greek text. L 13:31 has **ἐξ τῷ ἐλλασ** (appearing only in Mar and D) which does correspond to ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 'on this day' in the majority of Greek texts, whereas the older Greek texts have ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ 'at this hour'.

L 13:33 has ...σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἐρχομένῃ... 'today and tomorrow and (on) the coming (day)', while Mar and D (the only attestations) have simply **ἐξ οὖν ἐλλασ** 'on that day'.

In L 1:24, two Slavic texts change the meaning of the time expression, to **ἐξ οὖν γε ἐλλασ** (Ost), or **ἐξ ὑπ** (Mir). This is an alteration which does not correspond to the Greek text, which has μετὰ ταύτας τῶι ἡμέρας 'after these days', which is usually translated into OCS as no σισμοι γε ἐλλασ (no + LOC 'after'). All of the other examined texts except Sav, which does not have the verse, attest this latter phrase.

Even Ost and Mir, which both contain two occurrences of the verse, both have the exact correspondence no σισμοι γε ἐλλασ in one of the occurrences:

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As mentioned, ἐν οὖν ἡμι or ἔχει οὖν often occur in place of a more specific temporal expression, especially when the temporal phrase of the verse begins a reading; this is indeed the case in this particular instance.

2.3.2 The adjective most commonly used with ἡμι is τρέτην 'third'. In various Gospel manuscripts, only fourteen occurrences of ἐν τρέτην ἡμι are found, as opposed to thirty-eight occurrences of τρέτην ἡμι, i.e. the plain ACC. Almost all occurrences, with or without ἐν, correspond to the Greek prepositionless DAT: τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Five verses with ἐν τρέτην ἡμι are attested in three or fewer texts: Mt 17:23 (Sav; all others have ACC), Mt 20:19 (Mar; Mir has ACC), L 13:22 (Mar, D and Mir), L 24:46 (D; all others have ACC), and J 2:1 (Mar and Z; Ost has ἐν οὖν ἔρθαμαι):

Mt 20:19 ἐν τρέτην ἡμι εὐκρίζομετα (Mar)
J 2:1 ἐν τρέτην ἡμι ἐράκζεν ἐς θα καὶ θα γαλατικεῖ (Z)

Mt 20:19 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτερθησεται
J 2:1 καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἔτενεο ἐν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας

The reason that 'third' occurs so often is simply due to the fact that the phrase 'on the third day' occurs so frequently in the Gospel text.
L. 24:46, attested in all of the examined texts except Sav, has βά τρεῖ την άλην only in D—all other texts have τρέτην άλην:

L. 24:46 καὶ ἀναστήσατε ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

The opposite occurs in Mk 9:31, where all the texts have βά τρεῖ την άλην except for Mir, which has the prepositionless ACC:

Mk 9:31 καὶ ἀναστήσατε τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναστήσαται

However, this corresponds not to the Greek DAT, but to μετά 'after' + ACC:

Mk 9:31 καὶ ἀποκαταθεῖς μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσαται

μετά + ACC also occurs in Mk 8:31, where Ost and D have the corresponding no with the LOC (see Chapter 9), but where Sav, Mar and Z have τρεῖ την άλην, and Mir has τῇ τρίτη ἡμέρᾳ (see Chapter 3).

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9 The preferred reading shows μετά; however, a few mss., including M—the majority of Aprakos texts (lectionaries) show τῇ τρίτη ἡμέρᾳ.
2.3.3 It may appear as if the phrase 'on the third day' occurs so frequently in the prepositionless ACC in OCS rather than in the construction with ἔν + ACC because the Greek construction τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ is prepositionless. In Greek, this prepositionless construction appears, at least on a superficial level, to be in almost free-variation with ἔν + DAT. Since the Greek text shows the prepositionless variant, this may lead to the assumption that in the phrase 'on the third day' a prepositionless variant was also chosen for OCS. In other words, if the Greek constructions with the prepositionless DAT or ἔν + DAT had appeared to the translator(s) to be in free variation, the phrase τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, which appears only in the prepositionless DAT, could have been rendered in OCS by the prepositionless ACC instead of ἔν + ACC to continue the prepositionless construction seen in the Greek. However, the data, as seen in the following chart which shows the variant chosen in each manuscript for each verse, do not support this assumption:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Mir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt 16:21</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt 17:23</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt 20:19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mk 8:31</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>no + LOC</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mk 9:31</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἄν ἔντον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mk 10:34</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 9:22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 13:32</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 18:33</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Λ ἄν ἄν ἄν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 24:7</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ῥ ἄνὴρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 24:46</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(ἔν ὄνο)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>ἔν</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, for example, in Mt 17:23 Asm, Ost and Mar all have the prepositionless ACC, but Sav has ἐκ + ACC. However, in Mk 10:34 all the manuscripts show the prepositionless ACC. All of these examples have as their source the Greek τῇ τρεῖτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, except for Mk 8:31 and 9:31, which both have μετὰ + ACC, as discussed earlier.

We have seen that two constructions express the same meaning 'on the third day', although the ἐκ + ACC construction is far more prevalent in general than the prepositionless ACC for expressing the meaning 'on (a certain) day'. However, to express 'on the third day'--the most common phrase in the Gospels involving ἅμνος and a numeral--the prepositionless ACC is found far more frequently than ἐκ + ACC. Only six verses contain ἐκ τρεῖτη δὲνα, and four of those have τρεῖτη δὲνα in at least one, often in many, manuscripts (and the other two verses--L 13:32 and J 2:1--have no other attestations of the phrase 'on the third day'). On the other hand, six verses show τρεῖτη δὲνα without any occurrences of ἐκ τρεῖτη δὲνα in any manuscripts. Supr shows examples of both ἐκ + ACC and the prepositionless ACC for phrases with δὲνα and an ordinal numeral:

Supr 10:19-20 ἐκ οὐτερφάττεν δὲνα καρτα μέσα η σάμα η πάντα . . .
Supr 52:27-28 ἐκ ἡ δὲνα στάζα σχ ροσοδάχ
Supr 136:9-10 ἑ ἐκ τρεῖτη δὲνα πολεμά πριβετθι κ κ . . .
Supr 321:23-24 ἀδικά σχξὲαδανιξ εξεμχξ ἐκ χεστάιη δὲνα
Supr 118:4 τρεῖτη δὲνα πρισεδζέσε
Supr 129:19-20 ἐκ οὐτερφάττεν δὲνα καρτα μέσα τράπι κεφζ καταζα
Although Supr shows a clear preference for \( \varepsilon \tau \zeta + \text{ACC} \), it seems that, based upon careful comparison between Greek and OCS, both OCS constructions were in free variation for expressing 'on the Nth day'.

However, another element of the Greek could have played a role in this: phonology. Already by the time of the translation of the original OCS manuscripts the Greek language had undergone two phonological changes which led to a convergence between the DAT and ACC cases (on the surface): the loss of final -\( \varepsilon \), and the loss of the final -i off-glide (spelled according to tradition as an iota-subscript). Thus the prepositionless DAT \( \tau \eta \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \eta \eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha \) sounded like the prepositionless ACC \( \tau \eta(\nu) \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \eta(\nu) \eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha(\nu) \). In fact, in Modern Greek it is the prepositionless ACC (e.g. \( \tau \eta(\nu) \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha \)) which is used to express a time at which an event occurred. In addition, the Greek DAT had gone out of active use by this time, and was only used in written texts to carry on the literary tradition established centuries before. If the Greek text was being dictated to the translator or even group of translators (a common medieval practice in the copying of manuscripts\(^1\)), what actually was a prepositionless DAT with the meaning of a time at which an event occurred could have been interpreted instead as a prepositionless ACC with the meaning of a time completely filled by an action. This conclusion, however, implies that the translator(s) of the manuscripts did not understand the text they were translating, which is contradicted by the use of perfective verbal forms (either in an aorist or future tense) to render the corresponding Greek forms. If they had thought of these expressions with \( \tau \eta \tau \omicron \upsilon \tau \eta \eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \alpha \), etc., as prepositionless ACC with the meaning of a time completely filled by an action, they would have had to

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\(^{10}\) For more examples, see Appendices B and C.

change the verbal forms to imperfectives (in the imperfect or future tense). But instead they retained the perfective forms, which express a momentary action or an action completed, rather than an ongoing or incomplete action. Thus we cannot look to the Greek text for explanation and again we are led to the conclusion that the OCS constructions with ἔν + ACC and the prepositionless ACC were simply in free variation at this point in time for expressing 'on the Nth day'.

2.3.4 The phrase ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 'on the last, final day' occurs seven times in the Gospels, each occurrence appearing in the Gospel according to John:

J 6:39 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Mar)
J 11:24 ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Z)

This construction has two Greek equivalents: ἐν + DAT or prepositionless DAT:

J 6:39 ἀλλὰ ἀνάστησον αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
J 11:24 ἀναστήσεται ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

From text to text, the Greek shows great variations between the use of ἐν + DAT and prepositionless DAT. However, in this phrase the overlapping in usage between ἐν + DAT and the prepositionless DAT does not have any effect on the OCS: only ἔν + ACC appears. This is due simply to the fact that the ἔν + ACC construction was the
one that best expressed the meaning of the Greek construction, regardless of which one occurred in the prototype.

2.3.5 ἐ είναν στάνειν 'on judgement day' occurs five times in the Gospels and also occurs in Supr. This phrase is interesting due to the fact that, although the Greek text has ἐν ἡμέρᾳ + GEN phrase, the Slavic texts all express this not with a GEN phrase but with an adjective modifying ἐνείν:

Supr 120:1-2 . . . ημώνταςγεύς εἶναν στάνειν
Supr 316:7-8 . . . στεφρον ὀπεκειτα εις ενείν στάνειν ενείν οὔεο

Mt 12:36 ἐ είναν στάνειν ὁ μονός εἶναν ἐ στάνειν
Mk 6:11 οτί τράδοντε έχετε σοιώνοι μυ ημορροίς εἶναν στάνειν
Mt 12:36 ἀποδώκουσειν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως
Mk 6:11 ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται σοιών ημόρροις ἡ Γομόρρας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως

However, the pattern of ἐ είναν + ACC = ἐν + DAT continues here and the change in structure from GEN phrase to ADJ phrase (a stylistic change rather than a semantic change) does not alter the nature of the temporal phrase.

---

12 This ending to Mk 6:11 occurs only in some mss. (inc. M) and is not the preferred reading.
2.3.6 The pattern of \( \text{RZ} + \text{ACC} = | \text{ev} + | \text{DAT} \) is also seen, albeit with less regularity, in the adjectival phrase \( \text{RZ} \ \text{OUTRONTZ \ \DN} \) (Mar has \( \text{RZ} \ \text{OUTRONTZ} \ \text{L\DN} \) in two instances), which occurs seven times in the Gospels and corresponds in each instance to the Greek \( \text{t\H \ \\ \text{EP\A\U\P\U\L\O\V} } \) (i.e., the prepositionless DAT) 'on the morrow':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mt 27:62} & \quad \text{RZ OUTTRONTZ} \ \text{E} \ \text{\O\T\Z} \ \text{\P\A\K\E\V\H\I} \ \ldots \\ 
\text{J 6:22} & \quad \text{RZ OUTTRONTZ} \ \text{L\DN} \ \text{NAQRIZ} \ \text{H}\\ \text{E} \ \text{C\O\W\A\W} \ \ldots \\
\text{Mt 27:62} & \quad \text{t\H} \ \text{DE} \ \text{EP\A\U\P\U\L\O\V} , \ \text{\HK} \ \text{\E\S\T\I\N} \ \text{\MET\A} \ \text{t\H} \ \text{PAR\A\K\E\V\H\I} \ \ldots \\
\text{J 6:22} & \quad \text{t\H} \ \text{EP\A\U\P\U\L\O\V} \ \text{O} \ \text{\O\K\L\O\S} \ \text{O} \ \text{\E\S\T\H\K\O\S} \ \ldots \ \text{E\I\D\O} \ \ldots 
\end{align*}
\]

However, other variations exist: Mir has \( \text{NA} + \text{ACC} \) in Mt 27:62 (\( \text{NA OUTRONTZ} \)) and \( \text{RZ} + \text{LOC} \) in Mk 11:12 (\( \text{RZ OUTRONT} \)). Asm, Ost, Sav and Mir (the Aprakoi) have in J 1:29 and 1:35 \( \text{RZ} \ \text{O} \) instead of \( \text{RZ OUTRONT \ \DN} \).

2.3.7 The phrase \( \text{RZ DN} \ \text{SKHOTVNI} \) 'on the Sabbath day' or 'on the day of the Sabbath' (as opposed to simply 'on the Sabbath', discussed in §2.4 below), occurs four times in the Gospels and corresponds to a number of Greek expressions, all incorporating the DAT or \( \text{ev} + \text{DAT} \): L 13:14 and 13:16 have

\[
\text{t\H} \ \text{H\M E\R\Q} \ \text{T\O} \ \text{S\A\B\B\A\T\O} \text{U}
\]

while L 14:4/5 also has this, but adds the preposition \( \text{ev} \):
and in some manuscripts, the article is omitted in this verse:

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου

Finally, L 4:16 has 'Sabbath' in the PL:

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων

yet another variation. As in the example above with εἰς δὲν κεὶτεντὶς for Greek ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, OCS replaces a GEN phrase with an adjectival phrase. In this instance, the adjectival phrase is not capable of distinguishing between the SG and PL of 'Sabbath' as seen in the Greek. Thus, OCS has one phrase—ἐς δὲν κεἰτεντὶς—for four Greek phrases, all variations upon each other:

L 14:4/5 ἴν ἦν ἀνει ἀνεγερτείνῃ ἐγὼ ἐς δὲν κεἰτεντὶς (Ost)
L 4:16 ἵν ἐλθείη νο ἦν οἰκία ἐς δὲν κεἰτεντὶς ἐς δὲν κεἰτεντὶς (Sav)
Supr 295:1-2 ὑδη ἐς δὲν κεἰτεντὶς ὑμῶν ἦν

Since all the variants of the Greek phrase (with or without an article, with or without the preposition ἐν) express the same thing—'on the Sabbath day' or 'on the day of the Sabbath'—we quite expect to find just one phrase in the OCS to render this, especially as
OCS did not have articles and the absence of the preposition ἐν would have changed the meaning.

2.3.8 There are a total of ten more phrases containing ἐν ἀλήθειαν and an adjective in the Gospels. Most correspond to the Greek ἐν + DAT or the prepositionless DAT:

L 1:59 ἡ ἔρευνα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἡ ὕλην περιτεμεῖν τὸ παιδίον (Asm)
L 1:59 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὕλῃ περιτεμεῖν τὸ παιδίον
L 17:28 τακαγε μή έκκοη εἰς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ (Mar)
L 17:28 ὀμοίως καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ
L 9:37 εἰς ἑν ἀποκαλύπτει τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τού ὤνος (Z)
L 9:37 ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἡξίμῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤνος

One, however, reinterprets an original NOM (nominative) phrase:

Mt 24:37 ἡ κομοῦ εἰς εἰς τῇ ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ἡμέραν τοῦ θεοῦ (Sav--2nd)
Mt 24:37 ὦσπερ τὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ θεοῦ, οὕτως ἐσται καὶ ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Compare the first occurrence of Mt 24:37 in Sav, which retains the NOM phrase:
Mt 24:37 ἡ οὖν ἡμέρα Νωέων ἄρα ἐξῆται πρὶν τὴν γενεάν της ἀπαρίτητος (Sav--1st)

The change in structure changes the meaning—from 'as were the days of Noah' (with 'days' as the subject) to 'as it was in the days of Noah' (with 'days' being part of a temporal expression). It is interesting that only one occurrence of this verse shows the original Greek structure—this first occurrence in Sav. All other occurrences (as represented by all manuscripts except Z) make this change in structure and therefore also in meaning.

Supr also contains examples of εἰς τὸ ἡμέρα/ἡμείριον and an adjective, phrases which are often also followed by a GEN phrase:

Supr 25:19-21 εἰς εἰς τὸ ἡμέρα πρὶν καθάρσις ἄρα ἡμῶν παραθείσα ἡ θέλησις κορωνά ... 
Supr 80:29-81:2 καὶ ἔτειρεν τὸ καθάρσις ἄρα τὸ ἡμέρα παραθάλλησις καὶ ἑωκίζων ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν σώσαντα τὴν Ῥαμανίου τῆς παρακλήσεως αὐτοῦ ... 
Supr 295:2-3 καὶ πράσσει καὶ σοφετὰς πρὸς τὸ πράξας ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ... 

2.3.9 The phrases with εἰς τὸ ἡμέρα/ἡμείριον followed by a GEN phrase (seven total in the Gospels) correspond in all instances to the Greek ἐν + DAT:

Mt 2:1 ἐγεῖρεν ῬΩΣΙΩΝ ΣΩΡΕΟΥΝ τὸν Μηνίν ἐν μήνῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀνεμωθήτωτος (Sav) 
Mt 23:30 ὥσε πρὸς τὸν Μηνήν ἐν μῆνῃ ἢν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ... (Ost)
Mt 2:1  Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλέεμ ... ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρῴδου τοῦ βασιλέως

Mt 23:30  εἰ ἡμέρα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ...

In Mt 24:37--continuing the verse from earlier--another original NOM phrase--
'thus too will be the coming of the Son of Man'--

Mt 24:37  ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Ναζ, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ παροικία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

was reinterpreted in some texts (Asm, Mar, and Z) to a temporal expression--'thus too will it be in the days of the Son of Man':

... τάκο εἰσέλθη ἐκ τῶν ἔλθων καὶ ἥγησαν γάλυκα πώς ... (Mar)

Sav retains the original meaning--'thus will be the coming of the Son of Man':

... τάκο εἰσέλθη πρεσβύτερες καὶ γάλυκα πώς ...

And Ost alters the original meaning to make it temporal, but without the word ἔλθων--
'thus it will be in (=at the time of) the coming of the Son of Man':

... τάκο εἰσέλθη εἰς πρεσβύτερες καὶ γάλυκα πώς ...
So two phrases in this verse both show Greek NOM constructions altered to temporal constructions with ἐν in OCS. Greek NOM constructions most often are rendered with OCS NOM constructions; alterations or reinterpretations such as this one seen in Mt 24:37 suggest that the translators felt the liberty to make structural changes which altered the meaning of the text without totally destroying it. Changes such as the one seen in this verse offer evidence to support the proposition that the syntax seen in the OCS manuscripts reflected living Slavic syntax, at least for the altered passages.

Supr also contains examples of this construction—ἐν ἠλίῳ/⍺λήθη with a GEN phrase:

Supr 21:11-12 ἀπὸ ἡμῖν ἐν ἠλίῳ ἡγήθη . . .
Supr 162:3-4 στὸρρι ἐν σοὶ ἡμῖν εἰδή . . .

(See also those phrases given above in §2.3.8 which contain both an adjectival and a genitival phrase modifying ἐν ἠλίῳ.)

2.3.10 Another expression involving ἠλίῳ is the phrase ἐν ἡμῖν ὁτόν ἠλίῳ, which occurs three times in the Gospel according to Luke, as well as in Supr. The corresponding Greek phrase is ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν. Note that the verse always begins with the phrase 'and so it occurred' (Greek ἐτῆνετο, OCS ἐκεῖνος) and also the use of a prepositional phrase in OCS (ἐν ἡμῖν ὁτόν ἠλίῳ) to render a Greek prepositionless GEN (ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν):
L.8.22 εξείτε ζε έαζ ιεάννζ οτζ άλπζζ ι τζ έαζ ίεζζ έαζ κόπαεζ (Mar)
L.8.22 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἑνέβη εἰς πλοῖον

Here the Aprakos texts have simply ΕΖ ὥς, except Mir in L.20:1. In L.5:17, Z has ΕΖ ιεάννζ ellipted and only οΤΖ άλπζζ appears:

L.5:17 Εξείτε ζε άλπζζ ι τζ έαζ ογγα ... (Z)
L.5:17 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἥν διδάσκον

Mar and D both show the full phrase ΕΖ ιεάννζ οτζ άλπζζ; the Aprakoi (except Sav, which does not contain the verse) all show ΕΖ ὥς. Z probably manifests a common phenomenon known as "scribal error"—in this case, the omission of a word or phrase.

Supr here shows ΕΖ ιεάννζ άλπζζ instead of ΕΖ ιεάννζ οτζ άλπζζ:

Supr 91:15-27 ... ποβείτε ... ΕΖ ιεάννζ άλπζζ ιεάννζ ρήματι ... 

This is different from other occurrences of numeral with άλπζζ in the ΕΖ + ACC construction: ιεάννζ here is in the cardinal form, not the ordinal, as seen in all other occurrences.

2.3.11 Finally, we have relative clauses involving άλπζζ and ΕΖ + ACC. These can take the following structures: άλπζζ ΕΖ ιεξε, ΕΖ ιεξε άλπζζ, ΕΖ άλπζζ ΕΖ
πριμήτζες με γίνε, παρα τορο ἐκ τον εἰρην. Να τον

Mt 24:50 ηστε ο Κύριος τοῦ δούλου έκεινου ἐν ημέρᾳ ἡ ὁ ὁ
προσδοκά

Mt 25:13 ἤναι ἐβέσει ἄρης πη γανα ἐκ τον ἐκ τον γιάροντα πριμήτζες
(Sav)

Mt 25:13 ὑεί σάν αἰδατε τῆ πο ημέραν οὑδὲ τῆν ὁραν ἐν ἡ ἀ

O 1:25 . . . ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπρεττα

L 1:25 . . . ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπετευν . .

L 12:46 πριμήτζες γοσπονίκα παρα τορο ἐκ τον εἰρην. Να τον

L 12:46 ἢστε ο Κύριος τοῦ δούλου έκεινου ἐν ημέρᾳ ἡ ὁ

13 The relative clause occurs only in some mss. (inc. M) and is not the preferred reading.
13:14. ἔλεγεν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὅτι ἠμέραν ἐν αἷς δὲ ἐρτάζεσθαι

17:29. ἐναγάγετε οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμώμουν

17:30. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται η δὴ ἦμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύφθη
ta. (Mar)

17:30. ἐξεύστηκα δὴ ἠμέρα ἐν αἷς ἀφεθήσεται λίθος εἰς ἠμέραν...

21:6. ἔλεγεν ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οὐκ οὐκ ἐφνέμοσθεν λίθος ἐπὶ ἠμέραν...

22:7. ἔλεγεν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦμέρα τῶν ἄρτιμων [ἐν] ἦ δὲ ἦ

23:29. ἐφέστηκα δὴ ἠμέρα ἐν αἷς ἔροισιν μακάριαν αἱ στείραι καὶ οὐκ ἐγέννησαν...

---

14 Sav, as a Cyrillic ms., should have ἦ δὴ δὴν here rather than ἦ δὴ δὴν to render the Greek ἦ δὴ ἦμέρα 'six days'. As it is only in Glagolitic mss. that the letter e represents the number six, it is likely that the scribe of Sav copied the letter as it appeared in his Glagolitic (presumably) prototype.
The correspondences between the OCS and Greek phrases show no distinct pattern, probably owing to the great variation in structure within both languages. This is seen below in the exact match-ups for the various constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Greek Phrase</th>
<th>OCS Phrase</th>
<th>Greek Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt 24:50</td>
<td>εὐρέα</td>
<td>ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt 25:13</td>
<td>δόλε</td>
<td>τὴν ἡμέραν</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1:25</td>
<td>εὐρέα</td>
<td>ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 12:46</td>
<td>ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td>ἐν ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 13:14</td>
<td>εὐρέα</td>
<td>ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 17:29</td>
<td>δόλε</td>
<td>ἡ ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 17:30</td>
<td>δόλε</td>
<td>ἡ ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 21:6</td>
<td>ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td>ἡ ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 22:7</td>
<td>δόλε</td>
<td>ἡ ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 23:29</td>
<td>δόλε</td>
<td>ἡ ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr and Cloz also exhibit various structures, and Supr introduces the adverb ὑπερερά in place of ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, et. al., as the relative conjunction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Greek Phrase</th>
<th>OCS Phrase</th>
<th>Greek Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr 74:4-5</td>
<td>ἀληθ [dat. sg.] αὐτοῦ τῆς ἠμέρας</td>
<td>ἐν ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr 94:14-15</td>
<td>λεγό μαθησι ὑπερεράς</td>
<td>ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz 11a:4-5</td>
<td>(δόλε) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καθήγηται</td>
<td>ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz 11a:4-5</td>
<td>ἡμέραν</td>
<td>ἡμέρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.12 Supr shows a use of δήμι in the άξ + ACC construction not demonstrated in the Gospels— with the interrogative relative pronoun κζι:

Supr 132:23 η' άξ κζίν δήμι άξπράωακ η'ξ

2.4 Above the phrase άξ δήμ ις κεςτζκζι was given as one way of expressing 'on the Sabbath/Saturday'. There are two additional ways, both with many variations, using άξ + ACC. The first involves a form of the numeral ιεάνηκ 'one' with a form of κεςτζκ: άξ ιεάνηκ κεςτζκ (FEM numeral, MASC noun) or άξ ιεάνηκ κεςτζκ (MASC numeral and noun), or in the PL: άξ ιεάνηκι κεςτζκι; the second involves the ordinal numeral ιπρλζ 'first' άξ ιπλζ ις (FEM) or ιπλζι (MASC) κεςτζκ (FEM) or κεςτζκ (MASC). Yet another way to express 'on the Sabbath' is with a form of άξ + a form of κεςτζκ (FEM), κεςτζκ (MASC), or κεςτζκι (PL) (for an exact listing, see Appendix B).

2.4.1 Of the expressions involving a form of the numeral ιεάνηκ 'one', all four of the occurrences in the Gospels correspond to a Greek DAT:

Mk 16:2 στελό ζά ούτρα άξ ιεάνηκ κεςτζκί πριαξ ηα γροεξ . . . (Asm)
Mk 16:2 κα' λίαν πρωι τη μιά των σαββάτων έρχονται επι το μνημείον . . .
2.4.2 The translation of Mt 28:1 shows numerous problems. The occurrence of είς τοὺς σαββάτῳς ἐν τῷ ἑωρωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων ἡλθεν Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνή... (Sav)

In Greek, τὸ σάββατον, especially in its PL form, can also mean 'week'; W. Bauer (1979, 739) translates (ἡ) μίαν (τῶν) σαββάτων as 'the first day of the week'. It is not as if the concept of 'week' or a word for 'week' was lacking in Slavic—we see the use of недель in the εἰς + LOC\(^\text{15}\) construction in Supr to express 'in the week':

Indeed, many modern translations of this verse show the modern word for 'week':

Modern Russian has по прошествии же субботы, на рассвете первого дня недели—'after the passing of the Sabbath, at the dawn of the first day of the week'; and Bulgarian has а като се мина съботата, на първия ден вон

\(^{15}\) As opposed to the use of недели in the εἰς + ACC construction, in which it means 'Sunday'; cf. the discussion of this below in §2.5
The OCS sentence can be translated, however, as 'on a Sabbath evening at dawn on the first Sabbath', which is actually ambiguous— to which Sabbath does this refer?

Notice also that the Greek text, by using the preposition εἰς instead of ἐν renders a slightly different meaning: 'at dawn into/towards the first day of the week', i.e. the dawn leading into the first day of the week. As is obvious, this leads to an awkward translation in English, and perhaps an exact translation would have also been awkward in OCS, thus the change to 'on a Sabbath evening at dawn on the first Sabbath'.

One other major misunderstanding occurred in the translation of this verse. The Greek verse begins ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, which can mean either 'late in the week', 'late on the Sabbath', or, as defined by W. Bauer (1979, 601) 'after the Sabbath', with ὀψὲ used as "an improper prep. with gen." (ibid). Note here that the modern translations show an interpretation based on this meaning of ὀψὲ. For example, the Revised Standard Version of the English Bible has 'after the Sabbath...'; Modern Russian has по прошествии же субботы...—'after the passing of the Sabbath'; and Bulgarian has a като се мина съботата...—'and when the Sabbath had passed'. OCS, however, shows a translation which interprets ὀψὲ as the adverb meaning 'evening': Българската Библия. This interpretation, in combination with the others, leads to a very confusing sentence in the OCS: 'on a Sabbath evening, at dawn on the first Sabbath...'. Did Mary Magdelene arrive on a Sabbath evening, or at the dawn of a Sabbath day?

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16 Throughout the historical period numerous retranslations of religious texts were carried out; in Russian one of the most (in)famous of these retranslations is known as the "исправление книг", the 'correction of the books'.

седмицата—'and when the Sabbath had passed, on the first day of the week'. The
2.4.3 Forms of \textit{ἐκείθεν}, et. al., occur thirty-one times in the Gospels and fifty-eight times in Supr (Xodova 1971, 171). As the chart in Appendix B shows, there is no correspondence among the Slavic texts as to the gender or number of the noun; e.g., Mk 2:23, which has \textit{ἡ εὐς + DAT PL} in the Greek, has \textit{ἐκείθεν} in Ost, Mar, Z and D, but \textit{ἐκείθεν} in Asm and \textit{ἐκείθεν} in Sav. Nor is there correspondence between the Greek and Slavic texts: where Greek has SG, Slavic can have SG or PL, and vice versa. Almost all occurrences, however, correspond to the pattern \textit{ἐκ + ACC = | ἡ εὐς +| DAT}, with twelve occurrences showing \textit{ἡ εὐς} and the others not.

\begin{align*}
\text{Mt 24:20} & \quad \text{δὲ ἐὰν εἴη ὡς ἔδει, ὥσπερ ἐκείθεν ἔδει} \quad \text{(Asm)} \\
\text{Mt 24:20} & \quad \text{John ἔστω ὡς ἐκείθεν ἔστω} \quad \text{καὶ ἔστωσιν} \\
\text{Mk 2:23} & \quad \text{πιστεύετε ὡς ἐκείθεν πιστεύετε} \quad \text{(Ost)} \\
\text{Mk 2:23} & \quad \text{καὶ ἔτένετο αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν παραπορεύεσθαι} \\
\text{L 6:2} & \quad \text{τὸ τιμήσαντες ἤς ἄνθρωπον} \\
\text{J 7:22} & \quad \text{καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείθεν} \quad \text{εὐρίσκετε ἰδικὰ . . .} \\
\text{Supr 209:7-8} & \quad \text{ἐκείθεν . . . ἐκείθεν ὑπάντησαν} \\
\text{Supr 334:14-15} & \quad \text{εὐρίσκετε ἔκείθεν . . . προδέ ἱλαστίῳ Ἰησοῦ} \\
\end{align*}
2.5 The construction \( \text{RZ} + \text{ACC} \) is also used with other days of the week, although with much less frequency as \( \text{RZ C} \text{XEO} \text{TZ} \):

Supr 209:7-8 \( \text{RZ C} \text{XEO} \text{TZ} \) \( \text{XE} \) \( \text{H} \) \( \text{ME} \) \( \text{AX} \) \( \text{P} \) \( \text{R} \) \( \text{TE} \) \( \text{V} \) \( \text{S} \) \( \text{C} \) \( \text{X} \) \( \text{X} \)

J 19:14 \( \text{ET} \) \( \text{HE} \) \( \text{RZ P} \) \( \text{ATZK} \) \( \text{OE} \) \( \text{BA} \) \( \text{Z} \) \( \text{GODOU} \) ... (Sav)

The latter example, however, replaces a NOM construction in the Greek texts and in other Slavic texts:

J 19:14 \( \text{HN DE} \) \( \text{PA} \) \( \text{A} \) \( \text{SKEV} \) \( \text{TH} \) \( \text{TOU} \) \( \text{PASS} \) \( \text{EA} \) ... 
J 19:14 \( \text{ET} \) \( \text{HE} \) \( \text{P} \) \( \text{A} \) \( \text{A} \) \( \text{SKEV} \) \( \text{THIIN} \) \( \text{PA} \) \( \text{CT} \) \( \text{E} \) ... (Asm)

It is interesting that here Sav changes the NOM construction to the \( \text{RZ} + \text{ACC} \) construction; earlier, we saw an example of a NOM phrase in the Greek being retained only by Sav but changed to \( \text{RZ} + \text{ACC} \) in all other manuscripts (Mt 24:37; cf. §2.3.9). This shows that it was not just a single scribe in a single instance who felt at liberty to make such a structural change.

2.6 The nouns \( \text{YAcTZ/ROVHI/RODZ} \) 'hour, time' are also used in the construction \( \text{RZ} + \text{ACC} \). Like \( \text{AL} \) \( \text{N} \), \( \text{YAcTZ} \), et. al., is always modified, whether by a demonstrative, adjective, or genitive phrase. It occurs most frequently with the demonstrative \( \text{TZ} \), and also with the interrogative relative pronouns \( \text{KE/KXZ/KOTPZ}\), the relative
pronoun

2.6.1 The most common usage of \( \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) (and only \( \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \)) is in the phrase \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \), occurring thirteen times in the Gospels. This corresponds in two instances to a prepositionless DAT, and in the rest to \( \varepsilon \nu + \text{DAT} \), with one exception:

Mt 8:13 ἠνεψάλη ἐσούα νεγο \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) (Sav)
Mt 8:13 καὶ ὅλῃ ὁ παῖς [αὐτοῦ] ἐν τῇ ὑπα ἐκεῖνη
L 2:38 ἦν τα \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) πρισταρζων ἐνοπέδασε σα την (Asm)
L 2:38 καὶ αὐτῆς τῇ ὑπα ἐπιστάσα ἀνθωμολογεῖτο τῷ θεῷ . . .

Supr has this phrase, as well as the phrase with the demonstrative \( \varepsilon \chi \) 'this' instead of \( \tau \gamma \) 'that':

Supr 16:14-15 οἶδαν ὁ \( \mu \nu \)ς \( \sigma \nu \) δὲς τούτου \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) του νου \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \)
Supr 217:7 \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) ηδε \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) καὶ \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \)

In addition, Sav adds \( \varepsilon \zeta \tau \gamma \alpha \zeta \zeta \) to the end of L 9:42, although this is without precedent in any known Greek text and does not appear in any of the other ancient Slavic manuscripts:

L 9:42 ἠ ἐπετέλε 
(Sav)
The one instance where ε& τ& γ& does not originate from a Greek DAT is in Mt 15:28, where we have ἀπὸ + GEN:

Mt 15:28 | η ε&γ&τ& ε& γ& ε& & τ& γ& ε&κ& | (Mar)

All of the Slavic texts which contain this verse translate ἀπὸ τῆς ὀ&ρ&ας ἐ&κἐ&ν&ς 'from that hour' (with the sense: 'from that hour on', 'from that hour forwards') as ε& τ& γ& and, at that hour, instead of, say, ὀ&τ& τ&γ& τ&ρ& & γ& and ὀ&τ& τ&ο&ι&ν& or ὀ&τ& c&ε&λ&κ, except Ost (a non-canonical manuscript), which has the prepositionless LOC:

Mt 15:28 | η ε&γ&τ& ε& γ& ε& & & τ& γ& ε&κ& | (Ost)

Most of the other examples with ἀπὸ + GEN have corresponding OCS ὀ&τ& γ& + GEN, except Mt 15:28, and again in Mt 17:18, where all the texts have LOC corresponding to ἀπὸ + GEN, except Sav, which does have ὀ&τ& γ& + GEN. Thus, Slavic had three means of rendering ἀπὸ + GEN of hour: ὀ&τ& γ& + GEN, prepositionless LOC, and, here, ε& γ& + ACC. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ostromir</th>
<th>Savvina</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt 15:28</td>
<td>το&amp;μ&amp; γ&amp;α&amp;κ&amp;</td>
<td>ε&amp; γ&amp; τ&amp; γ&amp; ε&amp;κ&amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt 17:18</td>
<td>το&amp;μ&amp; γ&amp;α&amp;κ&amp;</td>
<td>ὀ&amp;τ&amp; τ&amp;ρ&amp; &amp; γ&amp; &amp; &amp; &amp;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This variation shows us that the translator(s) did not feel compelled to translate the Greek construction with an exact equivalent—the decision to express the healing as occurring 'at that hour' rather than 'from it' demonstrates the likelihood that he/they chose a Slavic phrase based upon the meaning within it, rather than its external equivalence to a Greek construction. This change was probably felt to be necessary due to the semantics of the verb involved—verbs of 'healing' denote a state (here, of being healthy) which begins at the moment designated by the time expression. Since these verbs are perfective and indicate the inception of a state, a time phrase which expresses the moment of inception ('at') combines better with them in Slavic.

2.6.2 Whenever 'hour' is modified by an adjective—more exactly, with various ordinal numerals designating the hour during which something occurred, began or finished—the noun \\
ρό\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,\,
occurs —with various ordinal numerals designating the hour during which something occurred, began or finished—the noun ρόδιμα is used in the \\
minated by the time expression. Since these verbs are perfective and indicate the inception of a state, a time phrase which expresses the moment of inception ('at') combines better with them in Slavic.

Supr 57:6-7  \\
However, out of six occurrences in the Gospels, υαζξ only occurs one time in one text—J 4:52 in Z:

J 4:52  \\
(Z)
As the noun γαζει seems to be the only lexical possibility for rendering the phrase 'at that hour', so too does ἡδηνια seem to be the only lexical means used to express 'during a (definite) hour'17:

Mk 15:34  i ρξ δεβατζει σε γοδινια ρξζηιν κε (Z)

J 4:52  βαυερα ρξ γοδινια σεμικειν οσταν κι ογν

(Οστ)

Only one instance of ρξ + ACC for 'hour', however, corresponds to the expected Greek DAT:

Mk 15:34  καλ τη ηνατη ηρα εβονσεν ό 'Ιησους

J 4:52 corresponds to a Greek ACC18:

17 According to the dictionaries which I consulted (see bibliography for listings), few of the Slavic languages preserve both nouns for expressing 'hour'. Even within the Slavic languages families (East, West, South) we see distinctive usage of the two. Russian does not use godina at all (according to a 17-volume Russian language dictionary), whereas Ukrainian uses only it. čas is used in the meaning 'time'. Belorussian uses both godina and ċas, but prefers godina (hodina) to render the meaning 'hour'. Polish too shows this, but it retains čas (czas) in the meaning 'time; season; moment, space of time'. čas is also used in Polish in frozen adverbial expressions such as czasami 'at times, now and then, occasionally' and czasem 'sometimes; by any chance'. Slovak uses both hodina and čas to render 'hour', but Czech only uses hodina. Like Polish, Czech uses čas ('time') in adverbial expressions such as včas 'on time'. Moving to the South, like Russian, Slovenian shows only čas as does Bulgarian. In Bulgarian and also Serbo-Croatian, godina has come to mean 'year'. In the former it can also mean 'a long time' and in the latter—'a commemorative service'. In Serbo-Croatian, although čas is used to mean 'hour', it is only in official times; in colloquial Serbian, it has been replaced by the Turkish borrowing sat.

18 Robertson (1914) cites this as an example of the ACC of time which is problematic (since we would expect a DAT here): "[T]here are uses of the accusative of time that do furnish trouble at first blush. In some of these the accusative seems to be adverbial with little stress on duration. Indeed a point of time may be indicated... [A] more difficult example is found in J 4:52. ἐχεῖς ὑπον ἐβδομα, where a point of time is indicated... One may conjecture that this use of ὑπον was not regarded as essentially different from the idea of extension. Either the action was regarded as going over
In Mt 20, ἐν + ACC with ὥραν is used four times (vs. 3, 5, 6, 9):

Mt 20:3 ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ ...
(Ost)

Mt 20:5 παρ' ἑσεράν ἐν τῇ ἑβάρει ὥρᾳ ...
(Asm)

Mt 20:6 ἡ ὥρα ἑδέσμευσα ἐν ὧν ἐδεικτῇ ἡ ἡμέρα ...
(Sav)

Mt 20:9 πρὶν ἑσεράν ἐν ὧν ἐδεικτῇ ἡ ἡμέρα ...
(Mar)

However, this does not correspond to Greek ἐν + DAT, but rather περὶ + ACC:

Mt 20:3 καὶ ἐξελθὼν περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ...

Mt 20:5 πάλιν [δὲ] ἐξελθὼν περὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑνάτην ὥραν ...

Mt 20:6 περὶ δὲ ἐνδεκάτην ἐξελθὼν ...

Mt 20:9 καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν ...

No known texts contain ἐν + DAT in these verses. This is an example of the reinterpretation of the meaning of the Greek text: περὶ + ACC means 'about, around, near, approximate', not 'at' or even 'during'. However, recall from the discussion in the Introduction that the modern concepts of 'hour' do not apply here, and that specifically περὶ τρίτην ὥραν means 'around the third hour' rather than 'around the hour or the hour was looked at more as an adverbial accusative... In the Modern Greek vernacular the accusative is used freely to designate a point of time as well as extent of time. So in the N.T. the accusative is widening its scope again" (470-471). Blass does not comment on this particular occurrence of the ACC of time.
3:00'. This is a very approximate time. Thus although the Slavic text shows 'during the third hour' rather than 'around the third hour', the approximation is still expressed, although it has become more limited: the event is occurring at some (unspecified, unknown) moment within the third hour. The Slavic is more limited in that the event is occurring between the third and fourth hour, whereas in the Greek it could be occurring during that time period or before it. The reinterpretation here again demonstrates that the translator(s) did not feel constrained to translate a phrase word-for-word, but instead felt free to render the meaning of it which they sensed within it.

2.6.3 The interrogative relative phrase ἕξις κατ' ὥραν τῆς τρίτης or ἕξις κατ' ὥραν τῆς τρίτης occurs three times in the Gospels:

Mt 24:42  ... ἵππος ἐς τῆς τρίτης κατ' ὥραν τῆς τρίτης κατ' ὥραν τῆς τρίτης (Sav)
L 12:39  ... ἕξις κατὰ τῆς τρίτης (Asm)
J 4:52  ... ἕξις κατ' ὥραν τῆς τρίτης (Ost)

The first two correspond to Greek DAT, and the third--to ἐν + DAT:

Mt 24:42  ὅτι οὐκ αἴδατε ποία ὥρα ὁ κύριος ὡμὸν ἔρχεται
L 12:39  ... ποία ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται
J 4:52  ... ἐν ἡ ἱματία τοῦ ἐσχεν

19 Ποία ἡμέρα is the preferred reading, but a few mss., inc. M, show ποία ὥρα. Since the OCS texts shows 'hour', I chose the Greek reading with 'hour' as a correspondence.
2.6.4 In the relative construction, we see the same type of variation as we had with ἀνάμ: we may have ἀνάμ ἐν ἥκε. ἐν ἥκε ἀνάμ. ἐν ἥκε ἀνάμ ἐν ἥκε; and also the feminine form γυνῆ ἐν ἥκε 'at the hour at which', perhaps also 'in the hour during which'. These also correspond to many variants in the Greek: ἡ ἡμερησία, ἡ ἡμερησία ἡ ἡμερησία, ἡ ἡμερησία (these variants within Greek and OCS and between Greek and OCS are similar to those given in §2.3.11 for relative clauses involving ἀνάμ).

Mt 24:44 ὁκο ἐν ἥκε ἐσή ὁκατε ἀνάμ γιὰκζι πριάςα (Sav)
Mt 24:44 ὁτί ἡ οὐκ ἀκατε ἡμερησία ἐν ἥκε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχεται
J 5:28 ἔκο γραδετζ γυνῆ ἐν ἥκε [sic-SF] ἐβεν... οὐκακίσισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισισи
Only Mir has έξοηζ in Mt 13:30; the other texts which contain the verse have έξοηζαμη instead. Also, Mir shows a DAT ζεταμ instead of the usual GEN seen in the canonical texts. This phrase corresponds to a Greek έν καιρ; : L 1:10 and 14:17 correspond to a Greek DAT construction--τῇ ώρᾳ:

Mt 13:30 καὶ έν καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ ἐρῶ τοῖς θερισταῖς,
Συνλέξατε πρῶτον τὰ ψελάνθα
L 1:10 καὶ πάν τὸ πλήθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον έξω τῇ ώρᾳ τοῦ θυμιάματος
L 14:17 καὶ ἀπεστείλεν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ τῇ ώρᾳ τοῦ δεσποτοῦ

Based on the fact that the Greek ἰδρα can be translated by three different words in Slavic, the question arises: what is the meaning of έξοηζ? It renders both Greek 'time' and 'hour', and seems to be used with both meanings in Supr:

Supr 276:3 ἢ ηέξοζαμη προσιωμ
Supr 276:18-19 προσιτι έποδα ηέξοζα ηέξοζα τάξ

20 The DAT of possession is quite common in early mss. and is preserved, especially with pronouns, in the South Slavic languages.
Unlike the Gospel texts, Supr also shows the use of γαζ with a GEN phrase:

It appears that ροζ had both meanings—'time' and 'hour', and is synonymous with both γαζ and άρημα.

2.6.6 An example with ΒΖ ροζινξ also appears, in J 5:35:

However, it seems that the use of ΒΖ + ACC (found in all manuscripts which attest this verse, which are all of them except Sav) here was another reinterpretation of the Greek, which has πρός:

J 5:35 μείζον δέ θελήσατε αὐτάλλωσιν πρός οὐραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ
The Greek preposition πρὸς in this temporal context has the meaning of 'for'; the meaning of the Greek verse is 'you wished to rejoice for the hour (spent) in his light', thus it is expressing the "duration of a period of time" (W. Bauer 1979, 710). In the Slavic, the rejoicing is occurring 'at or during' the hour of his light'. What we would expect to see instead in OCS is a prepositionless ACC, which is the structure most commonly used to express duration of time. Indeed, the Modern Russian translation shows the prepositionless ACC here: а вы хотели малое время порадоваться при свете его; and the Bulgarian shows a phrase with the preposition за, which indicates length of time, 'for': и вие пожелахте да се радвате за малко време на неговото светене. Thus not only was a syntactic change made in the text, but also a semantic change (a similar change occurs below in a usage with the noun время 'time', where the Greek structure conveys the meaning 'for' but the Slavic structures bears the meaning 'at'; cf. §2.7.3). The resulting Slavic sentence makes sense and is structurally correct in Slavic--'you wished to rejoice in the hour of his light'--although it does not convey the same meaning as did the Greek sentence. Subsequent scribes would not have felt the need to "correct" the structure of this phrase, since it does make sense, and thus it was transmitted over and over again for a long period of time.

2.6.7 A question surely arises in the analysis of expressing 'at (X) hour': what is the difference, if any, between the words година and яцъ? Although this is a lexical matter rather than a syntactic one, it bears answering nonetheless. L'vov, in his lexical study of the OCS texts (1966), discusses this very issue. He states that clearly "the word яцъ had a meaning distinct from that of година. The former was used not to designate a definite time, a limit, but rather to designate the moment of occurrence, the momentariness of this or that action" (262). He gives as an example L 12:39 . . . 

\[\text{\textit{\dots}}\]
in which "a specific hour is not referred to, but rather the moment at which the thief will arrive" (262). According to L'vov, "it is probable that the first translators could distinguish γοδίνα and χαζ and both of these words were used to translate the Greek word ὥρα, expressing various nuances of this latter in its transfer into Slavic" (266). Problems arose later, when the distinction between the two was not always perceived by the scribe or translator. For example, he cites that in Supr χαζ is used 49 times, primarily in the same meaning in which γοδίνα is used in the Gospels (264). And "in certain texts of the Gospels there is a preference for the word χαζ, in which this phenomenon, apparently, reflects dialectal peculiarities of the language of the editor or scribe. At least the editor or scribe of Z according to all the facts did not sense the difference in meaning between γοδίνα and χαζ" (260).

In the modern Slavic languages, West Slavic preserved the Common Slavic γοδίνα in its ancient meaning ('hour'), and, apparently, under its influence, γοδίνα used in the same meaning in Ukrainian and Belorussian. In the South Slavic languages γοδίνα has received a broader meaning: 'year' (in addition to some non-temporal usages). As for the Common Slavic χαζ, which originally designated 'a very short time', 'a moment' (265), it was preserved in the same meaning in Serbo-Croatian, and partially in Russian (in phrases such as в тот час 'at that time/hour', or the adverb сейчас 'now, immediately' < 'at this time'). In West Slavic and also in Ukrainian and Belorussian, it broadened its meaning to 'time (in general)'. In the South Slavic literary languages and Russian, χαζ acquired mainly the modern meaning 'hour' (265). L'vov concludes:
In the course of the historical development in various Slavic languages the analyzed words changed their meanings in different ways. In the South Slavic literary languages the word rođena acquired mainly the modern meaning 'year' (not counting dialectal meanings), and yacza—the modern 'hour' (this latter especially in Bulgarian). In connection with this in place of rođena in certain texts, without doubt, of the Bulgarian recension, they begin to use yacza, replacing with it rođena. This process is reflected already in Z, Ost and Sav. A monument such as Supr consistently uses yacza instead of rođena, which is convincing evidence that in Eastern Bulgaria already in the eleventh century rođena ceased to be used in its ancient meaning (266).

2.7 The noun vreme 'time' occurs quite frequently, most often with some sort of modifier, as with the other nouns. As already mentioned, the Aprakos texts (Asm, Ost, Sav, and Mir) use vreme instead of rođena (or abbreviated vre; in some instances this abbreviation could stand for vreme dana instead of vreme vremena) in many places to replace a different time expression in the Tetragospels. The Tetragospels contain the translation which more precisely renders the Greek meaning. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J 1:29</td>
<td>Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>J 1:29 Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>(Mar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 1:29</td>
<td>Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>J 1:29 Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>(Mir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 1:29</td>
<td>Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>J 1:29 Ἰον ὅπως ἤ καὶ ἐποτίστα ἵν' ἔσθη...</td>
<td>(Asm)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a list of all the verses where vreme vremena is substituted, see Appendix A.
2.7.1 *ελατήρα + genitive phrase occurs two times, both equivalent to Greek ἐν καιρῷ + GEN:

Mt 13:30 i ελατήρα ἐξερεύνατε πρῶτεν πλῆθες (Mar)

Mt 13:30 καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ ἔρω τοῖς θερισταῖς, Συλλέξατε πρῶτον τὰ ζυζάνια

L.8:132 ... ἔλατηρα ἐπάνω τοιοῦτοι ὀστύπνατα (Asm)

L.8:132 ... καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ ἀφίστανται

*ελατήρα + genitive phrase also occurs in Supr and Cloz; in the latter it corresponds to a κατά + ACC rather than the more expected ἐν + DAT:

Supr 308:29-309:1 ἔλατηρα προστεθεὶς ἐξηχεῖ Ηνώμες εἰλῆξα ἐξηχεῖ

Cloz 4b:38-40 ἔλατηρα προστεθεὶς

Cloz 4b:38-40 ἀκούσαν τι πολέμι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προδοσίας

In Greek, κατά + ACC can have the temporal meaning 'at', thus κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν 'at that time' (W. Bauer 1979, 406).
2.7.2 All expressions involving \( \text{α} \text{ξ} \ \text{το} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} + \) adjective phrase also correspond to a form of Greek καιρός 'time': seven out of nine have equivalencies in the Gospels of \( \text{α} \text{ξ} + \ \text{Α} \ \text{Σ} \ \text{Ε} \) + DAT:

Mt 11:25 \( \text{α} \text{ξ} \ \text{το} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} \ \text{οποκριθείς} \ \text{ο} \ \text{Ἰησοῦ} \ \text{είπε} \ldots \) (Z)

Mt 11:25 \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{ἐκείνω} \ \text{τῷ} \ \text{καιρῷ} \ \text{ἀποκριθείς} \ \text{ο} \ \text{Ἰησοῦ} \ \text{είπε} \ldots \)

L 18:30 ἰκε ἡ εἰκοπηνημετὰς ὑμνοκίμετας \( \text{β} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} \ \text{ζε} \)

L 18:30 ὃς σύμι μὴ ἀπολάβη πολλαπλασίονα \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{τῷ} \ \text{καιρῷ} \ \text{τούτῳ} \)

Supr and Cloz also show a handful of occurrences of phrases with \( \text{α} \text{ξ} \ \text{το} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} + \) adjective, most of which correspond to the expect Greek \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{DAT} \):

Supr 392:11-12 \( \text{β} \ \text{βασι} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} \ \text{οποκριθείς} \ \text{εἰς} \ \text{δανικίω} \)

Cloz 4a:25-26 \( \text{τὰ} \ \text{ναοῦ} \ \text{ιού} \ \text{ίτερο} \ \text{α} \ \text{ξ} \ \text{το} \ \text{κανικο} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} \)

Cloz 4a:25-26 \( \text{σοι} \ \text{ἐπαύ} \ \text{δεύ} \ \text{ον} \ \text{ὁ} \ \text{διδάσκαλος} \ \text{ἐν} \ \text{το} \ \text{τούτῳ} \ \text{χρόνῳ} \)

However, one instance of \( \text{α} \text{ξ} \ \text{το} \ \text{ερ\'\'ημα} + \) adjective in the Gospels corresponds to Greek \( \text{ἐις} \ \text{ACC} \). This construction, which in Classical Greek temporal expressions had the meaning of "the goal—up to, until or at, by such a time" (Smyth 1984, §1686.1.b)—an intended time in the future—, had extended meanings in later periods. During the Koiné period, \( \text{ἐις} \ \text{ACC} \) had already encroached onto the semantic field of \( \text{ἐν} \ \text{DAT} \). In temporal expressions, \( \text{ἐις} \ \text{ACC} \) bore numerous meanings, one of
which was the time 'at which something takes place', in this example—'in their time' (W. Bauer 1979, 228-9).

Another expression with πζ + ACC corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

We would actually expect an ACC here in the Slavic to express duration of time; and indeed two of the examined texts have the prepositionless ACC instead of πζ + ACC—Ost and D:

Neither manuscript, of course, is considered to be canonical OCS; perhaps here we have an example of a later scribe "correcting" what he felt to be a grammatical error.

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22 The second occurrence of this verse in Ost shows πζ + ACC.
2.7.3 In addition to phrases with \textit{BZ Bp'tM} + GEN or adjective, we have five occurrences of \textit{BZ Bp'tM} without any modifier:

\begin{verbatim}
Mt 24:45  \\
Mk 12:2 \\
\end{verbatim}

The phrase \textit{BZ Bp'tM} 'in time' without any modifiers may seem peculiar in OCS, because we expect to see some sort of modifier. In Greek, too, \textit{kaiρως} itself is usually accompanied by some sort of modifier, such as \textit{ἐν ἐκείνῳ} τῷ \textit{kaiρῳ} 'at that time'. However, \textit{kaiρως} does not only mean 'time', but can also mean 'appropriate time, the right time', so that [ἐν] \textit{kaiρως} means 'at the right time' or 'in due time'. Perhaps then the Slavic phrase \textit{BZ Bp'tM} had this meaning also.\textsuperscript{23}

One occurrence of \textit{BZ Bp'tM} corresponds to a Greek prepositionless DAT, and two correspond to \textit{ἐν} + DAT. One, L 20:10, varies by manuscript, with some showing \textit{ἐν} + DAT, but the preferred reading has the prepositionless DAT:

\begin{verbatim}
Mt 24:45  \\
Mk 12:2 \\
\end{verbatim}

2.7.3.1 One instance of \textit{BZ Bp'tM}, however, in L 8:13, in its first occurrence in the verse, corresponds to a Greek \textit{πρὸς} + ACC:

\begin{verbatim}
\textsuperscript{23} Modern Russian does have the idiomatic expression \textit{в время}, which means 'on time', i.e. 'not late'.
\end{verbatim}
It is difficult to determine exactly what the meaning of the OCS ῥὰ ἐφέμα here may be. It could be interpreted, as the examples above, as 'in due time', 'at the right time'. However, πρὸς + ACC in Greek has the meaning of the duration of time; here it has the meaning 'those who believe for a time'. As in the example in §2.6.6, the meaning of the Slavic is not the same as the meaning of the Greek, but the resulting Slavic sentence makes sense and is structurally correct in Slavic—'those who accept faith in due time'—although it does not convey the same meaning as does the Greek sentence.

Supr also shows one instance of unmodified ἐφέμα:

Supr 339:17-18 ἄρων λαμδίνε... ῥὰ ἐφέμα πρεδώσα

Cloz has two occurrences of this:

Cloz 11b:16-17 τζι χε να κρζετό προστερ πχύτ ῥὰ ἐφέμα
Cloz 13b:5-6 ῥὰ ἐφέμα χζιέτη μχύτ πριάξ

Neither occurrence in Cloz corresponds to the familiar ἐν + DAT:

Cloz 11b:16-17 σ υ βε, εὐκαίρως ἐπι τόν σταύρον τὰς χείρας ἀπλώσας
Instead, we see an adverb εὐκαίρως 'when it is convenient' (W. Bauer 1979, 321) in the first occurrence, and a prepositional phrase with κατά + ACC in the latter; as mentioned earlier (cf. §2.7.1), this construction can express the temporal meaning 'at'.

2.7.3.2 In L 8:13, one text--Sav--inexplicably has αξ + the LOC of γαζ:

L 8:13

... ἵνε αξ γαζ ἀπρομητήμενος αξ γαζ ομαπατάτα

(Sav)

Even though this does not translate the Greek εὐκαίρως, perhaps it, too, may be interpreted as 'when it is convenient'.

2.8 Two other nouns which refer to parts of the day are also used in the formula αξ + ACC: νύχτα 'night' and ἡμεράρξ 'evening'. However, they are found in this formula only with modifiers: αξ νύχτα is modified by a demonstrative—either ταξ or ος; and ἡμεράρξ, which occurs only once in the Gospels, is modified by an adjective--

Mt 26:31

(Asm)

J 21:3

(Z)
Mt 28:1  ἐν τῇ ἑρεξὶ σχέσεως Μαρία Μαγγαλάτην . . . (Sav)

ΚΖ σήμερον 'in this night' follows the expected pattern: it originates in either the Greek prepositionless DAT or ἐν + DAT (three occurrences have ἐν, three do not):

Mt 26:31  πάντες ὑμεῖς σκάνδαλισθήσετε ἐν ἑμοί ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ
J 21:3  καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίασαν οὐδεν

But ΚΖ ἐρεξὶ σχέσεως 'on a Sabbath evening' renders a Greek adverb (ὅψε ἐν perhaps used as a preposition, cf. W. Bauer 1979, 601) + GEN (σαββάτων):

Mt 28:1  ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἑπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν
σαββάτων ἦλθεν Μαρία ὧ Μαγγαλάτην . . .

As discussed above (§2.4.2) in addition to misunderstandings involving the preposition εἰς and the meaning of μίαν σαββάτων, ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων was also misinterpreted, leading to a very confusing sentence. Recall that ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων can mean either 'late in the week', 'late on the Sabbath', or, as defined by W. Bauer (1979, 601) 'after the Sabbath' and that the modern translations show an interpretation based on this meaning of ὅψε: Modern Russian по прошествии же субботы—'after the passing of the Sabbath', and Bulgarian а като се мина
съботата—'and when the Sabbath had passed'. OCS, however, shows a translation which interprets ὀψὲ as the adverb meaning 'evening', resulting in an ambiguous phrase—did Mary Magdalene arrive on a Sabbath evening, or at the dawn of a Sabbath day?

Supr and Cloz also have εορτή and αἰώρησις with modifiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>66:17</td>
<td>στάρεσαι τῇ Γνᾶ τῇ [[εορτή]] ἕξω τούτῳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>381:3-4</td>
<td>ποσεύουντες Βίβλους ἀνάπαυσίν...Δείκνυς καὶ αὐτὸν εορτή</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>339:22</td>
<td>ἀνθρώποι εἰς τῇ [[εορτή]] ἐμφάνισανς τὴν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>13b11</td>
<td>ἐν τῇ [[εορτή]] ἐμφάνισανς τὴν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>6a18-19</td>
<td>ἐν τῇ [[εορτή]] ἐμφάνισανς τὴν [sic-SF]...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8.1 It is interesting to note that ἤστατο 'morning' does not occur in this construction—'in the morning' can be expressed by the prepositionless ACC, τὰ + GEN, or (rarely) τὰ + LOC, but not τὰ + ACC (see Chapters 3, 10, and 9 for further discussion).

2.9 The nouns μῆςία 'month' and ἀτῶ 'year' occur rarely in the Gospels in the body of the text. Only one occurrence of each in τὰ + ACC is found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1:26</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἐν τῇ [[μῆςία]] ἐντὸς [sic-SF] ποσεύουντες Βίβλους ἀνάπαυσίν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ [sic-SF] (Asm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3:1-2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἐν τῇ [[μῆςία]] ἐντὸς [sic-SF] ποσεύουντες Βίβλους ἀνάπαυσίν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ [sic-SF] (Sav)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both of the occurrences correspond to Greek ἐν + DAT:
2.10 The noun רבעז (PL רבעזים) 'century, age' always appears in the construction רבעז + ACC, for a total of twenty times in the Gospels. The majority of occurrences (fourteen) are unmodified:

J 6:51 ... шир רבעז רבעזים... (Asm)
J 14:16 דא רבעז פניך דבעז (Mar)

Supr 124:3-4 ינש דנשיניו דנש דבעזים רוסטי ריבוע שבם ריבוע דארצוויבארזינ
All of these unmodified occurrences correspond not to Greek ἐν + DAT, but rather ἐς + ACC in the meaning of intended time: ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα or ἐς τὸ ἀνήκοντος αἰῶνας 'for the age' or 'for eternity', i.e. 'for all time':

J 6:51 . . . τῆς τις ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα
J 14:16 ἕνα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα ἡ

The Slavic ἐξ ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς appears to convey this same meaning, although this is not the usual meaning of the construction ἐς + ACC as seen elsewhere. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, ἐς + ACC designates a time which is not completely filled by the given action, i.e. a time during a segment of which an event takes place; however, one would suppose that 'for all eternity' is a time completely filled by its action! Since the use of the ἐς + ACC construction does not express the meaning expected, it is probable that ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς is an idiomatic expression. Indeed, this phrase occurs at the end of almost every chapter in Supr, in the form of ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς ἐς 'for ever and ever'.

2.10.1 The four instances in which ἐς ἐς translates the Greek ἐν + DAT are all instances where 'age' is modified by an adjective, in both Greek and OCS, and refers to a very specific 'age':

Mt 12:32 ἔν δοξος ὁμοιὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ὑπερεγεννησεν (Asm)
Mt 12:32 οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι
Here, the Greek does not mean 'intended time' to be filled by the action, but 'time during which' the action (will) occur—'neither in this age nor in the one coming'—i.e. ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι.

2.11 A number of words, most of low-frequency, have temporal meaning in context when used in the construction ἐν + ACC. Such words include, as stated earlier in this chapter, ναῦαλο 'beginning', κονξυμ 'end', στραχ 'guard (shift, watch)', πασχα 'Passover' (eventually, 'Easter'), πραζδηνικα 'festival, holiday'; and the following, found rarely: σταρς 'old age', κουρογλασένει (and other variants) 'cockcrow', πρεπελέμεν πραζδηνικα 'middle of the festival', πρεπελέμεν 'movement, migration', and рождество 'birth'.

2.11.1 Ναυαλο 'beginning' and κονξυμ 'end' are not found in the Gospels. In place of ἐν ναυαλο 'in the beginning' one finds ἱκονια or ἱκροβα 'from the beginning' in the Gospels. Supr, however, does use ἐν ναυαλο and the variant ἐν ναυατκα:

Supr 6:21-22 ἐν ναυαλο στροφι εορζ νεον ἐςεμπλο ...  
Supr 212:8-9 ἐν ναυατκα τογο εορστεβλναρο εορδενην ην ου ἱκουςλεν εζελε τοτ πουστινα  
Supr 426:16-17 ἐν ναυαλο επαφαστα εζελαστετεν εορδεζ εζι ...  

In place of ἐν κονξυμ, one finds two examples of ἐν ερσκονλανε in the Gospels (the noun κονξυμ does not occur in the ἐν + ACC construction in the texts of the canonical OCS manuscripts):
Mt 13:40 . . . τάκο ἐξακτά καὶ ἐξ ἐκκοπῆς ἀνέστη ἑκάστος (Asm)
Mt 13:48/9 . . . τάκο ἐξακτά ἐξ ἐκκοπῆς ἑκάστος (Sav)

All correspond to Greek ἐν + DAT:

Mt 13:40 . . . οὔτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος (τούτου)
Mt 13:48/9 . . . οὔτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος

2.11.2 ἐξ στραφῆ 'during the guard (shift, watch)' occurs four times in the Gospels, each time with a modifier—three times modified by an ordinal number, and once modified by a relative interrogative:

Mt 14:25 ἔξω τετρακικοντάκις ἐξ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἡ ἡμέρα (Asm)
Mt 24:43 . . . ἐξ τριών στραφῶν ταύτῃ καταπέλτη . . . (Ost--2nd)
L 12:38 μόνο ἐξ ἐξορμματo v ἐξ τριών στραφῶν καταπέλτη (Sav)

The first two correspond to a Greek DAT, and the two occurrences in the third verse—to ἐν + DAT:

Mt 14:25 τετάρτη δὲ φυλακὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἤλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
Mt 24:43 . . . ποιδ φυλακὴ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται
L 12:38 κἂν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ κἂν τῷ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ . . .
2.11.3 The phrase \( \text{ev } \tau \_ \text{p} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \) 'at Passover' (eventually, 'Easter') occurs twice in the Greek Gospels in a temporal meaning:

J 2:23 \( \text{w} \_ \text{de } \text{th } \text{ev } \text{tois } \text{Ierusal} \_ \text{ymous } \text{ev } \tau \_ \text{p} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a } \text{ev } \tau \_ \text{e} \_ \text{ort} \_ \text{th} \)

J 18:39 \( \text{i} \_ \text{va } \text{ev } \text{ap} \_ \text{olo} \_ \text{sw } \text{um} \_ \text{in } \text{ev } \tau \_ \text{p} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \)

It is difficult to determine the Slavic correspondence. Only three of the examined texts contain J 2:23, and of them, D has na \( \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{xx } \) 'for Passover', while Mar and Z have az \( \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \), in which \( \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \) is undeclined. It is probably that this is an ACC form of \( \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \), but problems arise from its non-declension. It is possible that this can be attributed to the fact that it does not decline in Greek; however, it is declined in other instances in Slavic. For J 18:39, all seven texts have na + ACC, which expresses intention, 'for':

J 2:23 egda az az \( \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{a} \_ \text{xx } \text{pra} \_ \text{az} \_ \text{nikz} \) (Z)

J 18:39 da iediniog \( \text{va} \_ \text{xx } \text{ot} \_ \text{pouy} \_ \text{z } \text{na} \_ \text{sa} \_ \text{xx} \) (Z)

2.11.4 \( \text{az } \text{pra} \_ \text{az} \_ \text{nikz } \) 'at, during the festival, holiday' occurs six times in the Gospels in a temporal meaning; all but one occurrence originate from a Greek \( \text{ev} + \text{DAT} \):

J 12:20 da \( \text{p klonat } \text{ca } \text{az } \text{pra} \_ \text{az} \_ \text{nikz} \) (Asm)

J 12:20 \( \text{i} \_ \text{va } \text{proso} \_ \text{ku} \_ \text{n} \_ \text{xxos} \_ \text{sw } \text{ev } \tau \_ \text{e} \_ \text{ort} \_ \text{th} \)
L 2:41 i χορδαστετε ροδιτελι εγο…εξ θεου εξ πραξινικα

L 2:41 και ἐπορευομον σι γονεις αυτοι…εις Ἱεροσολυμ

τη ἑορτη του πασχα

Εζ πραξινικα also occurs once in Cloz:

Cloz 6a:27-28 βουτεκει εε Εζ Εζ πραξινικα ηντ ητελι

The corresponding Greek was not given for this particular section.

2.12.1 Of the remaining four words which express time when used in the construction with εζ + ACC, the first three of which are found only one time each in the Gospels, only one corresponds to a Greek εν + DAT: εζ σταροτη συνω 'in one's old age':

L 1:36 ι τα γαματα εις Εζ σταροτη συνω (Mar)
L 1:36 και αυτη συνεληφεν μιδν εν γηρει αυτης

2.12.2 Εζ κουρογλασειε (and other variants) 'at the cockerow' at Mk 13:35 corresponds to a Greek prepositionless GEN:

Mk 13:35 νε εκετε εο κεγα γε δομου πριδετα ει βεγερα ει

πολοινοσθη ει εζ κουρογλασειε ει ουτρο (Z)
Mk 13:35 ουκ οιδατε γαρ ποτε ὁ κυριος της οικιας ἐρχεται

ἡ Ͽφε ἡ μεσονυκτων ἡ ἀλεκτοροφωνιας ἡ πρωι
2.12.3 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων ἡμέραν 'at middle of the festival' at J 7:14 corresponds to a Greek GEN absolute phrase, which in this instance expresses the time at which the subsequent event occurs:

J 7:14 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων ἡμέραν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἑσύχα (Ost)

2.12.4 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων 'during the movement, migration' at Mt 1:11 corresponds to a Greek ἐπὶ + GEN meaning 'in the time of':

Mt 1:11 ἑπιμετέχοντες μετὰ τῆς διάθησις τῶν Ἰσραήλ καὶ τούτων ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικήσεως Βαβυλώνος

2.12.5 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων 'at birth' is found once in Supr and twice in Cloz:

Supr 341:2-4 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων Ἰησοῦς
Cloz 14a:11-12 περιπέτεια ἐν πρὸς πολέμων
Cloz 14a:24-26 ἐν πρὸς πολέμων Ἰησοῦς

Both of the examples in Cloz render different Greek phrases:
The latter is the expected \( \text{ev} + \text{DAT} \); the former, however, is \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \). In temporal constructions, \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \) could have the same meaning as \( \text{ev} + \text{DAT} \) (and had already begun to merge with the latter by the time our manuscripts were being translated); thus they were both rendered by \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \) in Cloz.

2.12.6 Although these four phrases have different Greek sources, the logical translation for the Slavic in each instance is \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \), since this construction expresses the corresponding meaning. However, there were some discrepancies between texts between the use of \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \) and \( \text{eis} + \text{LOC} \). Most often the discrepancies appear in the non-canonical texts: \( \text{eis} + \text{LOC} \) appears in D, and \( \text{eis} + \text{LOC} \) appears in both D and Mir; but \( \text{eis} + \text{LOC} \) appears in Asm. It is my opinion that these discrepancies arose out of the confusion which resulted from translating Greek phrases which did not fit the expected pattern (\( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} = [\text{ev} + \text{DAT}] \)), since here we do not usually have \( [\text{ev} + \text{DAT}] \). Thus, the copyists were 'on their own', so to speak, to come up with the best phrasing for their own recension of Church Slavonic. Also, \( \text{eis} + \text{LOC} \), although used quite infrequently and in limited expression, is not so dramatically different in meaning from \( \text{eis} + \text{ACC} \) and in fact often overlaps with it in usage in the manuscripts. It is also possible that, at least in the case of the non-canonical manuscripts, changes in the structure of these languages had taken place.
2.13 In summary, in the vast majority of instances, OCS εζ + ACC corresponds regularly to Greek | εν + | DAT. Among the Slavic manuscripts we find very few discrepancies in the use of this structure, especially among the most commonly occurring phrases, such as εζ ΤΣ ΔΗΜ, εζ ΤΣ ΥΑΣΖ, εζ Ε'ΚΖ, εζ σιμ ΝΩΣΗ, etc. In the instances where the Greek text has something other than | εν + | DAT, sometimes the Slavic translation is the result of a reinterpretation of the meaning of the Greek, e.g. in Mt 28:1, with εζ ΚΕΤΡΑΣ ΔΣΩΤΖΗΣΙ for ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων; or in the phrases in Mt 20:3, 5, 6 and 9 with εζ ΓΟΔΙΝΣ which corresponds to Greek πέρι ὑμῶν; or εζ ΓΟΔΙΝΣ ΣΚΛΗΡΗΝ ΕΡΟ for the Greek πρὸς ὑμᾶν ἐν τῷ φωτὲ αὐτῶν. However, other times the Slavic texts appropriately use εζ + ACC to convey a meaning which is rendered by something other than | εν + | DAT, as in εζ ΚΟΥΡΟΓΛΑΣΗΝΕΝ for ἀλεξανδρινῶν ἢ εζ ΒΡΗΜΑ ΚΘΟΕ for εἰς τῶν ΚΑΛΡΩΝ αὐτῶν. As | εν + | DAT expressed a time when an event occurred, so too did εζ + ACC. As the numerous examples have shown, this construction was quite prevalent in OCS to express this particular temporal meaning.

2.13.1 In addition to its frequency and predominance in OCS, εζ + ACC remains quite active in the modern Slavic languages as well. In Miklosich’s Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen (1926, 398) we find many examples from the various Slavic languages of εζ + ACC in temporal expressions:

Croatian: u ovu noć rodi božja sina žena
Polish: wsiadaj w dobrą godzinę na swój koń
Czech: i stane se v ten den
Russian: у нас был богатырь в доспехи годы
**ez + ACC continues to be used to express 'on (a certain) day' in Russian (в тот день, в последний день), Polish (в тен дзин), Serbo-Croatian (у тай дан) and Bulgarian (в този ден), and is used with the days of the week in all of the modern Slavic languages Russian (в пятницу), Serbo-Croatian (у срёду) and Polish (в сокоте). It is used in all but Polish (which replaced ez + ACC with 0 + LOC in numerous instances) to express 'at (X) o'clock: Russian (в два часа), Serbo-Croatian (у један сат) and Czech (v пет hodin). It is retained in Russian (в то время) and Serbo-Croatian (u to vreme) to express 'at that time', but this phrase is now expressed by ez + LOC in Polish and Czech and no in Bulgarian. Its distribution with 'night' remains similar to that seen in OCS: in order to appear in the ez + ACC construction, ночь must be modified; otherwise, it will appear in the prepositionless INS or some other construction. With months and years, we no longer see the ez + ACC, but rather the ez + LOC, construction in all the languages which retain nominal declension. Many more such examples could be given to show the widespread usage of the ez + ACC construction in the modern Slavic languages. Such examples demonstrate that this construction is indeed native Slavic, as it was used widely in the early history of Slavic literacy and continues to be used in all of the Slavic languages today.
CHAPTER III

THE PREPOSITIONLESS ACCUSATIVE

3.1 The prepositionless ACC is the prepositionless case construction used most frequently to express temporal meaning in OCS. It has three different meanings: it can express (1) a time completely filled by a non-completed action (Xodova 1963, 116); or (2) a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place (ibid, 109); or (3) how many times an action is repeated. In the first and third meanings, the verb which expresses the action is most often of the imperfective aspect, with a durative mode in the first meaning, and an iterative mode in the third meaning.

3.1.1 In the first meaning—a time completely filled by an action—the noun in the ACC is usually accompanied by a numeral (for example ТРІ ДЯНИ И ТРІ НОШІ [for three days and three nights]) or another modifier (for example РАСЬ ДЯНЬ 'all day'). In this first meaning a limited number of nouns which have temporal meaning are found in the canonical corpus: ДЯНЬ 'day', НОШІ 'night', УАСЬ 'hour', НЕСАЧ 'month', АЕТО 'year', and ВРЕМЯ 'time'. The same nouns can be used in the second meaning (a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place), which is rarer, and in

1 The Jakobsonian approach to case meaning, in which the ACC is the case which expresses "an entity toward which an action is directed /Bezugsgegenstand/" and is differentiated between a "strongly governed ACC" which "denotes either an inner object of the action, which originates as the result of the action, or an outer object of the action, subject to the effect of the action but also having prior existence independent of the action", and a "weakly governed ACC" which "denotes a segment of time or space that is entirely encompassed by the action" (R. Jakobson, Russian and Slavic Grammar Studies 1931-1981. Berlin: Mouton, 1984; p. 66) is not applied here.

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this meaning they are usually accompanied by an adjective or demonstrative (for example АЛНЕШЕМДАЛНЬ ‘today’ or АЛНЕСЦЬ ‘on this day: today’: ТРЕТНЯ АЛНЬ ‘on the third day’). Additional nouns are found in the second meaning of the prepositionless ACC, often without modifiers (for example ИТРО ‘in the morning’ or ВЕРЕЗ ‘in the evening’). In the third meaning—repetition—only one noun is used: КРАТС ‘time’, accompanied by a numeral (ТРИ КРАТС ‘three times’) or a quantifier (КОЛК КРАТС ‘how many times’).

3.1.2 As in the pattern OCS Э + ACC = Greek Э + DAT, we again see great consistency in the correspondence between one Slavic structure and one Greek structure. In the first meaning, the OCS prepositionless ACC in almost all occurrences corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC. According to Smyth (1984, §1582-85), the Ancient Greek prepositionless ACC denotes an extent of time... The accusative of time implies that the action of the verb covers the entire period... The accusative of time is rarely employed where the dative is properly in place... [It is used] to mark (a) how long a situation has lasted or (b) how much time has elapsed since something happened...

In addition, Greek has many adverbialized accusatives (§1611):

τό νύν ‘now’, τό πάλαι ‘of old’, πρότερον ‘before’, τό πρότερον ‘the former time’, πρώτον ‘first’, ... τό πρώτον ‘in the first place’, τό τέλευταν ‘in the last place’, ... τό δέυτερον ‘in the second place’, ...

... τό λαμπόν ‘for the future’, ...

2 The first two examples cited by Smyth are actually nominalized adverbs: νύν ‘now’, πάλαι ‘long ago’. They become nominalized by the use of the NTR ACC article (τό) and by their usage as accusatives of time are "re-adverbialized", so to speak.
New Testament (or Koine) Greek shows this usage of the prepositionless ACC as well, called the "Akkusatív der Ausdehnung" by Blass, to which he ascribes the definition "zeitlich steht der Akk. auf die Frage "wie lange?" " (1949, §161).

3.1.3 As is seen in the definition of the Greek prepositionless ACC, the first meaning of the OCS (Slavic) prepositionless ACC of time and the meaning of the Greek prepositionless ACC are the same. However, this is not an instance of OCS merely imitating Greek syntax; rather, the use of the prepositionless ACC in OCS to designate a time completely filled by an action is an inherent feature of Slavic syntax and is not a borrowing or an imitation. The fact that the individual modern Slavic languages all have the prepositionless ACC to express a time completely filled by an action (and some show the prepositionless ACC for the other meanings in their early histories) supports the hypothesis that OCS, as a representative of one dialect of early Slavic, was manifesting a native Slavic feature in this usage of the prepositionless ACC and not copying a Greek usage.

3.1.4 For example, Modern Russian continues the use of the prepositionless ACC in the first (as well as the third) meaning today, as the following examples from the Academy Grammar (1982) show:

жить год, ждать час, провести в городе неделю, (целые) столетия неизвестный. ... ждать много лет, ... все время печальный ...³

³ To live (for) a year, to wait (for) an hour, to spend a week in the city, (for) entire centuries unknown, ... to wait (for) many years, ... sad all the time.
And Old Russian showed the use of the prepositionless ACC in the second meaning—a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place:

\[
\text{a в роусу тн къже эзднит оценъ а лет(е) нв эзднит}
\]

\[
\text{a азъ оутро послю по взв}
\]

\[
\text{взстарь вечерь н идс . . .} \quad \text{(Borkovskij 1968, 220)}
\]

The noun phrase дьньсъ 'today', through its usage in an adverbial function, became adverbialized in many of the Slavic languages (for example, Serbo-Croatian данас, Bulgarian днес, Macedonian денес, Czech/Slovak днес). In these modern languages, 'today' is not parsable—it cannot be divided into its constituent parts. For example, Serbo-Croatian данас contains the root dan which is recognizable as the word 'day', but -с is no longer recognizable as the demonstrative 'this'. The phrase was originally a nominal case construction (ACC) consisting of noun + adjective, but over time became fixed (no longer analyzable as ACC noun + adjective) and because it functioned as an adverb (answering the question 'when?') it was re-classified as an adverb in those languages which use it.

We see the continued usage of the prepositionless ACC with other nouns in other languages as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serbo-Croatian</td>
<td>bolje je biti pevac jedan dan nego kokoš mesec služi mene i trecu godinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>słownik cała noc śpiewa cirzpiał jeśm wszystek dzień</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>ten celý téměř den v boji pracoval a šla ten večer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The noun άλπη 'day' is commonly found in the prepositionless ACC in its first meaning when modified by a numeral, pronoun, demonstrative pronoun or quantifier: 

- ἀµµώ ἄλπη 'for two days', τρὶ ἄλπη 'for three days', ἦταξιρέ ἄλπη 'for four days', ἡ/κ άλπη 'for forty days';
- ἀλή ἄλπη 'all day' or ἀλή άλπη 'all days'; τὰ ἄλπη 'that day';
- ἦζηνοζί άλπη or ἅλη άλπη 'for a few days', and ἦζηνοζί άλπη 'for many days'. It is also found in the phrase άλπη ἡ νοσή 'day and night' and, in addition, in this phrase modified by numerals: τρὶ άλπη and τρὶ νοσή '[for] three days and three nights', ἡ/κ άλπη and ἡ/κ νοσή '[for] forty days and forty nights'.

3.2.1 With the cardinal numerals—ἀζα α 'two', τρί 'three', ἦταξιρέ 'four', ἡ/κ 'forty'—the use of the prepositionless ACC in OCS corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC (except in Mk 8:2, which has as its source a Greek NOM) and indicates 'time spent', for example 'for two days', 'for forty days', etc:

J 4:40 ἡ πρεζί τοῦ ἁλεα ἄλπη (Asm)
J 4:40 καὶ ἔμελεν ἐκεῖ δῶ ἡμέρας
Mk 8:2 ἐκε ὡτε τρὶ ἄλπη πρεζίαταξ μὴντ (Mar)
Mk 8:2 ὅτι ἡ ὅ ἡμέρα τρεῖς προσμένουσιν μοι

4 In Cyrillic, 'forty' is represented by the letter /met; in Glagolitic, it is represented by the letter łem.
5 As mentioned in Chapter 2 (§2.3), ἄλπη is a normalized spelling of the GEN PL representing the fact that the noun ἄλπη is a consonant-stem noun. Instead of ἄλπη, however, we find instead in most of the phrases a GEN PL with endings from the i-stem class: ἄλπη or ἄλπη. These are both phonemic representations of ἄλπη, with full vocalization of the tense /er.

In the phrases ἅλη άλπη and ἦζηνοζί άλπη, άλπη is in the GEN PL because it is governed by the quantifiers in their adverbial form (which always demand the GEN in Slavic). In phrases such as άλπη, however, άλπη is in the ACC PL because it is governed by the quantifier άζηνοζί in its adjectival form (which does not require the GEN).
J 11:17 Οπρίτε η ηετζηρίη δύνη ουξε ημικα ποζ ρεν (Ost)
J 11:17 ευρεν αυτόν τέσσαρας ηνη ημέρας έχοντα έν τῷ
μνημείῳ
L 4:2 κα ηνηιι ιεκουσμες διευέλονυ (Z)
L 4:2 ημέρας τεσσαράκοντα περιεγάμενος έπό τοῦ διαβόλου
Supr 388:22 τζι ιεπτεζ τρη δύνη

3.2.2 ηνηιη η νοωή 'day and night' is found unmodified:

L 2:37 . . . κλουξμεν ανη η νοωή (Sav)

modified by the pronoun ηςς 'all':

Supr 23:14-15 ηζπζτακμμεν ηςς ηςς ηνηιη η νοωή ηςς ηςς η νοωή

and modified by the numerals: τρη 'three' and ηςς 'forty':

Mt 12:40 ηζκο ηςς η νοωή ηςς ηρήζε ηνιετ τρη δύνη τη τρη η νοωή (Mar)
Mt 4:2 η νοωή ηςς ανη ηςς η νοωή ηςς η ποσέλδ ηζζζζζζκα (Sav)

Most of these correspond to a Greek prepositionless ACC:
L 2:37 ... λατρεύουσα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν

Mt 12:40 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἤν Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ κοίλῃ τοῦ κῆπου τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας

Mt 4:2 καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα ὑπέρτον ἐπεύνασεν

However, two occurrences of ἀπό the noun ἡ Νομὴ have as their source something other than the Greek prepositionless ACC. In Mk 5:5, the Greek has διὰ + GEN:

Mk 5:5 ἡ ἔζηνη ἀπό τὴν Νομὴν ... τὰ ζητῆναι καὶ τὰ καμήνευν (Mar)

Mk 5:5 καὶ διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ... κατακόπτων ἑαυτῶν λίθους

which carries the meaning 'of uninterrupted duration' (Smyth 1984, §1685.1.b) when used in a temporal construction. This meaning is still expressed by διὰ in the New Testament period. W. Bauer (1979, 179) defines the use of διὰ to express time as denoting extent, "in the case of extension over a whole period of time, to its very end". Thus διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας means 'throughout the whole night and day', which could easily have been expressed by the Slavic Back ĄNL TŽ H TŽ NOSh, as in Supr 23:14-15 above. Instead, a modifier is used in Mk 5:5, the adverb ἔζηνη 'always'.

The meaning here, however, of the prepositionless ACC, does render the meaning of the Greek.

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6 ἔζηνη is defined in the Slovník jazyka staroslovenského (1966-1989, 358) as an adverb meaning 'dauernd, fortwährend, immer' and is formed from the adjectival root ŽNΗ 'other' (ἄλλος). It
In L 18:7, the OCS prepositionless ACC has as its source a Greek prepositionless GEN:

Blass defines the Greek GEN here as an example of the Classical usage of the GEN of time, "innerhalb deren etwas geschieht" (1949, §186), as does Robertson (1914, 495), who cites this verse as an example of the GEN of "the time within which". Based upon the meaning of the Greek construction then, we must consider that this particular use of the prepositionless ACC phrase ἀνὴρ ἐν οὐσίᾳ bears not the first meaning of the construction, but rather the second—a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—even though the action is repeated throughout this time frame. Based upon the OCS (or even the English: "...who cry out day and night") the reader may think that the action was continuous throughout the day and night, but a reading of the Greek text shows instead that it simply took place within the time frame cited. However, this is a literal interpretation of the Greek GEN, and it is not impossible that

is the equivalent of numerous Greek phrases: διὰ παντός, διηνεκές, ἀοιδέλεπτος, ἐκτενῶς, δὲ κ. πάντως. It also occurs in Supr and Cloz, in which it is also found in correspondence to a Greek phrase with διὰ:

Supr 411:7-8 πρεσβύτερος θύιας κοινητες
Cloz 8a:13-24 πρεσβύτερος καὶ εἶναι θύιας καὶ κοινητες
Cloz 8a:23-24 ἐπροδηθεὶς μὲν ἄπαξ, διὰ παντός δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τίνετοι ἐρτῷ
the translator(s) understood that the action was going on continuously over the time frame, and not at just one moment (or even many moments) within it.

3.2.3 *Δλίν* can also be modified by the pronominal adjective *βές* 'all' (PL *βές Δλίν*) in OCS. There are only three occurrences of this phrase in the prepositionless ACC in the Gospels. OCS has two other prepositional constructions to express the meaning of these phrases as well: *να βες έξη Δλίν* 'every day' or *πο βές Δλίν* 'every day'. Both will be discussed in Chapter 7 (cf. §7.3.2 and 7.10).

In the SG, *βές Δλίν* corresponds to Greek ὁλην τὴν ἡμέραν and bears the first meaning of the prepositionless ACC—that of a time completely filled by an action:

Mt 20:6 . . . γιότο στόητε σλας βές Δλίν πρασαλην

Mt 20:6 τι ἐσθήκατε ὁλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργού;

The PL *βές Δλίν* which occurs in Mt 28:20 corresponds to the Greek ACC PL πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας and bears the same meaning:

Mt 28:20 ἐκε ἀῃς ες αλην ἐς τλ εραν ἀν η εκ ἀνγετανετ ἀηκα

Mt 28:20 κα ἱδοῦ ἐγὼ μεθ ομῶν εἴμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος

However, the PL occurrence in L 1:75 has two possible Greek sources: some manuscripts have prepositionless DAT:
which Nestle-Aland chose for the preferred reading; but many other manuscripts have the prepositionless ACC, including the lectionaries:

L 1:75 εν συνάστησι καὶ δικαιοσύνη εὐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἦμῶν

It is quite possible that this prepositionless ACC, as found in the lectionaries, served as the source for the OCS prepositionless ACC.

3.2.4 J 1:39/40 shows the usage of the demonstrative pronoun τὰ 'that' with ἅμα in the meaning of '(all day) that day':

J 1:39/40 οὐ νῦν προεξίστε ἅμα τὰ (Z)

This also corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν 'that day':

J 1:39/40 καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἐμείλαν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην
3.2.5 Finally, ἄνω can be modified by a quantifier, although this is quite rare in the texts. In the Gospels we have one example of the prepositionless ACC of οὐχ ἄνω τοῦ, ἄνω 'for not many days, for a few days':

\[ J 2:12 \quad \text{καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινεν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας} \]

which corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

\[ J 2:12 \quad \text{καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινεν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας} \]

Μαλά ἄνω 'for a few days' is found in Supr:

\[ \text{Supr 12:11} \quad \text{Δὲ πεθανόντες ήσαν Μαλὴ ἄνω ἄνω αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς σιωπής} \]
\[ \text{Supr 111:4-7} \quad \text{πῶς ἦν τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σιωπῆς τούτης} \]

as is Μαλὰ ἄνω 'for many days':

\[ \text{Supr 221:1} \quad \text{Μαλὰ ἄνω ἂν καὶ ἕκαστος ἤπιος} \]

3.3 As mentioned earlier in conjunction with ἄνω, the noun νύχτα 'night' occurs in the Gospel in phrases such as ἄνω καὶ νύχτα 'day and night', τρί τοῦ άνω καὶ τρί τοῦ νυχτα

. . .
'(for) three days and three nights', and נַחַלְךָ דָּמִי נַחַלְךָ (for) forty days and (forty) nights'. In addition, it occurs by itself in Supr, with a modifier:

Supr 67:4-5  בֵּר־בִּנְכָּנָה בֵּרָנְכָּנָה דָּמִי
Supr 191:11-12  הַנְּתִּיתֵךְ הַנְּתִיטֵךְ דָּמִי
Supr 194:10  הַנְּתִיתֵךְ דָּמִי דָּמִי

The nouns מַרְגָּרֶה 'morning' and מַרְגָּרֶה 'evening', the other two nouns which represent parts of the day, will be discussed later, as they do not occur in the meaning of a time completely filled by an action; but rather represent a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place.

3.4 Another noun which does occur in the prepositionless ACC in the meaning of a time completely filled by an action is יָשָׁב 'hour'. It is of very low frequency: although it occurs a few times in Supr, it only occurs once in the Gospels--modified by the numeral נַחַלְךָ 'one':

Mt 20:12  יֵשָׁבּ אוֹתָלָנָה נַחַלְךָ יָשָׁבּ יָשָׁבּ צָרַות יָשָׁבּ (Asm)

It corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

Mt 20:12  δυτικεὶ ὁ ἔσχατος μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν
In Supr. ἕβαζ occurs modified by a numeral:

Supr 47:3-4 ποις τετράν ἕβαζ

or by a quantifier:

Supr 34:14 πρέζεις ομορφά ἕβαζ καὶ τέχνα παναχά

3.5 The noun ἁρματζ 'month' occurs three times in the Gospels in the prepositionless ACC in this meaning of the construction:

L 1:24 καὶ τακθε ἐπὶ μῆνι ἄ (Asm)
L 1:56 πρέζεζτε θέ καρθεῖν ἐὰν οὐκ ἦν γειο τρι τεμάθα (Ost)
L 4:25 εγὼ διακόμην ἐπὶ οὐκο γέμετα ἐς μήν (Sav)

The first two correspond to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

L 1:24 καὶ περιέκρυβεν έαυτην μῆνας πέντε
L 1:56 ἐμελεν δὲ Μαρίαμ σὺν αὐτή ὡς μῆνας τρεῖς

However, for L 4:25, most texts have the preposition ἐπί + ACC:

7 Ἡκο here indicates approximation.
According to W. Bauer (1979, 239), this construction, when used in a temporal context, has the meaning of "extension over a period of time for, over a period of"; thus ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία 'for three years'. In such instances, the time which is expressed is expected to occur after the completion of the action as expressed in the verb, so that ἐπὶ bears the meaning 'for' in the sense of intent or duration. When we see ἐπὶ used this way, we would expect a καὶ + ACC construction in OCS (cf. Chapter 7), as this latter, too, expresses a time which is expected to occur after the completion of the action as expressed in the verb. Note that ζηκαμοῦν is an aorist tense of a perfective verb, and thus implies the completion of the activity, rather than its extension 'over three years and six months'. Instead, the action is completed prior to the beginning of the time period, and thus the time is 'for three years and six months'. This meaning is expressed elsewhere in OCS by καὶ + ACC.

3.6 ἅτο 'year' has numerous occurrences in the prepositionless ACC construction both in the Gospels and in Supr. ἅτο always appears with a modifier—most frequently a numeral, but also with quantifiers (κόπικο 'how many', τὸ ἀνάκο 'so many', μᾶνογί 'many'), the pronominal adjective ἅλλο 'all', and also the demonstrative pronoun τὸ 'this':

Mt 9:20 ἔνε γενέα κριστοῦ ἡ ἀβέτε πάντε ἄλτε άδης (Mar)
L 13:8 οὐτάν οἱ ἢ ἅτο (Z)
J 5:6 τὸ κινογά ἅτο ἄνε μᾶνασε... (Asm)
As in the phrase in L 4:25 with a perfective verb (ἀκατούνη) and a time frame which is expected to begin only after the completion of the verb, in L 13:8 as well we have a perfective verb (ὀπταρθ), although it is in the imperative rather than aorist. Thus here, too, we might expect ἥν + ACC to express the inception of the time frame after the completion of the action as expressed in the verb: 'let it alone for this year also'. However, even the the verb is perfective, it is implied that the action of 'letting it alone' shall continue over the period of the year, in which case this meaning is best rendered in OCS by the prepositionless ACC. Note also that the Greek has a prepositionless ACC (as seen below) rather than ἐπὶ + ACC.

In certain constructions ἄρτο appears in the GEN--when it is governed by a quantifier such as Κόλικο 'how many', Τολικο 'so many', or Μζηνοξ 'all of which generally demand a GEN of the governed noun:

L 15:29  σε Κόλικο ἄρτο αρέοταχε τετελ

(Sav)

In these instances, although the noun ἄρτο appears in a GEN form, the quantifier is itself is in the prepositionless ACC; thus the construction is equivalent in form to the others we have seen.

Almost all of the fourteen occurrences of ἄρτο in the prepositionless ACC construction in the Gospels correspond to a Greek prepositionless ACC of ἕτος:
Mt 9:20 καὶ ἠδοὺ γυνὴ αἰμορροῦσα δώδεκα ἔτη προσελθοῦσα

L 13:8 ἡφες αὐτήν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἐτὸς

L 15:29 ἠδοὺ τοσαύτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι

However, the example in J 5:6 replaces a different phrase in the Greek—\(\text{ἀκτα} \) 'many years' for \(\text{πολὺν χρόνον} \) 'much time':

J 5:6 ὅτι πολὺν ἡ̃ν χρόνον ἔχει...

although the syntactic construction is the same.

Some Slavic texts have a prepositionless ACC which corresponds to something else in the Greek. In L 2:37 most Greek manuscripts have the preposition \(\text{ἐως} \) 'until' (although some have \(\text{ως} \)), and five of the six attestations correspondingly have \(\text{μὸ} \) 'until'. However, D has the prepositionless ACC:

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8 Although Bauer (1979, 888) states that "\(\text{χρόνος} \) could sometimes = years", he cites this verse as an example of \(\text{χρόνος} \) meaning 'time', "mostly in the sense a period of time \(\text{πολὺς χρόνος} \) a long time". However, his reference was to the meaning of the word as it occurred during early Christianity—i.e. the first few centuries of our era. The OCS texts were translated, however, at a much later date than his references. It is therefore very possible that \(\text{χρόνος} \) did mean 'years' to the Greeks of the time of Cyril and Methodius and, if so, that the translators applied this later meaning ('years') to the verse rather than its original meaning ('time'). In Modern Greek, \(\text{χρόνος} \) means 'year', both in the SG and in the PL, and 'time' is expressed by \(\text{καλός} \). Lampe gives 'year' as the third meaning of \(\text{χρόνος} \) (1961, 1534).
In J 8:57, Ost has the prepositionless ACC corresponding to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

In J 8:57, Ost has the prepositionless ACC corresponding to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

However, Asm, Mar, Z and Mir have instead a GEN here (Sav does not contain the verse, and in D the ending is illegible):

This is either a GEN of age, however, or negation (see Chapter 6). As is obvious when Asm and Ost are compared to the Greek, they both contain an exact translation of the Greek idiom 'don't you have fifty years', where 'fifty years' is a prepositionless ACC because it is a direct object of the verb 'have', and thus is not a true expression of time.10

9 In both the Greek and the OCS there is a zero-copula; i.e., the verb 'to be' is not explicitly expressed.
10 The problems arising from the expression of age in OCS are discussed in the conclusion (cf. §12.2.15.1).
Finally, the noun ἡ χρόνος 'time' occurs in the prepositionless ACC construction in the meaning of a time completely filled by an action. It is usually accompanied by a quantifier, although in Supr we see ἡ χρόνος once in an adjectival phrase:

Supr 379:28-29 ἡ χρόνος ὑπερ ἡ χρόνος τε σκότος τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ μακρύς ἡμέρας ἡ ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας

J 12:35 ἂν μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου Ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἡς ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας (Ost--1st)
J 14:9 τόλμη αὖ ἡ χρόνος τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας (Sav)

Such phrases usually correspond to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

J 12:35 ἐν μικρὸν χρόνον τῷ φῶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν
J 14:9 τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἴμι

However, J 14:9 occurs in the prepositionless DAT in a handful of Greek manuscripts, and in the prepositionless ACC--elsewhere. It is interesting that we find no examples in the Slavic of a ἡ ἡμέρα + ACC corresponding to the Greek DAT, as ἡ ἡμέρα + ACC is the construction most frequently used to render the Greek DAT. We do, however, find ἡ ἡμέρα + ACC in four of the seven texts in J 12:35:

J 12:35 ἂν (sic-SF) ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ χρόνος τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας (Sav)
J 12:35 ἂν (sic-SF) ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ χρόνος τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἡμέρας (Ost--1st)

11 The second occurrence of this verse in Ost shows ἡ ἡμέρα + ACC.
3.7.1 This was discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.7.2): the prepositionless ACC is more expected here to express 'for a short time'. It is interesting that it is the non-canonical manuscripts which have the expected translation; however, the unusual usage of άξ + ACC here cannot be attributed to the influence of the Greek construction, as we do not see the usual correspondence for άξ + ACC here, namely | εν +| DAT. Since the usage of άξ + ACC here violates the otherwise usual meaning of the phrase and does not render the meaning of the Greek, and at the same time does not copy the Greek structure, it is possible to suppose that άξ ινά το ρήμα was also a viable means for rendering 'for a short time', perhaps an idiomatic expression. It is also possible to interpret this phrase as 'in a short (period of) time', and thus άξ + ACC is used to express a time during one of the moments of which an action takes place.

3.7.2. In Supr, we see an occurrence of the noun ΡΟΑΞ in the prepositionless ACC—as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.6.5), this noun apparently was synonomous with both ΥΑΖ 'hour' and ΒΡΙΜΑ 'time':

Supr 212:18-19 μήτε ινά υνέρο ΡΟΑΞ ινάξ

Thus, 'he was with him for a short time'.

3.8 The second meaning of the prepositionless ACC—a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—is not as common as the first. It too occurs with the noun ΑΛΗ 'day', as well as the other parts of the day—ΝΟΜ 'night', ΕΓΕΡΣ.
'evening' and ὕστερο 'morning'. **Δέλτα** in this meaning is found only when modified; the other nouns—only unmodified.

3.9 **Δέλτα** occurs with either an ordinal numeral (τρεῖς **Δέλτα** 'on the third day'), with the demonstrative pronoun **το** 'this'; and, in Supr, with the adjective **Δευτερόλευκον** 'today'.

3.9.1 The use of τρεῖς **Δέλτα** 'on the third day' was discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.3.2) in conjunction with the overlap between prepositionless ACC and **βῆ** + ACC. Although occurrences of prepositionless ACC far outnumber those of **βῆ** + ACC in this phrase (with seven texts and twelve verses, and a total of fifty-four occurrences, there are thirty-eight instances of τρεῖς **Δέλτα**, as compared to fourteen of **βῆ** τρεῖς **Δέλτα**; **πο** + LOC accounts for two occurrences), the prepositionless ACC of the OCS never has as its source the corresponding Greek prepositionless ACC.12 In two verses, Mk 8:31 and 9:31, τρεῖς **Δέλτα** has as its source a Greek μετά 'after' + ACC, which is why Ost and D show **πο** τρεῖς **Δέλτα** in Mk 8:31:

Mk 8:31 καὶ μετά τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστηναι
Mk 8:31 και **πο** τρεῖς **Δέλτα** πρεσκηνηστί (Ost)
Mk 8:31 και τρεῖς **Δέλτα** πρεσκηνηστί (Sav)

12 In one verse—L 24:21—the prepositionless ACC of τρεῖς **Δέλτα** in both the Greek and the OCS is the direct object of a verb in an idiomatic phrase:

L 24:21 τρεῖς ταύτην ἡμέραν ἄγει ἄφι οὐ ταύτα ἐτένετο
L 24:21 τρεῖς σφ. ἀ έξω ὑπάτε ὀνελίξε κε εξω (Asm)
The remaining eight occurrences render a Greek prepositionless DAT:

L 24:46 . . . καὶ ἀναστήναλ ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
L 24:46 . . . καὶ ἀναστήναλ ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Ost)

The use of the prepositionless ACC instead of ἐκ + ACC to render the Greek prepositionless DAT does not violate the rules governing the usage of this construction: it expresses a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is probable that the prepositionless ACC and ἐκ + ACC were in free variation for expressing 'on the Nth day', where N represents a numeral.

3.9.2 The noun ἅμη is also used in the prepositionless ACC with the demonstrative έκ 'this'. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this phrase--ἄνομο--eventually became adverbalized and resulted in a fixed phrase meaning 'today', which remains in many modern Slavic languages (Serbo-Croatian данас, Bulgarian денес, Macedonian денес, Czech/Slovak днес) (cf. §3.1.4). Support for the position that ἅμη may have already been seen as a fixed phrase can be found in occurrences of the phrase ἄνομο ἅμησυ in Supr (cf. §10.21.3), in which ἅμησυ is not declined; although ἅμησυ can be interpreted as the GEN of ἅμη (which is the case ἄνομο always governs), έκ could never be interpreted as the GEN of έκ (which would be έκ το). This example of its
non-declension demonstrates the likelihood that ἀνέστη was already a frozen adverbial form in OCS.

Of nineteen occurrences of ἀνέστη, all but two correspond to a Greek adverbial as well—σήμερον:

Mt 27:19 ἔνεντο εἰς στρατάξας ἀνέστη εἰς συνεε ραδι  (Asm)
Mt 27:19 πολλὰ τὰρ ἐπομον σήμερον κατ’ ὅναρ δὲ αὐτὸν
L 19:5 ἀνέστη εἰς πολεολευτῷ μη εἰς δομοῦ τροεῖτε ἔζοιτι (Ost)
L 19:5 σήμερον τὰρ ἐν τῷ σίκῳ σου δει με μείναι

L 11:3 has καθ’ ἡμέραν 'every day' in the Greek:

L 11:3 τὸν ἁρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιουσιν δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν

Of the five texts which contain this verse (Asm and Mir do not), four have ἐκείνῳ τὴν 'for each day', which renders both the meaning of repetition and of intention ('for'):

L 11:3 Χριστὸς ἡμῶν ἐκείνῳ ἀνέστης ἡμᾶς ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐκείνῳ  (Sav)

However, Ost has here ἀνέστη instead:
Only two known Greek texts have σήμερον here: it is interesting that the Greek lectionaries (as represented by M) do not.\(^\text{13}\) As it is traditionally thought that the prototype of Ost was another Slavic manuscript, it is curious that the scribe would have changed the phrase in such a way, from 'for each day', to 'today'.

L 22:61, which is found in the Greek as:

\[\text{L 22:61 \ πρὶν ἀλέκτωρα φωνῆσαι σήμερον ἀπαρνήσῃ μὲ τρῖς}\]

does not have σήμερον translated in any of the Slavic manuscripts which I examined; instead, they only contain the phrase \(\text{τρὶ \ κρατὶ} '\text{three times}' \) rather than \(\text{τρὶ \ κρατὶ \ ἄνεξ} '\text{three times today}'\):

\[\text{L 22:61 \ πρέμαδε \ δάχε \ ne \ etzglasit \ kourz \ tri \ kratzi} \]
\[\text{otěbrqewn cm ěne} \quad \text{(Ost)}\]

\[\text{L 22:61 \ πρέμαδε \ δάχε \ ne \ etzglasit \ kourz \ tri \ kratu} \]
\[\text{otěbrqewn cm ěne} \quad \text{(D)}\]

Σήμερον is also omitted in quite a few Greek manuscripts, including the lectionaries.

Supr and Cluz contain many examples of ἄνεξ:
However, in this same meaning we also find an occurrence of the adjective ἀλλεσύμπνια modifying ἄλας in Supr:

Supr 124:3-4 ἢ με ἀλλεσύμπνιον ἄλας ὡς ἐκεῖ ῥαδοστὶ ῥαδοὺς σχοινοὺς ἀρξτερωμάζῃ

3.10 The other parts of the day—νυσῖ 'night', ἐγέρσαι 'evening' and ἔτρω 'morning'—are also found in the prepositionless ACC in its second meaning, expressing a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place.

14 ἔτρω can also mean 'tomorrow', but since it always renders Greek πρωί 'in the morning' in the prepositionless ACC, I am reserving discussion of this second meaning for later (cf. Chapter 5).
although with very low frequency. Ἡτρῳ occurs most of all, in the meaning of 'in the morning':

Mt 20:1 . . . ίξε νητιτιε ΚΟΥΝΗΝΟ ὥντρῳ (Asm)
Mk 13:35 ἴν ἐξετε τι ΚΩΝΔΑ ἀν δουμεν πριάτας ἂν ρεγέρᾳ ἂν
πολύνοντο ἂν εξ ΚΟΥΡΟΓΛΑΘΗΜΕ ἂν ὥτρῳ (Z)

All correspond to a Greek adverbial πρωί 'in the morning':

Mt 20:1 οὔττις εὖπαλθεν ὃμα πρωί
Mk 13:35 οὔκ οἴδατε ὅτε δο κύριος τῆς οὐκίας ἐρχεται
η ὁψὲ ἢ μεσονύκτιον ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ πρωί

3.10.1 Although it is possible that the prepositionless ACC Ἡτρῳ had become a fixed phrase and therefore an adverb, nevertheless it may still be interpreted as a syntactic case construction. If Ἡτρῳ were still seen as a case construction, then this would be a definite example of a structural change made in the translation in order to preserve the integrity of OCS syntax—a prepositionless ACC phrase was used to translate an adverb. However, even if Ἡτρῳ were already seen as a fixed adverbial expression for 'in the morning', it is unlikely that it was an example of copying Greek structure—such adverbs exist in many of the modern Slavic languages and have existed throughout the historical period. Most frequently we see the prepositionless ACC phrases becoming adverbialized with the nouns 'morning' and evening' ('afternoon' and 'night' become adverbialized in other constructions). Polish shows JUTRO as both a
noun and an adverb\textsuperscript{15} and \textit{večer} 'evening' as well. Czech, Slovak and Slovenian all have \textit{večer} also as an adverb meaning 'in the evening'. Serbo-Croatian has the phrase \textit{jutros} to express 'this morning', which can be analyzed as analogous to \textit{danas} for 'today', with the post-position of the early demonstrative pronoun \textit{č} 'this' after the head-noun.\textsuperscript{16}

3.10.2 There are, however, many other constructions involving \textit{hutro}, with special nuances of meaning—in the OCS manuscripts, we see the use of both \textit{za otrpa} and the prepositionless ACC \textit{hutro} to express Greek \textit{πρωτό} 'in the morning'. \textit{na} \textit{hutri}, \textit{e.g. 'utriini dne}, and also the prepositionless LOC \textit{hutph} also occur. This last construction, however, had probably also become adverbialized and acquired the specific meaning 'tomorrow', for it corresponds not to Greek \textit{πρωτό} but rather to \textit{αύρων} 'tomorrow'. It is interesting that three of these forms led to adverbs meaning 'tomorrow' in the modern Slavic languages: \textit{завтра} in Russian, \textit{zítra} in Czech from \textit{za otrpa}, \textit{jutro} in the West Slavic languages from \textit{hutro}, and \textit{ytre} in Bulgarian from \textit{hutph}.

Among the Slavic texts there are many discrepancies in the use of the prepositionless ACC of \textit{hutro}, the prepositionless LOC \textit{hutph}, and \textit{za otrpa}. In Mt

\textsuperscript{15} However, the present meaning of \textit{jutro} is 'tomorrow'; all of West Slavic shows the replacement of the adverb \textit{рано} 'early' for 'morning', perhaps on the basis of contact with German, in which \textit{morgen} means both 'morning' and 'tomorrow', and \textit{morgen früh} 'tomorrow early' is used to express 'tomorrow morning'. See §4.9.1 for further discussion.

\textsuperscript{16} Although \textit{jutro} is a NTR noun and we would therefore expect a form such as \textit{jutroše}, the absence of the final vowel can be explained by analogy: the phrase \textit{jutros} was formed on the basis of the phrase \textit{danas}, with a final -\textit{s} added to the word for 'day' to make 'today', therefore a final -\textit{s} was added to the word for 'morning' to make 'this morning' as well.

However, another possibility also exists: as these are adverbial phrases, attrition of the final vowel is quite likely. Throughout Slavic there are numerous examples of adverbial phrases of time ending in -\textit{s}: \textit{letos, lionis}; Russian \textit{вечерять}, \textit{ночесь}. 
6:30. Asm, Ost, Mar and Z have the prepositionless LOC ουτρει corresponding to αὔριον:

Mt 6:30 ... καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον
Mt 6:30 ... οὖτε οὐκ ὀρνιω ἐπίμετασθε (Asm)

whereas Sav and Mir have substituted a prepositionless ACC ουτρο:

Mt 6:30 ... οὖτος αὐτές αὐτοῖς οὖτος (Sav)

which changes the meaning from 'tomorrow' to 'in the morning'. ζα ουτρα occurs in
in Mt 20:1 in Ost, Sav and Mir:

Mt 20:1 ... ηει ηειδε ακε ζα ουτρα (Mir)

whereas Asm and Mar have simply the prepositionless ACC ουτρο. Again in Mk 13:35, Ost, D and Mir have ζα ουτρα:

Mk 13:35 ... θετες αυ κοδαγα [sic-SF] θε δοσου πρινετ ... θι ζα ουτρα (D)

whereas Mar and Z have ουτρο. Within the texts we at least see some consistencies, although it is difficult to establish a pattern based on so few examples. In the two verses which show variation, Mar twice has the prepositionless ACC, while Ost and Mir twice have ζα + GEN; the other texts have only one of the verses.
3.10.3 Supr also shows usage of the prepositionless ACC утро:

Supr 51:9-10 нг утро пристяхнёшшечь жертве богов

Supr 94:21-22 коко утро вг та днё в атн нимьтэ эзитн...

3.11 In addition, Supr shows examples of the prepositionless ACC ночь 'night' and вечера 'evening' in this second meaning of the prepositionless ACC:

Supr 68:19 ночь проваждааааа ярпаште страсть

Supr 275:29 пришадзшоу эвогу вечера

Supr 334:14-15 вечера же вг сеаотдд... приде Мариа Магдалини

вечера also occurs once in the Gospels, corresponding to Greek adverbial ἐνε, 'in the evening':

Mk 13:35 не вретете во кагда гд домоу придета ли вечера ли полоновщин ли вг коупроглашеме ли утро (Z)

Mk 13:35 оiк оiдате гарь пoте о кyрос тyс oикiас эркетал ἡ ὑφε ἡ μεσονικτον ἡ ἀλεκτарοφωνιας ἡ πρω

As we saw earlier (§3.10.1), this usage of the prepositionless ACC вечера became adverbialized and it functions both as an adverb (meaning 'in the evening') as well as a noun in numerous modern Slavic languages.
3.12 In the third meaning of the prepositionless ACC construction, that which expresses *how many times* an action is repeated, we appropriately find usage of the noun κρατά 'time'. Κρατά is accompanied by the quantifier κολ 'how many' or the numerals: in the Gospels, it is modified by the numerals Δωρ 'two' and τρε 'three'. In Supr we find an example of κρατά modified by the numeral Πέν 'five'. 

3.12.1 There are other ways of expressing repetition as well: we find 'for the first time', 'for the second time' and 'for the third time' in an adverbialized ACC of the cardinal numeral (πρώτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον) (cf. Chapter 11), and we find many numerals and the quantifiers in the prepositionless INS-κολισών 'how many times' and μετωπική/μεταγράφων 'many times'; καθιστόν 'one time', επικολισών 'two times', τρεισθέντσ 'three times', and σεκισθέντσ (in many forms and spellings) (cf. Chapter 4). It is interesting to note (based upon the few attested occurrences of

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17 Although it may be argued that a discussion of *how many times* an action is repeated belongs to another study and not a study of the expression of time, I have chosen to include this topic here because the repetition of the action affects the aspect of the verb as much as does the occurrence of the action at a moment of time or over a period of time.

18 We expect here Δωρ κρατά rather than Δωρ κρατά, as the number Δωρ governs the dual, not the PL. In the example from Supr (77:29-78:1), we expect Πέν κρατά rather than Πέν κρατά, as numbers five and higher govern the GEN PL, not the ACC PL.
such phrases) that only the small numerals (1-5) occur in the prepositionless ACC or adverbialized ACC; anything higher occurs in the INS only.

All of the nouns and numerals used to express repetition in OCS correspond to a Greek adverbialized ACC, either, as in OCS, a prepositionless ACC of a substantivized ordinal numeral (|τὸ| πρῶτον/πρότερον, |τὸ| δεύτερον, |τὸ| τρίτον) or a numerical adverb with the suffix -ις (δίς, τρίς) οράκις (ποσάκις, πολλάκις, ἑπτάκις); or in a prepositional construction with ἐκ + GEN (ἐκ δευτέρου, ἐκ τρίτου): 19

Mt 23:37 ποσάκις ἡβέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου
Mk 14:71/722 οπλιν ἀλέκτορα φωνήσαι δίς τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ

3.13 To summarize, only a limited number of nouns which have temporal meaning may occur in the prepositionless ACC in OCS. These include parts of the day (δείκνυ 'day', νομίζει 'night', οὔτερο 'morning' and ἤδει 'evening'), parts of the year (μῆνα 'month', ἡμεί 'year'), the nouns γᾶζ 'hour' and ἡμί 'time', and the noun of repetition, κρατή 'time'. The prepositionless ACC has three different meanings: it can express a time completely filled by an action (accompanied by an imperfective verb expressing duration); a time at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place (accompanied by an perfective verb); and how many times an action is repeated (accompanied by an imperfective verb expressing repetition). In the first meaning, the overwhelming majority of examples of the OCS prepositionless

19 There are no instances of ἐκ + GEN being translated by the ACC, only by the INS or an adverb.
ACC correspond to a Greek prepositionless ACC. In the second meaning, the OCS
prepositionless ACC corresponds to a Greek adverbial form (such as \(\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\),
\(\pi\rho\omega\), \(\delta\psi\epsilon\) or \(\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu\)) or a DAT construction. In the phrase \(\tau\rho\epsilon\tau\lambda\iota\ \delta\epsilon\nu\) 'on the
third day', we usually see a Greek DAT as the source, with variation in the Slavic
between \(\alpha\zeta + \text{ACC}\) and the prepositionless ACC. In the third meaning, that of
repetition, we see the modified noun \(\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\zeta\) 'time' corresponding to various Greek
expressions--the adverbialized ACC, adverbial numerals, or the prepositional
construction with \(\epsilon\kappa + \text{GEN}\).

It is clear, moreover, that the usage of the prepositionless ACC in OCS in all of
these instances, whether coinciding with a Greek prepositionless ACC or something
else, is not due to a copying of the Greek construction into Slavic; rather the coincidence
of \(\text{OCS prepositionless ACC} \approx \text{Greek prepositionless ACC}\) is due instead to similar
inherent structural features in both languages (namely, that both OCS and Greek used a
prepositionless ACC to express the duration of an action over a period of time). The
evidence offered by the modern Slavic languages and in medieval Slavic manuscripts
(representing earlier stages in the history of the individual languages) as seen in the
examples given earlier in the chapter (see §3.1.4) demonstrate the extent to which the
prepositionless ACC was used and continues to be used to express the three temporal
frames under consideration. That we see the use of the prepositionless ACC to express
(1) a time completely filled by an action; or (2) a time at one point within the boundaries
of which an action takes place; or (3) how many times an action is repeated in OCS, in
eyearly Slavic manuscripts and in the modern Slavic languages gives very convincing
evidence in support of the view that the use of the prepositionless ACC to express these
meanings in OCS was a native feature of Slavic syntax and not a borrowing from
Greek.
CHAPTER IV
THE PREPOSITIONLESS INSTRUMENTAL

4.1 The prepositionless INS in temporal expressions in OCS can express (1) a time within which an action is completed;¹ or (2) a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place; or (3) how many times an action is repeated. The prepositionless INS phrase resulting from this third meaning became adverbialized. The verb which expresses the action in the first two meanings is most often of the perfective aspect (resultative); whereas the verb which expresses the action in the third meaning is most often of the imperfective aspect (iterative). The prepositionless INS is the only case attested to express the first meaning, i.e. no other known construction is used to express the time within which an action is completed. In its other meanings, however the prepositionless INS expresses the same temporal frame which may be expressed also by other cases which have already been discussed. The second meaning of the prepositionless INS—the a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—may also be expressed by & & ACC or, in some instances, the prepositionless ACC; and the third meaning of the prepositionless INS—how many times an action is repeated—may also be expressed by the

¹ The meaning of the English preposition within may be ambiguous here; in this meaning of the prepositionless INS within does not have the meaning "a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place", but rather "a time over the duration of which an action lasts and at the end of which an action is completed". The most common occurrence is in the Gospel quote "I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands". It is not during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of the three days at which the new temple will be built; but rather by the end of the three-day period the action of building will have been completed. Thus the Aktionsart here may be defined as resultative, and the semantic class of verbs used in such situations, which themselves may defined as telic, are verbs of achievement.
prepositionless ACC. In addition, both of these meanings may be expressed by other constructions as well. This chapter deals with only the meanings of the prepositionless INS; a comparison between the prepositionless INS and other constructions will be made in the conclusion.

4.1.1 In the first two meanings a limited number of nouns with temporal meaning are used: ἀρκα 'day', νύχτα 'night', and ἄτη 'year'. In the third meaning, adverbial quantifiers (κολ 'how many' and ἔκανον 'many') and numerals with the suffixes -ημ, -ης, or -ηδα which signify repetition (ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς 'two times', τρεῖς ἐκτὸς τρεῖς τρεῖς τρις τρις τρις 'three times', χειρὶς ἐκτὸς 'four times', and ἐκτὸς ἐκτὸς [in many forms and spellings] 'seven times') are used. A form of the number 'one' is used without a specialized suffix: ἕκα 'one time'.

4.1.2 There is no one single Greek construction to which the OCS prepositionless INS corresponds—this is expected, since the prepositionless INS renders three different meanings, two of which can also be expressed by other constructions. In the first meaning of the prepositionless INS—a time within which an action is completed—we can find a Greek prepositionless GEN, prepositionless DAT, ἐκ + DAT and ἐκ + GEN. In the second meaning—a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—we find mainly GEN constructions in Greek, but prepositionless DAT constructions also occur. In the third meaning—how many times an action is repeated—as discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.12.1), we find mainly adverbialized ACC constructions, but we also find adverbs, and the prepositional construction ἐκ + GEN.
4.1.3 In spite of the overlapping of meaning between the prepositionless INS and other constructions in OCS and the various sources for it in Greek, we nonetheless find great consistency among the OCS texts in its use, at least in the first two meanings. In fact, of sixteen verses which use various prepositionless INS constructions, only two--L 3:23 and 8:29, to be discussed later in the chapter (§4.4.2 and 4.4.3)--show variation. In the third meaning, however, we see great variation with the prepositionless ACC construction for 'two times' and 'three times' and with the adverbial quantifiers κοιλ. 'how many', but none for numerals higher than three and none with the adverbial quantifier μενο 'many'.

4.2 In the first meaning of the prepositionless INS--a time within which an action is completed--one noun occurs regularly—ΔΗΜΑ 'day'—and two occur rarely—ΝΟΣΑ 'night' and ΛΕΤΟ 'year'. In this meaning, the nouns are always modified by either a numeral or a quantifier (specifically—μενο 'many').

4.3. ΔΗΜΑ 'day' occurs both in the SG (once) and in the PL (eight times) in this first meaning of the prepositionless INS phrase. The one example of the occurrence of ΔΗΜΑ in the SG is found in Cloz in the phrase ΚΑΙΝΕΜΑ ΔΗΜΑ 'within one day':

 Cloz 8b:17-18  ΚΑΙΝΕΜΑ ΕΟ ΣΕ ΣΤΡΟΙΤΙΝ... ΚΑΙΝΕΜΑ ΔΗΜΑ

This corresponds to the Greek ἐν + DAT:

 Cloz 8b:17-18  δυνατὸν τὰρ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τούτῳ γενέσθαι
Note that the main verb here—CTROpHTH—is of perfective aspect; this is the rule with these constructions. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the Aktionsart here may be defined as resultative, and the semantic class of verbs used in such situations, which themselves may defined as telic, are verbs of achievement—thus the perfective aspect. The emphasis here, perhaps, is the completion of an act which is thought to be impossible to complete in such a short time--'this we can do (accomplish)...in one day!'

4.3.1 In the Gospels, we find six occurrences of the prepositionless INS phrase τρεις δέννην 'within three days':

Mk 14:58 . . . καὶ τρεις δέννην εἶναι ηκτοτοκοφερθείς εὐχαριστήσειν (Ost)
J 2:20 . . . το τζι απ τρεις δέννης εὐχαριστήσειν (Asm)

Two of these six occurrences correspond to a phrase in Greek with διὰ + GEN, which in temporal constructions in Koine expresses the meaning "eine dazwischen verflossene Zeit = "nach"... Unklassisch für die Zeitraum, innerhalb dessen etwas geschieht: διὰ τρειῶν ἡμέρων "binnen drei T." " (Blass 1949, §223):

Mt 26:61 . . . καὶ διὰ τρεῖῶν ἡμέρων (αὐτόν) οὐκοδομήσατε

The other four correspond to the familiar ἐν + DAT:
In this particular instance, the meaning of the Greek construction with ἐν overlaps that of the Greek prepositionless GEN: W. Bauer (1979, 260) defines this usage of ἐν + DAT as denoting a period of time "covered by an occurrence of action in the course of, within". Although this definition may appear to be ambiguous, Bauer is trying to describe the two parts of the meaning conveyed by this construction (and the corresponding OCS construction): first, the action covers the time period, and then it is completed within it, before the end of it. The fact that the translator(s) did not choose to render the Greek ἐν + DAT with ἐπὶ + ACC—which as we know is the most frequent correspondence for ἐν + DAT--suggests that this different meaning for ἐν + DAT was understood by the translator(s), who chose a form that fit the meaning (prepositionless INS) rather than the norm (ἐπὶ + ACC).

4.3.2 Supr has the prepositionless INS of the phrase ἀπὸ ἐν τις ἡμέρας ἐρευνάσ αὐτῶν;

The latter occurrence seems to be an equivalent of the prepositionless ACC to express duration of time (fasting for forty days); however, it is also possible to interpret this as either the first or second meaning of the prepositionless INS. If ἀπὸ ἐν
The noun έτο 'year' appears in 2:20 in the prepositionless INS, expressing the meaning of a time within which an action is completed:

J 2:20 Yetziqyw decaizin he shethim etz czizadaa ezi yhekzi

where it corresponds to a Greek prepositionless DAT:

J 2:20 teseprakonta kai eiz estein oikodoymyn o nados
soutos²

Six of the seven examined manuscripts attest this verse, and all six show the prepositionless INS. Robertson categorizes such occurrences of the Greek prepositionless DAT as "associative-instrumental" (1914, 523), a term which he does

² The English translation shows an interesting rewording to highlight the length of time required to complete the action: "It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and You raise it up in three days?"
not define exactly (cf. the discussion of the associative-instrumental DAT, 526-527), but which may be assumed to be the traditional grammatical designation of "association".

4.4.2 The two other occurrences of the prepositionless INS of ἀντίσω, however, occur in only one manuscript each, and neither seem to render the meaning of the Greek text. In L.3:23, the Greek text shows

L.3:23 καὶ αὐτὸς ἡν Ἰσσώυς ἀρχαῖον ὦσει ἐτῶν τριάκοντα . . .

with a GEN expressing age. In Mar, D, and Mir, we see a prepositionless DAT:

L.3:23 ἤ τε η Ὑπὸ τρεῖς δεκατεχτā λέτα . . . (Mar)

Z, however, has the prepositionless INS here:

L.3:23 ἤ τε η Ὑπὸ τρεῖς δεκαταχτά λέτ . . . (Z)

which appears to be an unusual use of the prepositionless INS here inasmuch as age is not one of the meanings generally expressed by this construction elsewhere.

4.4.3 L.8:29 shows two interesting grammatical divergences from the Greek:
Note that the temporal expression in the Greek is in the prepositionless DAT—
πολλοῖς χρόνοις— and also that the verb—συνηρπάκει— is in the pluperfect
tense. The pluperfect is used in Greek to express an action in the past which occurred
before another action in the past. This occurrence of the prepositionless DAT
πολλοῖς χρόνοις is defined by Blass (1949, §201) as fulfilling the normal
function of the prepositionless ACC:

This is an unusual function of the Greek prepositionless DAT; the Modern English
translates this part of the verse as 'many times it had seized him', although the sense is
'(over the course of) many years it had seized him (repeatedly)'. Robertson cites this
verse as an associative-instrumental DAT (1914, 527), "though here the locative would
give a good idea, 'on many occasions'..., whereas the marg. ('of a long time') gives the
instrumental idea". For some reason, some OCS manuscripts show here the preposition
οτζ + GEN:
Also note that the tense of the verb has been changed—from pluperfect to imperfect, since the action of 'seizing' has occurred repeatedly—apparently 'since (the beginning of) many years'. In Asm, the time expression was changed—to a prepositionless INS:

L.8:29 \textit{\textit{им} ге атз коззитаасзм н} \textit{(Asm)}

This, however, does not seem to express the first meaning of the prepositionless INS—a time within which an action is completed—unless one thinks of the action of 'seizing' as being completed repeatedly within the time frame of many years. Perhaps the second meaning of the prepositionless INS is expressed here—a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place; although this too does not seem exactly right, unless the action is allowed to occur repeatedly during the time frame. It is this same repetition which probably caused the change in verbal tense in OCS from pluperfect to imperfect, as the latter is more expected with a repeated action.

4.5.1 The phrase \textit{кэдногкк нощакк 'in one night' as it occurs in Supr:

Supr 68:2 \textit{кэдногкк нощакк всель вез ккз нэдэнккмкк}

expresses a time within which an action is completed—'in one night we will change the entire age'. The noun \textit{ношкк} does not appear in the Gospels in the prepositionless INS in this meaning. However, this phrase may be interpreted in another way: in Supr, the prepositionless INS phrase \textit{кэд(н)ногкк} occurs frequently in the meaning 'one time' (cf. §4.8.3 below). Numerous occurrences of phrases of the structure "(X) times per
(Noun)” (if this phrase is interpreted as ‘one time in the night’) are found throughout the OCS texts. A second occurrence, discussed in §4.7, also involves two prepositionless INS phrases єднократицєм днємь ‘seven times per day’, in which it is possible that ‘day’ is in the INS because ‘seven times’ is. Based on this pattern, it is possible that this phrase єднокр нощіч can indeed be interpreted as ‘one time per night’ rather than ‘(with) in one night’, with нощіч being "dragged" into the INS by єднокр. The one other occurrence of this pattern is in the phrase єднокр аєта ‘one time per year’. Here, however, we see the prepositionless GEN of the temporal noun, which might be interpreted as a partitive GEN. It is possible that neither construction represents the actual means used in OCS to express "(X) times per (Noun)", since other explanations are so easily found to account for them. In addition, the modern Slavic languages do not show either pattern for this phrase, as will be discussed in §4.7.

4.5.2 нощіч appears several times in the Gospels, as well as frequently in Supr and Cloz, in the second meaning of the prepositionless INS—a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place. Here, however, it occurs without modifiers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mt 2:14} & \quad \text{онх же рєттав} \ldots \text{ношіч} \\
\text{J 11:10} & \quad \text{аєе кєто ходітє нощіч нотікметц ем}
\end{align*}
\]

(Asm)

(Sav)

In every attested occurrence in the canonical manuscripts of the seven verses which contain нощіч, all the texts contain нощіч with no variation—i.e. there is no other construction used. However, in L 21:37, where four of five manuscripts show the INS нощіч, Мir (a non-canonical manuscript) shows рє + LOC:
Note also that this verse contains the only instance of the INS form днину—a FEM form nonetheless—known in the Gospels. Thus Mir switched structures: INS for днину where the other manuscripts show в з + LOC, and в з + LOC for нощь where the other manuscripts show INS (this is discussed further in §4.7.1).

Supr also shows several occurrences of в з + LOC with нощь:

Supr 60:17  приди олее в з нощь
Supr 334:25-26  и в з нощь то в зиста

Нощь, however, also occurs in Supr, much more frequently than в з нощь:

Supr 11:10-11  ... отзведе стыгштам вонни нощь
Supr 214:18  ... и страшная хранашта и нощь и днинь
Supr 392:10  в з нощь не осениает з са

as well as Cloz:

Cloz 14a:7-8  нощь ны з в з витьлома рагдает з са
Cloz 14a:8-10  нощь ны па зи в з сионе ... пораждает з са
4.5.3 Five of the seven occurrences of ΝΟΤΗ in the Gospels originate from a Greek prepositionless GEN:

Mt 2:14 ὁ δὲ ἐ-τερθεὶς ... νυκτὸς

The Greek prepositionless GEN "denotes a time within which, or at a certain point of which, an action takes place. As contrasted with the accusative of time, the genitive denotes a portion of time. Hence the genitive of time is partitive" (Smyth 1984, §1444). Koiné continues this meaning: "Dagegen ist der klass. Gen. der Zeit, innerhalb deren etwas geschieht, dem NT nicht fremd..." (Blass 1949, 86). This meaning of the Greek corresponds to the meaning of the OCS prepositionless INS.

4.5.4 One occurrence of the prepositionless INS ΝΟΤΗ, in J 11:10, corresponds to a Greek ἐν + DAT:

J 11:10 ἔδων δὲ τοῦ περιπατῆ ἐν τῇ νυκτί

The occurrences of ΝΟΤΗ in Cloz also render a Greek prepositionless DAT:

Cloz 14a:7-8 νυκτὶ Χριστὸς ἐν Βηθεδὲ με γεννᾶται
Cloz 14a:8-10 νυκτὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ Σιὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνυσταται
However, νοημα here is not unexpected, because ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ implies at a moment (any moment) during the night, a meaning which is expressed by the prepositionless INS.

4.5.5 The occurrence of νοημα in L 21:37, however, corresponds to a prepositionless ACC:

L 21:37 ἤν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ ἡρῷ διδάσκων, τὰς νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ηὔλιζετο εἰς τὸ ὀρός . . .

where we would expect a corresponding prepositionless ACC in OCS to express time spent; the use of the INS here changes the meaning to the expression of a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place rather than the duration of a time. This is yet another example of a change made by the translator(s) which demonstrates their desire to transmit meaning rather than form.

4.6 It would be appropriate at this point to contrast and compare the various constructions in which νοημα can appear. As we have already seen, νοημα is found in constructions with εἴ + ACC, and with the prepositionless ACC and prepositionless INS; it is also found with the rare prepositional constructions with δε + ACC and εἴ + LOC. However, the usage of each of these different constructions may be distinguished. εἴ + ACC may only be used when νοημα is modified; in the extant texts, only when it is modified by one of the demonstratives—ς, τις 'this' or τις 'that'. The meaning of this construction is a time at one point within which an action occurs. In the prepositionless INS, νοημα only appears unmodified in the Gospels, and carries a
similar meaning to the \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \) construction. However, it must be noted that the prepositionless INS is used to express this meaning only when \( \text{нoшь} \) is unmodified (\( \text{нoшь 'in the night'} \)), whereas \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \) is used only when \( \text{нoшь} \) is modified (\( \text{r} \text{z т} \text{r} \text{нoшь 'in that night'} \)). There is a general pattern of correspondence between the OCS and Greek texts: where OCS has \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \), Greek has the preposition \( \text{e} \text{v} + \text{DAT} \) or the prepositionless DAT case, which is used, according to Smyth (1984, §1539), to denote a definite point of time (chiefly day, night, month, year, season), at which an action occurred (discussed in §2.1 and 2.8). Where OCS has the prepositionless INS, Greek generally has a prepositionless GEN, which "denotes a time within which, or at a certain point of which, an action takes place" (Smyth 1984, §1444; discussed in §4.5.3). In Greek too there is a distinction between modified vs. unmodified \( \text{v} \text{у} \text{г} \text{ь} \): we only see the GEN when \( \text{v} \text{у} \text{г} \text{ь} \) is unmodified, but \( \text{e} \text{v} + \text{DAT} \) or prepositionless DAT when \( \text{v} \text{у} \text{г} \text{ь} \) is modified. Finally, in Supr (and in the one instance in Mir discussed above in §4.5.2) we find \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{LOC} \) to express the same meaning as expressed by either the prepositionless INS or \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \):

\[
\text{Supr 60:17  \\ \text{пoдн} \text{и} \text{ое} \text{o} \text{в} \text{ь нoшь}}
\]

However, this is not to say that Supr does not show the other constructions used with \( \text{нoшь} \) to express the time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—the prepositionless INS and \( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \)—indeed we find examples of all three in Supr. As the use of the last construction—\( \text{r} \text{z} + \text{ACC} \)—is limited to occurrences of modified \( \text{нoшь} \), it appears that there is free variation in Supr (but only
in Supr) to express 'in the night' when κοιμήτωρ is unmodified: έξος κοιμήτωρ and κοιμήτωρ both render 'in the night'.

4.6.1 In the prepositionless ACC, in the Gospels κοιμήτωρ only appears when modified by a number—e.g. τρία κοιμήτωρ 'for three nights'—or in a phrase with δάνει—'day and night'. Here the meaning is that of a time completely filled by an action—the duration of the activity. It corresponds to the Greek prepositionless ACC with the same meaning (discussed in §3.1.1 and 3.1.2)

4.6.2 There are at least three constructions in OCS to express 'all night'—in the Gospels we find ος(ξ) ἐκεῖ κοιμήτωρ corresponding to Greek διὰ θυμίων νυκτός (cf. §3.2.2) which W. Bauer (1979, 179) defines as denoting extent, "in the case of extension over a whole period of time, to its very end" when used in a temporal construction. In Supr we find both έξος + ACC (Supr 59:11-12, given in §2.8, with έξος ἐκεῖ κοιμήτωρ) and the prepositionless ACC (§3.3). However, this phrase ('all night') is found so rarely in any construction (I found only one occurrence each of έξος κοιμήτωρ and έξος ἐκεῖ κοιμήτωρ in Supr and none in the Gospels; ος(ξ) ἐκεῖ κοιμήτωρ.

---

3 Whether this represents a dialectal feature of the scribe(s) of Supr is uncertain, as either form (κοιμήτωρ or κοιμήτωρ) or both forms could have been copied from the protograph, or the scribe(s) could have made changes based upon their native dialect. Even if the latter case is true, we are unable to determine which was the original form and which form represents a dialectal feature of eleventh-century Eastern Bulgaria.

4 Elsewhere έξος + ACC is used only when κοιμήτωρ is modified by a demonstrative and renders a phrase 'in a (certain) night' and only when it corresponds to Greek ἐν + DAT (this distinction will be discussed further in Chapter 4 [cf. §4.6]). This could be an instance of a scribal error, where the scribe wrote the same syllable twice: έξος έξος. Although these are two different jers (and are represented correctly in this phrase), this does not exclude the possibility that both represented the same sound for the scribe (έξος is often spelled έξα; sometimes the pronominal adjective έξος is found as έξος).
occurs only once in the Gospels) that it is impossible to determine exactly which is the "true" construction.

4.7 The prepositionless INS of the noun \( \text{Δώρα} \) 'day' also occurs in the meaning of a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place; however, it only occurs once in the Gospels, and is governed by the phrase "seven times":

\[
\text{L. 17:4} \quad \text{καὶ ἀπετάκις τὴς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ} \ldots \quad (\text{Asm})
\]

Here the prepositionless INS corresponds to a Greek GEN, which is a partitive GEN:

\[
\text{L. 17:4} \quad \text{καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τὴς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ} \ldots
\]

It is possible that \( \text{Δώρα} \) here was "dragged" into the INS by the INS construction of the phrase "seven times" (to be discussed in §4.8.7); however, the meaning expressed by the INS here is the same meaning expressed elsewhere. Since this is the only occurrence of "(X) times per day", it is again here impossible to establish a pattern for its expression. The INS is not used this way in any of the modern Slavic languages. For example, the Modern Russian text shows семь раз в день and the Modern Bulgarian shows седем пъти на ден. Although Bulgarian has developed an analytical nominal system in place of the earlier synthetic system, we might expect a fixed phrase such as this to survive. Indeed, to express 'in the day', 'by day'.
Bulgarian has the frozen INS phrase денем. Since we see no traces of "(X) times per day" with 'day' in the INS, it is possible that this construction was not used in this meaning and that this occurrence is a grammatical error committed by a later scribe and transmitted from manuscript to manuscript.

4.7.1 The only other occurrence of данъ in the prepositionless INS in the second meaning of the construction is found in Mir and perhaps also represents a grammatical error; or, more likely, a dialectalism. Compare the two examples of L 21:37:

L 21:37 етъ же въ данъ съ уркве а пошитъ въ дѣварташе съ исхода въ горт ... (Mar)
L 21:37 етъ огъе нѣлъ даннъ въ уркен а въ ношн исходе въ дѣвартше съ въ горт ... (Mir)

Note that Mir has switched structures: INS for данъ where the other manuscripts show въ + LOC to render 'in the day', and въ + LOC for ношн where the other manuscripts show INS to render 'in the night'. Mir, we recall, is a late twelfth-century manuscript from the Serbian redaction of Church Slavonic, and this occurrence of данъ could very well be one of the earliest occurrences of the Serbian expression данju 'in the day'. The fact that in both this instance and in the modern form данъ has taken the FEM INS SG ending rather than the MASC (данно instead of данъ) is also very suggestive that we are dealing with an early occurrence of a dialectal form here.

We see a similar phenomenon in Supr, where shows a FEM INS SG ending immediately following the phrase ношн; it is possible that this occurrence of данно was caused by a carryover of the -ниж ending from the FEM noun ношн.
4.8 Finally, in the third meaning of the prepositionless INS, that of repetition, we find the nouns колишк 'how many times', нопожи 'many times', and the numerals единье 'one time', всторие 'two times', третие 'three times', various forms of "seven times"—единье, седмирие, седмькратие, and седмьше. These prepositionless INS phrases became adverbialized. As mentioned previously, колишк, дзвашк, and тришк, etc., compete with the adverbialized prepositionless ACC to express repetition; the other nouns only occur in the prepositionless INS. Most examples of the prepositionless INS correspond to a Greek adverbialized prepositionless ACC (ιτò πρώτον, πρώτον, [τò] δεύτερον, [τò] τρίτον) or a numeral with the suffix -їς (дїїς, триїс) or -άїς (посїаїς, поїлдіаїς, епїдіаїς): a few, however, originate from the prepositional construction ек + GEN (ек δευτέρου, ек тритоу).

4.8.1 Колишк 'how many times' occurs only one time in one manuscript:

Mt 23:37 колишк всєхотїх сєкрати юєдаг твої (Mir)

On the other hand, кол кратц 'how many times' (кратц = 'time' in sense of repetition) appears in the other three attestations of this verse (in Asm, Ost and Mar):
and also in the two other verses—Mt 18:20 and L 13:34—where ἡθέλησα occurs in the Greek:

Mt 23:37 ἡθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (§3.12.1), ἡθέλησα is a numerical adverb.

4.8.2 Ὑπογιαίησα and Ὑπογραψαν 'many times', although in variation with each other, do not compete with the prepositionless ACC. They occur four times in the Gospels:

Mt 17:15 Ὑπογιαίησα καὶ παρατάσα αὐτῷ καὶ Ὑπογραψαν εἰς κοιλικαν (Asm)
L 18:30 ικέ ἐνεκαπαντεῖτα Ὑπογιαίησα καὶ Ὑπογραψαν ταῦτα καὶ . . . (Mar)

and also in Supr and Cloz:

Supr 133:4 Ὑπογραψαν ρήχως τῇ
Supr 135:13 γλασολαχοῦτῃ τῇ Ὑπογραψαν
Cloz 4a:1-2 γίγκε ἐν Ὑπογιαίησα βραγμί σώμα
Cloz 9a:9-10 Ὑπογραψαν ἐν τῇ γῆ ἡμῖν παροτρύνω τῷ ἔσι
They all correspond to Greek πολλάκις or πολλαπλασίων:

Mt 17:15    πολλάκις τάρ πίπτει εἰς το πῦρ καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ  
L 18:30    ὦς οὐχὶ μὴ ἀπολάβη πολλαπλασίων ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ...  
Cloz 4a:1-2    καὶ πολλάκις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἑξήδον ἡμνήμεθα  
Cloz 9a:9-10    πολλάκις εἰς τὸν παρόντα βῶν ἐβλαφας

4.8.3 The phrase ἕδινομ 'one time' appears quite frequently in Supr and Cloz, although it never occurs in the Gospels:

Supr 166:21    γερεμν ἕδινομ λέτα σάλαηκα ερασαν ποδαμάχα λύα  
Supr 409:4-5    καλάζικα Χριστος ἐν ἕδινομ καὶ δ' αμαμ δι καὶ  
                τριῳ δι' ηνο οτξεμαζ εμ  
Cloz 8a:23-24    ἐγενο εζί ἕδινομ βζίνακ ἀβεκ λέτα σιάζ δαζεα

There are no instances of ἕδινομ competing either with an adverbialized ACC or the prepositionless ACC. Instead, the an adverbialized ACC πρδοκ (etc.) is used only to mean 'first' or 'for the first time', not 'one time'.
4.8.4 Εξοριζεται or ἀδβαθαι 'two times', which appear in six Gospel verses and also Supr and Cloz, competes with an adverbialized ACC ἐξοριζεται, but not the prepositionless ACC ἀδβα κρατα. ἐξοριζεται, however, only occurs in two texts—Ost and D, both non-canonical manuscripts. Ost has four occurrences of ἐξοριζεται to one of ἐξοριζεται; and D has two occurrences of ἐξοριζεται to two of ἐξοριζεται.

The other texts show only ἐξοριζεται:

Mt 26:42 Πακχι ἐξοριζεται ἀνάνθει πομολι ζω (Mar)
Mt 26:42 Πακχι ἐξοριζεται πομολί ζω (Ost)
J 3:4 Εδά μικετάν ἐξοριζεται βαν ἁτρεσ χιλέστη... (Z)
J 3:4 Εδά μικετάν βατορεσ χιλέστη βα ἁτρεσ... (D)
Supr 411:3-4 ἀδβαθαι βα μετήκη ἑβρυηα αὐτρχα
Supr 444:1-2 ην πακχι ἐξοριζεται... εχτορει ιεμον οιάφρασενθε
Cloz 1b:2-4 ην πακχι γραδα... ἐξοριζεται ηα δελαξεκα βα νεες

Εξοριζεται has three different Greek sources—in Mk 14:30, ἐξοριζεται corresponds to Greek δῶς:

Mk 14:30 πρὶν η δῶς ἀλέκτορα φωνήσαι τρισ με ἀπαρνήσῃ

while in J 3:4 and 21:26 and Cloz 1b:2-4, ἐξοριζεται corresponds to Greek δεύτερον:
and in three verses—Mt 26:42, Mk 14:71/2 and J 9:24, \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon \varepsilon u x e p o v \) corresponds to Greek \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \):

Mt 26:42 \( \nu a l i n \ \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \ \alpha p e l b o w n \ \pi r o s e n y x a t o \)

The two latter constructions—\( \varepsilon u x e p o v \) and \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \)—carry the meaning of 'for a second time', whereas \( \varepsilon s \) simply carries the meaning of 'two times'; perhaps this is why Ost and D translate \( \varepsilon u x e p o v \) and \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) as \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \).\(^5\)

4.8.4.1 It is interesting to observe that in Mk 14:71/2, the phrase "two times" occurs twice, and each manuscript puts each occurrence in a separate construction—for the first occurrence, Ost and D both show the adverbialized ACC \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \), while Mar and Z have the prepositionless INS \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \); in the second occurrence, Ost, Mar and Z (D omits the phrase) have the prepositionless ACC phrase \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \). However, this distinction corresponds to a structural--and semantic--distinction in Greek: \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) and \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) correspond to Greek \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) 'for a second time'; while \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) corresponds to Greek \( \varepsilon k \ \varepsilon u x e p o v \) 'twice'. This suggests that the Slavic constructions carried similar semantic distinctions as well.

\(^5\) Neither text contains Mk 14:30.
4.8.5 We see similar patterns with τρεπτιευμ/τρετιευμ/τρισθαμ 'three times': Ost has the adverbialized ACC τρετιευμ in its place three times in the two attested verses—Mt 26:44 and J 21:17:

Mt 26:44  παβξι ὕςδας πολομη ὑμ τρετιευμ (Ost)

Sav also shows the adverbialized ACC τρετιευμ two times in J 21:17:

J 21:171  γνα εμου τρετιευμ (Sav)
J 21:172  τικο πειε εμου τρετιευμ (Sav)

However, in Mt 26:44 and J 21:14 it shows the INS:

Mt 26:44  παβξι ὕςδας πολομη ὑμ τρετιευμ [sic-SF] (Sav)

Asm, Mar, Z, D and Mir only show τρετιευμ or τρετιιτι:

Mk 14:41  ἵ πριδε τρετιευμ (Mar)
L 23:22  ὅνζ ἰε τρετιευμ πειε κα νις (Z)

Like ζξ τοριευμ, τρετιευμ has three different Greek sources: the adverbialized ACC τρύτου (the NTR ACC SG adjective used adverbially) 'for a third time':

L 23:22  ὁ δε τρύτου εῖπαν προς αὐτοὺς

the articulated adverbial το τρύτου:
and ἐκ τρίτου:

Mt 26:44 πάλιν ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο ἐκ τρίτου

There appears to be no distinction for the use of the INS forms τρετιησειξ vs. τρετιησι: for example, in J 21:17 τὸ τρίτον occurs two times in the Greek text:

J 21:17 λέγει αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον... εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον

In the first occurrence, Asm, D and Mir have τρετιησειξ, while Z has τρετιησι; the same is true of the second occurrence, except for Asm, which has τρετιησι. Thus, within one verse in one text, both INS variants occur.

4.8.5.1 There is another prepositionless INS variant of ‘three times’—τρισχιμ. However, this variant occurs only in D (spelled τριχιμ):

Mk 14:71/2 πρῶξε διακε πάτελν ἔβελε γλασιτὶ ὀτεργεσιν μενε τριχιμ (D)
J 13:38 ἔβελε γλασιτὶ πάτελν δονδε χε ὀτεργεσιν κα μενε τριχιμ (D)

and replace a prepositionless ACC τρι ὃ ἀντίς found in all other texts:
Supr shows this form too, although it also attests τρεις χρόνα:

Supr 409:4-5 Βλαδίκα του Χριστού... τρις χρόνο έγερεν της
Supr 444:1-2 και παντί... τρεις χρόνο εκατέρωσεν τον ενδέχεται

4.8.6 Supr shows a similar usage for the phrase 'four times', a phrase which does not occur in the Gospels:

Supr 266:8-9 Ζακών τετάρτον τετρακείμενον ουρεύε

Notice that in this instance τετρακείμενον is preceded by a numerical adverb τετάρτον. The combination may be translated as 'four times four' and is followed in the same passage by the same construction with 'seven', to be discussed below.

4.8.7 The Greek phrase ἑπτάκης 'seven times', which occurs in various forms in OCS—σεβομένες, σεμορμένες, σεμπρατήρες, and σεμπρατήρι—occurs three times in two verses. In Mt 18:22, which is only attested in Mar, the Greek shows a prepositional construction with ἐως 'until' with a numerical adverb in ἕκατος:

Mt 18:22 οὐ λέγω σοι ἐως ἑπτάκης ἀλλὰ ἐως ἐβδομηκοντάκης ἑπτά
Mar has the corresponding до 'until', and then the prepositionless INS:

Mt 18:22  
не гя́х тее́ в до се́днъ кратз нз до се́днъ де сатз
кратз се́днице́м (Mar)

In L 17:4, all of the attested Slavic forms occur in the prepositionless INS. The exact form of the word, however, varies from text to text and even within a text. In Mt 18:22, Mar, with the only attestation, shows се́днице́м, as we saw above. But in L 17:4, се́днице́м occurs twice in this same text:

L 17:4  
и аште се́днице́м дьне́х сцгрьшит з . . . и се́днице́м дьне́х обрата́ти са гя́х кам кя́м са
(Мар)

In this same verse, Asm first has се́днъ кра́тице́м and then се́днице́м:

L 17:4  
и аште се́днъ кра́тице́м дьне́х сцгрьшит з . . . и се́днице́м обрата́ти са кя тее́ (А сам)

Finally, we see one more variant in Ost—се́днъ ша̀н:

L 17:4  
и аше се́днъ ша̀н дьне́х сцгрьшит з . . . и се́днъ ша̀н обрата́ти са кя тее́ (Ост)
L 17:4  
ка́и едн эпта́ки съ съ съ́реас ама́ртъи еи́с се́ ка́и эпта́ки (съ съ́реас) эпстра́пи прёс се́ . . .

As mentioned earlier, Supr also shows usage of this adverbialized phrase:
As with the phrase involving 'four', this combination of ἁ ἐκατέταξα can be translated as 'seven times seven'. Note that two different forms were chosen within the one phrase—the first an adverbialized ACC adjective, the second an adverbialized INS noun. It is possible that two different constructions were chosen for stylistic reasons—simply to avoid the repetition of the same lexical item.

4.9 In summary, the prepositionless INS occurs with the nouns ἅλα 'day', ἅνωθ 'night', and ἄντω 'year'; with the adverbial quantifiers ὡ ἁ ἀ 'how many' and ἅνωθ 'many'; and with numerals. The nouns ἅλα and ἄντω in the prepositionless INS occur in the first meaning of this construction—they express a time within which an action is completed. In the second meaning of the prepositionless INS—a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—the noun ἅνωθ occurs frequently: ἅλα is found three times, and all three times may be grammatical mistakes ("scribal error") or dialectal forms. The adverbial quantifiers and numerals occur only in the third meaning of this construction—they express frequency of the repetition of an action. The prepositionless INS phrase resulting from this third meaning (e.g. ἔκτο ἑττέμ 'two times') became adverbialized, and it competes with the prepositionless ACC, both in its adverbialized form (e.g. ἐκτο ὑμ 'for a second time') and with the noun κράτα (e.g. ἀνάκρατα 'two times').

In usages of the prepositionless INS in its first meaning, we see no variations with other constructions; however, the second meaning of the prepositionless INS
overlap with meanings expressed by other prepositionless cases and prepositional constructions. Each of these constructions, although they share similar meanings, carries a different nuance of those meanings. An example of this was given for *нощь*.

Not only does the prepositionless *INS* in *OCS* have three different meanings, but we have seen that it has different Greek sources: in the first meaning, the prepositionless *INS* can render a Greek prepositionless *GEN*, prepositionless *DAT*, *ἐν* + *DAT* and *ὅλα* + *GEN*; in the second meaning--Greek prepositionless *GEN* or prepositionless *DAT*; in the third meaning--prepositionless *ACC* constructions (adverbialized and sometimes articulated) or *ἐκ* + *GEN*. But it is not unexpected that we see different Greek constructions as sources for the *OCS* prepositionless *INS*, as this construction expresses so many different meanings and nuances of meanings.

4.9.1 It is in its second meaning--a time during a segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place--that the prepositionless *INS* remains most active in the modern Slavic languages. Perhaps on the basis of the phrase *ношь* 'at night, by night' or 'in the night(time)', the *INS* spread to the other parts of the day in Modern Russian. Thus we see *утром* 'in the morning' instead of *ногр* (the prepositionless *LOC*; cf. §5.6); *вечером* 'in the evening' instead of *вечер* (the prepositionless *ACC*; cf. §3.10); and *днем* 'in the day(time)' instead of *дне* (the *ACC* + *LOC*; cf. §9.3). Bulgarian, too, preserves remnants of an earlier synthetic system in phrases such as *день* 'by day' and *ночь* 'by night'. In Bulgarian we see that the MASC soft ending *-ем* was appropriated by the FEM noun *ночь*. In Serbo-Croatian we see the opposite--the spread of the FEM ending (*-ju*) to the MASC noun: *дан* 'by day' and *ночь* 'by night'.
Most of these temporal phrases are expressed with other constructions in the
West Slavic languages (for example the adverbialized form of the prepositionless ACC
or \( \mathbf{\varepsilon \alpha} \) + LOC), but Polish does preserve two fixed phrases for 'in the evening', both of
which are categorized in the dictionary as adverbs: we see both the SG and the PL of
the INS of \( \text{wiecz\c{o}r} - \text{wieczorem} \) and \( \text{wieczorami} \). However, these two
adverbs compete with yet a third: \( \text{wiecz\c{o}r} \), which is a frozen prepositionless ACC of
the same noun. Different constructions are used in Polish for the other parts of the day:
\( \text{w noc\acute{y}} \) 'at night, by night' and \( \text{w d\acute{z}ien} \) 'by day'. The adverb \( \text{ran\acute{e}} \) 'early' is
found in place of earlier constructions with the noun 'morning' to mean 'in the
morning'. This latter shift occurred in all of the West Slavic languages: \( \text{jutro} \)
'morning' came to mean 'tomorrow' and \( \text{ran\acute{e}} \) (or \( \text{r\acute{a}no} \)) 'early' came to mean
'morning'. It is possible that this semantic shift occurred on the basis of the German
model, a language which heavily influenced the West Slavic languages. In German,
\( \text{morgen} \) means both 'tomorrow' and 'morning'; to express 'tomorrow morning',
however, the phrase \( \text{morgen fr\"{u}h} \) 'tomorrow early' is used, thereby \( \text{jutro r\acute{a}no} \)
'tomorrow early' came to be used in Polish, Czech and Slovak to express 'tomorrow
morning'. Eventually, the adverb \( \text{ran\acute{e}} \) acquired the meaning 'morning' independently
of the construction \( \text{jutro r\acute{a}no} \). Although OCS may have escaped such structural and
semantic shifts under the influence of Greek, the other Slavic languages have not always
been so immune to outside influence.
CHAPTER V
THE PREPOSITIONLESS LOCATIVE

5.1 The prepositionless LOC is a relatively rare construction in OCS for the expression of temporal concepts. It is found with a limited number of nouns with temporal meaning: γας 'hour', νυς 'night', πολεονις 'mid-day', πολεονυς 'mid-night', ζημα 'winter', λετο 'year' and ὅτρο 'morning' (J. Bauer in Kurz 1963, 270). In the texts of the canonical manuscripts it only occurs with the nouns γας, πολεονυς, ζημα, λετο and ὅτρο and is a relatively frequent constructions with these particular nouns; however, in almost every occurrence it is in competition with some other construction. This is due to the fact that the meaning of the prepositionless LOC—a time at which, or a time during one segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place—coincides with the meanings of many other OCS constructions. As H.S. Orenstein writes in his 1978 dissertation,

[When the nonprepositional locative [i.e. the prepositionless LOC] does occur, we have no distinct linguistic environment, syntactic or semantic, where it occurs to the exclusion of any other syntactic construction [italics mine—SF]. Whatever the context in which the nonprepositional locative does occur, we can always find elsewhere a syntactic doublet rendering the same function (51).

1 Literally, πολεονις 'half-day', πολεονυς 'half-night'; both are compounds composed of two declineable nouns. As was discussed in the Introduction, the modern conceptions of time do not apply here. Thus πολεονυς is 'middle of the night' rather than 'midnight'. I will refer to it as 'mid-night', however, with the understanding that it bears the former rather than the latter meaning. 142
He gives examples of five different syntactic constructions "that could fulfill the same semantic function with regard to expressing a temporal relationship:

\[ \text{Томь же \textit{а}} \text{тет (unbound locative)} \]
\[ \text{тогол же \textit{а}} \text{тет (bound locative)} \]
\[ \text{то же \textit{а}} \text{тет (unbound accusative)} \]
\[ \text{тогол же \textit{а}} \text{тет (bound accusative)} \]
\[ \text{тогол же \textit{а}} \text{тет (unbound genitive)} \]

The above were at one time all translatable as 'this summer'' (ibid, 78). Although he is referring specifically to Old Russian, the same can be said of OCS as well. And although the prepositionless LOC has disappeared completely from the modern Slavic languages (having been replaced either by the prepositional LOC or other constructions, prepositionless or prepositional), the older Slavic languages (including OCS) give ample evidence to demonstrate that at one time in the early history of Slavic, the prepositional LOC was indeed an active means of expressing time.

In Old Russian, for example, the prepositionless LOC was actively used in the early historical period, and "occur[s] with about the same frequency in Old Russian manuscripts as [it does] in [OCS]" (Orenstein 1978, 74). In Old Russian in general, as in OCS, the LOC of time "expressed the segment during which the action took place, although the action itself did not necessarily occur continually during the expressed time sequence" (ibid, 74). In Old Russian we find the prepositionless LOC in temporal contexts most frequently with the nouns which name the seasons (режна 'spring', \textit{а} \textit{тет} 'summer', \textit{осень} 'autumn' and \textit{зима} 'winter'), the day and its parts (день 'day', \textit{утро} 'morning', \textit{вечер} 'evening' and ночь 'night'), specific times (час 'hour')...
'hour/time', *полначное* 'mid-night', *полдень* 'mid-day'), and with a few other nouns (for example *неделя* 'week') (ibid, 74). By the sixteenth and especially seventeenth century, it had become obsolete and was replaced by other constructions: phrases such as *то м в_а я* 'in that year' were first replaced by prepositionless GEN constructions (*того_я* 'in that year'), which in turn were replaced by prepositional constructions (*в том году* 'in that year'). Others were replaced by the prepositionless INS construction (*зима* 'in the winter', *утром* 'in the morning' were replaced by the [now frozen] adverbials *зимой*, *утром*) (Lomtev 1956, §117).

By the fifteenth and especially sixteenth century, the presence of a modifier with a noun in the prepositionless LOC in Russian had become quite rare, since they had become by this time purely adverbial forms, which would be disturbed by the presence of a modifier (Toporov 1961, 22-23). Indeed, many of the prepositionless LOC forms of OCS as well can be interpreted as adverbs, answering the question "when?" (J. Bauer in Kurz 1963, 270). Orenstein discusses the extreme view of some linguists who insist that "as a group, these time expressions are already fixed and should no longer be considered inflected forms" (Orenstein 1978, 77). However, the more generally accepted opinion is that "as early as the [OCS] manuscripts...these constructions are already showing at least a partial degree of adverbialization" (ibid, 77 [italics mine--SF]).

The prepositionless LOC of time is also attested in Old Czech in the phrases *зима* 'in the winter', *лето* 'in the summer', *день* 'in the day', *ночь* 'in the night', *завтра* 'tomorrow', *(тё) hodiné* 'at (that) hour' (J. Bauer 1950, 41). In Old Polish the prepositionless LOC of place was rare, and has been totally replaced with the LOC with the preposition *w* (*w*). However, the prepositionless LOC of time is found not only in Old Polish, but was also preserved in several adverbs, for example *вчера* (= *w*
lecies) 'in the summer', zimie 'in the winter', as, for example, in the proverb kto
zimie próznuje, lecie głód poczuje (ibid. 41). In Serbo-Croatian traces of the
prepositionless LOC are also preserved in a few adverbial phrases: lani 'last year',
zimi 'in the winter', ljeti 'in the summer', onomlani 'in that year', onomadne
(< onom dne) 'on that day', polunoći 'at mid-night' (ibid. 42-43). Examples can
also be found from older stages of the language:

ni zimi ni liti; boja bije tri nedjelje dana, noći, dnevi,
svagda bez preslana
ma boj biju i dnevi i noći
ko ljeti gori, zimi godi

(Miklosich 1926, 650)

Bulgarian, which has lost nominal declension, preserves only a few adverbs
from the prepositionless LOC (e.g. зими 'in the winter', лете 'in the summer').
According to Bauer, the prepositionless LOC of time is well attested in Middle Bulgarian
manuscripts, as seen in the Ochrid Apostle, the Dobromir Gospel, the Vračanskij
Gospel, and the Trojanska povest'. He cites examples of some phrases which will be
discussed later:

Mt 24:20

(A) ne xajetel ektosto bahe zhmak . . . (Dob; Skut. 12.62)

ton nohni e` petra spa

naconohni xe narei az i stala moterj tворава

(Ochr. ap. 8; Skut. 16.25)

(Ochr. ap. 13; other similar examples in L 11:5 in other mss.)

2 No list of abbreviations is given in this article; this citation does not appear to come from one
of the texts which he has specifically mentioned.
However, even in Dobromir (D) already in the two cited places we see έξ ηυνωμη 'at mid-night' (έξ + LOC) and in Trojanska povest' (261) already we see έξ + ACC: έξ ηυνωμη. In place of the prepositionless LOC των γαζ 'at that hour/time' which is seen in the OCS manuscripts Mar and Asm (Mt 17:18), already in Vračanski (51b) we see έξ τον γαζ, and έξ των γαζ in D. ἀπρεθ 'tomorrow' is attested twice (L 2:28 and 13:33; D), which turned into an adverb (J. Bauer 1950, 43).

In OCS (and the other older Slavic languages) the use of the prepositionless LOC competes with the prepositionless ACC, έξ + ACC, έξ + LOC, and, in one instance each, the prepositionless DAT and έξ τω 'from' + GEN. Often the prepositionless LOC has as its source a Greek prepositionless GEN, but it can also correspond to an adverbialized ACC, or, in one instance, έξ τω 'from' + GEN.

5.2 The prepositionless LOC of γαζ 'hour' only occurs twice in the Gospels and in both occurrences γαζ is modified by the demonstrative τω 'that'. In this instance, γαζ can be interpreted in its original meaning (cf. Chapter 2, §2.6.7) of 'time', so that the action occurred 'at that time' or even 'at that moment':

Mt 15:28 η ιηους αξηιι ειν τον γαζ (Ost)
Mt 17:18 η ιηους οτροζ τον γαζ (Ost)

3 When interviewing native speakers of various modern Slavic languages for the information found in the charts in Appendix V, all of them expressed hesitation at saying 'at that hour'. Although they could supply a form, they expressed a desire to say 'at that time' or 'at that moment' instead. Even in English the phrase 'at that hour' strikes the ear as somewhat odd, unless restricted to a very specific context. After all, if we are referring to the time at which an action occurs, we expect that time to be shorter than the time frame of an hour—a moment, perhaps.
However, as was discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.6.1.1), neither of these occurrences of τόμῳ γας have as their source a Greek ἐν + DAT; rather, they have as their source a Greek ἀπό + GEN 'from that hour':

Mt 15:28 καὶ ἡ ἑταίρη αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης
Mt 17:18 καὶ ἐθεραπεύθη ὃ παις ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης

In Mt 15:28, Ost is the only one of five manuscripts which attest this verse to have the prepositionless LOC here— all the other four manuscripts have ἐν + ACC:

Mt 15:28 ἐν ἑβυγή ἐν ἐν ἐνε ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐ

It is tempting to view this occurrence of the prepositionless LOC τόμῳ γας in Ost as a dialectal feature of Russian inserted into a Church Slavonic manuscript; however, in Mt 17:18, all of the manuscripts except one (Sav) show τόμῳ γας. This seems to contradict Bauer's claim that "Savvina kniga is the most conservative in the preservation of the plain LOC" (1950, 53-54), so that perhaps the phrase as found in Sav is representing a more archaic form than the others, which would represent innovative forms, replacing the prepositionless LOC. If Sav is supposed to be the most conservative manuscript, then the other manuscripts, which would attest innovative forms regarding the prepositionless LOC, must either represent copies of prototypes which contain the prepositionless LOC forms; or they demonstrate that even in the less
"conservative" manuscripts, the prepositionless LOC was still a viable construction to express the time at which an action occurs.

In Mt 17:18, however, Sav, instead of using the prepositionless LOC, translates the Greek ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης with an exact equivalent—οτζ + GEN:

Mt 17:18 ἦ πιστῇ ὦτζ ὦτζ τοῦ γασα (Sav)

Τὸν Υας also occurs in Supr:

Supr 264:21 τὸν Υας ηος ηυου ουτερδιεζ
Supr 434:20 τὸν Υας προγαγολιη

5.3 Discrepancies—although fewer—also arise in the phrase πολούνοσψ 'at midnight'. This phrase occurs in three Gospel verses:

Mt 25:6 πολου νοσθήνει ζε εξηλλ εξικτά (Mar)
Mk 13:35 ηε ηετσε ξε ιζάδα ηζ δομου πριδετζ ηι βεγερζ αι πολούνοσψι ηι βι ς κουρογλασενε ηι ουτρο (Z)
L 11:5 η ηαδε κι ήημου πολούνοσθι (Asm)

There are no differences in meaning between the forms πολου νοσψι and πολούνοσψι; it is simply a matter of editorial choice (in the modern, published edition) to write this as one word or two; recall that the original mss. show no word divisions. In the modern Slavic languages, the convention is to write πολούνοσψи (and πολαζάςн) as one word.

Recall from the discussion in the Introduction that πολαζάςн and πολαζάςн actually mean 'middle of the night' and 'middle of the day'.
However, in Mk 13:35 and L 11:5, one text for each verse has אָז + LOC instead of the prepositionless LOC:

Mk 13:35

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{αὐτείς κοίμηθεν καὶ γεννήσειν την θεάτρα.} \\
&\text{αὐτού πρόγαλτε}\ .
\end{align*}\]

L 11:5

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{γίνετο καὶ κεραία κοίμηθεν}\ .
\end{align*}\]

The meaning of אָז + LOC as used here, however, coincides with the meaning of the prepositionless LOC—a time at which an action occurs. And in its form, too, אָז + LOC is quite similar to the prepositionless LOC—they are differentiated only by the preposition אָז. Thus the use of אָז + LOC is not problematic here.

5.3.1 פֹּלַוֹנוֹם corresponds to three different Greek constructions—two with the prepositionless GEN (μέσης νυκτός or μεσονυκτίου) and one with an adverbialized ACC:5 (μεσονύκτιου):6

Mt 25:6

\[\text{μέσης δὲ νυκτός κραυγῇ σὲ τέτοιον}\]

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5 Robertson (1914) defines this use of the ACC, adverbial in nature, as designating a point of time rather than extent of time (471).

6 The first Greek phrase (μέσης νυκτός) is a two-word phrase; note that the enclitic particle וּבִּ is inserted after the first word, dividing the phrase. The other two phrases (μεσονυκτίου and μεσονύκτιου) are one-word compounds, and are indivisible. Such too is the OCS phrase פֹּלַוֹנוֹם: it is a one-word, indivisible compound. Note that the enclitic particles וּבִ and לָ cannot be inserted between the parts, and can only fall after the entire compound. Although it is an indivisible unit on that sentential level, on another one פֹּלַוֹנוֹם is clearly seen as a compound: in its declension. Both פֹּלַוֶ 'half' and פֹּלַו 'night' are declined: פֹּלַו and פֹּלַו.
L.11:5 καὶ πορεύεσται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονύκτων
Mk 13:35 οὐκ οἱ δακτοὶ γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οὐκίας ἔρχεται ἢ οὐ̄ ἢ μεσονύκτων ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ πρω̄

5.3.2 ὁλογραμματικὸν also occurs in Supr:

Supr 273:4-5 ὁλογραμματικὸν ἃ ἐν πάλι ἐξιστῇ

However, ἧ ὁλογραμματικὸν also occurs in Supr, much more frequently than ὁλογραμματικὸν:

Supr 135:25 ἥ ὁλογραμματικὸν ἃ ἐν πάλι ἐξιστῇ
Supr 184:20 ἥ ὁλογραμματικὸν ἃ ἐν πάλι ἐξιστῇ
Supr 275:20 ἥ ὁλογραμματικὸν ἃ ἐν πάλι ἐξιστῇ

Thus OCS had two active means for rendering Greek μεσονύκτων, et al., 'at midnight': the prepositionless LOC and ἧ ὁ λ ζ + LOC, which appear to be in free variation with each other. In fact, these two constructions are not so far apart structurally—they involve the same case (LOC), with the presence of a preposition (ὁ λ ζ). The prepositionless LOC was eliminated as an active structure in the history of the Slavic languages; perhaps we see here an early encroachment of the prepositional structure into the domain of the prepositionless one.
5.4 The noun ζημα 'winter' also occurs in the prepositionless LOC, but in the meaning of a time during one segment of which an action takes place. ζημε 'in winter' occurs twice in the Gospels, with only one variation—Sav contains the adverbial form ζημανο in Mt 24:20. Otherwise:

Mt 24:20 μὴ εξαετες εκετερ εαυτε ζημα ...
Mk 13:18 μη εξαετε εκετε εαυτε ζημα ...

Both correspond to a Greek GEN χειμωνος:

Mt 24:20 ημὴ τενηται ἡ φυτη ζημων χειμωνος μηδε σαβατω
Mk 13:18 ημὴ τενηται [ἡ φυτη ζημων]7 χειμωνος

As mentioned earlier, the Greek GEN of time "denotes a time within which, or at a certain point of which, an action takes place" (Smyth 1984, §1444). The GEN continues to be used to expressed this meaning in Koine: "Dagegen ist der klass. Gen. der Zeit, innerhalb deren etwas geschieht, dem NT nicht fremd: χειμωνος ... 'während des Winters'..." (Blass 1949, §186). Robertson (1914, 522) states that the difference between the LOC8 (i.e. the DAT fulfilling a LOC function) and the genitive:

7 Only a few Greek mss. have the explicit subject ἡ φυτη ζημων in this verse, inc. M; as the Slavic texts were probably translated from a prototype which did include ἡ φυτη ζημων, I give the reading containing it. Note that this is once again an instance which demonstrates the likelihood of the Greek prototype being a lectionary rather than a Tetragospel.

8 Although distinct LOC and INS cases had been lost by the time of Ancient Greek, having merged with the DAT, scholars distinguish types of datives according to the function which they fulfill.
is not quite so clear... The difference lies in the essential meaning of the two cases. The locative is a point and the genitive is the case of genus. Thus in Mt 24:20 we have ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυτὴ ἡμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββᾶτον. It is not mere hair-splitting to note that winter is here set over against summer (time within which) and that Sabbath is the point of time. In practical result the difference is very slight, but it is hardly just to regard the two usages without difference.

The meaning of the OCS prepositionless LOC here corresponds to the Greek prepositionless GEN.

5.5 We have the same correspondence between the OCS prepositionless LOC and the Greek prepositionless GEN in J 18:13:

J 18:13 . . . ἵνα ἐκ αρχιερεῖ τῶν ἄρτων (Sav)
J 18:13 . . . ᾧ ἐν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐν οὖν οἰκεῖον

where τῶν ἄρτων 'in that year' corresponds to the Greek prepositionless GEN τοῦ ἐν οὖν οἰκεῖον. However, Sav is the only manuscript with the prepositionless LOC here—all the other manuscripts have the prepositionless DAT (Mar lacks the verse):

J 18:13 . . . ἵνα ἐκ αρχιερεῖ ἄρτων τοῦ (Z)

The LOC DAT is used to indicate location in space or time, whereas the INS DAT is used to indicate the means by which an action is accomplished (among other meanings).
It is possible to interpret this DAT as a DAT of relation/beneficiary, 'belonging to that year', hence 'for that year'. Note, too, here the tense of the verb is the imperfect, whereas almost all of the other verbs which co-occur with the prepositionless LOC of time are aorists of perfective verbs. As the prepositionless LOC expresses a time at which, or a time during one segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place, it is usually accompanied by a perfective verb, be it one that is inceptive, conclusive or resultative. However, this verb—εκ— is a stative imperfect—this person was high priest for more than one moment of the year. As it is stative, why is not the prepositionless ACC used? In a sense, this is a momentary action--this person is high priest in this year--which as viewed from the standpoint of a course of many years is only one moment within them.

5.5.1 Τοιούτο δέ also occurs in many other Church Slavonic manuscripts and in secular manuscripts of the early period as well:

praekrym i toioynto (Pentateuchus Mihanovich)
Gen 26:12 ousxou (ousxa) toioyn vto sto eumene (same) (Miklosich 1926, 649)

Gen 26:12 ευρεν εν τω εναυτω εκεϊνη εκατοστευοσαν κριθην

Also, it appears in such manuscripts without the modifier το. In this usage, it carries its first meaning--'summer'--and corresponds to the use of the prepositionless LOC with ξωματ 'in the winter':
Thus the prepositionless LOC is a common construction in OCS and early Slavic for expressing 'in (that) year' and 'in the summer' (as well as 'in the winter', etc.).

5.6 Finally, in the Gospels we also find a few occurrences of the noun ὕπτρο (ὑπτρο) 'morning' in the prepositionless LOC. It occurs in four Gospel verses:

Mt 6:30 ... ὑπτρο εἰς θυρίς ἐνυπτασμο (Asm)
L 12:28 ... ὑπτρο εἰς πεσίν ἐνυπτασμο (Z)
L 13:32 ἔν ἐνυπτασμο ἐν τῇ ὂρᾳ ἐν ἀνθρώποι (Mir)

In Mt 6:30, four manuscripts have the prepositionless LOC ὑπτρο; two, however, have the prepositionless ACC:

Mt 6:30 ... ὑπτρο εἰς πεσίν ἐνυπτασμο εἰς (Sav)
Mt 6:30 ... ὑπτρο εἰς πεσίν ἐνυπτασμο (Mir)

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9 The form of ὑπτρο found in Mir is one of numerous derived adjectives, here found in the MASC ACC SG form; these forms are discussed in Chapter 7, §7.4.
In L 13:32, Mir is the only manuscript which attests a temporal expression in this verse.

In L 12:28 and L 13:33, all manuscripts which contain these temporal expressions have και ουτρη. Supr also contains numerous examples of ουτρη:

Supr 76:17-18 και δεινες εκτα αντρη ό συχτοντα
Supr 118:3-4 και πρεπουσινες ων οντρη
Supr 442:29 ουτρη οτζεςπτηςας εαυτη

All occurrences of ουτρη correspond to a Greek adverbial αυριον:

Mt 6:30 και αυριον εις κληβανον βαλλομενον
L 12:28 και αυριον εις κληβανον βαλλομενον
L 13:32 και υστερος αποτελω σημερον και αυριον και τη τριτη (ημερα) τελειωμαι

ουτρη itself apparently became adverbialized as well, but not in the meaning of 'in the morning'; rather, as its use to translate Greek αυριον shows, it acquired the meaning 'tomorrow' (cf., for example, the Modern Bulgarian ουτρη 'tomorrow').

5.6.1 It would be appropriate at this time to discuss the various constructions in which the noun ουτρη appears, as was done in Chapter 4 (§4.6) for ωσμη. The most common constructions for ουτρη are the prepositionless ACC, the prepositionless LOC, and...
ACC, and ξα + GEN. There are also occurrences of ιοτρό in Να + ACC and ΕΖ + LOC.

5.6.2 To render Greek πρωί 'in the morning', two constructions are commonly used: the prepositionless ACC and ξα + GEN. These two constructions appear to be in free variation to express the meaning 'in the morning' in OCS; however, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (§3.10.2), both ιοτρό and ξα ουτρα eventually acquired the sole meaning 'tomorrow' in many modern Slavic languages (e.g. завтра in Russian, зітра or jutro in Czech, jutro in Polish, etc.). We see from the usage of ιοτρό in the prepositionless LOC to mean 'tomorrow' that the lexeme itself bore two different meanings, although in this time period the construction in which it appeared showed its meaning: ιοτρά 'tomorrow' but ιοτρό or ξα ουτρα 'in the morning'.

5.6.3 Να + ACC occurs in four verses, and competes with ΕΖ + ACC of the phrase ΕΖ ουτρανή ΔΕΝ in one verse (Mt 27:62). In this verse, ΕΖ ουτρανή ΔΕΝ is the more usual rendering of the Greek την έπούρον 'on the morrow'. The other three verses each render a different Greek phrase—έπι την άφορον (Mt 6:34), έπι τον Πρωί (Mk 15:1), and έπι την άφορον (L 10:35). Each Greek preposition carries the nuance of 'towards, into' or 'for', and thus expresses an anticipated time in the (near) future.

5.6.5 There are, again, three constructions for expressing άφορον 'tomorrow'—two of them common: the prepositionless LOC and ΕΖ + ACC. ΕΖ + LOC which occurs one time in one manuscript only—(Mk 11:2 in Mir), competes with ΕΖ + ACC in the other two manuscripts which attest this verse (Mar and Z). The prepositionless LOC
renders Greek \( \text{αὔροιν} \) 'tomorrow', whereas \( \text{ἐκ} + \text{ACC} \ \text{οὐτρὴν} \) renders Greek \( \text{τὴν} \ \text{ἐπαύροιν} \), which may be translated as a more explicit 'on the morrow'. Thus, although \( \text{αὔροιν} \) and \( \text{τὴν} \ \text{ἐπαύροιν} \) basically both carry the meaning 'tomorrow', there is a slight semantic and/or stylistic distinction between them, and OCS maintains this distinction by using two different constructions to translate them— the prepositionless \( \text{τὸ τῇ} \) for \( \text{αὔροιν} \), and \( \text{ἐκ} + \text{ACC} \) in \( \text{ἐκ} \ \text{οὐτρὴν} \) for \( \text{τὴν} \ \text{ἐπαύροιν} \).

5.7 In summary, the OCS prepositionless LOC has two temporal meanings, both of which coincide with the meanings of many other OCS temporal constructions—it expresses a time at which (\( \text{πολούνωσιν, τομὴ} \ \text{γας} \)), during one segment or at one point within the boundaries of which (\( \text{τὸ τῇ, χαὶ, τομὴ} \ \text{νας} \)) an action takes place. Bauer (1950, 53-54) gives the statistics for the occurrence of the prepositionless LOC:

In the OCS Gospels there are, out of 4533 locatives, only 164 prepositionless locatives (3.6%). Most often...with verbs...135 examples in 53 Gospel verses...; while the adverbial expression of time [occurs] 25 times in 11 Gospel verses... Of the manuscripts, the lowest percentage of plain [i.e. prepositionless] locatives was in Asm (3.3%), the highest in Sav (4.2%), while Z (3.5%) and Mar (3.7%) are in the middle... Z five times has another case where another manuscript had the plain LOC; Mar seven times, Asm four times; Sav two times. The statistical data testify that Sav is the most conservative in the preservation of the plain LOC.

There are many Greek sources for the prepositionless LOC: \( \text{τὸ τῇ} \) corresponds to the Greek adverbialized ACC \( \text{αὔροιν} \); \( \text{πολούνωσιν} \) corresponds either to a Greek adverbialized ACC \( \text{μεσονύκτων} \) or prepositionless GEN \( \text{μέσης} \ \text{νυκτός} \) or
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In Greek, τὸν γὰς has as its source a Greek ἀπὸ + GEN 'from that hour'; and τὸν ἄγας and τὸν ἄτομο both correspond to a Greek prepositionless GEN: καρδώνος and τοῦ ἐναρτοῦ ἐκείνου, respectively. Although the prepositionless LOC was an active means of temporal expression for OCS and Slavic in older periods, it was eventually lost in all Slavic languages and replaced by other (most often) prepositional constructions which we see in competition with it already in this period—for example, вр + ACC or вр + LOC. According to Orenstein, the reason for this loss and replacement may have been to "avoid ambiguities and redundancies" caused by the "various similarities associated with the nonprepositional locative construction and other syntactic forms, both phonologically and functionally" (1978, 121).

5.7.1 We find traces of frozen adverbs derived from the prepositionless LOC in several modern Slavic languages. In Bulgarian, for example, as already mentioned (§5.6), нотът survived as утре 'tomorrow'. In addition, we see the frozen LOC forms for the seasons: зимът survived as зима 'in the winter', and летът survived as лете 'in the summer'. In other languages, we see instead the prepositionless INS used to express 'in the winter' or 'in the summer' (for example, Russian зимой, летом; Polish зима, летом;) or the use of a prepositional construction. For example, in Serbo-Croatian, the у + ACC construction (from вр + ACC) is used to express seasons: у зиму 'in the winter', у лето 'in the summer' (although equally active variants зими and лети also survive); while in Czech, the в + LOC construction (from вр + LOC) replaces the prepositionless LOC for such expressions: в зимě 'in the winter', в летě 'in the summer'.
€z + ACC or €z + LOC constructions also spread to phrases with нолношь 'mid-night' and нолдень 'mid-day'. We can see both in one language, such as Czech, with в пульноци 'at midnight' but в полдень 'at noon' and Serbo-Croatian, with у поноци 'at midnight' but у полдне 'at noon'. Polish chose the LOC, but has the preposition 0 (also used elsewhere in place of €z) with 'midnight': в полудня 'at noon' but 0 поноци 'at midnight'. Bulgarian shows a form with €z, but as it has lost nominal declension, we cannot be certain whether it is €z + ACC or LOC: в полуношь.

Similarly, the prepositionless LOC течение 'at that hour' has been replaced by constructions with either €z + ACC or LOC. Czech and Polish have €z + LOC: в течії, and во течії. Russian and Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, show €z + ACC: в тот час and у тај сат/час'. Bulgarian shows в този час.

The prepositionless LOC, then, has been replaced in the modern languages by other constructions which in OCS expressed the same meaning as it—a time at which, or a time during one segment or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place. Most often it is the descendant of the €z + ACC or €z + LOC constructions which replaced the prepositionless LOC, but we also see examples of the prepositionless INS replacing it to express 'in (a season)' or 'in (a part of the day)'. It is only in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian that we find remnants of the prepositionless LOC, frozen forms which are now categorized as adverbs: утре 'tomorrow', зими/зима 'in the winter', and лето/ле/с 'in the summer'.

10 The shape of the word, with ноло in the first half, certainly appears as if it is a frozen LOC form; the LOC ending on the second half ноз, however, has been lost.
CHAPTER VI
THE PREPOSITIONLESS GENITIVE

6.1 The subject of the prepositionless GEN of temporal expressions in OCS is a difficult one to address. All of the apparent GEN temporal expressions found may be analyzed as either something other than GEN forms or as something other than temporal expressions. For example, ɐł ɐena 'yesterday' was probably already a fossilized adverb, and probably not even a GEN at all. The prepositionless GEN of temporal words does occur, but may be analyzed as genitives of negation, or as objects of verbs. OCS definitely does not attest the same sorts of temporal genitives as seen in some modern Slavic languages, for example Serbo-Croatian svakog dana 'every day', te godine '(in) that year', ove zime '(in) this winter', tog(a) momenta 'at that moment'.

6.1.1 R. Večerka, who has conducted extensive research on the GEN of time in OCS, specifically on the GEN of dates, writes in J. Kurz's Исследования по синтаксису старославянского языка (1963, 219 [translation mine--SF]):

Only as an exception, in individual cases, does the GEN appear in OCS apart from inscriptions of dates, in a normal sentence, expressing the temporal state of the predicate... The lack of a real GEN of time in OCS is sharply revealed in a comparison of the Old Czech Gospel Čtení zimního času with the OCS Gospels, for example
Mk 16:2  
a velmi rano jedné soboty přijdu k hrobu

Mk 16:2  
... RZ ĖÂ入党 CKEOIŻ (Asm, Mar, Z)

L 3:1-2  
léta páténonádcte říše tiberiáďe ciesaře
L 3:1-2  
RZ RŢOROE NA ĖċCATE ĖΣTO WÂDZI YâCTRA

... (Asm, Sav, Mar, Z)

His conclusion:

The GEN of time in OCS canonical texts is not attested with the exception of a few—very rare—examples in Supr. However, the GEN of dates is used rather broadly, representing a stable expression, a cliché, the application of which is limited by the given type of expression. The startling lack of a GEN of time in OCS texts testifies, in all certainty, that even the given examples of the GEN of dates are not a real GEN. It seems that expressions of this sort come from original nominal, namely NOM, sentences; after the loss of the character of the independent sentences the original NOM in them was pulled out by the GEN, apparently dependent upon the noun ĖĂNI/ĂÂNI 'day' (which was either expressed in them literally, or at least existed in them potentially)...

Although I do not agree with this assessment of the GEN of dates—even if OCS had no other GEN of time, that does not exclude the possibility that this was a GEN of time—the fact remains that this is the only active use of the GEN in OCS to express any sort of time.

6.1.2 Certain occurrences of GEN forms of temporal nouns could be interpreted as constructing a sphere, albeit limited, in which the GEN could actively express time. Each of these occurrences will be discussed and shown to be analyzable as something other than a GEN of time. For example, the noun ĖΣTO 'year' does occur in the GEN as an expression of age, but even this occurrence could be a LOC form (the GEN and
LOC dual endings coincide) or the GEN of negation; the nouns γαζ 'hour', ἐρημον 'time' and ΔΗΜ 'day' are also found in the GEN. Each of these issues will be discussed separately below.

6.2 Κυρέα 'yesterday', which can be interpreted as the GEN of Κυρέα 'evening' used adverbially, corresponds to Greek adverb as well--ἐκθές. It is found only one time in the Gospels:

J 4:52 ἐκθές ὅπως ἔβδομην ἅφηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πυρετός

Κυρέα also occurs, although rarely, in Supr and Cloz:

Supr 70:8 εἷς Κυρέα γονιτελὲς Δ.pull εὐαγγελισμένως
Supr 166:21 Κυρέα εἰσωτερικώς τωρά
(used 5 more times in immediate sentences)

Cloz 13a:20-23 Κυρέα ξεισωτερικώς τωρά α Δ.περὶ Β.κουτζέντι Κυρέα λεζέκκα α Δ.περὶ
γονιτελεῖς α Δ.περὶ (continues; in all, occurs 7 times)

Cloz 13a:20-23 ἔβης τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας, σήμερον τὰ τῆς ἔξουσίας,
ἔβης τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, σήμερον τὰ τῆς
θεότητος, . . .
6.2.1 Vecerka, in a footnote (16) in his 1957 article "Genitiv date v staroslovenštině" discusses the various scholarly interpretations of \( \text{bьчёр} \). Zubaty, for example, sees \( \text{bьчёр} \) as the "old prepositionless ablative (ABL) of the substantive \( \text{бьч} \)" which indicates the "separation from evening of the time before evening". However, Vecerka argues that if this was originally a prepositionless ABL of time, it is a very special case and "this therefore would have perhaps been the means of a usage which was originally very restricted", as it is represented by only this one remnant. Also, not all scholars accept that this form is a GEN one, even though it carries the morphological GEN ending -a. According to Vasmer, its terminal stress (\( \text{чёр} < \text{чё} \)) "excludes the possibility of the old GEN-ABL" because the o-stem GEN SG had falling pitch and could not pull the stress onto itself from the root-vowel. Instead, this -a ending is an o-stem INS SG with rising pitch: -о, which could receive a shifted stress (Vecerka 1957, 39). This latter interpretation of the very common Slavic adverb \( \text{чё} \) is now more commonly accepted than other earlier interpretations. It seems then that this lone potential candidate as a GEN of time was not a GEN expression at all, but rather only appeared superficially to be one due to the concordance of endings with -a.

6.3 There are a handful of examples of a GEN of time in the OCS Gospels which can be attributed to a GEN of negation, already a common phenomenon of Slavic syntax. In Mt 26:40 and Mk 14:37, the Greek text has a prepositionless ACC for duration of time spent—\( \mu \overline{o} \ } \overline{\delta} \overline{\rho} \ \overline{\alpha} \ \overline{\nu} \ 'for one hour' (both occurrences are identical):

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1 This -о is the INS SG ending inherited by Slavic from Proto Indo-European, the -о/é of the o-stem nouns. The ending -уcz as seen already in the earliest mss. is a borrowing within Slavic from the short u-stem class of nouns.

Mt 26:40 οὐκ ὑπάγετε μίαν ὥραν γρηγορήσαι

In all attested OCS occurrences, the phrase 'one hour' becomes the GEN ἕνηνος γας, apparently being interpreted as the object of the negated verb and not as a temporal expression:

Mt 26:40 οὐκ ἐξέστο ἕνηνος γας πορεύετι... (Sav)

We would expect to see a prepositionless ACC if ἕνηνος γας was read as a duration of time spent instead of a GEN.

Again in L 12:56, the Greek has a prepositionless ACC expression; here, however, the temporal expression is the direct object of the verb, even in the Greek text:

L 12:56 τὸν καιρὸν δὲ τούτον πῶς οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν;

Since the verb is negated, the three Slavic manuscripts which attest this verse--Mar, D and Mir--all show it in the GEN:

L 12:56 ... αὐτούς τούτος οὐκ ἑκούσατε (Mar)

6.3.1 Another form which could be a GEN of negation, or a GEN of age, or another case form altogether, is found in J 8:57:
This corresponds to a Greek idiomatic expression—εὖχω 'have' + ACC—to express age:

This is shown in the following lines:

And indeed two OCS manuscripts—Asm and Ost—show the ACC with ἢμαθη 'have' here, instead of a negated GEN:

Regardless of whether the phrase is in the GEN or ACC, it seems to have been a direct translation from the Greek. When παθη δεσατζ ηετζ appears in the ACC, it is probably because the phrase in Greek has the ACC. When certain manuscripts show GEN instead, it is probably because of the pull of the negated verb, which demands a GEN rather than an ACC.

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3 Often where Greek has a verb negated with οὐ, the OCS mss. show ιε οὐ; clearly the οὐ here is not functioning as a prefix or preposition. It is possible that this negative marker was copied from the Greek text, but since it occurs so frequently it cannot be attributed to scribal error. Perhaps by using two negative markers, the effect of emphasizing the negativity was striven for, even if the second was borrowed from the Greek.
6.3.2 ἀπὸ does occur in another potential GEN phrase in L 8:42. This, however, corresponds to a Greek GEN:

L8:42 ὡς ἐτῶν δώδεκα καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέθνησκεν

and thus here the OCS could have GEN because the Greek has GEN (a structure to express age which survived into Modern Greek), or it could be a GEN of age, or even a LOC form--ἄζωος is both the GEN and LOC dual form:

L8:42 ἐκδιὰ ἄζωος ὧν ἀνατελεῖ ἄτσον ἀ πανθρασε (Z)

6.3.2.1 Based on the data from the extant OCS texts, it is impossible to determine the exact Slavic idiom for expressing age. In these examples we have seen a copying of the Greek phrase with the verb 'to have' with either an ACC or a GEN of the year; we see a prepositionless INS or a prepositionless DAT being used in another verse (L 3:23), depending on the manuscript (see Chapters 4, §4.4.2 and 8, §8.4). We also find an example of the INS with the verb 'to be' to express age in Supr, but we see other constructions in Supr as well--the NOM with the verb 'to be':

Supr 128:21-22 [shevt aecatu a'tz xzi и стаарz оужe cz1]

and the NOM with the verb 'to be' with the subject in the DAT--'to her is six months':

Supr 179:8 и ce cемест десаui shestxh
This latter construction survives in Modern Russian, Czech and Serbo-Croatian, but it is the only example of an impersonal DAT to express age which I found in the canonical OCS corpus. The construction with 'to have' with ACC direct object is also found in Serbo-Croatian (as another means of expressing age) and also in Polish. In Bulgarian we find phrases of the type на колко си години 'how old are you?', with the verb 'to be'.

6.3.3 We also find an occurrence of a GEN of time in Supr which can be attributed to negation:

Supr 359:4-6 ἀνάκτωσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔδει 

Here the GEN stands in direct contrast with another construction: ἐξ + ACC. This particular phrase for 'on the third day', which we have seen elsewhere in either the ἐξ + ACC or the prepositionless ACC construction, is striking proof that such GEN expressions are not governed by time, but rather by negation.

6.4 τόμω εἰσείστη, as it occurs in J 19:31,

J 19:31 ἐγώ οἱ οἰκίαι ἄνθρωπον τῷ εἰσείστη (Asm)

is analyzed by Večerka in "Genitiv date v staroslověnštině" as not a true GEN of time—"the usual GEN did not apply in such conceptions... (τόμω εἰσείστη) is a translation of the Greek GEN" (1957, 35). Indeed, the Greek here does have a GEN:
J 19:31 ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη τοῦ σαββάτου

A more expected rendering of the meaning of the phrase would have been ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη τοῦ σαββάτου to express 'on': ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη τοῦ σαββάτου. Indeed, even in Greek this usage of the GEN does not seem to obey the "rules" as it were for the GEN of time: as mentioned earlier (first discussed in §3.2.2), the GEN expressed a time within which an action occurs, and supposedly this "great day" would have lasted the entire Sabbath, and not just a portion or moment thereof. Neither Blass (1949) nor Robertson (1914) specifically cite this verse in their explanations of the GEN of time. Perhaps ἐκεῖνη τοῦ σαββάτου here is something other than a GEN of time, such as an adnominal GEN, for example. However, it is more likely a GEN of apposition or definition, as defined by Robertson:

This is a very simple use of the [GEN] case, but is not an extremely common idiom in the N.T., since the two substantives can easily be put in the same case. In the Modern Greek, mere apposition rules. But some interesting examples occur. It is a well known idiom in Homer and certainly needs no appeal to the Hebrew for justification... [Twenty-nine examples are cited, including ἔορτη τοῦ πάσχα (J 13:1).] These are by no means all, but they illustrate at least the freedom of the N.T. in the use of the genitive of apposition or definition (498).

Modern versions of the verse in various Slavic languages show the substitution of a NOM phrase--Russian Church Slavonic has:

J 19:31 ибо та суббота была день великий

4 As defined by Smyth (1984, §1291): "The genitive limits for the time being the scope of the substantive on which it depends by referring it to a particular class or description, or by regarding it as a part of a whole. The genitive is akin in meaning to the adjective and may often be translated as an epithet..."
6.5 The occurrence of *едного дня* in L 17:22 in Mar, Z, D and Mir is designated by Večerka as the GEN "object of the verb" (1957, 35), and therefore is also not a true temporal expression:

*L* 17:22 . . . егда въжделвате еднаго дни съа улѣскааго видашь  

(Mar)

The Greek shows an ACC direct object:

*L* 17:22 . . . ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔδει

as does the Modern Russian translation:

*L* 17:22  

когда пожелаете видеть хотя один из дней Сына Человеческого

Here the word order, too, shows more clearly that the phrase is actually the direct object of the verb and not a temporal expression. Although Večerka does not explain why the GEN is used here (there is no negation) for the object of the verb, I believe it is a GEN used with a verb of desire or wish. This usage is seen still in Modern Russian, for
example, with verbs such as желать 'to wish', хотеть 'to want', and ждать 'to wait for'.

6.6 One other GEN occurs in Supr:

Supr 166:21 ἑ βρύζει χεννών λέτα σλαβοκαβάρσκα ουδεμισθ Νηνλ

This particular phrase--'one time per year' is interesting because other occurrences of phrases of the type "(X) times per (Noun)" show other constructions; for example, in L 17:4 we saw a prepositionless INS in OCS (σεδυκρατηκεν αξείς; cf. Chapter 4, §4.7) corresponding to a Greek GEN, which is a partitive GEN (ἐπτάκλες τῆς ἧμέρας). As stated in Chapter 4, it is possible that αξείς here was "dragged" into the INS by the INS construction of the phrase 'seven times'. In the instance of χεννών λέτα, it is possible that we see a GEN in OCS corresponding to a Greek GEN. As mentioned previously, there are so few examples of such phrases, and each of them shows a different construction, leaving us unable to determine which was the Slavic means to render "(X) times per (Noun)".

6.7 Finally we come to the usage of the prepositionless GEN in OCS to express dates. Večerka addresses this topic in "Genitiv date v staroslovenštině" as his primary topic. In the text of the Gospels, the need for the GEN of dates does not arise--there are no dates. Dates do occur, however, not infrequently, in Supr:

Supr 10:19-20 ΕΚ ΗΕΤΕΡΡΙΤΣΗΝ ΑΕΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΑ ΜΗΣΚΑΛΑ ΝΗΝΔΟΣΤΑ...
And Večerka counts 350 examples of the GEN of dates in canonical OCS manuscripts; these, however, overwhelmingly occur in inscriptions or at the headings of new sections (1957, 31). As this topic is addressed fully in his article, I do not repeat it here, but rather I provide a very brief summary.

Večerka divides the GEN of dates into those which do contain the noun день 'day' explicity (as in Supr 10:19-20 above) and those which do not (as in Supr 61:1 above); those which use the preposition в з with the day; those which explicitly name the month (месец март a) and those which do not (месец); those which explicitly contain the noun месец 'month' (Supr 10:19-20) and those which do not (Supr 61:1). He also discusses the arguments for analyzing such genitives of dates as original nominatives "whose form by the loss of its independent phrasal value turned into the GEN (where the ordinal number with the noun день remained partly in the NOM, which subsequently could be understood also as the ACC, or took up additionally the preposition в з)" (35).

6.8 Thus there does not appear to be a true GEN of time in OCS. Occurrences of the prepositionless GEN can be attributed to negation, verbal government, or copying of a Greek GEN; some apparent genitives may actually be other case forms. The GEN form
of 'evening'--) occurs rarely (although the phrase itself is very common in the Slavic languages) and is probably already seen as a frozen adverbial form. As discussed earlier, it is probable that originally this form was not even a GEN at all. Finally, the GEN of dates occurs almost exclusively in inscriptions and section headings, and the GEN of months occurs only in Supr, but not in the Gospel manuscripts.

6.8.1 However, in spite of this lack of an attested GEN of time in OCS, there is certainly no absence of such in the modern Slavic languages, or even in older periods of their histories. Examples of the Old Czech GEN of time were given at the beginning of this chapter. In addition, we see an active GEN of time in many other modern Slavic languages: Serbo-Croatian shows the GEN to express many different temporal frames: 'every (X)'; 'in this (X)'; 'at that (X)', or 'on that (X)'; and 'this whole (X)':' svakog dana 'every day', svake godine 'every year'; ove godine '(in) this year', ove sedmice '(in) this week'; prošle zime '(in) last winter', prošle sedmice '(in) last week'; tog(a) momenta 'at that moment', tog(a) časa 'at that hour; tog(a) dana 'on that day', sledećeg dana 'on the next day'; celog dana 'all day', cele godine 'all year'. Tog(a) dana is the unmarked variant to express 'on that day'; utaj dan is only used for emphasis (on that day, and no other). Similarly, te godine is the unmarked variant to express 'in that year'; utoj godini is only used for emphasis (in that year, and no other).

Polish also shows the GEN to express 'every (X)': kazdego dnia 'every day', kazdego roku 'every year'. Polish and Czech show tego dnia/toho dne 'on that day', and Russian has сегодня 'today' from 'on this day'. Ukrainian, too, has an active GEN of time: сьогодні, a frozen form for 'today', as in Russian;
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нaступного ранку 'in the next morning', нaступного дня 'on the next day';
минулого тижня 'last week', минулого місяця 'last month'; того місяця 'in
that month', того року 'in that year'; and, like Serbo-Croatian and Polish, Ukrainian,
too, shows the GEN to express 'every (X)': кожного дня 'every day'.

Old Russian secular manuscripts also given plenty of examples of various usages
of a GEN of time, primarily with parts of the day, seasons and dates:

тогже днe дождaвшe нoйн
внa тoркy в гoрoдe тoн нoйн
тон же осeни да емe вiй вoлoсть
тpeтьшo гaнн к пoлoудню пaдoшa cтьязн Игoревъ
(Lomtev 1956, §117)

Such usages in the Old Russian monuments continued up to the 16th or 17th century.
As mentioned in Chapter 5 (§5.1), an early prepositionless LOC phrase тoмь лeтa
'in that year' was replaced by a prepositionless GEN phrase тoгo лeтa. In Modern
Russian, however, these particular usages of the prepositionless GEN have been
replaced by prepositional constructions (Lomtev 1956, §117), most often with в +
ACC: в ту зиму instead of тoн зимy; в ту нoчь instead of тoн нoйн; ог в +
LOC в том году instead of тoгa лeтa. The GEN of time was only retained in the
GEN of dates, which is quite prevalent in Modern Russian, for example война
кончилась девятого мая тысяча девятисот сорок пятого года.

Regardless of their origin (cf. Večerka's discussion of the proposal that these
were original NOM phrases), we can see by the very prevalent occurrence of the GEN
of dates in the inscriptions of OCS texts and by the modern usage of the GEN of dates
in Russian, Czech, Polish, etc., that this construction was a common means in Slavic by the time of the historic period to express the date when an event occurred.

However, this does not account for the absence of a GEN of time in the OCS manuscripts. In the extant texts, we see no seed for expressions such as svakog dana 'every day' or tego dnia 'on that day', which were expressed by prepositional constructions (na vsekh dnya or po vsem dny; vse zu dnya). If the expressions of time expressed by the GEN in the modern Slavic languages are the result of independent developments which occurred later in their history, then why do we see so many similarities between the languages? It is not improbable to postulate Polish influence upon Ukrainian in phrases such as кожного дня : kazdego dnia 'every day', but what about phrases such as наступного дня 'on the next day', минулого місяця 'last month', того року 'in that year'? In Polish, these are expressed with W + LOC. And it is unlikely that Serbo-Croatian was influenced by Polish, or vice versa, as they are geographically and linguistically distant from one another. Where did the very prevalent GEN of time in Modern Serbo-Croatian originate? Questions such as these are beyond the scope of this paper, but their very existence is suggestive of the possibility that a GEN of time has always been present in Slavic, even if it did not surface in OCS other than in the expression of dates. Perhaps the GEN of time was a variant (indeed not all languages show this under the same circumstances; for example, only a few show the GEN to express 'every day' or 'on that day') which simply was not chosen, for whatever reason, to express time by the early translator(s) and/or subsequent scribe(s).
CHAPTER VII
THE ACCUSATIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

7.1 Many of the uses of prepositions with the accusative (ACC) have been discussed in earlier chapters, in a comparison of these usages with the prepositionless case constructions. The most prevalent preposition used with the ACC—"to"—was discussed in a separate chapter (Chapter 2) due to the massive scope of its use. The other prepositions which are used with the ACC do not occur anywhere near as frequently as "to." They include: na, no, and οτ (το). Their individual meanings will be discussed later, as they cannot be summed up in a simple, one-word translation.

7.2 Na + ACC occurs with relative frequency in OCS. In temporal expressions it has a variety of meanings in conjunction with the noun with which it is used and the action to which it relates. In addition, na is used to express a variety of Greek prepositions: ευς, εν, επ, and κατά. Ευς and επ have similar meanings, expressing an intended time: ευς, as first discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.7.2), in Classical Greek temporal expressions had the meaning of "the goal—up to, until or at, by such a time" (Smyth 1984, §1686.1.b), i.e. an intended time in the future—, but had extended meanings in later periods. During the Koiné period, ευς + ACC had already encroached onto the semantic field of εν + DAT. In temporal expressions, ευς + ACC bore numerous meanings, one of which was the time 'at which something takes place' (W. Bauer 1979, 228-9); while επ + ACC expresses the meaning of
extension' (over a period of time) (ibid, 239). In such instances, the time which is expressed is expected to occur after the completion of the action as expressed in the verb, thus 'περί' bears the meaning 'for' in the sense of intent or duration. According to Xodova, in the latter instance νά + ACC "may express the intention of an action for a known length in the future" (1971, 134). 'Εν + DAT was discussed extensively in Chapter 2, as most often it is rendered by ρ密切 + ACC. To recapitulate, it expresses a time at which, within which or during which an action takes place. Κατά, too, can share this meaning, as first discussed in §2.7.1 (W. Bauer 1979, 406); more frequently in temporal expressions κατά + ACC has a repetitive function, for example καθ' ἡμέραν 'every day'.

7.2.1 Various definitions have been given for OCS νά + ACC. F. Miklosich defines the meaning of νά + ACC as indicating "the length of an action, the beginning point itself, and the time for which the length of something is set" (1926, §42.g). K. I. Xodova, who has written many articles on the use of cases and prepositions in OCS, states that νά + ACC expresses "the meaning of time in one of the moments of which an action takes place" (1963, §69), and in this meaning νά + ACC coincides with ρ密切 + ACC. In addition, she states that νά + ACC "can express a period of time which does not coincide with the action; the action is completed prior to the named moment, but this moment serves as a temporal reference point to a slice of the action...the form νά + ACC includes a nuance of a goal within it" (1971, §84). This definition seems a little vague; this is due to the fact that it is difficult to determine exactly what meaning νά + ACC expresses, and to generalize this meaning over all of the occurrences of it.
7.2.2 The construction with na + ACC is used with the following set of nouns, all with temporal meaning: ΔΩΜ 'day', ΥΔΩΣ 'hour', ΒΡΗΜ 'time', and ΑΤΟ 'year'. These nouns are almost always found in the PL, and occur almost exclusively with modifiers, which are also limited to a certain set: ΒΛΕΠΗΣ or ΒΛΕΠ 'all', ΔΡΟΥΖ 'other', ΛΙΣΟΛΑ 'many', and ΜΑΛΟ 'few, little'. In addition, the various substantivized adjective forms from the noun ΥΤΡΩ 'morning' (in the forms ΝΑ ΥΤΡΗ, ΝΑ ΥΤΡΗν or ΝΑ ΥΤΡΛΗν) also occurs frequently with NA + ACC, and the noun ΝΑΧΑ 'Passover' (later--'Easter') is found as well.

7.3 The use of the noun ΔΩΜ 'day' in the construction NA + ACC illustrates the great variety of meanings and origins of this construction. ΔΩΜ occurs both in the SG and in the PL—in the SG it occurs one time in the Gospels, unmodified, and several times modified by the pronominal adjective ΒΛΕΠΗΣ 'all'; in the PL it does not occur in the Gospels, but is found frequently in Supr modified by ΔΡΟΥΖ 'other', ΛΙΣΟΛΑ 'many', and ΜΑΛΟ 'few, little', and also the adjective ΔΛΞΣ 'long'.

7.3.1 The one instance of unmodified ΔΩΜ in the SG in the construction NA + ACC bears the meaning 'per day' and corresponds to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

Mt 20:2 εξεκατελεξεν ές εξατμετελεξιν ποιενείας τα πέντε την ΝΑ ΔΩΜ (Mar)

7.3.2 NA ΒΛΕΠΗΣ ΔΩΜ 'every day' occurs three times in the Gospels:
The latter two occurrences correspond to a Greek καθ’ ἡμέραν:

However, Mt 27:15 has κατά δὲ ἐορτὴν 'at (at) every festival':

and thus we would expect something like на праздники in OCS.

На въстък дънъ also occurs in Cloz, twice (no Greek is given for either):

7.3.2.1 Mir replaces на въстък дънъ with the PL на въстъ дъни in L 16:19:
7.3.2.2 The meaning of Na bcτεκξ ἀεώ corresponds exactly to another prepositional ACC construction: no bcσα ἀεώ (to be discussed later in this chapter; cf. §7.10). Both have as their source the Greek καβ’ ἑξέραν, but the two never overlap each other: all the manuscripts which attest the verses above (Mt 27:15, L 11:3, L 16:19) contain Na bcτεκξ ἀεώ with no variation with no bcσα ἀεώ; whereas all the manuscripts which attest the verses containing no bcσα ἀεώ have no bcσα ἀεώ only--there are no variants with Na bcτεκξ ἀεώ. It is interesting that the translator(s) could apparently sense an inherent semantic difference contained within one structural element: καβ’ ἑξέραν could be translated as either no βςσα ἀεώ 'on all days' or Na bcτεκξ ἀεώ '(for) each day'.

7.3.3 Finally, Supr shows the construction Na + ACC numerous times with ἀεώ (only representative examples are listed):

Supr 39:2-3 . . . εξ αλ ὄλεαζετ η μολτβαξζ Na ἀνουγξί ἀεώ
Supr 78:27 η ηα βρεγοςα ηεγκ ταξη Na ἀνυνοξί ἀεώ
Supr 431:8 ηε δοβλενταξζ βοαζι ῥαζετ Na μαλο ἀεώ

Cloz has the construction Na + ACC with ἀεώ only once, an occurrence which corresponds to Greek εύς + ACC:
Thus this phrase can be interpreted as meaning 'for the (coming) day', with 'for' indicating the purpose. Note that Cloz does not translate μέλλουσαν as 'about to be' or 'coming', but rather 'judgement'; the semantic connection between the two ideas is not apparent to me.

7.4 Phrases such as μα ουτριμα (spelled μα ουτριε or μα ουτρέ in some manuscripts; this is the NTR ACC PL of the noun ιοτριε), μα ουτρέν (a MASC ACC SG adjective) or μα ουτρενν (in which the noun δεν has undergone ellipsis) express variations on the phrase 'on the next day' or 'on the morrow'. In one verse (Mt 27:62) only MIR has μα ουτριμα, whereas all the other manuscripts show the construction with ζ κ + ACC of another adjectival form of ιοτρε (ζ κ ουτρενν δεν). This latter construction is more expected, as this verse contains the prepositionless DAT in the Greek (τη έπαυρλον), usually rendered by ζ κ + ACC to express the meaning (in this case) 'on'; as opposed to the other verses, which show various prepositional constructions. Μα ουτριμα only occurs in four Gospel verses:

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1 The differences in spelling are accounted for by phonological and orthographic norms: in some dialects, a tense je r (one in the environment C lV ) remained a je r; in others it became the vowel [i]. In Glagolitic mss., there was no means of orthographical representing je; it is spelled with the symbol for i. The differences then in spelling or form do not correspond to the different phrases found in the Greek.
Each occurrence of ἀνασκεψία, ἀνασκεψιν or ἀνασκεψις has a different Greek origin:

Mt 6:34 μὴ σὺν μεριμνήσατε εἰς τὴν αὔριον
Mk 15:1 καὶ εὐθὺς (ἐπὶ τὰ) πρῶτοι συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων...
L 10:35 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐκβαλὼν...
Mt 27:62 τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἣτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκεψίαν...

The first occurrence, with εἰς, is defined by W. Bauer as designating the time "for or on which something happens" (1979, 228); thus 'for tomorrow'. In the second occurrence, ἐπὶ is optional; thus 'in the morning'. The third occurrence, with ἐπὶ, is defined by Bauer as "answering the question When?"; thus 'on the next day' (1979, 289). Finally, the last occurrence, with the prepositionless DAT, shows the traditional usage of this construction; thus 'on the next day' again, or 'on the morrow'.

Ἀνασκεψία also occurs frequently in Supr.
7.5 The noun γαῖα 'hour' does not occur in the Gospels in the construction να + ACC; it does, however, occur in Supr, albeit rarely. It occurs both in the SG:

Supr 14:23-24 δοσεσθαιμενα ηε να γαῖα
Supr 33:26-27 να γαῖα ηε πρεσετας ειμενα ποεστη πρεσετη
Supr 88:8 να γαῖα ποεστη

(The various expressions involving ῥοτυ, etc., were discussed in Chapter 5, §§5.6.1-5.6.5.)

7.6 The noun χρόνος 'time' does not occur frequently in the Gospels in the construction να + ACC—only twice:

Supr 319:27-28 ηε αοτε ειμενα να ειμενα αοτε etiz
Supr 451:16-17 . . . να χρονος γαῖα γράμα

and in the PL:

Supr 35:28-29 ειμενι καινα χρονος να χρονος γαῖανεν
Supr 403:1 να χρονος γαῖανεν εις γραμα ολα ασε αλασασ

All occurrences are modified, and have the meaning of the length of an action.
The latter occurrence, however, in J 5:4, occurs in the PL in D:

J 5:4 ἀνέλαξε εἰς γῆν ἅπας ἁπάσαν ὑμίτισε σα ἐξ ἐπιπλή
d (D)

and is replaced by the phrase ἅπας ἁπάσαν ἄττα in all of the remaining attestations (Ost, Mar, Z and Mir):

J 5:4 ἀνέλαξε εἰς γῆν ἅπας ἁπάσαν ὑμίτισε σα ἐξ ἐπιπλή
d (Z)

Neither of these phrases renders the actual meaning of the Greek phrase:

J 5:4 ἀντέπελος τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κοιλιμβήθρᾳ²

In this instance, κατὰ καιρὸν is defined as meaning "from time to time" (Gingrich 1983, 98), and thus 'for all time' or 'for all years' is a change in the translation.

L 21:36 renders a Greek ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ:

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² The whole of the verse of J 5:4 is not included in the preferred reading; of the mss. which do contain this verse, none show any other variant for the time phrase—i.e. only κατὰ καιρὸν occurs.
so that here ἀγρυπνεῖτε δὲ ἐν πάντι καὶ ἐδήμενοι... is a more literal translation.

Na vältko ἐρήμω also occurs in Supr and Cloz (for which no Greek is given):

Supr 289:20-21 ἀν ψυξτο ἐρήμω διάκρυο και εξπλακτο ποκανίσει ἀδραγκατινής σα νένο

Cloz 2β:7-9 αυτή ε μάτα πούστατι χειρί δώρο για τον Na vältko ἐρήμω

7.6.1 Supr has a few examples of ἐρήμω in the na + ACC construction. ἐρήμω is modified by μανόρα 'many' and can occur both in the SG:

Supr 266:22 ... οὔτεν πολλά Na μανόρα ἐρήμω

and in the PL:

Supr 141:20-21 Δράκα γε τάκα μανόρα νεάπλατιναν σκρέε Na μανόρα ἐρήμων

The phrase Na πρώτοι ἐρήμω 'for the first time' is also found:
In addition to the phrase **να Βλεω άτα** from J 5:4 given above as a translation of the Greek κατα καιρόν with a change in meaning, άτα 'year' also occurs in other phrases with **να** + ACC: in the Gospels we have it twice in the phrase **να άτα μνογα** 'for many years':

**L 12:19** Ιμασι ιςνογο δοερο λεκλαστε να άτα ιςνογα  
**L 20:9** Ι οτε πα να άτα ιςνογα

The former corresponds to a Greek εις + ACC:

**L 12:19** ἐσε σπολλα αγαθα κεμενα εις έτη πολλα

and the latter—to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

**L 20:9** κα άπεδήμησεν χρόνους ικανος

In **L 12:19** **να**, rendering Greek εις + ACC, seems to express the purpose or intent of the action—to store up many good (deeds) 'for many years'. On the other hand, in **L 20:9** the Greek prepositionless ACC seems to express the duration of the action. Note that Slavic had no exact equivalent for the verb άπεδήμησεν, which, based on its roots, may be translated as 'separated himself from the people'. In OCS, the verb is
simply ὀτίδε, 'he went away'. A prepositionless ACC would have been unacceptable in OCS, because of the fact that it expresses duration of time. Instead, ἡ + ACC was used, in which ἡ implies the intended time—'he went away (apparently with the intent of staying away) for many years'.

7.7.1 The ἡ + ACC construction seems to have a different meaning in these verses, seen both in their rendering of different Greek constructions (ἐἰς + ACC and the prepositionless ACC rather than κατά + ACC) and in their translations into various modern languages. For example, the modern English Bible shows these phrases translated as 'for many years' and 'for a long time' respectively. Modern Russian also shows ἡ + ACC, which in temporal constructions bears the meaning of a consequent time, one which will follow the action of the verb: на многие годы and на долгое время. Modern Bulgarian shows за: за много години and за дълго време. In Modern Bulgarian, the preposition за bears the meaning 'for' in a temporal context implying extension over the given time period. In L 12:19, all texts show a present tense verb: Greek ἔχεις, OCS and Modern Bulgarian имаши. Modern Russian лежит, Modern English have. However, the implication is that the action is reserved for the future: 'you have many goods laid up for many years'—i.e., for use in the future. L 20:9 shows a past tense verb—aorist in Greek (ἀπεδήμησεν), OCS and Modern Bulgarian (отиде), past perfective in Modern Russian (отлучился). Here the time is more obviously seen as occurring after the completion of the verb—'he left for a long time'. Thus the meaning of the ἡ + ACC construction in these two particular verses with the noun λείτο does not have the meaning of repetition as seen in other examples, but rather a duration of time which will occur after the action of the main verb.
7.7.2 ἱππο also appears with other modifiers in the ἃνα + ACC construction in Supr:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Supr 41:5-6} & \quad \text{ἐνα μεθ αμο ουστρων εν ἀρογγον \ιππο} \\
\text{Supr 220:17} & \quad \text{ἀπο \ιππο\ ce cz tri смоквз1 роди}
\end{align*}
\]

And the phrase ἃνα ἰστα, seen in the Gospels, also appears in Cloz, rendering Greek διά + GEN:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cloz 8a:23-24} & \quad \text{πεγενδε \εξι εδνοι εζινξ ἃνα \ισται εἰς δια μεταξ} \\
\text{Cloz 8a:23-24} & \quad \text{ἐπρεθη μεν \απαξ, δια παντος δε του \χρονου}
\end{align*}
\]

which, as mentioned in Chapter 3 (§3.2.2), carries the meaning of extent, "in the case of extension over a whole period of time, to its very end" (W. Bauer 1979, 179). Thus διὰ παντός τοῦ χρόνου means 'throughout the whole year'.

7.8 Finally, the noun ἁπαξ 'Passover' (later, 'Easter') occurs twice in the Gospels in the ἃνα + ACC construction with a temporal meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{J 2:23} & \quad \text{σημει χε β με \ερουσαλινης ἃνα ρακαξ \εβ πραξικ} \\
\text{J 18:39} & \quad \text{δα κεννινο δα αμε \αμο \πούσις ἃνα ρακαξ}
\end{align*}
\]
J 2:23 is only attested by three manuscripts; the other two—Mar and Z—both show άντ + ACC:

J 2:23  εγκα' γε βτ άντ άξ πασχα άξ παςξνικά (Mar)

(The problems with πασχα—specifically the lack of declension here—were discussed in Chapter 2, §2.11.3.) Both verses correspond to a Greek ἐν + DAT:

J 2:23  ἡς δὲ τν ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμων ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ

J 18:39  ἵνα ἓνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα

The meaning of ἐν + DAT is a time during which an event takes place; this is also the meaning of άντ + ACC, and thus it is used in most manuscripts. It is possible that άντ + ACC was used by the translator(s) and/or scribe(s) of Sav in its meaning 'for'; thus Jesus was in Jerusalem 'for the Passover' rather than 'during the Passover'.

7.9 Another prepositional construction which shares meaning with άντ + ACC is ὑπ + ACC. ὑπ + ACC always corresponds to Greek θατά + ACC, and they both function almost as if they were adjectives: in conjunction with a temporal noun, ὑπ + ACC in OCS and θατά + ACC in Greek mean 'every'. In OCS, ὑπ + ACC is only used with nouns in the PL (Xodova 1971, 133). θατά + ACC, on the other hand, is only used
with nouns in the SG. Thus we see that the OCS syntactic pattern here is definitely native and not a copy of the structure of the Greek construction.

7.10 In the Gospels, no + ACC occurs most frequently with the noun ἅμιν 'days' (five total occurrences), always modified explicitly by the pronominal adjective ἅκα 'all'.

Every occurrence corresponds to Greek καθ' ἡμέραν, in which the noun is never modified explicitly by an adjective:

As mentioned earlier in this chapter (§7.3.2.2), the καθ' ἡμέραν Greek is also rendered in OCS by the phrase no ἅκα θέξα ἅμιν, which, however, never overlaps no ἅκα θέξα ἅμιν.

In Supr the phrase no ἅκα θέξα ἅμιν is also common:
There is one more occurrence of no + ACC in the Gospels—with the noun λετα 'years', also modified by the pronominal adjective βας 'all':

L 2:41 ἐστο τὸν ῥαδικαλὴν ἐγόνο γῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰερουσαλήμ...

Supr has other examples of the phrase πάντα λέτα:

Supr 314:19 ΗΝ ΠΟΥ ΒΕΣΑ ΛΕΤΑ ΗΧΙΟ ΕΞΙΔΙΑΧΤΖ
Supr 329:12 ΠΟΥ ΒΕΣΑ ΛΕΤΑ ΓΛΑΥΓΟΛΕΤΖ
Supr 447:29 . . . ΠΟΣΤΑΚ ΣΧΕΤΟΡΗ ΠΟΥ ΒΕΣΑ ΛΕΤΑ

Supr also shows this construction with the noun ΧΕΞΙ 'hours':

Supr 102:11 ΗΝΟΡΖ ΠΛΑΥΤ ΠΕΡΑΒΑΣΤΕ ΠΟΥ ΒΕΣΑ ΧΕΞΙ
Supr 201:6 ΠΟΥ ΒΕΣΑ ΧΕΞΙ ΣΧΡΥΒΤΕ ΠΟΜΠΙΣΙΛΕΜ
7.13 As stated earlier in this chapter (§7.3.2.2), even though the meaning of the no + ACC construction coincides with that of the na + ACC construction, and even though they both render a Greek κατά + ACC, nowhere do they overlap each other: if na βλέπει ἤτα occurs in a given verse, then it occurs in all attestations of that verse in all manuscripts, and if no βλέπει ἤτα occurs in a given verse, then it occurs in all attestations of that verse in all manuscripts. Based on this lack of overlap, it can be inferred that both constructions had a different nuance of meaning: no can be seen as the more "repetitive" preposition, in the sense that the action is distributed repetitively over the span of time, whereas na is more "continuous", indicating an action which continues over the span of time; in addition, na indicates the intended time which will have its inception and duration after the completion of the action (seen in a perfective verb).

7.14 There is one more preposition which takes the ACC: οἰς(α). This preposition has been mentioned a few times already in previous chapters in conjunction with the noun νυκτὸς 'night' (cf. the discussion on νυκτὸς in Chapter 4, §4.6.2). It only occurs one time, and only with this noun, in the Gospels:

L 5:5  ... οἰς νυκτὸς ἐξερχόμεθα εἰς ...  (Asm)

and has as its source a Greek phrase with the preposition διά 'through':

L 5:5  ... διὰ ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπάσαντες ...
Xodova defines oref (Z) + ACC as designating "a time completely filled by an action" (1971, §88). As mentioned earlier (e.g. §3.2.2 and also §7.7.2), also emphasizes that the time is completely filled by an action. Perhaps these prepositions add emphasis: one meaning of the prepositionless ACC (in both languages) is that of a time completely filled by an action; thus it, too, could have served here. However, both Greek and OCS chose instead this prepositional construction to emphasize the completeness of the time filled—'throughout'.

7.15 In summary, in OCS we see the use of four prepositions with the ACC to express temporal meaning: oref, na, no, and oref (Z). The use of oref with the ACC was discussed in a separate chapter (2) due to its being the most prevalent construction for temporal expressions in OCS. Na + ACC has many meanings, most of which overlap with the meanings of other constructions. It has many Greek sources: εις, εν, επί, and κατά. When it corresponds to εις or επί, na usually bears the meaning 'for' in the sense of intent or duration; when na corresponds to εν, it bears the meaning 'at' or 'during'; and when it corresponds to κατά, na bears the meaning 'every' in the sense of expected duration over a period of time. No + ACC also corresponds to Greek κατά + ACC; they both carry the distributive adjectival meaning 'every'. Finally, oref (Z) + ACC corresponds to Greek ΔΛ + GEN and emphasizes that the time involved is completely filled by its action.

7.15.1 We see only the usage of oref and na + ACC in the modern Slavic languages; no and oref (Z) are not used in temporal expressions. No has been replaced by various phrases containing the explicit adjective 'every': Russian каждый день.
Czech každý den, Bulgarian всеки ден; Polish każdego dnia, Serbo-Croatian svakog dana. As we can see, some languages have a prepositionless ACC (Russian, Czech, and possibly Bulgarian), while others have a prepositionless GEN (Polish and Serbo-Croatian). It is curious that a construction which was as active as was no + ACC (or na + ACC) to express 'every' in OCS has completely died out.

Ez + ACC, as discussed in Chapter 2, remains a vital means of expressing the time at which an action occurred in the modern Slavic languages. Na + ACC is preserved as well, at least in its meaning of intended duration. For example, Russian shows na + ACC in sentences such as она приехала в Москву на (один) год 'she has come to Moscow for one year', он поехал в Ялту на зиму 'he has gone to Yalta for the winter', собрание назначено на четверг 'the meeting has been set for Thursday', or урок на завтра 'the lesson for tomorrow'.
CHAPTER VIII
THE INSTRUMENTAL AND DATIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS
AND THE PREPOSITIONLESS DATIVE

8.1 Although the prepositionless INS is a common construction for the syntactic expression of time in OCS, there are very few prepositions which take the INS to form a temporal construction. Most occurrences are disputable. Since the discussion of the INS with prepositions is very brief, I also discuss in this chapter the use of prepositions with the DAT and also the prepositionless DAT, which are both short topics also.

8.2 Two prepositions can be said to take the INS in OCS for the syntactic expression of time: *μεξάμον* 'between', *προξάμον* 'before'; however, in temporal expressions they are rare. *Προξάμον* is much more commonly found with the GEN case (and sometimes also with the ACC) in temporal expressions, and *μεξάμον* only occurs once.

8.2.1 *μεξάμον* *σιμν* 'between this, in the meantime' occurs in J 4:31:

J 4:31: *μεξάμον* *σιμν* *μολέακι* *ι* *ουρενιην* *ερο* . . . (Z)

The Slavic *μεξάμον* *σιμν* corresponds to a Greek phrase with *ἐν* + a substantivized adverb-- *ἐν* τῷ *μετακυ*:
8.2.2 In J 12:1, the phrase πρέβαι ῶεστινά δέντν πάσχαι occurs in one manuscript:

J 12:1 ἰτίς ὁ πρέβαι ῶεστινά δέντν πάσχαι πρίδε ὑπὶ ὑφινήν (D)

This is probably a scribal error, since only the ordinal number is in the INS, and it shows the FEM ending; the noun remains in the expected MASC ACC. Indeed, all the other manuscripts have πρέβαι + ACC here:

J 12:1 πρέβαι ῶεστινά δέντν πάσχαι πρίδε ἰτίς ὑπὶ ὑφινήν (Asm)

Πρέβαι here corresponds to a Greek phrase with πρέβ, for which we usually see πρέβαι + GEN (see Chapter 10, §§10.33 and 10.34):
In the modern Slavic languages which preserve \( nptxAE \) to express 'before' (such as Russian, Czech and Polish), the syntactic variant of \( nptxAE + \text{INS} \) has replaced the more prevalent variant (at least as found in OCS) of \( nptxAE + \text{GEN} \).

8.3.1 The preposition \( kx \) is found in a construction with the DAT case, although it is not a common construction. In the Gospels, we find \( kx + \text{DAT} \) only in the phrase \( kx \) \( to\mu\omega \), in conjunction with a negated verb in the meaning 'no longer':

Mk 11:14 \( kx \) \( to\mu\omega \) \( otz \) \( te\z\z \) \( e\z \) \( e\z \) \( kx \) \( nikt\o\z \) \( p\o\d\a \) \( ne \) \( cz\z\z\o\z \) (Mar)

J 8:11 \( i \) \( otz \) \( cel\z \) \( ne \) \( cxg\z\o\z \) \( kx \) \( to\mu\o \) (Z)

J 17:11 \( i \) \( kx \) \( to\mu\o \) \( h\z\h\z \) \( e\z \) \( b\z\o\z \) \( m\z\r\z \) (Asm)

\( kx \) \( to\mu\o \) + negation corresponds to a Greek adverbial \( ouk\z\o\z \) or \( mh\z\o\z \):

Mk 11:14 \( mh\z\o\z \) \( e\z \) \( \tau\o\o \) \( a\z\o\o \) \( e\z \) \( so\z \) \( mh\z\o\z \) \( kar\o\o \) \( f\z\o\o \)

J 8:11 \( k\z \) \( \d\o\o \) \( to\o \) \( \nu\z\o \) \( mh\z\o\z \) \( \d\z\z\o\z \)

J 17:11 \( k\z \) \( ouk\z\o\z \) \( e\z\o\z \) \( \e\z \) \( t\z \) \( k\z\z\o\z \)

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1 However, in the modern languages, it is not the derived comparative form \( nptxAE \) which we see, but rather a form descended from the "plain" form \( nptx \) (Proto-Slavic \( *prd- \)). In canonical OCS, \( nptx \) is rare. Because of this, occurrences of \( nptx + \text{ACC} \) or \( \text{INS} \) are also rare. With the derived form \( nptxAE \), we see the noun in the GEN because it is governed by a comparative.
Kz tomov also occurs in Supr, although it is rare:

Supr 143:12  

In such phrases, Kz tomov is probably an idiomatic expression for expressing 'no longer'. This idiom not preserved in the modern Slavic languages.

8.3.2 Kz also occurs in Supr with the DAT in the meaning of 'towards'. It is found with nouns such as rerep 'evening':

Supr 57:2-3  

and yacz 'hour':

Supr 56:15-16  

Supr 328:3-4  

Supr 328:21-22  

These phrases may be translated as 'towards the evening' and 'towards the (Nth) hour'.
8.4 The prepositionless DAT occurs in OCS with the noun \textit{αὐτό} 'year', as mentioned in Chapter 5 (§5.5). In J 18:13, we recall, Sav had a prepositionless LOC \textit{τού του}, corresponding to a Greek prepositionless GEN:

\begin{verbatim}
J 18:13 . . . ἄρχετε ἄρχετε
J 18:13 . . . ἔχετε ἄρχετε τοῦ ἐνλαυτοῦ ἐκείνου
\end{verbatim}

However, the other manuscripts which contain this verse (all but Mar) all have a prepositionless DAT \textit{αὐτό του}:  

\begin{verbatim}
J 18:13 . . . ἄρχετε ἄρχετε
J 18:13 . . . ἄρχετε ἄρχετε τοῦ του
\end{verbatim}

This seems to be the only occurrence of a temporal prepositionless DAT in OCS; I myself have found no others, nor have I found any discussions about the prepositionless DAT of time in any of my research. Since it is the only example, and since \textit{τού του} on the other hand is a relatively frequent phrase (as discussed in Chapter 5, the prepositionless LOC \textit{τού του} occurs in many other Church Slavonic manuscripts and in secular manuscripts of the early period as well; see especially §5.1), we might be able to categorize \textit{αὐτό του} as an aberration. However, the fact that so many different manuscripts and redactions show the prepositionless DAT here prevents us from doing so. We cannot think of this as an example of a syntactic copying of the Greek, because as stated above the Greek does not show the prepositionless DAT here; rather, it shows the prepositionless GEN. It is possible that this example shows a
phonetic copying—Slavic /u/ for Greek /u/, both spelled <ou>—but this does not account for its spread among so many manuscripts and redactions.

As was discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.5), it is possible to interpret this DAT as a DAT of relation/beneficiary, 'belonging to that year', hence 'for that year'. Because of this, this occurrence of ἃτοι τὸ  ἐτῶν, regardless of how many manuscripts attest it, may not even be considered a time expression.

8.4.1 There is one other occurrence of the prepositionless DAT of ἃτο, however, this seems to be an unusual translation to render the meaning of the Greek text. In L 3:23, the Greek text shows:

L 3:23 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὥστε ἐτῶν τριάκοντα...

with a GEN expressing age. In Mar, D, and Mir, we see a prepositionless DAT:

L 3:23 ἵπ τῷ ἦν ἐκὸ τρεῖς ἅνευς ἄνευς ἀτ... (Mar)

Z, however, has the prepositionless INS here, as discussed in Chapter 4, §4.4.2:

L 3:23 ἵπ τῷ ἦν ἐκὸ τρῆν ἅνευς ἄτ... (Z)
Two canonical manuscripts, then, show very different constructions to express AGE. This is one of many discrepancies which arise in such expressions.

8.5 In summary, both the prepositionless DAT and the DAT with prepositions are quite rare in OCS, as is the INS with prepositions. ΚX + DAT bears the meaning 'towards' and is also used in the phrase ΚX ΤΟΜΟΥ, in conjunction with a negated verb in the meaning 'no longer, corresponding to a Greek adverbial οὐκέτα (or μηκέτα).

The occurrence of a prepositionless DAT of time is disputable, as are the occurrences of the INS with prepositions in temporal expressions. However, these constructions were discussed here because a few examples do occur, no matter how rare, and thus a study of the syntactic expression of time in OCS would be incomplete without mention of them.

8.5.1 What is more interesting, however, is what does not occur. If the syntax of OCS were merely a translation syntax, we would expect to find numerous examples of the prepositionless DAT in OCS manuscripts, since it is so prevalent for expressing time in Greek. Most likely we would have sporadic "mistakes" occurring in only one manuscript—manuscript A might have them in a few verses where Greek has the prepositionless DAT, manuscript B might have them in a few different verses, and so on. Such "mistakes" could indicate that the translators/scribes was merely repeating the structure which they found in the (Greek) manuscript in front of them. However, we have no such "mistakes". The phrase ΛΕΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ, as discussed earlier (§8.4), is the only such phrase in the prepositionless DAT in the OCS manuscripts, and it translates a Greek prepositionless GEN.
8.5.2 In addition, we would expect to see usage of the OCS preposition κΖ + DAT to render the Greek πρός + ACC in its meaning 'towards'. In the Gospels, πρός + ACC with this meaning only occurs once:

L 24:29 . . . ἀτι πρός ἐστιν ἔστιν . . .

This occurrence, however, is translated by πρι + LOC:

L 24:29 . . . ἔστο πρός θεώρων εκτε . . . (Asm)

As will be discussed in Chapter 9 (§9.30), πρι + LOC bears numerous meanings, one of which is 'towards'. We might, however, expect to find other examples of πρός + ACC (two examples) erroneously translated with κΖ + DAT:

L 8:131 . . . οἱ πρός καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν . . .

J 5:35 ύμεῖς δὲ ἡθελῆσατε ἀγαλλιαθῆναι πρός ἦραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ

These examples were both discussed in Chapter 2 (§§2.7.3 and 2.6.6), as both were rendered by OCS ζΖ + ACC2:

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2 J 5:35, however, was rendered with ζΖ + LOC in Sav: . . . ἰμὲν ζΖ ζηκερεῖον κατετειλέται ζΖ ζηκερεῖον κατετειλέται ζΖ.
As was discussed in Chapter 2, not only was a syntactic change made in the text, but also a semantic change—in these examples, \( \pi\rho\sigma \) has the meaning of "the duration of a period of time for" (W. Bauer 1979, 710). In the OCS texts, the events are no longer occurring 'for' the given time, but rather 'at' it. And in L 24:29, we see the same sort of semantic change concomitant with the syntactic change. Regardless, the translator(s) did not choose one of the primary meanings of \( \pi\rho\sigma \), 'towards', to express in these two verses. Although the actual renderings show a meaning which is different from that of the Greek, the fact that they are not copies of the Greek are further evidence that OCS syntax is independent of Greek.

8.5.3 Thus two things that we do not see with the DAT case—"mistakes" in copying Greek prepositionless DAT phrases and the non-usage of the prepositional structure \( \kappa \zeta + \text{DAT} \) to render the Greek \( \pi\rho\sigma + \text{ACC} \) in its meaning 'towards'—give us as much information about the syntactic structure of OCS as do all the structures which we do see with the various prepositional structures and prepositionless cases. The lack of occurrence of these two phenomena give strong support to the theory that OCS syntax of OCS as seen in the extant texts is native Slavic, and not merely translation syntax from the Greek.
CHAPTER IX
THE LOCATIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

9.1 In contrast to the DAT or INS, the LOC case is used quite frequently with prepositions to express time in OCS. ἐραζ and ἄξ + LOC are quite similar in meaning and usage to ἐραζ and ἄξ + ACC, as already mentioned (cf. Chapters 2 and 7), and as expected are often in competition with them. There are two other prepositions which take the LOC which have not been mentioned: ἄνα 'after' and ἄνη 'at; around; during the time of'. ἄνα is by far the most commonly used preposition with the LOC, and ἄνη, the least common.

9.2 ἐραζ + LOC indicates "the time in which an action takes place" (Miklosich 1926, 659). Since it coincides with the meaning of and often overlaps ἐραζ + ACC, it too most often corresponds to Greek ἐν + DAT. However, there are a few instances where ἐραζ + LOC corresponds to a Greek prepositionless GEN, as well as a few other constructions. Almost every occurrence of ἐραζ + LOC in one manuscript has ἐραζ + ACC in another one. ἐραζ + LOC is used mainly with the same set of nouns as ἐραζ + ACC, including those words with temporal meaning—the parts of the day: ἀνά 'day', ἀνόμη 'night', and ἀντίρα 'morning'; hourly designations such as ἀνατολὴ 'mid-night', and ἀνατολη 'hour, time'; as well as ἀργυριά 'time', ἀργυρυ 'year' and ἀργυροία 'week'—and also those words which take on temporal meaning according to context—μαλα 'little, few', σκόπο 'soon', σταρότη 'old age', ἐραζ ἀρατία 'age', κούρογλασσί.
(and other variants) 'cockcrow', нртсельäие 'movement, migration', жиовуэ/жизне/житие 'life' and навало 'beginning'. Although this list of nouns appears to be lengthy, each noun only occurs a handful of times in the бэз + LOC construction.

9.3 день 'day' is found in the бэз + LOC construction both in the SG and in the PL. It is the only noun which does not compete with any other construction in this particular meaning. In the SG, we find both бэз день and бэз день 'in the daytime' --the former is the ending expected for the LOC of MASC i-stem nouns, while the latter is the ending expected for the LOC of MASC consonant-stem nouns:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{J 11:9, } & \text{не дэнэ ли на деснате године есте бэз день} \quad \text{(Asm)} \\
\text{J 11:9, } & \text{аще ка́то ходите бэз день не поткнете са} \quad \text{(Ost)} \\
\text{L 21:37, } & \text{ве же бэз день оуа бэ уркве а новтиж бэдвартваше са} \quad \text{(Mar)}
\end{align*}\]

The first corresponds to a Greek GEN SG:

\[\text{J 11:9, } \text{о́хи д́овека врар е́йшн тнс нмёрас}\]

---

1 Although день is originally from the consonant-stem class, it eventually merges with soft-stem noun classes, especially the i-stem class. Recall from Chapter 2 that the expected GEN PL день is not attested in the phrase бэз семь о́т бэ день; instead, we see some form of the i-stem GEN PL: бэ семь о́т день or день. As we will see in §9.20.1, with no + numeral + день there are attested occurrences of день (cf., e.g., Mk 9:2 in Z).
and the second to a Greek $\textit{ev} + \text{DAT}$:

\begin{equation}
J 11:9_2 \quad \textit{e\acute{a}v} \ \textit{tis} \ \textit{pepnaphti} \ \textit{ev} \ \textit{tis} \ \textit{h\text{"{e}mera} \ ou \ pros\kappa\text{"{o}p\text{"{e}l}}
\end{equation}

The difference in the Greek is due to the fact that the first occurrence is governed by the nominal noun phrase \textit{d\text{"{o}deka \ ou\text{"{a}}v \ ev\text{"{w}w} \ 'there are twelve hours'} and is a partitive GEN (and thus is not a true time expression in Greek); the second, however, is simply the phrase 'in the day(time)', and thus we expect the $\textit{ev} + \text{DAT}$ construction. It is interesting that none of the OCS manuscripts chose to translate this GEN as a GEN, as they did with \textit{tows} $+ \text{LOC}$ in J 19:31--every manuscript shows $\textit{ev} + \text{LOC}$ here. $\textit{ev \ dl\text{"{e}ne}$ seems to be the construction used for expressing 'in the day(time)' as opposed to 'on (a certain) day', which is expressed by $\textit{ev} + \text{ACC}$ (as discussed in Chapter 2, §2.3).

In this meaning, $\textit{ev \ dl\text{"{e}ne}$ occurs once in Supr:

\begin{equation}
\text{Supr} \ 387:6 \quad \textit{da} \ \textit{mowtw} \ \textit{ev \ dl\text{"{e}ne} \ e\text{"{x}twori}
\end{equation}

This occurrence may be translated as 'to create night in the day(time)'.

The third occurrence of $\textit{ev \ dl\text{"{e}ne}$ in L 21:37 corresponds to a prepositionless ACC:

\begin{equation}
L 21:37 \quad \textit{h\text{"{i}v} \ de \ t\text{"{a}s} \ h\text{"{e}meras} \ \textit{ev} \ \textit{t\text{"{e}r\text{"{e}v} \ d\text{"{i}d\text{"{a}sk\text{"{e}wn, t\text{"{a}s \ n\text{"{u}k\text{"{t}as \ \textit{e\text{"{x}erch\text{"{o}menos \ h\text{"{u}l\text{"{i}teto \ e\text{"{i}s \ t\text{"{o} \ \text{"{o}ros}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}}$
where we might expect a corresponding prepositionless ACC in OCS to express "time spent"; instead the Greek was interpreted as expressing 'in the day...in the night' and rendered with ε̂ ζω. Instead, the Greek was interpreted as expressing 'in the day...in the night' and rendered with ε̂ ζω. Instead, the Greek was interpreted as expressing 'in the day...in the night' and rendered with ε̂ ζω.

9.3.1 ε̂ ζω --the Pl.--also occurs, but with modifiers:

L 1:7  ι  οβα  γαματοπερισσω  εβ  δενλξξ  συνξξ  βεασετε  (Mar)
L 1:18  ι  ηενα  μοτε  γαματοπερισσω  εβ  δενλξξ  συνξξ  (Z)
L 2:36  σι  γαματοπερισσω  εβ  δενλξξ  ιμοτεξξ  (Sav)

All of these phrases correspond to a Greek εν + DAT:

L 2:36  αυτη  προβεβηκια  εν  ημεραις  πολλαις
L 1:7  και  αμφοτεροι  προβεβηκότες  εν  τας  ημεραις  αυτων  ησαν
L 1:18  και  η  γυνη  μου  προβεβηκια  εν  τας  ημεραις  αυτης

In Greek, these phrases can be interpreted as idiomatic expressions used with the perfect active participles of the verb προβαίνω 'to advance', thus 'having advanced in many days/one's days'--i.e. 'being old'. Since they bear this abstract meaning instead of a concrete meaning of "day", these phrases are not really time expressions; the reference time for an action is not expressed, only the way in which someone is "advanced". It is possible that the phrases with ε̂ ζω are simply copied word-for-word from the Greek; it is more probable, however, that they were idiomatic expressions in OCS as well. Phrases with 'in' + (time word) are found elsewhere in Slavic to express
agedness; for example, Russian has the phrase в летах (lit. 'in years') meaning 'old', as does Polish (w latach). Polish has another phrase with w + LOC: (być) w takim wieku (lit. '[to be] in such an age [century]') 'to be) old enough'. Note also the English idiom 'up in years'.

9.3.2 There are other occurrences of длень in the в + LOC construction in Supr:

Supr 333:29 в трёх око длень втрет подоба биться
Supr 430:13-14 в длень же тёкак намаля странни приходити

These phrases are unusual in that we do not see длень being used in the в + LOC construction in this way elsewhere. For the first, we might expect a prepositionless ACC to express duration of time; for the second--в + ACC, as with the familiar в длень phrase. Thus в + LOC PL of длень appears to be a syntactic peculiarity of Supr, not seen elsewhere. We do not see a similar usage preserved in any of the modern Slavic languages.

9.4 в ночи 'in the night', corresponding to в длень 'in the day', occurs in Supr:

Supr 60:17 приди око в ночи
Supr 66:16-17 ночы сглажен в корне пань животь бвайает
Supr 334:25-26 в ночи то бвайает
However, it does not occur in any of the Gospels, except as discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.5.2), where we see Mir (a twelfth-century Serbian manuscript) with two occurrences of L 21:37 with в з ноћи:

\[
\text{L 21:37} \quad \text{вет } \text{небо } \text{денно } \text{в з } \text{Уркин } \text{а в з } \text{ноћи } \text{исходе}
\]
\[
\text{ветварише } \text{се } \text{ка } \text{[sic-SF] горе } . . . \quad \text{(Mir)}
\]

where the other four manuscripts which attest this verse (Ost, Mar, Z and D) show the expected INS:

\[
\text{L 21:37} \quad \text{вет } \text{же } \text{в з } \text{дне } \text{дога } \text{в з } \text{Уркиен } \text{а } \text{ношних } \text{ветварише } \text{са}
\]
\[
\text{исхода } \text{в з } \text{горе } . . . \quad \text{(Mar)}
\]

Otherwise, Mir also shows the INS of ноћи to express 'in the night', and this one instance can be viewed as an aberration. Elsewhere, to express 'in the night', as mentioned in Chapter 4 (§4.6), we find either в з + ACC (if ноћи is modified, e.g. в з за ноћи), or the prepositionless INS (if ноћи is unmodified, e.g. ношних)—both of which are also found in Supr. Thus в з + LOC of ноћи appears to be a syntactic peculiarity of Supr,\(^2\) which is in free variation with the prepositionless INS.

The phrases в з ноћи 'in the night' and в з дне 'in the day' are preserved in several modern Slavic languages; however, literary Bulgarian is not one of them (recall

\(^2\) Supr contains many apparent syntactic peculiarities, which may be dialectal, or perhaps stylistic, variants of forms found in the Gospel texts. However, we are unable to ascertain whether these "peculiarities" are due to the scribe(s) making conscious changes, or whether they simply copied whatever they saw in their protograph, or whether they just made some mistakes.
that Supr is a manuscript from eleventh-century Eastern Bulgaria\(^3\), nor is Serbo-
Croatian. We see the variant with \(\text{raz} + 1.\text{OC} \) preserved in West Slavic: Polish \(\text{w nocy}, \text{Czech/Slovak v nocí}\); Czech/Slovak \(\text{v dne} \) 'in the day'. This suggests that \(\text{raz noči} \) was a variant, perhaps dialectal, perhaps stylistic, perhaps equivalent to \(\text{noční} \), which has been available to Slavic for some time.

9.5 We also find one example of \(\text{raz nőtrę} \) 'tomorrow' (or 'on the morrow'), but only in one non-canonical manuscript:

\[
\text{Mk 11:12} \quad \text{и вел на трё вшельшнй в витание вазалька} \quad (\text{Mir})
\]

The other two manuscripts which attest this verse—\(\text{Mar} \) and \(\text{Z} \)—show \(\text{raz} + \text{ACC} \) of the adjective \(\text{nőtręn} \) (the noun \(\text{dny} \) is implicit):

\[
\text{Mk 11:12} \quad \text{и вел nőtręн ивадзшешнй иyz otz витаним} \quad (\text{Mar})
\]

The various constructions in which the noun \(\text{nőtrę} \) or its derived adjectives are used was discussed in Chapter 5 (§§5.6.1-5.6.5). This occurrence of \(\text{raz nőtrę} \) in \(\text{Mir} \) corresponds to the Greek \(\taũ̄\) \(\epsilonπαύρων \) (i.e. the prepositionless DAT):

---

\(^3\) As just noted, it is possible that these forms were copied from the protograph of Supr, whose provenance is unknown.
The usual OCS construction for τῇ ἑπαύριον is εἷς ἱστρή ἄνω, except in Mir, which only shows it for two verses out of the six which it attests (it occurs seven times in the Gospels). In two verses Mir substitutes εἷς ὀ (J 1:29 and 1:35); one verse shows ἡ + LOC (Mt 27:62); and this verse—εἷς + LOC.

9.6 Εἷς ολογροτοὴν 'at mid-night⁴ competes with the much more common ολογροτοὴν—the prepositionless LOC. It occurs in one manuscript in Mk 13:35:

Mk 13:35  ἦν εὐετε εἰς κορδα τῇ ἠγού πρινέτσα...  
         ἢ εἷς ολογροτοῆς (Mar)

and in one manuscript in L 11:5:

L 11:5  ἴδετε κ' ἐμῆς εἷς ολογροτοῆς (Mir)

As mentioned in Chapter 5 (§5.3), ολογροτοὴν corresponds to three different Greek constructions—two with the prepositionless GEN (μέσης νυκτός or μεσονυκτίου) and one with an adverbialized ACC (μεσονύκτιου):

⁴ See the discussion on ολογροτοὴν in Chapter 5 (§5.3) for matters of spelling and word divisions.
Elsewhere they are always rendered by the prepositionless LOC:

**Mt 25:6**  
μέσης δὲ νυκτὸς κραυτὴ τέγονεν

**L 11:5**  
καὶ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίων

**Mk 13:35**  
οὐκ οἶδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται  
ἡ ὄψε ἡ μεσονυκτίων ἡ ἀλέκτοροφωνίας ἡ πρωί

However, ἔκ λογονωθί also occurs frequently in Supr:

**Supr 139:5-6**  
πο ἐξίγαρον κολαστοῦ σι ἕμων ἔκ λογονωθί

**Supr 184:20**  
ἔκ λογονωθί πρις ἀδείσοιο κνάζοι ...  

**Supr 275:20**  
ἔκ λογονωθί ἐκεῖνο ἐξίτετα

Thus OCS had two active means for rendering Greek μεσονυκτίων, et al.: the prepositionless LOC and ἔκ + LOC, which appear to be in free variation with each other. In fact, these two constructions are not so far apart structurally—they involve the same case (LOC), with the presence of a preposition (ἔκ). The prepositionless LOC was eliminated as an active structure in the history of the Slavic languages; perhaps we
see already in OCS an encroachment of the prepositional structure into the domain of the prepositionless one.

Note that the difference between the use of these two constructions (the prepositionless LOC and **τόπος** + LOC) to express 'at mid-night' cannot be attributed to a different reference in Greek: each of the three Greek phrases could be rendered with either OCS phrase.

9.7 The phrase **τόπος** + **γενέα** 'at the hour, at the time' renders not Greek **ἐν** + **DAT**, but **πρός** + **ACC**:

L 8:13

It occurs in one manuscript in one verse:

L 8:13

Elsewhere we see **τόπος** + **γενέα**:

L 8:13

It is likely that **γενέα** here carries its original general meaning of 'time'. This usage of **τόπος** + **γενέα** perhaps may be an early example of the variant found in many Slavic languages to express phrases such as 'at that time': **τόπος** + **γενέα**.
9.7.1 In L 4:5 we have a Greek temporal expression with ἐν + DAT:

L 4:5 ἐδειξεν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου

which can be translated as 'in a moment of time'. Only three manuscripts attest this verse—Mar, D and Mir—and, as is known, the latter two are non-canonical. Mar and Mir translate the phrase as ἐν οἴκητε χρόνει, with an adjectival form of ἡμέρα 'time', which may be translated (quite awkwardly) as 'in a timely time' or 'at a timely hour':

L 4:5 ημερήσας εἰς κακὰ υἱότητε οἰκειολειώς ἐν οἴκητε χρόνει
(Mir)

whereas D translates it as ἐν οἴκῃ ἡμέρα, with a nominal form of ἡμέρα 'time', which may be translated as 'in a short time':

L 4:5 ἡμερᾶς εἰς οἰκείτε οἰκελειών ἐν οἴκῃ ἡμέρα
(D)

Thus all three use the ἐν + LOC construction, but choose different phraseological elements to do so. As with the example above with ἐν οἴκητε, it is possible that this
usage is an early example of the variant found in many Slavic languages to express phrases such as 'at (a certain) time' with \( bz + LOC \).

9.8 'time' also occurs in other phrases in the \( bz + LOC \) construction, but only in the PL and only in Supr:

Supr 17:19  
\[ bL bP\'Re\'ne\'e\'z sv\'at\'z\'i\'i\'z\'a n\'o\'stoL\'a \ldots \]

Supr 61:10-11  
\[ i\'k\'o \'x\'vak\'as\'t\'e\'n\'d\'o\'I\'a \'m\'j\'a b\'z t\'z\'u\'n\'e\'e\'x\'z bP\'Re\'ne\'e\'u\'x \]

Supr 100:18-19  
\[  \'g\'o\'s\'p\'o\'j\'a \'k\'o \'k\'e\'n b\'z bP\'Re\'ne\'e\'e\'x\'z \'G\'o\'r\'a\'n\'i\'\j\'a u\'\p\'a\'c\'a\'r\'a \]

This seems to be yet another syntactic peculiarity of Supr, another using \( bz + LOC \) (with the PL form of a noun) where we would expect a different construction. Usually we see either the \( bz + ACC \) (\( bz bP\'e\'\u0160\'e\'a\)) or a \( n\'\u0160 + L\'O\'C \) construction (to be discussed later in this chapter; cf. §9.30) to express 'in the time of'. In addition to the phrases shown above, Supr also uses the phrase \( bz i\'e\'t\'e\'x\'z \) to express 'in the time of' (literally, 'in the years of'):

Supr 50:1  
\[ b\'z i\'e\'t\'e\'x\'z \'A\'n\'i\'k\'i\'i\'\j\'a u\'\p\'a\'c\'a\'r\'a \'\c\'a\'s\'a\'c\'e \'g\'o\'n\'e\'n\'i\'e \'e\'\u0160\'i\'\j\'o \ldots \]

It is not as if other constructions are unknown in Supr—on the contrary, we find many examples of \( bz bP\'e\'\u0160\'e\) and we also see \( n\'\u0160 + L\'O\'C \):

Supr 108:10-12  
\[ m\'\u0160\'y\'e\'n\'a \'j\'e e\'z\'i\'c\'t\'e\'z sv\'a\'t\'z\'i\'i\'n\' \'N\'i\'\o\'n\'i\'n\' \ldots n\'\u0160 n\'ak\'e u\'\p\'a\'c\'a\'r\'i \]
Since Supr uses all of these constructions actively, they could all have been equally viable means for expressing 'in the time of' in the early history of Slavic.

9.9 Supr shows the BZ + LOC construction with words not found in the Gospels, including ьето 'year':

Supr 212:29-213:1

ище BZ поустцнин... BZ ьетцпекс АЕСАТЕКХ 

АЕТБExH

As with the phrases with BZ тпкxz дикеcz and BZ дикеcz ткxz, BZ ьетцпекс АЕСАТЕКХ АЕТБExH seems out of place because we would expect a prepositionless ACC to express duration of time in its place.

9.10 Недzм 'week' also is found in the BZ + LOC construction in Supr:

Supr 209:5-6

Пать BZ Недzм дикеcz не мвць сa у зло ткzou...

Supr 411:3-4

двацд BZ Недzм дьркцм отявззам

Недzм has another meaning—'Sunday':

Supr 209:7-8

BZ сжетцк же н BZ Недzм прьтц вцсех 

BZ хождаще вц урзк Bz
The semantics may be distinguished by the construction in which the word appears: \( \text{ε ἥ } \) + ACC when \( \text{ε ἥ } \) means 'Sunday', but \( \text{ε ἥ } \) + LOC when it means 'week'.

9.11 Finally, we have words which have temporal meaning according to context when used in the \( \text{ε ἥ } \) + LOC construction. The most common of these is the quantifier \( \text{μάλα } \) 'little, few'--the phrase \( \text{ε ἥ μάλα } \) occurs eight times in five verses in the Gospels:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{J 16:16} & \quad \text{ε ἥ μάλα } \text{ καὶ κόσμος } \text{ μὴ γίνετε } \text{ μενε } \text{ καὶ πάλιν } \text{ μάλα } \text{ οὐ μὴν } \text{ με} \quad \text{(Ost)} \\
\text{J 16:19} & \quad \text{ε ἥ μάλα } \text{ καὶ } \text{ οὐ μὴ } \text{ γίνετε } \text{ με } \text{ καὶ } \text{ πάλιν } \text{ μάλα } \text{ τοῦτο } \text{ εἶπε } \text{ με} \quad \text{(Sav)}
\end{align*}
\]

It corresponds to the Greek adverbialized ACC \( \text{μικρόν} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{J 16:16} & \quad \text{μικρόν } \text{ καὶ } \text{ οὐκἐτί } \text{ θεωρεῖτε } \text{ με } \text{ καὶ } \text{ πάλιν } \text{ μικρόν } \text{ καὶ } \text{ οψεσθέ } \text{ με}
\end{align*}
\]

In Mk 14:70, D has \( \text{ε ἥ μάλα } \), whereas the other manuscripts with this verse (Ost, Mar and Z) all have \( \text{καὶ } \text{ μὴ } \text{ μέσον } \text{ οὐ } \text{ με} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mk 14:70} & \quad \text{καὶ } \text{ μάλα } \text{ παρὰ } \text{ στοίχημι } \ldots \quad \text{(D)} \\
\text{Mk 14:70} & \quad \text{καὶ } \text{ μὴ } \text{ μέσον } \text{ οὐ } \text{ με } \text{ παρὰ } \text{ στοίχημε } \ldots \quad \text{(Z)}
\end{align*}
\]
Although *ne no μετὰ μικρὸν* is the more exact translation of the Greek *μετὰ μικρὸν* 'after a little':

Mk 14:70  καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν οἱ παρεστώτες ἔλεγον . . .

this verse shows that the phrase *ἐξ ματὶ* was possibly an idiom for expressing 'after a while', or, more literally, 'in a short time'.

*ἐξ ματὶ* is also found in Supr and Cloz:

Supr 344:12-13  η ἑξιβαττὰς [sic-SF] ἐξ ματὶ ἑξ ἀουχα

Cloz 3a:19-20  ἐξ ματὶ η ἑξιττὰς φέρει

Cloz 12b:7-8  ἐξ ἐξ ματὶ οὔχινει εξπατταὶ στὰ κέκα

No Greek is given for the first example in Cloz; the latter, however, corresponds to πρὸς βραχὺ, which may be translated as 'in a short time'.

Cloz 12b:7-8  ὁ θεὸς πρὸς βραχὺ ὑπνωσεν καὶ τοὺς ἄν
αὐξὼν ὑπνοῖντας ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου

9.11.1  *ἐξ ματὶ* then seems to be an adverbialized idiom for expressing 'in a short time'; the *ἐξ + LOC* construction is also used for another idiomatic expression: *ἐξ σκοπτ.* *ἐξ σκοπτ.* corresponds to the Greek *ἐν τάξει* 'soon':
It also appears in Supr:

Supr 14:29-30  το ἀξ ἀκορτα αὐτών ποῦσθη \\
Supr 142:25  δέ αξ ἀκορτα σατωρίζην ποῦσθη

9.11.2 The nouns са̀ростъ 'old age', αξ ράсъ 'age', κουρογλа́шенне (and other variants) 'cockcrow', πρέселе́нне 'movement, migration' and животъ/жизнь/житие 'life' all occur only one time each in the Gospels. Except for животъ, which only occurs in the αξ + LOC construction, they all can appear in either the αξ + ACC or the αξ + LOC construction, depending upon the manuscript. However, there are too few examples to be sure, and not each manuscript attests all of the necessary verses:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>са̀ростъ</td>
<td>ACC</td>
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<td>κοурοгла́шенне</td>
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<td>πрёселе́нне</td>
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<td>животъ</td>
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</table>
9.11.3 ἐκ στάροτι σεον occurs one time—in L 1:36--, and is only in the ἐκ + LOC construction in D:

L 1:36 ἐν τα ῥοδυβ εἰν ἐκ στάροτι σεον (D)

Elsewhere it is in the ἐκ + ACC construction:

L 1:36 ἐν τα ἁγατι σεον ἐκ στάροτι σεον (Mar)

It has as its source a Greek ἐν + DAT:

L 1:36 καὶ αὐτὴ συνελήφθη εἴ ῥου ἐν ἀνή αὐτῆς

It also occurs in Supr, in which it is always modified, most often by the adjective δόξη 'good':

Supr 37:22 ἥμη ἐκ ἄττε ἐκ δόξη στάροτι
Supr 152:24-25 στάρετ ἐκ ἐσ ἀνεο ἐκ δόξη στάροτι
Supr 407:14 τῷ ἐκ στάροτι ὠμεν ἔσα ἑτερίνας

9.11.4 Supr shows one example of another phrase expressing a stage of life in the ἐκ + LOC construction: ἐκ ἀνάστα γουν 'young age':

Supr 404:25 ἐκ ἐκ ἀνάστα γουν ποτά εναι

9.11.5 ἐκ κουρογλασενεί only occurs in D and Mir:
Elmowere it is in the εκ + ACC construction:

Mk 13:35  οὐκ οἶδατε ἡδο πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἐρχεται
          ἢ ὁ ἄγιος ἡ μεσονύκτιον ἡ ἀλεξορφλώνιας ἢ πρωί

and corresponds, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (§2.12.3), to a Greek prepositionless GEN:

Mk 13:35  οὐκ οἶδατε ἡδο πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἐρχεται
          ἢ ὁ ἄγιος ἡ μεσονύκτιον ἡ ἀλεξορφλώνιας ἢ πρωί

9.11.6  Εκ πρέσελενι only occurs one time in one manuscript:

Mt 1:11  ἡγούσα ἰχ ῥοδι Ἰωκονίη καὶ ἐδομίζε ἐγὼ Εκ πρέσελενι
        μέροντας [sic-SF] (Asm)

Elsewhere it, too, is in the εκ + ACC construction:

5 Recall that Mir is an early ms. in the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic; in Serbo-Croatian
the consonant v in initial, pre-consonantal position vocalized to ū; eventually, this ū became the only
form for the preposition. The word-formation suffix with ζι instead of ο may also have been a
dialectal feature; more likely, however, it was simply a scribal error.
This phrase corresponds to a Greek ἐπὶ + GEN:

When ἐπὶ is used in Greek with the GEN of a person, in the meaning 'in the time of', it is usually rendered by OCS πρὸ + LOC (as will be discussed in §9.30). However, this is not a person, but an event, and thus either ἐκ + ACC or ἐκ + LOC is used to render the meaning of the Greek—the time during which an action takes place.

9.11.7 Finally, the phrase ἐκ Ὀμοτῆ, which is attested by all of the Gospels manuscripts, occurs in ἐκ + LOC in all of them:

It originates from a Greek ἐν + DAT:

L 16:25 ἐν δὲ ἑτέρῃ ὁμοτῇ ὁδικῷ τῷ ὃ ὀμοτῇ ἐκ τῇ ὁμοτῇ τῷ ὁδικῷ (Mar)
Supr shows numerous occurrences of other nouns meaning 'life'—жизнь or житие—in the ΕΑ + LOC construction; it, too, never exhibits 'life' in the ΕΑ + ACC construction:

Supr 184:6-7

тогда все же ΕΑ СЕМЬ ЖИТИЕ ПРЯМОЕ... 

Supr 407:13-14

имже ΕΑ ЖИТИЕ МОИЯ ТРЯПЕЦ ПОЕКДИХА 

Supr 429:22-24

по множестве же летъ ЕА ПРЕЗИВАНЫ ИМЯ ΕΑ КОУПЕ 

и СИМЫМЕ ΕΑ ЖИТИЕ... А СА ЕЖЕНИЗІЕ АНІНА

9.11.8 Supr also has one instance of the noun НАЯМА 'beginning' in the ΕΑ + LOC construction; elsewhere, it too is always in the ΕΑ + ACC construction:

Supr 426:13-14 ....�İзіемшооуооуоо въпяоооуоо ЕА НАЯМА 

Supr 7:27 

ΕΑ НАЯМА ΕΦ СЛОРО 

Supr 212:8-9 

ΕΑ НАЯМА, ХТОГО БОЖЕСТЕБЬЕГО СОЖАДЕНІЯ НЕ ОУ 

ИСКОУСНІЕ ΕИЕЗ ЕІИЕ ТОМ ПΟЮСТІНІА 

Supr 426:16-17 

ΕΑ НАЯМА ΕЯЗАРАСТ ΕЯ ОБЛѢШЕТѢБЬЕБЪ ОБРАЗѢБЪ ЦѢ... 

9.12 Thus ΕΑ + LOC corresponds to many Greek structures: ΕВ + DAT, ΕПѢ + GEN, ΕΠѢ + GEN, πρѢС + ACC, the prepositionless DAT, GEN, and ACC. In almost every occurrence, ΕΑ + LOC competes with ΕΑ + ACC (ΕΑ СТАРОСТЬ СВѢБѢН vs. ΕΑ СТАРОСТЬ СВѢМѢ); in some occurrences, ΕΑ + LOC also competes with the prepositionless LOC (ΕΑ ПОЛОУМѢПѢН vs. ПОЛОУМѢПѢН). It bears the meaning of a time
in which an action takes place and occurs with numerous words, both with and without temporal meaning.

It is not difficult to understand why \( \epsilon z + \text{LOC} \) might compete with these two other constructions. In the case of overlaps with \( \epsilon z + \text{ACC} \), which expresses the same meaning, the preposition is held in common. In the case of overlaps with the prepositionless \( \text{LOC} \), the case is held in common, and the only difference between the two constructions is the presence or absence of a preposition. Each of the individual modern Slavic languages resolved this overlap in its own way, and sometimes within one language we see the use of \( \epsilon z + \text{LOC} \) for a certain set of nouns but \( \epsilon z + \text{ACC} \) (or something else) for another. Sometimes we still see free variation as well. For example, OCS had two ways to express 'at mid-night' and 'at mid-day': the prepositionless \( \text{LOC} \) or \( \epsilon z + \text{LOC} \) of \text{nolmenol} and \text{nolmenal}, which appear to have been in free variation. In the modern Slavic languages, which do not have a prepositionless \( \text{LOC} \), we see only the survival of a prepositional construction, either with \( \epsilon z + \text{LOC} \) or, now, \( \epsilon z + \text{ACC} \). The languages with remnants of \( \epsilon z + \text{LOC} \) include Czech with \( \nu \text{polnoci} 'at midnight' \) and \( \nu \text{polnedne} 'at noon' \), and Serbo-Croatian with \( \nu \text{podn} 'at noon' \). Polish chose the \( \text{LOC} \), but substituted the preposition \( 0 \) (also used elsewhere in place of \( \epsilon z \)) with 'midnight': \( W \text{poludnie} 'at noon' \), but \( 0 \text{polnocy} 'at midnight' \). Bulgarian shows a form with \( \epsilon z \), but as it has lost nominal declension, we cannot know whether it is \( \epsilon z + \text{ACC} \) or \( \text{LOC} \), although the ending \(-U\) on the first part (полу) shows a remnant \( \text{LOC} \): В \text{полуноч} 'at midnight'. Russian and Serbo-Croatian show an innovative form (from the stand point of OCS) with \( \epsilon z + \text{ACC} \): Russian \( \text{в полдень, в полночь} \); Serbo-Croatian \( \text{u пoно} 'at midnight' \) (which, unlike its counterpart \( \nu \text{podn} \), does not show any remnants of a \( \text{LOC} \) form in either part).
9.13 Na + LOC has a much more limited usage. It only occurs with a few nouns—
τόπος 'time', ώρα 'hour, time', ἡμέρα 'hour, time', ζωή 'life' and ἀποκαλύπτω 'supper'. Na + LOC renders one of three Greek constructions: εἰς + ACC, ἐν + DAT or ἐπί + ACC. It has numerous meanings: Na + LOC indicates "a time in which, during which, less often after which, something happens" (Miklosich 1926, 655).

9.14 The phrase Na αἰῶνα θρήνην 'for a long time' occurs in L 18:4:

L 18:4 ἡ χρόνην ἦθελεν καὶ οὐκ ἦθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον

All of the manuscripts have Na + LOC here. It corresponds to Greek ἐπὶ χρόνον. It is quite interesting that although the Greek text shows no adjective modifying χρόνον, OCS "adds" the adjective αἰῶνα 'long', which changes the meaning of the Greek:

L 18:4 καὶ οὐκ ἦθελεν ἐπὶ χρόνον

As was first mentioned in Chapter 3 (§3.5), this construction, when used in a temporal context, has the meaning of "extension over a period of time for, over a period of"; thus ἐπὶ χρόνον 'for a long time' (W. Bauer 1979, 239). Therefore it is possible

6 Only one ms. (D) shows a modifier with χρόνον—the indefinite pronoun τίς (τίνα) 'some', which for obvious reasons could not have been the source of the Slavic αἰῶνα.
that the information of "length of time" was born within the preposition in Greek, but could only be transmitted in Slavic by the addition of an adjective meaning 'long'.

Although this particular phrase does not appear in the prepositionless ACC, there are numerous examples of the noun ἐρήμω 'time' in the prepositionless ACC with other quantifiers:

J 12:35  ἐσε ἡ η ἡ το ἐρήμω στέτι η η ο ι ον ι ι ι
J 14:9  τού τοκο αν ἐρήμω ζ ζ ζ ζ ζ ζ ζ (Sav)

However, all of these correspond to Greek prepositionless ACC:

J 12:35  ἤτο μικρὸν χρόνον τὸ φῶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν
J 14:9  τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι

Thus when the Greek has a preposition, as in L 18:4, OCS maintained the structural difference between the Greek prepositionless ACC and ἐπὶ + ACC by rendering the latter with ἀν + LOC. Also, the prepositional constructions appear to be distinguished by intent: when they are used, the time expressed is one which is intended to follow the action of the verb. The prepositionless constructions, on the other hand, are concurrent with the action of the verb.

Na ἄμεσῳ ἐρήμων also occurs in Supr:

7 The preferred reading shows the prepositionless DAT here; however, many mss., inc. M, show the prepositionless ACC.
It also occurs with the ellipsis of the noun ρημων:

Supr 13:22 ἔνοιθεν εὐαγγελισμοὶ Ἑράλδοι πάντων
Supr 399:17 χάριτι οὕτως εὐφράτεψεν εἰς ἡλίσκο

In phrases such as this, the adjective ἀληθεία is functioning as a substantive. Such substantivizations of adjectives are fairly common in Slavic.

9.15 The nouns χρόνος and ροής 'hour, time' appear in the να + LOC construction only in Supr:

Supr 81:26-27 κρυφή Βαλλατζ εὐαγγελισμοὶ ἔνοιθεν χρόνος
Supr 29:25 ... πρὸτεκλήσεις εἰς ἐλαίῳ ἐν ρόης

Here it is probable that we are seeing constructions parallel with the phrase να ἀληθεία εὐρέως.

9.16 Clōz shows one example of the noun ζωή 'life' in the να + LOC construction. In this instance, να + LOC corresponds to Greek εὐς + ACC, whose meaning had merged with that of εὐ + DAT:
However, the choice of Cloz to use $\text{na} + \text{LOC}$ rather than $\text{ez} + \text{LOC}$, which we see with all other examples of the noun 'life', is curious.

9.17 $\text{na} \ \text{εγερθη} \ 'at supper' occurs in J 21:20 and corresponds to Greek $\text{ev} \ \text{δε\'πνω}$:

J 21:20 \quad \text{i βραδεία na εγερθη na πρωci εγώ} \quad \text{(Asm)}

J 21:20 \quad ός κα\' ανέπεσεν \text{ev} τῷ \text{δε\'πνῳ επί to στήθος αὐτοῦ} 

9.18 $\text{na} + \text{LOC}$ then is a fairly rare construction in OCS for expressing time. Its most common occurrence is in the phrase $\text{na} \ \text{μαζεύσε} \ (\text{επεμβήνε})$ to express intended duration or extension of time. It also occurs with the nouns $\text{γαζω}, \ \text{γειτνιε} \ \text{κιτησ} \ \text{κιν} \ \text{κιν} \ \text{κιν}$ and $\text{εγερθη}$ on a very limited basis. It has many different Greek constructions to which it corresponds.

9.19 The LOC appears most frequently with the preposition $\text{πο} \ 'after'. It corresponds almost always to Greek $\text{μετά} + \text{ACC}$. However, in a very few instances, $\text{πο}$ corresponds to something else in Greek. These will be discussed as they arise. The construction $\text{πο} + \text{LOC}$ designates "the time after which something begins. The noun in the LOC expresses the point in time either directly or indirectly by means of the event
which has fallen in the time” (Miklosich 1926, 676). Πο + LOC is used with the noun 
ΔΝΛ 'day', ΥΑΣΖ/ΓΟΔΙΝΑ 'hour, time', ΆΤΟ 'year', and ΒΡΚΩΜΑ 'time', as well as with many nouns which do not have temporal meaning. It is also used in adverbial phrases with the quantifiers ΜΑΝΟΓΑ 'many' and ΜΑΛ 'few', with the demonstratives εκ 'this' and τα 'that', and with the pronominal adjective ΑΛΣ 'all'.

9.20 The noun 
ΔΝΛ 'day' appears in the 
Πο + LOC construction with many numerals, the quantifiers ΜΑΛ 'few' and ΜΑΝΟΓΑ 'many', with the demonstrative εκ 'this', and also once without a modifier. In every instance except the last, the 
Πο + LOC construction corresponds to ΜΕΤΑ + ACC.

9.20.1 Πο + LOC of 
ΔΝΛ occurs with many numerals:

Supr 443:3-4

Πο καθ 'μοι λέει πος ΗΜ θυμούς πος σήμερον Χριστός

Mt 26:2

Πο δεύονται δύνα μεν υπολογίζει τιμήσεως . (Sav)

Supr 142:26-7

Πο δεύονται όλοι δεύονται ούτως άκριβε σε άνθρωπου

Supr 212:3-5

Πο δεύονται δύνα μεν πο δεύονται . . . ἵσχον Ἰσαάκ αὐτοῦ πατέραπου

Mk 8:31

και po δεύονται δύνα μεν ἱσχον Ἰσαάκ

Mk 9:2

σέλα πος τοι λέει δύνα μεν ἱσχον Ἰσαάκ

Supr 5:9-10

και po σελα άλιντα άλιντα ούτως άκριβε σε άνθρωπου

J 20:26

και po dυνά μεν έσται ούτως άκριβε σε άνθρωπου

8 From this point on (numbers six and higher), the noun 
ΔΝΛ is in the GEN PL rather than the LOC PL. This is due to the government of numbers over nouns: with the numbers five and higher, nouns are always in the GEN PL. The number itself, however, is in the LOC form (e.g. 
akest from άκριβε, τρεχτά δέκατέχτα from άρι βέντα).
As was mentioned in Chapter 3 (§3.9.1), in Mk 8:31, four manuscripts (Sav, Mar, Z and Mir) show the prepositionless ACC τρεῖς δύναμιν instead of ποι ἑδραῖον δύναμιν:

Mk 8:31 Καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήναι (Sav)

However, since the Greek has μετὰ + ACC, Asm, Ost and D show the more exact translation:

Mk 8:31 καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήναι

All other occurrences correspond to Greek μετὰ + ACC:

Mt 26:2 οἶδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται
Mk 9:2 καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας ἦς παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Πέτρον ...
J 20:26 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ πάλιν ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ...
9.20.2 We find the use of the quantifiers ὁλοκαίτως 'few' and ὑποστάσεις 'many' in the no + LOC construction with ἄνω in Supr:

Supr 414:1-3 no ὁλοκαίτως ἄνω σκοννύα σα ...
Supr 146:11-12 ουστρασίμαζ η σα no ὑποστάσεις ἄνω ...

9.20.3 The phrase (ἵνα) no ὑποστάσεις ἄνω 'not) after many days' occurs in L 15:13:

L 15:13 ἵνα no ὑποστάσεις ἄνω σκόρπας ἔλεις ἑαυτός σειμα
(Ost)

It also occurs in Mir in Mt 25:19:

Mt 25:19 no ὑποστάσεις ἥν ἄνω πρήδε ἵνα ζαίλῃ τῇ ... (Mir)
However, all the other manuscripts show here ἁνονοστὸς ἐρτίων (or the PL ἁνονοστὸς τῶν ἐρτίων), which is lexically more equivalent to the Greek μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον: the SG ἁνονοστὸς ἐρτίων is structurally more equivalent:

Mt 25:19 ἁνονοστὸς ἐρτίων πρὶν δὲ παρὰ τῷ Κ.Μ.Ε.Ν.Η.

(Asm)

Mt 25:19 μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐρχεται ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων ἐκεῖνων . . .

9.20.4 A similar phenomenon occurs with the phrase ἁνονὸς ἐρτίων δὲ ἀνὴρ 'after these days': we see it in L 1:24 translating Greek μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας:

L 1:24 ἁνονὸς ἐρτίων . . . ἔφατας ἐλισάβετ (Mar)

L 1:24 μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας συνέλαβεν Ἐλισάβετ

And in L 9:28 in D:

L 9:28 ἔγραφε δὲ ἁνονὸς ἐρτίων ἐκ ἄνω ἃ ἤπειρα ση . . . (D)

However, in L 9:28, all the other manuscripts show here ἁνονὸς ἐρτίων . . . 'after these words' for Greek μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους:
Finally, the phrase \( \text{πό ἀνήχος} \) appears once in Mk 2:1 in Mar and Z (Mir has \( \text{βαζόμενος} \); no other manuscript attests this verse):

\[ \text{Mk 2:1} \]

\[ \text{i εὐνήδε παξιὸν εἰς τὸ καπερναοῦμι παξίῳ} \]  \text{πό ἀνήχος} \text{(Mar)}

This occurrence of \( \text{πό} + \text{LOC} \), however, corresponds not to Greek \( \text{μετά} + \text{ACC} \), but rather to \( \text{διά} + \text{GEN} \):

\[ \text{Mk 2:1} \]

\[ \text{καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοῦμι διὰ ἡμερῶν} \]

In this particular passage, however, \( \text{διὰ} + \text{GEN} \) also serves "to denote an interval after" (Gingrich 1983, 44). This phrase \( \text{πό ἀνήχος} \) is also unusual because it is the only instance of \( \text{ἀνήχος} \) in the \( \text{πό} + \text{LOC} \) construction without a modifier of any sort.

The \( \text{πό} + \text{LOC} \) construction is also used with the noun \( \text{γαῖα} \) 'hour, time', modified by \( \text{μαζί} \):

\[ \text{Supr 144:6-7} \]

\[ \text{πό μαζὶ γαῖας γιαγολα όσθαρπ καὶ καλαγηνουμοῦ} \]
To denote 'after a short time', we usually expect the more common phrase *(wke) no uzmọz'k/(wke) no uzmọgo'yu*, found in the Gospels. This is discussed below (§9.26).

9.22 ἀπὸ δὲ ἐνετέχει ἡμιῆ 'after the ninth hour' is found one time in one manuscript:

Mt 27:46 ἀπὸ δὲ ἐνετέχει ἡμιῆ βῆζην ἅζη (Mir-2nd time?)

All other manuscripts show here ἐν + LOC:

Mt 27:46 ἐν ἡμιῆ βῆζην ἅζη (Asm)

ἐν + LOC is the more exact rendering of the Greek ἐν + ACC, as they both denote approximation:

Mt 27:46 ἐν δὲ τῆν ἐνάτην ὡραν ἀνεβάσσετεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς

The use of ἐν is discussed in §9.30.

9.23 The noun ἡμι 'year' is also used in the ἐν + LOC construction. It occurs modified by a numeral to express 'after X year(s)':

9 The first occurrence of this verse in Mir shows the expected ἐν ἡμι ἡμιῆ.
In this usage it is not found in the Gospels. The phrase 

\[
\text{no ἀρτοῦ}
\]

however, does occur in Mt 2:16:

\[
\text{Mt 2:16} \quad \ldots \text{no ἀρτοῦ εἴη ἱσπίζα τὰ ἀπὸ χρῶν ἁγ. (Asm)}
\]

But Ost and Sav show it as 

\[
\text{Mt 2:16} \quad \ldots \text{no ἀρτοῦ εἴη ἱσπίζα τὰ ἀπὸ χρῶν (Ost)}
\]

which is a more exact lexical rendering of the Greek:

\[
\text{Mt 2:16} \quad \ldots \text{κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπὲρ ἱερὸς ἱπτά τῶν μάρτυρων}
\]

The meaning of κατὰ + ACC here, however, is "to introduce the norm that governs something according to, in accordance with" (Gingrich 1983, 101). Thus, no here probably does not mean 'after', but rather 'according to' (cf., e.g., Modern Russian по-моею 'in my opinion', i.e. 'according to me') Thus this is not a true time expression, as it does not refer to the time of an action, but rather expresses 'according to the time (which he had determined from the wise men)'.
Supr shows ἁπτο in the no + LOC construction in the PL modified by ἔννοας 'many':

Supr 429:22-24

9.24 ἐρήμω 'time' also occurs in Mt 25:19 in the no + LOC construction, as mentioned earlier (§9.20.3). It renders Greek μετά πολὺν χρόνον:

Mt 25:19

Three manuscripts—Sav, Mar and Z—show the phrase in the PL no ἔννοας ἐρήμων, which appears to be an unusual structural divergence, both from the Greek original and from what OCS has elsewhere:

Mt 25:19

Supr shows ἐρήμω in the no + LOC construction, but with different modifiers:
9.25 Many nouns which do not have temporal meaning are also used in the no + LOC construction. One is the word παρασκευή, which was borrowed from the Greek Παρασκευή. Its original meaning was 'preparation', and eventually it came to mean 'preparation for the Sabbath', or 'day before the Sabbath', i.e. 'Friday'. In Modern Greek, παρασκευή is the word for 'Friday'. Some OCS manuscripts use παρασκευή, but others use the native Slavic word натся 'fifth day', which does have temporal meaning. По натся or по паразкеьи occurs in Mt 27:62:

Mt 27:62 ὥστε ἡμέρα πάντων, ἡ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπήρμιν, ἐντὸν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν...

The other nouns without temporal meaning which are used in the no + LOC construction are too numerous to name here. For a complete list, see Appendix K. A few examples can serve to illustrate the scope of this construction:

Supr 332:4-5 ὅποιος ἐπιθυμεῖ ἵνα ἄρξηταί γιὰ νὰ δραμάσει
Supr 407:1-2 ὅποιος εὐχαριστεῖ, εὐλαβείαν ἐπισκόπου ἐξάγει στὸ δόσιμα

---

10 It is worth mentioning that the structure of the week itself is distinguished between the Greek and Slavic cultures— in the Slavic world, the week is counted from Monday and thus Friday is 'the fifth day'; however, in Greece, the week is counted from Sunday and thus 'the fifth day' (ἡ Πέμπτη) is Thursday.
Mk 13:24 ἥξ εἶ ὅ τις ἄλλοι τοὶ ζωνὴν ἀπορώντας σαῖς
(Z)

Mk 13:24 ἀλλὰ ἐν ἑκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν
ἑκείνην ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθῆσεται

L 12:5 οὐκ οὖν σα ὧμῶν ὁδῷ ποιεῖν ὑπ' οὐσίαν
(Ost)

L 12:5 φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξοντα ἐξουσίαν

9.26 The quantifiers ἡμῶν ἡ 'many' and ἡάρα 'few', are also found in the no + LOC construction, with the ellipsis of the head noun. No ἡάρα/ἡάρα (MASC o-stem vs. u-stem ending) 'after a short time' occurs in Supr:

Supr 201:3-4 ἡ ἐν ἡάρα εἰς τὸ... 
Supr 232:21 ἕνο γε ἐν ἡάρα ξότη ὑπ' ἔσταμιν

ἡμών ἡ also has two LOC forms: some manuscripts have the MASC o-stem (ἡ) ἐν ἡμῶν, while others have a MASC u-stem (ἡ) ἐν ἡμῶνος:

Mk 26:73 ἡ ἐν ἡμῶν ἐν οὑσίας σταμάτησε... (Sav)
Mk 14:70 ἡ ἐν ἡμῶνος παρακαταπατήσε... (Z)
L 22:58 ἡ ἐν ἡμῶν ἀργαῖς ἦλθεν εἰς θεῦ ἥρεσ... (D)

Regardless of the ending, (ἡ) ἐν ἡμῶνος corresponds to either Greek μετὰ μικρῶν or μετὰ βραχύ, which have the same meaning, 'after (not) a long time'. Both phrases, as with the Slavic phrase, show the ellipsis of the head noun 'time':

...
Mt 26:73  μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ ἐστῶτες εἶπον . . .
Mk 14:70  καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν οἱ παρεστώτες ἔλεγον . . .
Lk 22:58  καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ ἔτερος ὅδων αὐτῶν ἔφη . . .

9.27  Finally, we come to the use of the no + LOC construction with the demonstratives οὗ (PL οὗ) 'this' and τὸ 'that': no οἷς, no οἷς (PL), and no τοῖς. These phrases are used to render Greek μετὰ τοῦτο 'after this' and μετὰ ταῦτα 'after these'. They are interchangeable with each other. The distinction between the SG and the PL as seen in the Greek text—which appears to be purely a stylistic and not semantic distinction—is not maintained in the Slavic manuscripts. For example, J 21:1, the Greek has the PL:

J 21:1  μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς

but two of the five Slavic manuscripts have the SG:

J 21:1  ὅποιον ἔτι εἰς παρακλήσεως σφόν ὦ ὀγισθηκομεν εἰς ἡμῶν (Mar)

The other three—Asm, Ost, and Mir—substitute ἡ ὦ. In fact, ἡ ὦ is often found in the Aprakoi to replace various phrases with ὅποιον, etc.
The no се́мь, etc., phrases are quite frequent in the Gospels, and in Supr as well:

L 18:4 ... po си́х же ре́є в з се́мь ... (Asm)
J 11:11 и по се́мь гії а ны́з ... (Ost)
Supr 8:17 po то́мь пригваждаєтс я са на арфьтс
Supr 10:1-2 po то́мь по ве́семоу телоу прижзы́ти
Supr 111:4-7 po то́мъ же мало дьнни инни ны́шны ... пришедьц ...

We do see some variation in some manuscripts: for example, in L 18:4, four manuscripts substitute the adverbial послядн—Sav, Mar, Z and Mir:

L 18:4 ... послядн же ре́є в се́мь (Sav)

Послядн is what we usually find to render the Greek adverbial ὑστερον, as in

Mt 4:2 ... посляді же в зъалка (Asm)
Mt 4:2 ... ὑστερον ἑπείγασεν

In J 13:5, D substitutes тогда for по томь:

J 13:5 и тогдя вмі́є вода в б оу́міральнных (D)
In addition, D substitutes *πο τομλ* in Mk 9:2, where the other manuscripts have *πο ῥεστίν Δμνλ*:

Mk 9:2  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(D)</td>
<td><em>πο τομλ</em> ποιματι ἵσσα πέτρα...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Z)</td>
<td><em>πο ῥεστίν Δμνλ</em> ποιματι ἵσσα πέτρα...</td>
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</table>

Other than these examples, the only variation we see among the manuscripts is among the usages of *πο σεμλ*, *πο σχζ*, and *πο τομλ*.

9.27.1 In almost all occurrences, OCS *πο σεμλ*, etc., renders Greek *μετά + ACC*:

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<tr>
<td>(L) 18:4</td>
<td><em>μετά δὲ ταύτα εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ</em>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) 11:11</td>
<td><em>καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λέγει αὐτοῖς</em>...</td>
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However, three verses with *πο τομλ* (and only *πο τομλ*) have as their source Greek *εἶτα* 'then', an adverb:

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<tr>
<td>(L) 8:12</td>
<td><em>εἶτα ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος</em>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) 13:5</td>
<td><em>εἶτα βάλλει ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν νηπίαρ</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) 19:27</td>
<td><em>εἶτα λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ</em>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we saw above, in J 13:5 D does show the more literal *τορζάδα*; all of the other manuscripts, however, have *πο τομλ*:
9.28 A variant of ηό--νοσεξαδε--is found in Supr in the phrase ηοσεξαδε
βςξυζ 'after everything':

Supr 6:23 ηοσεξαδε ψέβαξοζ Σκξμξα υλοξκα ηο ηοξαζου
σεξκεζου

9.29 As we have seen, the construction ηό + LOC in the meaning of 'after' is used
very frequently in OCS to render temporal expressions. Most often it corresponds to
Greek μέτα + ACC. Many parts of speech can be found in the ηό + LOC
construction—in addition to nouns, we also find the adverbial quantifiers μξνόρα
'many' and μαξ 'few', with the demonstratives κζ 'this' and ζτ/ζα 'that', and with
the pronominal adjective βςξυ 'all'. The nouns which are found with ηό + LOC
include those with temporal meaning (δμν/δμη 'day', γαξ/γοξη 'hour, time',
μέτα 'year', and ηρξμα 'time'), as well as with many nouns which do not (such as
the noun [phrase]σ κλεξ 'bread', βξξμξμε 'εοξζ 'stirring of the water',
μοι τερα 'prayer', and many others). ηό + LOC is one of the most active temporal
constructions in OCS.

9.30 By contrast, ηημ + LOC is a very rare temporal construction. It occurs only five
times in the Gospels; it also occurs in Supr. Xodova defines ηημ + LOC as indicating
"a temporal reference point around which an action takes place" (1971, §83). In other
words, ἐπὶ indicates an approximate time. When it is used with a person, ἐπὶ + LOC indicates that the given event occurred in that person’s lifetime. In the latter usage, ἐπὶ + LOC corresponds to Greek ἐπὶ + GEN, which designates "in the time of, under (kings or other rulers)” (W. Bauer 1979, 286). Elsewhere, with explicit expressions of time, the usual correspondence for ἐπὶ + LOC is περί + ACC, which designates of time "about, near" (W. Bauer 1979, 645). One instance, which corresponds to πρὸς + ACC, demonstrates that the meaning of ἐπὶ could also be 'towards, near' (discussed in §9.33).

9.31 In the Gospels we find two examples of ἐπὶ + LOC of a person:

L.3:2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερεῖ  ἀνὴρ ἐκ Καὶ καὶ Εἰκοτζῆ ἀγίαν ἐτὲς (Z)
L.4:27 ἐπὶ τοῦ προφήτου Μαρ (Mar)

Both correspond to Greek ἐπὶ + GEN:

L.3:2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Άννα καὶ Καίαφα ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς θεοῦ
L.4:27 καὶ πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἠσάν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ ἐπὶ Ἐλεσαιού τοῦ προφήτου

This construction is also found in Supr:
9.32 When ηρι + LOC corresponds to περί + ACC, it usually involves an hour or another specific time:

Mt 27:46 ηρι δευτέρα χρoμο και γεύση τολμάν ανήλικον.
(Mark)

Mk 6:48 περί την ημέραν της τετάρτης φυλακήν τῆς νυκτῶς ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτούς.

9.33 ηρι + LOC occurs with one other noun in the Gospels: ηερεφ 'evening':

L 24:29 ηερεφ ἕκο ηρι ηερεφ ετταξ.
(Assyrian)

This instance corresponds to πρός + ACC:

L 24:29 οτι πρός ἐσσεπέραν ἐστίν.
This demonstrates the polysemy of the \( \eta \rho \eta + \text{LOC} \) construction: here it is used to express a times *towards* which.

9.34 To summarize, the LOC occurs with four prepositions in OCS: \( \varepsilon \zeta \), \( \nu a \), \( \nu o \) and \( \eta \rho \eta \). \( \varepsilon \zeta \) and \( \nu a \) are quite similar in meaning and usage to \( \varepsilon \zeta \) and \( \nu a + \text{ACC} \), and often compete with them. They both have many different Greek constructions to which they correspond. \( \nu o \) bears the meaning 'after' and corresponds to Greek \( \mu \varepsilon t \alpha + \text{ACC} \). It is a very frequent construction in OCS. \( \eta \rho \eta \), on the other hand, is quite rare and renders either Greek \( \pi \varepsilon r \zeta + \text{ACC} \) if a temporal noun is used or \( \varepsilon \nu \zeta + \text{GEN} \) if the noun represents a person. In the last example given, \( \eta \rho \eta \) translated \( \eta \rho \zeta \zeta + \text{ACC} \), 'towards'.

9.34.1 \( \varepsilon \zeta + \text{LOC} \) is the only one of these constructions which survives in active usage in the modern Slavic languages; indeed, it rivals even the \( \varepsilon \zeta + \text{ACC} \) construction. As mentioned in §9.4, the West Slavic languages preserve \( \varepsilon \zeta + \text{LOC} \) to express 'in the night' and 'in the day': Polish \( \text{W noc} \), Czech/Slovak \( \text{V noc} \); Czech/Slovak \( \text{V dn} \). Also, some languages preserve the variant \( \varepsilon \zeta + \text{LOC} \) to express 'at midnight' and 'at noon': Czech \( \text{V púlnoc} 'at midnight' \) and \( \text{V poledn} 'at noon' \); Serbo-Croatian \( \text{u podne} \) 'at noon'. Polish chose the LOC, but substituted the preposition \( \theta \) (also used elsewhere in place of \( \varepsilon \zeta \)) with 'midnight': \( \text{W poludnie} 'at noon' \) but \( \text{O půlnoc} 'at midnight' \). Bulgarian shows a form with \( \varepsilon \zeta \), with a remnant of a LOC ending in its first part: \( \text{V полунощ} \).

\[ \text{It is difficult to be certain as to the source of this phrase: } \text{no ale has been shortened to } \theta; \text{dn} \), however, resembles the LOC SG ending of \( \alpha \lambda \) as seen in the OCS phrase (\( \varepsilon \zeta \) \( \nu o } \).
In some instances, the \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{LOC} construction has replaced an older prepositionless LOC construction, for example \texttt{TOML \seca} 'in that year' was replaced by phrases such as Polish \texttt{W tym roku}, Russian \texttt{v \soma} 'in the year'. And in Czech, the \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{LOC} construction has replaced an older prepositionless LOC construction in expressions involving seasons: \texttt{v zim\v e} 'in the winter', \texttt{v l\^ete} 'in the summer'. Polish shows this as well, with \texttt{W zimie} and \texttt{W l\^ete} being variants of prepositionless INS adverbials \texttt{zim\v a} and \texttt{l\^ate}m. One of the most important innovations was the replacement in some languages of \texttt{RZ + ACC \ \RZ \ YRTZY} or the prepositionless LOC \texttt{TOMR Y<acfc} by \texttt{RZ + LOC} to express 'at that time': Polish \texttt{W tym czasie}, Czech \texttt{v tom \^aze}.

The \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{LOC} construction is found in place of other constructions as well: to express 'in (a certain) year', it is found in place of the prepositionless LOC; to express 'in (a certain) month', it is found in place of the prepositionless GEN: Modern Russian \texttt{v \^ane}, \texttt{v 1995-om \^ane} 'in January', 'in 1995', Polish \texttt{W styczniu}, \texttt{W 1995-ym \^ane}, and Czech \texttt{V ledu}, \texttt{v roce 1995}.

Often words which have temporal meaning only in context and could be used either in the \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{LOC} or in the \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{ACC} construction in OCS now occur only in the \texttt{RZ} + \texttt{LOC}: Russian \texttt{v nachale} 'in the beginning', \texttt{v de\vste} 'in childhood'; Serbo-Croatian \texttt{u po\^ectku} 'in the beginning', \texttt{u ml\^adosti} 'in youth'; Polish \texttt{W dzieci\v{c}stwie} 'in childhood'.

\texttt{Na} + \texttt{LOC} was a very rare construction, and is no longer found in the meaning of intended time as expressed in OCS.

\texttt{Po} + \texttt{LOC} is preserved to varying degrees in the modern languages. Polish preserves the original construction as seen in OCS: \texttt{po pracy} 'after work', \texttt{po wszystkim} 'after everything', as does Czech. \texttt{Po} + \texttt{LOC} is preserved elsewhere,
but only as a variant means of expressing 'after'. In the 17-volume Modern Russian dictionary Словарь современного русского литературного языка (Академия наук СССР, 1950), examples of no + LOC are given, but only with deverbal nouns + GEN phrase:

Этот запах... оставался еще несколько времени по уходе доктора. Завтра, по окончании романа, он думает выехать в город. Приехал он по получении от меня письма.

Otherwise in Russian, however, now после + GEN predominates: после того как 'after' (conjunction), после урока 'after class'. Serbo-Croatian shows a similar pattern, with после + GEN being the more common preposition (e.g. после рата 'after the war'), coexisting with после in phrases such as у први петак по чистој среди 'on the first Friday after Holy Wednesday' and also:

Oni ga по новом лету отвели в Биоград. Pred obedom ili по обеду... mora prijati.

Bulgarian, which has lost nominal declension, preserves the preposition no to mean 'after' (по Нова година 'after New Year's'), but also preserves the "second half" of the longer form после in след (след два месяца 'after two months', след войната 'after the war'):

12 Recall the adverb после (§9.27) and the variant of no seen in Supr: после (§9.28).
13 Examples of no + LOC are found in Old Russian manuscripts as well, a time during which the construction was more widely used than today. For example, the Mstislav Gramota (1130b) has после княжения 'after my (being prince)'.
14 In Serbo-Croatian, the DAT and LOC have merged in the SG, and the DAT, LOC and INS have merged in the PL; although this preposition traditionally took the LOC, it is now said to take the DAT, as the LOC no longer exists as a separate case.
После in Bulgarian is an adverb which means 'after'. Therefore two different words are found in Bulgarian which are descendants of the longer form of the preposition 'after' после, in addition to the "short" form по.

При + LOC is preserved only in Modern Russian in the meaning 'in the lifetime of', with phrases such as при Петре первом 'in the time of/under Peter the First', при Сталине 'in the time of/under Stalin', and Bulgarian. Elsewhere, we see за + GEN, as in Polish za Piotra I 'in the time of/under Peter the First'. In its other meaning, used to express a time towards which, the при + LOC construction is not found in the modern languages, although it is attested from earlier times. For example, Old Russian documents show frequent usage of the phrase при смърти, which may be translated as 'on the brink of death': при смърти ъстъ (кормчая книга Ефремовская; с. 1100); сиете же знамение на людецъ: при смърти явится железа, пресбли три дня, онъре (First Novgorod Chronicle, 6898i).
CHAPTER X
THE GENITIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

10.1 Unlike the prepositionless GEN, which is represented in time expressions by rare and highly disputable examples, the GEN case with prepositions often occurs in numerous different temporal expressions, with various meanings. \( \text{οτζ}, \text{ζζ} \) and \( \text{μζζ} \) are quite similar in meaning ('from, since') and function, and sometimes overlap each other. The GEN is also used with \( \text{ζο} \) 'until', \( \text{νρζζ} \text{ζε} \) or \( \text{νρζζ} \text{ζζ} \) 'before', and the rare \( \text{ζα} \) 'during', and even rarer \( \text{ζζ} \), which, as we know, usually takes the ACC or LOC. Each preposition has its own Greek correspondence which will be discussed separately below.

10.2 The prepositions \( \text{οτζ}, \text{ζζ} \) and \( \text{μζζ} \), as mentioned above, all bear the meaning 'from, since' in a temporal sense. Of them, \( \text{οτζ} \) is by far the most prevalent—it occurs with numerous nouns, and also in phrases with forms of the demonstrative pronouns \( \text{εζ} \) 'this' and \( \text{τζ} \) 'that' to form conjunctions. \( \text{ζζ} \), on the other hand, only occurs one time (Xodova 1971, §89). And finally, in temporal expressions, \( \text{μζζ} \) (an otherwise highly productive preposition) only occurs with a few nouns which have temporal meaning only in context, and also in a few phrases such as \( \text{μκονν}, \text{μεπρεν} \) 'from the beginning', and \( \text{μζζ} \text{δαλνα} \) 'for a long time, from a long time ago', all of which became adverbialized (lexicalized). Almost all the occurrences of \( \text{οτζ}, \text{ζζ} \) and \( \text{μζζ} \) correspond to Greek \( \text{εκ οράπω + GEN} \), which themselves also have the
meaning of 'from, since; after'. The verb which occurs with such prepositions usually expresses either the inception of the action, or its inception and consequent duration.

10.3 ὤτζ occurs with numerous nouns of inherent temporal meaning: ἡμέρα 'day', ἀργύριο 'evening', γλωσσά 'hour, time', ἀρέθα 'time', λεπτό 'year' and αἰών 'century, age'; however, the occurrences of each noun in the GEN with ὤτζ are few.

10.4 ἡμέρα 'day' only occurs either when modified (primarily by the demonstrative pronoun οὗ 'that'):

Supr 92:23 ἵν α δια τ ούτα κακο ὤτζ ἡμέρα τουτο ὤτζ κακο ἡμέρα οὐκ ἤδην ἡμέρα
Supr 210:14-15 οὐκ ὀτζ δια τ ούτα κακο ἡμέρα ὒδε δια μλυτμά
Mt 22:46 ὑπὲρ τούτου τὸν χρήματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτου ἐπεξεργάζεται, ἵνα τοιούτῳ (Asm)
J 11:53 οὐκ ὀτζ τούτω τῷ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τῷ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τῷ ἡμέρᾳ ἡμέρα (Ost)

or when followed by a GEN phrase:

Mt 11:12 ὀτζ ἡμέρα ἦν καὶ κρεῖστελεῖς, ἵνα στηθῇ ἡ μνήμη 
(Sav)

Thus ὀτζ διακό only occurs three times in the Gospels and only a few times in Supr.
All instances correspond to Greek ἀπὸ + GEN:
Mt 22:46...οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησέν τις ἀπ' ἕκεινης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπερωτήσας αὐτὸν οὐκέτι
J 11:53 ἀπ' ἕκεινης αὐν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβουλεύσαντο...
Mt 11:12 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἦς ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται

10.5 The noun ἕρεπὶ 'evening' in the ὀτὸ + GEN construction only occurs in Supr:

Supr 431:28 Ἑλεύθερος οὖν ὁ ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ.

As will be discussed later (§10.14), ἕρεπὶ also occurs in Supr in the εἷς + GEN construction with the same meaning.

10.6 The noun ἡ ἁρχή 'hour, time' occurs in three verses in the Gospels. As with the phrase ἐκ τοῦ ἡ ἁρχή (cf. Chapter 2, §2.6.2 and especially §2.6.7), it appears that the noun ἡ ἁρχή is preferred over ὑπὸ ἡμίνα when 'hour' is modified by the demonstrative pronoun τοῦ 'that':

Mt 9:22 ἦς δὲ εἰς τοῦ ἡ ἁρχή ἡ ἁρχή ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡ ἁρχή τοῦ (Mar)
Mt 17:18 ἰησοῦς καὶ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡ ἁρχή (Sav)
J 19:27 ἐκ τοῦ ἡ ἁρχή ἑτοίμασε ὑπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σωτηρίου (Z)
All of these correspond to Greek ἀπὸ + GEN:

Mt 9:22 καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ γυνὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας ἐκείνης
Mt 17:18 καὶ ἑθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας ἐκείνης
J 19:27 καὶ ἰπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὕρας ἔλαβεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ ἱδία

As mentioned in Chapter 2 under the discussion of ἐκ τοῦ γαζ (§2.6.1.1) and in Chapter 5 under the discussion of τοῦ γαζ (§5.2), both meaning 'at that hour', not all instances of ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας ἐκείνης 'from that hour' result in an OCS ὀτὸ ἕως ἐκατογ. -- in Mt 15:28 all the manuscripts show ἐκ τοῦ γαζ, except Ost, which has the prepositionless LOC:

Mt 15:28 καὶ ἔλαθη ἡ θυτάτη αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας ἐκείνης
Mt 15:28 καὶ ἐκεῖλα διψῇ καὶ ὀτὸ τοῦ γαζ (Mar)
Mt 15:28 καὶ ἐκεῖλα διψῇ καὶ τοῦ γαζ (Ost)

In Mt 17:18, Sav is the only manuscript with ὀτὸ τοῦ γαζ. All others have the prepositionless LOC τοῦ γαζ:

Mt 17:18 καὶ ἐκεῖλα ὀτροκε τοῦ γαζ (Ost)
10.6.1 The two other occurrences of ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπασ ἐκέλης—in Mt 9:22 and J 19:27—are rendered by οτζ τοῦ γας in all the manuscripts which attest these verses. Thus it is very odd that there is such vacillation between οτζ τοῦ γας, ξα ηζ γας, and άκα γας all to render Greek ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπασ ἐκέλης. As discussed in previous chapters, this semantic change demonstrates the freedom which the Slavic translator(s) apparently felt in making changes to best express the meaning behind the constructions. This change was probably felt to be necessary due to the semantics of the verb involved—verbs of 'healing' denote a state (here, of being healthy) which begins at the moment designated by the time expression. Since these verbs are perfective and indicate the inception of a state, a time phrase which expresses the moment of inception ('at') combines better with them in Slavic.

10.6.2 Υαζ also occurs in Supr, but with an ordinal numeral:

Supr 43:26-28 στεφρισά χε χστωκχ . . . οτζ γας δεβάταλγο 

10.6.3 In the Gospels, when 'hour' is modified by an ordinal numeral, the noun γοδίνα is generally preferred to γας. This is what we see in the οτζ + GEN construction as well. It only occurs one time:

Mt 27:45 οτζ χεύταλα χε γοδίνατι τάμα έξάν πο βεκν žελαν (Z)
Mt 27:45 ἀπὸ δὲ ἐκτης ὑπας σκότος ἐτένετο ἐπὶ πάσαν τήν τήν
10.7 The noun εἰρήνη 'time' only occurs one time in the Gospels in the ὀτὸ +
gen construction, and it is modified by the quantifier μεγαλύτερον 'much':

L 23:8 ἔδρα γελάω ὀτὸ μεγαλύτερον βραδείαν διήνωρ... (Mar)

This occurrence of ὀτὸ + GEN corresponds to a Greek phrase with ἐκ, not ἀπό +
gen:

L 23:8 ἔν τὰρ ἐκ ἡμαμιν χρόνων θέλων ἔδραν...

W. Bauer defines this usage of ἐκ in temporal expressions as designating "the time
when something begins from"; he specifically defines ἐκ ἡμαμίν χρόνων as
meaning "for a long time" (1979, 236). The fact that the time frame is lasting 'a long
time' is seen in the aspect of the verb: imperfective. ὀτὸ is not limited to just the
inception of the action, but also expresses its continuation once it has begun. Thus the
Aktionsart of the verb is durative. This is seen again in the next example.

10.8 ἅρτο 'year' also occurs in this phrase (ὀτὸ ἅρτο μεγαλύτερον)--two times in the
Gospels:

L 8:27 ἵππης ἠμὲν ἐκείνῳ ὀτὸ ἅρτο μεγαλύτερον (Mar)
L 8:29 ὀτὸ μεγαλύτερον ἐκ ἅρτο ἐκείνῳ ἀναποκτάω ο... (Mar)
Asm shows the prepositionless INS in 1.8:29:

L 8:29 \(\text{ληος} \text{κό ἀπετί ποξίτας ει}\) (Asm)

This latter verse corresponds to a Greek prepositionless DAT:

L 8:29 \(\text{πολλοῦς} \text{γάρ χρόνος συνηπάκει} \text{αὐτῶν}\)

10.8.1 As was discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.4.3), the verb--συνηπάκει--is in the pluperfect tense. The pluperfect is used in Greek to express an action in the past which occurred before another action in the past. It carries the same meaning in OCS. However, in OCS the tense of the verb has been changed, from pluperfect to imperfect. This change was probably made due to the repetitive nature of the action--'(over the course of) many years it had seized him (repeatedly)'. As was also discussed in §4.4.3, the temporal expression in the Greek is in the prepositionless DAT--πολλοῦς χρόνος. This occurrence of the prepositionless DAT is defined by Blass (1949, §201) as fulfilling the normal function of the prepositionless ACC answering the question 'how long?', whereas Robertson (1914, 527) cites this verse as an associative-instrumental DAT, "though here the locative would give a good idea, 'on many occasions'..., whereas the marg. ('of a long time') gives the instrumental idea". As was just discussed in §10.7, when \(\text{oτα} + \text{GEN}\) means 'since, from', \(\text{οτα}\) is not limited to just the inception of the action, but also expresses its continuation once it has
begun. The continuation or repetition of the action is expressed by the aspect of the verb—imperfective.

10.8.2 L 8:27 has a variety of possible Greek sources—the preferred reading contains the DAT (SG) χρόνων ἐκάνων:

L 8:27 . . . ἔχων δαμόνα καὶ χρόνων ἐκάνω

which Robertson again defines as an associative-instrumental DAT (1914, 523). Not all manuscripts have the DAT here: one manuscript shows ἀπό + GEN; many, however, show ἐκ ἐκάνων χρόνων, including the majority of the Aprakoi. W. Bauer defines this usage of ἐκ in temporal expressions as designating "the time when something begins from". As was mentioned in §10.7, he specifically defines ἐκ ἐκάνων χρόνων as meaning "for a long time" (1979, 236). One is tempted to see ἐκ ἐκάνων χρόνων as the Greek source for OCS ὥτζ ᾅτζ ὲμνογζ because the structure of Greek ἐκ + GEN would logically result in OCS ὥτζ + GEN. However, two verses later (L 8:29), a prepositionless DAT gives OCS ὥτζ + GEN, so it is just as possible that ὥτζ ᾅτζ ὲμνογζ in L 8:27 also arose from a Greek prepositionless DAT. Both phrases were used in the Greek to express 'for a long time'; the inclusion of a preposition 'from' (Greek ἐκ, OCS ὥτζ) emphasizes the beginning of the action. As was just mentioned in §§10.7 and 10.8.1, when used with the imperfective aspect (here seen in the imperfect tense) ὥτζ + GEN expresses not just the inception of the action,
but also its continuation once it has begun, and thus may be interpreted as 'for' rather than 'from'.

10.8.3 ἄτο also occurs with numerals in the ὀτژ + GEN construction in the Gospels:

Mt 2:16 ἡ εἰς ἐξέχει πρᾶξα πράξα ἡμῶν ὀτζ ἀπὸ ἄτον καὶ ΝΙΚΗ
(Asm)
L 8:43 ἤ σε ἧμα ἐσμέν ἐξ κρεντογενή ὀτζ ἀπό ΔΕΚΑΤΕ ἄτον
(Sav)

And it occurs unmodified in Supr:

Supr 31:9-10 Ὁ σαη ... ὑποσάτζ ὀτζ ἄτα ἐν σράτης καὶ σλαβατῆς

The Gospel phrases both correspond to Greek phrases with ἀπό + GEN to express 'since':

Mt 2:16 καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρίσις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ δειτοὺς καὶ κατωτέρω
L 8:43 καὶ γυνὴ ὁτε ἐν ῥύσει ἄματος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ὀδέκα
10.9  The noun εἰκόνα 'century, age' does not occur in the ὀτζ + GEN construction in the Gospels; it does, however, occur in Supr and Cloz:

Supr  63:12  προσέχεσαι τις κλαδωτίνης ὀτζ εἰκόνα γοспόδα

Cloz  12b:7-8  εἰκόνα εἰκόνα εἰκόνα εἰκόνα εἰκόνα

Cloz  12b:7-8  ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς βραχὺ ἔπνυσεν καὶ τοὺς ἁπ’ αἰώνος ἔπνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου

Cloz  13a:3-4  εἰκόνα εἰκόνα εἰκόνα

Cloz  13a:3-4  οἱ ἁπ’ αἰώνος κεκολμημένοι

The Greek ἁπ’ αἰώνος is interpreted as 'from ages past, a long time ago' (W. Bauer 1979, 27).

10.10  There are many nouns which do not always carry temporal meaning which are used in the ὀτζ + GEN construction. The most common of these nouns designate stages of life, such as 'youth' or 'childhood'—μακάρια or μακάριον, for example. Other such nouns include ἐν τῇ αἰείναι ἡμέρᾳ 'age', ἀδελφότης 'maidenhood', and ἀρχηγὸν ἀν' ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν 'birth'. The nouns μαζαία ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν 'migration' are also found with the ὀτζ + GEN construction, as are personal names.

10.10.1  'From birth' is rendered in OCS by ὀτζ ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀρχηγὸν the former occurs once in the Gospels; the latter in Supr:
All of these phrases involving stages of life (except Δέκετρα) have as their source Greek ἐκ + GEN instead of ἄπο + GEN:

10.10.2 The Greek phrase 'from childhood' ἐκ παιδείας, however, is rendered not by ὀτζ, but by ἤζα (discussed below; cf. §10.16). 'From youth' ἐκ νεότητος occurs in three verses:

Mt 19:20 πάντα ταύτα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος μου
Mk 10:20 ταύτα πάντα ἐφύλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητος μου
L 18:21 ταύτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος μου

The first two occurrences are rendered by ὀτζ ῥοποτε in all manuscripts which attest these verses:

Mt 19:20 βεβαίως εἰς ἡσαχασμόν ὀτζ ῥοποτε ἔος ἔτοιμον (Sav)

1 Although only a few mss. are lacking the time expression here, it is not included in the preferred reading; it does occur in M.
Mk 10:20  ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸν ἡλικίας ΜΟΗΑ (Mar)

L 18:21, however, shows variation among the manuscripts: four show ὀτζ ΗΝΟΣΤΗ (Asm, Sav, Z and D):

L 18:21  ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸν ἡλικίας ΗΗΗΝΟΣΤΗ ΜΟΗΑ (Asm)

while two show ΚΖΧ ΗΝΟΣΤΗ (Ost and Mar; Mir is lacking this verse):

L 18:21  ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸν ΚΖΧ ΗΝΟΣΤΗ ΜΟΗΑ (Mar)

10.10.3 Thus there is a variation between the use of ὀτζ and ΚΖΧ with nouns which express stages of life (these are the only types of nouns used with ΚΖΧ in temporal expressions). Notice that there is not even consistency within one manuscript: as seen above, Mar shows both ὀτζ ΗΝΟΣΤΗ (Mk 10:20) and ΚΖΧ ΗΝΟΣΤΗ (L 18:21). Since the Greek text shows ἐκ for both occurrences, we cannot look for a distinction here; apparently these prepositions were still in free variation, at least to a small degree, with certain types of nouns.

10.10.4 We see this variation also in Supr, which shows both ὀτζ and ΚΖΧ with nouns such as ΝΛΑΕΝΛΣΤΒΟ 'youth' and ΖΡΑΣΡΑΣΤΖ 'age':
10.10.5  ἀνδρικόν 'maidenhood' only occurs with ὀτζ:

L 2:36  ἄνδρος ἦτη ἑπτά ἀπὸ τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῆς

Οτζ corresponds here to ἀπό, not ἐκ:

L 2:36  τῆσας μετὰ ἄνδρος ἦτη ἑπτά ἀπὸ τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῆς

10.10.6  The other nouns with ὀτζ + GEN also correspond to ἀπό + GEN, and also show no variation with ἅζζ:

Mt 24:21  ἔδειξε ὁ ἐζετάς ἐξ οὗ ὀτζ ἀναλα ὑπὸ ὅποιον ἱπθὸς ὕπαιθρο (Asm)
Mk 13:19  ἔκο ἐκ τῶν ἐζετάτων ὁ ὀτζ ἀναλα ὑπὸ ὅποιον ἵπτετο (Mar)
Mt 24:21  ὀλα ὁ ὁ ἐξονεν ἀπ᾽ ἄρχης κόσμου ἐνοτο ὅπου ὄν (Asm)
Mk 13:19  ὀλα ὁ ὁ ἐξονεν τοιοῦτο ἀπ᾽ ἄρχης κτίσεως ...
10.10.7 ὅτζ also occurs with personal names, meaning 'since the time of X':

Mt 1:17

εἴλεξεν καὶ ποιήσει τῷ ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἀδὰς ποιήσει τῇ τῇ

(Asm)

And here too it corresponds here to ἀπό:

Mt 1:17

πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ ἀβραὰμ ἐως δαβὶδ γενεαὶ

dekatēssares kai ἀπὸ δαβὶδ ἐως τῆς μετοικεσίας

Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατισσαρι . . .

10.11 ὅτζ is also used with the demonstrative pronouns αὐ 'this' and τά 'that' (ὁτζ σερό, ὅτζ τόρο), as well as in phrases with adverbs derived from them to form conjunctions (ὁτζ σερέ, ὅτζ τόρο or ὅτζ τόρ, and also ὅτζ νεμίστε). The form σερέ does not occur independently, but only in the phrases ὅτζ σερέ and ὅτζ σερέ. Since τόρο independently bears the meaning 'then', σερέ theoretically would mean 'then', specifically 'this time', to correspond to τόρο 'that time'. Νεμίστε also does not occur independently, but is the relative form, 'from which time', corresponding to τόρο and σερέ. ὅτζ σερό 'from this (time)' and ὅτζ τόρο 'from that (time)' both render Greek ἐκ τούτου:

J 6:66 ὅτζ σερό υἱὸς ὅτζ οὐγενίκετ έρα λαε ἑξεπάτ . . .

(Mar)
The latter verse has \textit{οτέξ θάνο} only in three manuscripts—Mar, Z and Mir. The other four—Asm, Ost, Sav and D—all show \textit{οτές τόλμη/τολμά}: 

\textbf{J 19:11/12} \textit{οτές τολμή πιλάτης ἰσκασε ποιήτικήν} (Sav)

The other phrases render many different Greek phrases with either \textit{ἀπό} or \textit{ἐκ} with substantivized adverbs or relative pronouns: \textit{ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἀπ’ ἀρτι}, and, in one verse, \textit{ἐξ αὐτοῦ}:

\textbf{Mt 26:64} \textit{οτέξ σελέ οὐζύριτε σῶν γῆς} (Asm)
\textbf{L 1:48} \textit{εἰ εἰ οτέξ σελέ ἐλαχίστας ὡς ῥόπα ρόπα} (Mar)
\textbf{L 22:16} \textit{ἐκο οτέξ σελέ ἑνὶ ἰμαῖν ἐστιν οτέξ θέρο} (Z)

\textbf{Mt 26:64} \textit{ἀπ’ ἀρτι ὀψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}
\textbf{L 1:48} \textit{μοῦν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσιν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ}
\textbf{L 22:16} \textit{οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ²}

\begin{footnotes}
² This is not the preferred reading; it does, however, occur in numerous mss., including M. The preferred reading has \textit{ἐώς ὅτου 'until that time when'}.
\end{footnotes}
ΟΤΖ ΤΩΛ/ΤΟΛ is not as frequent as ΟΤΖ ΚΕΛΕ; it occurs in only three Gospel verses:

Mt 4:17  ΟΤΖ ΤΩΛ ΝΑΥΑΣΖ ιϚ ΠΡΟΠΟΒΔΑΤΗ (Sav)

In all three verses it corresponds to Greek ἀπὸ τότε:

Mt 4:17  ἀπὸ τότε ἦρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν

As mentioned above (§10.11), some manuscripts show ΟΤΖ ΤΩΛ/ΤΟΛ instead of ΟΤΖ ΤΟΓΟ to render Greek ἐκ τούτου in J 19:11/12.

ΟΤΖ ΤΟΓΟ occurs in Supr:

Supr 143:3  ΕΞΙECTΖ ΖΕ ΟΤΖ ΤΟΓΟ ΚΛΗΣΤΖ
Supr 314:21-22  ΡΕΥΕΝΖ . . . ΟΤΖ ΤΟΓΟ ΑΟ ΔΗΝΕΣΧ . . .

as does ΟΤΖ ΤΟΛΗ:

Supr 33:22-23  ΟΤΖ ΤΟΛΗ ΠΟΥΕΤΗ ΕΞΙ ΜΑΤΕΖΑ . . .

and the variant ΟΤΖ ΚΕΛΕ:
Supr 12:22-23  ὅτα σελί η είναίτε γενέ
Supr 30:26-27  ἦκαζαρξ η εγο η καινάθη ὅτα σελί . . .

Ὅτα σελί is also found once in Cloz:

Cloz 2b:4-5  ἀλείντο τό σελί κρασζτεντ Σεξ (no Greek given)

10.12 ὅτα μήλημε 'from which time' renders a Greek relative phrase: ἀφ' οὐ (< ἀνῶ οὐ). It occurs four times in the Gospels:

Mk 9:21  κοιλικο λέτα ηείς ὅτα μήλημε σε εκειτ ιεγου . . . (Ost)
L 13:7  σε τρεσές λέτα ὅτα μήλημε πριξόκαξ (Z)

Three of the four occurrences correspond to Greek ἀφ' οὖ.

L 13:7  οου τρεα έτη ἀφ' οὖ έρξομαι

However, in Mk 9:21 we see ἀφ' οὖ in only a few Greek manuscripts; ἐξ οὖ (< ἐκ οὖ) occurs in many manuscripts. The preferred reading, however, (as found in the oldest manuscripts as well as the Aprakoi) shows no relative phrase at all, but rather the conjunction ὅς 'until':
10.13 Thus the preposition ὁτζ is of great frequency in OCS. It occurs with numerous nouns—both with temporal meaning (Ἄρνη 'day', ἐξυρίζ 'evening', ἡμέρα 'hour, time', τόμο 'time', ἄτο 'year' and ἀθικ 'century, age') and temporal meaning in context (those representing stages of life; ἀληθ 'beginning', πράξεως 'migration'; as well as personal names), with demonstratives (ὁτζ εἴρο, ὁτζ τὸσο), and in phrases such as ὁτζ τὰ γάμα, ὁτζ τὸν, and also ὁτζ οἴκ. ὁτζ + GEN can correspond to either Greek ἀπὸ ὁρίζ + GEN. These prepositions all bear the meaning 'from, since', or, more loosely, 'after'.

10.14 A synonym of ὁτζ is εἰς, 'from, since; after'. It is found only one time in OCS, as was mentioned earlier. It occurs with the noun ἐξυρίζ 'evening' in Supr:

Supr 25:22 εἰς ἐξυρίζ ἦταν ητε . . .

ὁτζ is also used with ἐξυρίζ, as seen earlier:

Supr 431:28 ἀγνόν ησιν ὁτζ ἐξυρίζ ἦξειν ἄο ἀτρο

Both can be translated as 'since evening'.
Since this is the only occurrence of εξ in the canonical corpus in a temporal expression, it is possible that this preposition was marginal in such expressions. However, the lively presence of this preposition in Modern Russian, for example, to express time is suggestive of at least its strong development in later periods, if not of its original prevalence. In Modern Russian we have с того часа 'since that hour/moment' (replacing от того часа as seen in Ost), с того времени 'since that time'; с пяти (часов) 'since five o'clock'; с прошлого года 'since last year'; с января 'since January'; с начала 'from the beginning'; and the conjunction с тех пор, как 'since', based on the adverbial phrase с тех пор 'since'.

10.15 Yet another preposition is used to mean 'from, since; after' in OCS, rendering Greek ἀπό or ἐκ + GEN: ἡξ. However, its usage in OCS is quite limited as compared to that of от: it occurs with only three nouns representing stages of life—отро́йма 'childhood', ἀξиάрάкτα 'age', and ἱονοςτά 'youth'—and competes with от with the latter two nouns. It is also used adverbially in the phrases ἐκ κόινον 'from the beginning', ἐκπράβα 'from the beginning' or 'from the first', and ἡξαδάβλα 'from a long time (ago)'.

10.16 The phrase ἡξ ὀπρούμνη 'from childhood' occurs only once in the Gospels and corresponds to a Greek phrase with ἐκ:

Mk 9:21 κολλυξ ἀπεκ τούτον ὡς τοῦτο ἔτοιμον αὐτῷ; ὁ δὲ ἐπέκεν ἐκ παιδιόθεν
10.16.1 ὅζῳ ἡμοίωτη 'from youth' occurs only in L 18:21 and competes with ὀτζ + GEN:

L 18:21 ἔρχετο σι σεξεράνναξ ὅζῳ ἡμοίωτη Σῳςια
L 18:21 ἔρχετο σι σεξεράνναξ ὀτζ ἡμοίωτη Σῳςια

This corresponds to a Greek ἐκ + GEN:

L 18:21 ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητός μου

The examples of variation between ὀτζ ὡλαδα ἐπιζήπραστα (and also ὀτζ ὡλαδεννεστα) and ὅζῳ ὡλαδαν επιζήπραστα, ὅζῳ ἀβτίκα ἐπιζήπραστα, as seen in Supr, were given earlier (§10.10.4).

10.16.2 Since both ὀτζ and ὅζῳ are used interchangeably to render both Greek ἐκ, and ἀπὸ + GEN, we cannot look for their difference in the Greek text. They do show a different range of usage (except with nouns representing stages of life, which permit some variation), but ὀτζ is preferred overwhelmingly to ὅζῳ (which only occurs in three adverbial phrases and with three nouns representing stages of life; ὀτζ occurs with all other nouns, as well as with demonstratives, adverbs, etc.). It is therefore possible that they may have different meanings, however slight. K. I. Xodova defines ὀτζ as "designating the moment from which the action begins" (1971, §89), and ὅζῳ as "also designating the moment of the beginning of the activity, but, in
distinction to ोत्त + GEN and ो + GEN], the moment of time designated by it already contains within it the beginning of the action" (ibid, §90). She continues: "The difference between the meaning of the forms ोत्त + GEN and ो + GEN and the meaning of the form ह्य + GEN leads to a distinction between the internal and external: if ोत्त + GEN and ो + GEN indicate a time outside of which an action begins, then ह्य + GEN indicates a time within the boundaries of which it begins..." (ibid, §90).

10.17 ἰςκόνν and ἱπράσα 'from the beginning', often in competition with each other, render Greek ἀπ’ ἀρχής, ἐκ ἀρχής, and, in one instance, ἐν ἀρχῇ:

Mt 19:4 esz troch ἰςκόνν ὧ.ZERO ὤ.Ζ ἔ.Ζ (Mar)
J 1:1 ἰςκόνν ἐκάσιε ἀ.Ζ (Z)
J 6:64 . . . ἐκάσιε ἐν ἰςκόνν ἒ.Ζ (Asm)

Mt 19:4 ὦ κτίσας ἀπ’ ἀρχής ἀρσεν καὶ θηλυ ἐπούσεν αὐτούς
J 1:1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἤν ὦ λόγος
J 6:64 . . . ἴδει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὦ Ἰησοῦς

There are patterns of usage; some manuscripts seem to prefer one phrase over the other:
There are five verses in which ἰσκῶνι appears in some manuscripts, while ἵσπρυκα appears in the other manuscripts. Mar, Z, and Mir always have ἰσκῶνι (except in J 16:4) and D has ἵσπρυκα only two times out of seven; and whereas Asm has four instances of ἵσπρυκα to five of ἰσκῶνι, Ost shows six instances of ἵσπρυκα and only three of ἰσκῶνι, and Sav has ἵσπρυκα in the three of the four verses which it contains.

On the other hand, there are three verses (J 1:1, 1:2/3 and 15:27) where all manuscripts show only ἰσκῶνι, and one (J 16:4) where all manuscripts show ἵσπρυκα only. There is no correspondence between the usage of one or the other and the usage of ἐκ or ἀπὸ. J 1:1 has ἐν ἄρχης 1:2/3 and 15:27--ἀπὸ ἄρχης, and 16:4--ἐκ ἄρχης. But ἐκ ἄρχης also occurs in 6:64, as seen above, where four out of six manuscripts have
The question may arise as to the difference between the two phrases, if any. L'vov (1966) discusses this very issue. He first mentions the work of Jagič on the use of these words, according to whom: "ИСКОНН (д'р' архъ, ε в архъ)... was the first word recorded in the translation of the Gospels for the Slavs. In the older texts this word remained unchanged..." (125). On the basis of this, for a long time the opinion was firmly held, as claimed by Jagič, that "ИСКОНН was original and ИСПЪБА was a secondary word..." (126). However, based on an analysis of the Gospel text, L'vov comes to a different conclusion: he finds "a difference in semantics of ИСКОНН и and
испьрα. The former characterizes an action completed long ago [the result of] which is without break, while the second--the beginning of an action which later changes" (127); "исконн designated 'from olden times', 'long since', and испьрα--'from the beginning'. In addition испьрα was used to designate any early action which, being discontinued or broken up, was replaced by another one later" (134). He cites the example of the usage of испьрα in Cloz, which renders Greek ἐκ προομίων, as an example of this meaning:

Cloz 1a:18-19 κακό ἴσπαρα κρίεται προπαλέους καὶ o
Cloz 1a:18-19 πῶς ἐκ προομίων αἰώνυμη ὑμῖν κηρύσσει

Cloz 10b:33-34 ἴσπαρα κρέστα ἀείκαινετημα αὐτῶς εἰρεδάξ ἀβάτη
Cloz 10b:33-34 ἐκ προομίων ὁ δεσπότης καὶ Κύριος κατάκρυτος ἄγεται . . .

However in Supr there are examples in which испьрα is used instead of the expected исконн, for example:

Supr 112:1 ἴσπαρα ἰστεψεῖν ὀτζ βασιμε βασιτη

L'vov attributes such "mistakes" to the fact that by later periods, the meaning of the two words had already begun to merge and certain speakers of certain dialects could no longer distinguish between them. He states: "Only in late manuscripts do we find
instances when one word is used in place of the other, and preference is given to one or
the other word. In particular, in the texts of the East Bulgarian recension a clear
preference is given to \textit{hiskonh}, as Sav, Ost and Supr testify" (128). On the other
hand, "in texts of the so-called Macedonian recension, such as Asm for example, a
correct usage of both words is still observed" (128). Therefore,

On the basis of this data the established opinion that, in the original texts
appeared only \textit{hiskomh}, and that \textit{hiskonh} entered into the text of the
monuments of OCS literacy in later returns of the scribe to the Greek text
or was introduced by later scribes, must be considered mistaken. Another
opinion is more probable: both words were already in the first texts and
as such each was used in its own meaning... (128) These semantic
differences between \textit{hiskomh} and \textit{hiskonh} could have been only ancient,
therefore both words could enter into the text of the first translations. The
correct distinction...is reflected in Asm. In other monuments only traces
of the semantic distinction...remains... (134)

10.18 Supr exhibits another usage of \textit{bza} not seen in the Gospels--with the
substantivized adjective \textit{dabmna} 'ancient' in the phrase \textit{bza dabmna} 'from a long
time ago' which functions adverbially:

\begin{verbatim}
Supr 13:26     th  bo  bza tkekx  i  bza  dabmna  coyxz
\end{verbatim}

At some time, the phrase became lexicalized, resulting, for example, in the Russian
adverb \textit{izdavna} meaning also 'from a long time ago'.

10.19 Thus the preposition \textit{bza} occurs in OCS on a very limited basis. Most of the
examples of it are in substantivized adverbial phrases, or with a handful of nouns
representing stages of life. In the latter, ἢςς is in open competition with ὀτζ, but occurs much less frequently than ὀτζ.

10.20 The preposition ἄο expresses a meaning opposite to that of ὀτζ, εζ and ἢςς: it expresses the "final moment of a continuing action" (Xodova 1971, §91), and as such occurs with (most frequently) imperfective verbs which express the continuity of the action until the inception of the time frame. It corresponds to various Greek prepositions with identical meaning, all of which require the GEN: εὐςς, ἄξν, and μέξν. Smyth calls these "improper prepositions"—they are "adverbial words used as prepositions". He defines them as meaning 'as far as, until' (1984, §1700). One usage of ἄο, in the phrase ἄο κολύα 'until the end', corresponds to Greek εὐςς + ACC: εὐςς τέλος. In a separate semantic category, there are a few occurrences in Supr in which ἄο + GEN corresponds to Greek ἐπις + ACC in the meaning of 'extension' (over a period of time) (W. Bauer 1979, 239). According to Xodova, all of these occurrences have nouns modified by numerals "which give the quantitative characteristic of the continuation of the length of the action" (1971, 134-5).

10.21 In its first meaning, 'up to, until', the ἄο + GEN construction occurs with many nouns, substantivized adjectives and adverbs, and in phrases equivalent to but opposite of the conjunctions ὀτζ σεάκε, ὀτζ τοῦν/τοὰ, and ὀτζ κελήγε: ἄο σεάκε, ἄο κολέ, and the relative ἄομεξε. The nouns which have temporal meaning and are used in the construction with ἄο + GEN in OCS are: ἄκη 'day', γαζ/γοῦν 'hour, time', πολύμου 'mid-night', ἄξον 'time', and ἄκοντο 'year'. 
10.22 The noun Δήμη 'day' occurs both in the SG and the PL with δό. It is always modified: by a demonstrative, an adjective, a numeral, a genitive phrase, or a relative pronoun. Here δό usually corresponds to Greek ἕως, but there are also instances of δό corresponding to ἕως or μέχρι.

10.22.1 In the construction with δό + GEN, we see both δό τόσο Δήμη and δό σερο Δήμη, as well as δό ενός Δήμη. There is a difference in meaning, however, between which is greater than the difference between τά and ελ 'that' and 'this': δό τόσο Δήμη renders Greek ἕως ἕκευσης τῆς ἡμέρας 'until that day', whereas δό σερο Δήμη renders Greek ἕως (or μέχρι) τῆς σήμερον 'until today'. Compare:

Mt 26:29 ... ηῶμαι ηώς πίτη ὀτά σερο πλῦνα λοζῆμα γο δο τόσο
        δόνε εγεά ε πήες ες καλος χε ηράτηνε ... (Sav)
Mk 14:25 ... ούδε ηῶμαι πίτη ὀτά πλῦνα λοζῆμα γο δο τόσο
        δόνε εγεά πήες ες καλος ελ ήράτη εκείν (Z)

Mt 26:29 ού μη πῦω ἀν' ἁρτι ἐκ τούτου τού γενηματος τῆς
        ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πῦω μεθ'
        ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ... 
Mk 14:25 οὐκέτι ού μη πῦω ἐκ τοῦ γενηματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως
        τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πῦω καὶν ἐν τῇ
        βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ

and:
Mt 27:8 τέλι δέ παρεγές σιν σελό τό σελό κραζε ἡ τό σελό ἄλλη (Asm)
Mt 28:15 καὶ προσεές σιν σλόβο σε βα θοδενώ ἡ τό σελό ἄλλη (Ost)
Mt 27:8 διδ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἄγνω ἐκεῖνος αἰματός ἦς τῆς σήμερον
Mt 28:15 καὶ διεφημώθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ Ἰουδαίως μέχρι τῆς σήμερον

10.22.2 The phrase ἣ ἄλλη ἄλλη also renders Greek μέχρι τῆς σήμερον:

Mt 11:23 πρέξιάζει καὶ χαίρε μέχρι ἄλλην ἂν τῆς σήμερον

In Supr this phrase is found without the noun ἄλλη (i.e. the adjective is substantivized):

Supr 25:19-21 σιν ἃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλως μέχρι τῆς σήμερον
Supr 38:22-23 σχῆμα τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλην ἂν τῆς σήμερον

10.22.3 The phrase ἄλλη ἄλλη occurs in Supr, with ἄλλη ἄλλη being a frozen adverbialized ACC:

We also see ΔΟ ΕΙΣΧῼ ΑΛΗΗ in Supr:

Supr 13:27 ἩΕΣΤῼ ΖΕ Ν ΔΟ ΕΙΣΧῼ ΑΛΗΗ

10.22.4 ΔΟ ΑΛΗΗ with ΑΛΗΗ modified by an ordinal numeral occurs once in the Gospels corresponding to Greek έως + GEN:

Mt 27:64 πορελήν άυξ ουτρεψαντι γροεξ ΔΟ ΤΡΕΤΙΝΟΓ ΑΛΗΗ (Z)
Mt 27:64 κέλευσαν οὖν ἄσφαλσθηναι τοῦ τάφου έως τῆς τρίτης ἡµέρας

This same phrase is found in Supr:

Supr 338:18-19 Η ΔΟ ΤΡΕΤΙΝΟΓ ΑΛΗΗ ΠΟΡΕΛΗΝ ΟΥΤΡΕΨΑΝΤΗ

Elsewhere, ΔΟ ΑΛΗΗ with a cardinal numeral (in Supr only) corresponds to Greek έπτ + ACC and will be discussed later (§10.32).

10.21.5 ΔΟ ΑΛΗΗ + GEN phrase occurs only once in the Gospels:

L 1:80 Η ΕΤΕ ΒΖ ΠΟΥΣΤΧΝΗΣΖ ΔΟ ΑΛΗΗ ΒΡΙΛΗΝΗ ΣΡΘΕΡΟ (Asm)
Here too it corresponds to Greek \( \varepsilon \omega \varsigma + \text{GEN} \):

\[
\text{L 1:80 \quad \kai \; \tau \nu \; \varepsilon \; \tau \alpha \varsigma \; \varepsilon \rho \mu \omicron \omicron \varsigma \; \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \; \nu \mu \epsilon \rho \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \; \alpha \nu \alpha \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \; \alpha \upsilon \tau \omega \alpha \nu}
\]

10.22.6 \( \text{Do negoxe diwne} \) (with \text{negoxe} being the GEN of the relative pronoun \( \iota \eta \)) 'until that day which/when' occurs three times in the Gospels:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mt 24:38} & \quad \text{... \text{Do negoxe diwne} \; \varepsilon \zeta \nu \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{(Ost)} \\
\text{L 1:20} & \quad \text{\iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \iota \delta \alpha \epsilon \sigma \zeta \varsigma \varepsilon \iota \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{pro\'} \; \text{\text{do negoxe diwne}} \; \varepsilon \iota \alpha \alpha \tau \zeta \varepsilon \iota \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{\text{Asm}} \\
\text{L 17:27} & \quad \text{... \text{Do negoxe diwne} \; \varepsilon \zeta \nu \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{(Mar)}
\end{align*}
\]

Note the perfective verb in the first and third examples: \( \varepsilon \zeta \nu \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \). Here the verb is perfective because the action is not one of continuation, but rather a resultative action. Because these are relative clauses, we can infer that the action expressed in the perfective verb will occur \textit{on} that day, rather than until it.

All three instances correspond to Greek \( \acute{a}xrl \; \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \) (\( \nu \mu \epsilon \rho \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \)):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mt 24:38} & \quad \acute{a}xrl \; \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \; \nu \mu \epsilon \rho \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \; \varepsilon \iota \deltapilbox{\iota} \nu \nu \epsilon \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{\text{Mt}} \; \text{\text{L}} \; \text{\text{L}} \\
\text{L 1:20} & \quad \kai \; \nu \delta \nu \; \acute{a}xrl \; \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \; \nu \mu \epsilon \rho \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \; \varepsilon \iota \deltapilbox{\iota} \nu \nu \epsilon \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{\text{Asm}} \\
\text{L 17:27} & \quad \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \theta \iota \nu \omicron, \; \acute{a}xrl \; \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \; \nu \mu \epsilon \rho \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \; \varepsilon \iota \deltapilbox{\iota} \nu \nu \epsilon \iota \delta \alpha \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \zeta \zeta \varepsilon \zeta \; \text{\text{Mt}} \; \text{\text{L}} \; \text{\text{L}}
\end{align*}
\]
10.23 Ἄο + GEN of γὰρχ/ξονὴ 'hour, time' (the former in Supr, the latter in the Gospels) occurs only when 'hour' is modified by an ordinal numeral. In the Gospels this numeral is ἈΕΒΑΤΖ 'ninth'. The phrase occurs three times in the Gospels, but each occurrence is identical:

Mt 27:45 τζων ζαί πο ΒΕΝ ΤΕΜΑΙ Ἄο ΑΕΒΑΤΖΙΑ ξονήζι

Ἄο ΑΕΒΑΤΖΙΑ ξονήζι corresponds to Greek ἕως ὢρας ἐνάτης:

Mt 27:45 σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὢρας ἐνάτης

Ἄο ἕωςααρο γας 'until six o'clock' occurs in Supr:

Supr 326:29-327:1 σε Ἄο ἕωςααρο γας τῷρν σά

10.24 Ἄο πολοψους ἐς 'until mid-night' occurs only in Supr:

Supr 51:20 πολοψους Ἄο πολοψους

10.25 Ἄο βρεμ ρες + GEN phrase 'until the time of' is found in Supr:
while ἃο ἐρθμῆεν unmodified, corresponding to Greek ἄχρι καλροῦ, is found once in the Gospels:

L 4:13 ὅτι ἀπάντη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καλροῦ (Mar)
L 4:13 ὅτι ἀπάντη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καλροῦ

This verse is only attested in one canonical manuscript—Mar. It is also attested in D and Mir. One Greek manuscript substitutes ἄχρι ξρῆνου for ἄχρι καλροῦ. The use of unmodified ἐρθμῆα as corresponding to Greek καλρὸς was discussed earlier (cf. Chapter 2, §2.7.3).

10.26 The noun άτπο 'year' is also used in the ἃο + GEN construction. It occurs only once in correspondence to Greek ἕως + GEN:

L 2:37 ἡ τὰ ἠξίων ἃο ὅσων ἄης ἤτιξὶν ἄης ἁτιαὶν 
L 2:37 ἡ τὰ ἠξίων ἃο ὅσων ἄης ἤτιξὶν ἁτιαὶν

Other instances of ἃο άτπο (in Supr only) corresponds to Greek ἕπι' + ACC and will be discussed later (§10.32).
There are numerous occurrences of ἀο + GEN of nouns which have temporal meaning due to context (as there are too many to cite all examples, see Appendix L for a complete list). Almost all occurrences correspond to Greek ἕως. ἀο + GEN can be used with people, meaning 'until the time of X':

Mt 1:17-18  ἐβεθεν ζε ροδοξ ο ἀραὰμ ἀο ἄννα ροδοξ ἐν ...  
           (Asm)

Mt 11:13   ἐν τ πρὸ ἀν δικαίων ἀο ἥτον προφήτων εἰ ...  
           (Sav)

as well as with events:

Mt 1:17-18  ἐβεθεν ζε ροδοξ ... ἤ ἀο πρέττελεν ...  
           (Asm)

Mt 2:15   καὶ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀο σωματεντ ἱρωδια (Asm)

Mt 28:20  καὶ ἵδον ἐτὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως 
           τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος
Δο also occurs with the noun of repetition, κρατζ 'time'. However, this occurs only three times, once in Mt 18:21 and twice in Mt 18:22, and is attested only in Mar:

Mt 18:22 ὥς γὰρ τεῦχος ἀεὶ κρατζ οὐκ ἀεὶ δεμάτῳ κρατζ σειμνεῖεσ (Mar)

Here, too, Δο + GEN corresponds to Greek έως + GEN:

Mt 18:22 οὔ λέγει σοι έως ἑπτάκις ἄλλα έως ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά

This occurrence of Δο + GEN, however, can be seen as an expression of degree rather than of time.

10.29 One occurrence of Δο + GEN corresponds not to Greek έως + GEN, but rather to εἰς + ACC: the OCS phrase Δο κολύμα 'until the end' renders Greek εἰς τέλος. Usually, the phrase εἰς τέλος has the meaning 'to the end', as in:

---

3 It is interesting to note that for the Greek the usual prepositions which express 'up to, until'--έως, ἕως, and μέχρι--are not found with the noun τέλος in the Gospels. However, in 1 Cor 1:8 we do see έως τέλος:
Mk 13:13 ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται

Sometimes it can mean 'in the end', as in L 18:5:

L 18:5 ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχόμενη ὑπωμάζῃ με

In one occurrence it means both 'to the end' and 'to the utmost' (W. Bauer 1979, 229):

J 13:1 εἰς τέλος ἡτανήσεν αὐτοῦς

Since 'to the end' can also be interpreted as 'until the end', the OCS translation דו κונֵּלָה was used to render this meaning:

Mk 13:13 πρετατήζει χε דו כונֵּלָה תַּחַס כפֵּנָה קיַתָּתָה (Mar)
J 13:1 דו כונֵּלָה יבָּעַשְׁנָה יָא (Z)

1 Cor 1:8 δὲ καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἐώς τέλους ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν Ἰσου [Χριστοῦ]

Thus ἐώς/ ἕχρι τέλους were available to the Greek to express 'until the end', but were not employed by the authors of the Gospels.
It is likely that the occurrence of εἰς τέλος in L 18:5 was interpreted in the same way as all other occurrences of the phrase, and here too ἀο κονῖγα was used:

L 18:5 ἀο ἐν ἀο κονῖγα πριν ὁμώμισιν Ἴστοιτα μένε (Sav)

ἀο κονῖγα was also used in Supr and Cloz, in which it also renders Greek εἰς τέλος:

Supr 86:9 ἡ πορεία ἄοιν ἀο κονῖγα
Supr 151:4-5 ἄοιν ἀο κονῖγα ἰησοῦν ἀνήμα
Supr 198:26 ἄοιν ἀο κονῖγα

Cloz 3b:25-26 ποτίζει ἵνα εἰς Ὀινίζε ἄο κονῖγα
Cloz 3b:25-26 ἐφθασέν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὀρτῆ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος

10.30 ἀο + substantivized adjective or adverb does not occur frequently. We see the phrase ἀο εἰς ἐρό 'until this' once in the Gospels, corresponding to Greek ἐως τοῦτον, and once in Cloz, corresponding to Greek μέχρι τούτων:

L 22:51 ἀεταῖνε ἀο εἰς ἐρό . . . (Ost)
L 22:51 ἐδέ τε ἐως τοῦτον

Cloz 11a:15-16 καὶ ὃ μέχρι τούτων ἀρκούμενοι
10.30.1 The phrase ἦν ζήν τοίχο 'until now' (with the possible ellipsis of a head noun ἄνω 'day', 'until [this] day now') occurs frequently in Supr:

Supr 30:28 ce je ἦν ζήν τοίχο εξχριστα
Supr 97:16-17 ἦν ζήν τοίχο ποιοῦσκετυχούστοι εξιποῦσα wa nēh . . .

10.30.2 The adverb ζήν 'now' is substantivized in the phrase ἦν ζήν 'until now', which occurs in the Gospels in place of ἦν ζήν τοίχο:

Mt 24:21 . . . εἶπεν τῇ οὐαλα τῷ αύτῷ εἴκα τούτο ἦν τοῖς θεοῦ ζήν
(Mir--1st time)
Mk 13:19 . . . εἶπεν τῷ αύτῳ τῇ οὐαλα ζήν καὶ ζήν ὑπέτειν . . . ζήν
(Z)

Both instances correspond to a Greek ἕως τοῦ νῦν, with τοῦ νῦν being a substantivized adverbial phrase in the Greek:

Mt 24:21 . . . οὖς οὖ τέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν
Mk 13:19 . . . οὖς οὖ τέγονεν τοιαύτῃ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως . . . ἕως τοῦ νῦν
10.30.3 In Mir, the second occurrence of Mt 24:21 shows ἀντι, as opposed to the first occurrence of the verse, cited above, with ἀντι. All other manuscripts which attest Mt 24:21 also show ἀντι:

Mt 24:21 . . . ἔκακη κέττη εξιλα ὀτζ Ναυμα ψευδο μίρα ἀντι (Asm)

10.30.4 ἀντι also occurs in four other verses; however, in all of these occurrences ἀντι renders Greek ἐως ἀρτι:

Mt 11:12 ὀτζ Δὴν Ἰ ἂ ν α κρύστιτα ἀντι ἄρτε ὑπέρτερο μέκκος 

Mt 11:12 ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἐως ἀρτι 

J 16:24 . . . ἀντι θεός με προσκείτε νηύεζε ο ἰμένι χωελ (Sav)

J 16:24 ἐως ἀρτι οὐκ ἠτῆσαι οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ὅνυματί μου

'ἐως ἀρτι, however, has the same meaning as ἐως τοῦ νῦν: 'until now'. ἀντι and also άς τολκ occur in Supr:

Supr 23:21 οὐκακακε ἐμα ἀντι . . .

Supr 93:5-6 θεός ωκακε άς τολκ. άνικατι αγγελα
10.30.5 *Δό κόλα* is the substantivized interrogative which renders Greek ἕως πότε 'up to when, for how long?'. *Δό κόλα* occurs six times in four verses in the Gospels and also occurs frequently in Supr:

Mt 17:17  
*Δό κόλα* εἰς τὴν εὐαγγέλιαν ἃ ἔγραψεν τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀκούσας (Ost)

Mt 17:17  ἕως πότε μεθ' ὕμων ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὕμων;

Supr 2:3-4  *Δό κόλα* δοκιμάσας ἐαυτὸς ὁ Συρός ἐν συριακῷ εἰς

Supr 6:15  *Δό κόλα* κολεῖτε γλαστολέσθη . . .

Supr 24:23-24  *Δό κόλα* ἀργεῖτε ἐξ ἐξογμονί

10.30.6 The frozen relative phrase *δονδέξε* 'until when' occurs very frequently in the OCS Gospels, and also in Supr. *δονδέξε* renders various Greek relative constructions, all expressing 'until when': ἕως ὧν, ἕως ὧ, ἀκριβῶς ὧ, and μέχρις ὧ; it also renders some relative constructions with prepositions other than those indicating 'up to, until': ἐφ' ὧν 'for as long as' (two times) and ἐν τῷ 'during which' (one time). *δονδέξε* can also render Greek conjunctions—ἕως, ἕως ὧν, and πρὶν—although these are not as frequent as the relative constructions:

Supr 28:29  . . . *δονδέξε* δονδέξε μέστα

Mt 5:25  *δονδέξε* εἰς ἡ παρθένους εἰς κυρία

Mt 5:25  ἕως ὧν εἰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀδύν
Mt 14:22 δονδεξές ὀτιποιευστήτες ἡνάραξι (Mar)
Mt 14:22 ἐνὼ ὅ ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς ἀχλους
Mk 13:30 οὐ οὐ προτιτί προσοχ ἀναγεβέλετε (D)
Mk 13:30 μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὐτη μέχρις οὐ ταῦτα πάντα γενηται
L 21:24 δονασχες κοινοτετ σε βρέθημεν εζγκ (Mir)
L 21:24 ἄχρι σου πληρωθῶσιν καιροί ἡθνῶν
Mt 9:15 ... δονδεξές σου εκτις χεννιξι (Mar)
Mt 9:15 μὴ δύνανταί σου νοοί τού νυμφώνος πενθείν ἐφ' ὁσον μεθ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν ὁ νυμφίος
Mk 2:19 δονδεξές σου εκτις χεννιξι ... καὶ οὐκ ποιησίτη σα (Z)
Mk 2:19 μὴ δύνανταί σου νοοί τού νυμφώνος ἐν ὧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν νυστερεύν
Mt 23:38/9 οὐ μὴ σε μενε βαδητι ὑ μὴ δονασχες ἐπετε ... (Mir)
Mt 23:38/9 οὐ μὴ με ἐδητε ἀπ' ἀρτί ἐν οἴνητε ... 

One verse--L 22:34--has many different Greek sources, depending on the manuscript: only one manuscript shows the relative phrase ἐνὼ στου, and ἐνὼ οὐ only occurs in two manuscripts. Conjunctions occur much more frequently--πρόν is found in many manuscripts, but the preferred reading is with ἐνὼ.
Which Greek phrase was found in the prototype for the OCS text is not relevant; all such phrases in general are translated by *dōnājēxe*.

10.31 Thus in the first and primary meaning of *ἀκ* we find numerous nouns, both with and without inherent temporal meaning, as well as with substantivized adjectives and adverbs and in phrases forming conjunctions and a relative phrase. In the meaning of 'up to, until', *ἀκ* + GEN occurs with great frequency in OCS and renders one of three Greek prepositions with also mean 'up to, until', all of which require the GEN: most frequently we see the preposition *ἐως*, less frequently *ἄχρ* or *μέχρι*.

10.32 *ἀκ* + GEN also has a second meaning, and in this meaning it renders Greek *ἐπί* + ACC. It occurs with several nouns: *αὔω* 'day', *νύμβ* 'night', *γατά* 'hour, time', and *αὔτο* 'year'. The noun is always modified by a cardinal numeral and indicates "the continuation of the length of the action" (Xodova 1971, 134-5). As it is the "continuation of the length of the action" that is emphasized with this construction, the verb which co-occurs with such phrases is expected to be an imperfective. This is not always the case, as will be discussed.
10.32.1  

**Do + GEN** corresponding to Greek ἐπὶ + ACC is used for the noun ἡμέρα 'day' in phrases such as ὁ τρίτη ἡμέρα and also in combination with the noun νύχτα 'night', such as ὁ τετάρτη ἡμέρα καὶ νύχτα:

*Supr* 129:11-12  

τὸ γάρ ὁμοθέτη ἐτύπωσε ὁ τρίτη ἡμέρα

*Supr* 22:27  

ἐγείρετε δύο ἡμέρα ἡμέρα ἡμέρα

*Supr* 162:3-4  

συνεδριάζον τέσσαρις ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας

*Supr* 8:26  

ἐποίησεν ἐπεί τετάρτη ἡμέρα ἡμέρας

*Supr* 11:5-6  

καὶ οὖν ὁ συνεδριάζον τέσσαρις ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας

Note the perfective verbs, especially in the first two examples. Here, however, "the continuation of the length of the action" is still expressed, although we may see it more as the "the continuation of the length of the non-action": in the first example, the act of entering did not occur for three days, and it was only on the third day that (he) entered. Since the verb refers to either the inception or the result of the act of entering, it is in the perfective rather than the imperfective aspect.

Ὑμνὸς 'hour, time' is also used in this construction:

*Supr* 148:6-8  

ἀπὸ δευτέρου ἡμέρας ὁ τρίτη ὑμνὸς...

as is Δέκτο 'year':

**Supr** 11:5-6
10.32.2 This meaning of 农业大学 + GEN overlaps the prepositionless ACC in its meaning of a time completely filled by an action. Thus the question arises as to why the 农业大学 + GEN construction should be chosen over the prepositionless ACC construction to express this meaning. In Greek, the prepositionless ACC also expresses a time completely filled by an action. Here too the meaning of a prepositional construction—with 农业大学 + ACC—overlaps the construction with the prepositionless ACC. In Greek, 农业大学 + ACC serves to emphasize the "extension" of the time. By choosing a prepositional construction with 农业大学 + GEN (instead of the prepositionless ACC), OCS thereby also gives emphasis to this "extension" of time.

10.33 Another preposition which takes the GEN in OCS and renders a temporal expression is 农业大学 + 农业大学 (more rarely 农业大学 + 农业大学) 'before'. 农业大学/农业大学 can also take the ACC or INS, but in temporal expressions these two constructions are rarer than 农业大学 + GEN. 农业大学 indicates the "time before which an action takes place" (Xodova 1971, §84). Usually the verb which expresses the action is of perfective aspect, as it expresses either the inception or resultative conclusion of the action, rather than its duration. It always corresponds to Greek 农业大学 + GEN, 'before'.

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4 农业大学 is the derived comparative form of 农业大学 (Proto-Slavic *perđ-). In canonical OCS, 农业大学 is rare. Because of this, occurrences of 农业大学 + ACC or INS are also rare. With the derived form 农业大学, we see the noun in the GEN because it is governed by a comparative.
10.33.1 Unlike other prepositions which express temporal meaning, ηρεξιδε occurs more frequently with nouns which do not have temporal meaning than with those which do. It is found with the nouns ἀπό 'day', ἕρεξιμα 'time', γαζ 'hour, time', ἀπραγμάτεια 'festival, holiday', πασχα 'Passover' (later—'Easter'), εἰκόνα 'century, age', but quite rarely. It only occurs once in the Gospels with the demonstrative οὗ 'this', and otherwise ηρεξιδε is not found with substantivized adjectival or adverbial phrases. One instance of Greek προ + GEN is rendered by a subordinate clause in OCS: προ τοῦ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι 'before the world came to be' in J 17:5, which is an example of an articular infinitive (INF) + ACC subject—a construction for which the Slavic equivalent was a DAT subject + INF:

J 17:5 ... τῇ δόξῃ Ἡ ἐβαμνυ προ τοῦ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι παρὰ σοι

This appears in most OCS manuscripts as ηρεξιδε οὐ εξίστα τος 'before the world was':

J 17:5 ... εἰρημόν ἡ ἴστα ηρεξιδε ηρεξιδε οὐ εξίστα τος (Asm)

In the Aprakoi, this verse occurs twice; in Sav, the second occurrence shows the subordinate clause as seen above. The first occurrence in Sav, however, has the equivalent DAT subject + INF:
It is interesting that this construction with the DAT subject + INF only occurs one time in one manuscript, and that in the other occurrence of this verse in this one manuscript (Sav), it is replaced by the subordinate clause construction. Perhaps this is an indication that the DAT subject + INF construction was already dying out in the period of the earliest recordings of Slavic.5

10.34 ПРЯЖАЕ occurs with день 'day' only once in the Gospels:

J 12:1 ἰὲ χε πρέπεται ὅτι τὸ Πάσχα πρήπει ἐν ζωήν
(Mar)

J 12:1 ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἐξ ἡμέρῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς
(Christ)

ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ ἐξ ἡμέρῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς
(Christ)

It also occurs in Supr:

Supr 94:19 πνομνίν ἐν ητί πρέπεται οἴκων δύνες εἶναι εἰς

Supr 127:27-28 прοσуєтідєз прєжє дєнєн сєкєнуєнєє сєє

5 Although Modern Russian, for example, does have a construction with DAT subject + INF, these are used only in impersonal expressions (e.g. что мне сделать 'what to me to do', i.e. 'What should I do?' or 'What can I do?'). In this verse it replaces the DAT subject + INF construction with a prepositional phrase containing a deverbal noun: прежде бытия мира 'before the creation of the world'. Bulgarian shows this as well: преди създаването на света.
10.35 Πρέσας ερθένε also occurs only once in the Gospels:

Mt 8:29 ἔπνευσε ἀκαίρως πρέσας ερθένε ὡς οὐκ ἦν οὐκαθάριστον (Ost)

This unmodified use of ερθένε corresponding to Greek καλρός was discussed in
Chapter 2 (§2.7.3):

Mt 8:29 ἔπνευσε ἀκαίρως πρὸ καλρός βασανίσει ἡμᾶς;

Πρέσας ερθένε also occurs in Supr, in conjunction with πρέσας τότο γαςα:

Supr 304:23-24 πρέσας τότο ερθένε πρέσας τότο γαςα πριαδε
ελάνινα

in a phrase with the quantifier μαζι:

Supr 342:26-27 οὐρανοῦ ἀγαπεί |sic-SF| πρέσας μαζι ερθένε

and unmodified:

Supr 450:28-29 πρέσας ερθένε πριγότοβλασς οὐκενίκας στομ μαζι

θολίτεξ
10.36 The phrases \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{πράξαμα} \) \( \text{πασχαί} \) and \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{πασχαί} \) both occur once in the Gospels in temporal meaning:

J 13:1 \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{πράξαμα} \) \( \text{πασχαί} \) \( \text{βάλει} \) \( \text{νέο} \) \( \text{πρώτον} \) \( \text{εμού} \) \( \text{γενέσιν} \) (Mar)

J 11:55 \( \text{i βλέψας} \) \( \text{μνημή} \) \( \text{εἰς} \) \( \text{οτά} \) \( \text{στραντί} \) \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{πασχαί} \) \( \text{α} \) (Z)

J 13:1 \( \text{πρὸ} \) \( \text{δὲ} \) \( \text{τῆς} \) \( \text{δόξης} \) \( \text{τοῦ} \) \( \text{πάσχα} \) \( \text{εἴδως} \) \( \text{ὁ} \) \( \text{Ιησοῦς} \) \( \text{οτι} \) \( \text{ἐλθεν} \) \( \text{αὐτοῦ} \) \( \text{ἡ} \) \( \text{ὕπα} \)

J 11:55 \( \text{καὶ} \) \( \text{ἀνέβησαν} \) \( \text{πολλοί} \) \( \text{εἰς} \) \( \text{Ἰεροσολύμα} \) \( \text{ἐκ} \) \( \text{τῆς} \) \( \text{χώρας} \) \( \text{πρὸ} \) \( \text{τοῦ} \) \( \text{πάσχα} \)

10.37 \( \text{Πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{βίκα} \) is found in Supr only:

Supr 124:17-19 \( \text{οστάβιαζ} \) \( \text{ξιβαγο} \) \( \ldots \) \( \text{οτρόκα} \) \( \text{ιούς} \) \( \text{Χριστοςα} \) \ldots \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{βίκα} \)

Supr 177:6 \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{βίκα} \) \( \text{ροδι} \) \( \text{σα} \)

Supr 357:11 \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{βίκα} \) \( \text{οὐγοτό} \) \( \text{σα} \)

10.38 \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{σίξα} \) occurs once in the Gospels in temporal meaning:

L 21:12 \( \text{πρέξαμεν} \) \( \text{σιξα} \) \( \text{βίςκα} \) \( \text{βύζα} \) \( \text{ζήσα} \) \( \text{ο} \) \( \text{διαρκείς} \) \( \text{σα} \) (D)
1.21:12 ἐπὶ ἥμας τὰς κείρας αὐτῶν

10.39 All other occurrences of ἔρρησε + GEN in OCS with temporal meaning contain nouns which do not have temporal meaning. These include: ποτών 'flood', ἐξαρχημένε 'foundation, construction', ναγκάν 'beginning', and κακά 'misery, suffering'. The 1st SG personal pronoun ἰ is also found:

J 5:7 κερδά μη πρέσοχα ἒς ἴπν ὁντ ημεὶς ἔρρησε ἔξις
(Asm)
J 5:7 ἐν τῷ δὲ ἐρχομαι ἐγὼ, ἄλλος πρὸ ἐμοῦ καταβαίνει

10.39.1 ἐξ ἀλην ἔρρησε ποτών 'in the days before the flood' is found once in the Gospels:

Mt 24:38 ὃς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις (ἐκεῖνας) ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ

Sav has the order reversed, making ἔρρησε an adverb, 'earlier':

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6 It is worth noting the translation of the Greek relative clause here, which is a temporal expression: ἐν τῷ 'in the time) in which' is replaced by a conjunction in OCS: κερδά. Conjunctions such as this are not discussed in this study.

7 Note that the verb here is imperfective; this is because the action referred to is neither inceptive nor resultative, but rather stative.
Mt 24:38

10.39.2 Πρέβδε εξ οδοντός εις την πτώση εις την πτώση 'before the construction of the world'
also occurs only once:

J 17:24 εξ οδοντός μα εις πρέβδε εξ οδοντός μιρα (Mar)

J 17:24 ἡγάπηθα με πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

10.39.3 Πρέβδε κτίσις is an example of πρέβδε + noun found in Supr:

Supr 114:1 Ἑσπερίας ουκο μοι πρέβδε κτίσις

In one verse with Greek πρὸ + GEN (L 11:38), instead of πρέβδε + GEN
we see πράτε (the comparative of the adjectival ordinal numeral πρῶτος 'first' which
functions elsewhere as an adverb) functioning as a preposition with the GEN:

L 11:38 οὗ πρῶτον ἐβαπτύσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἁρώστου
L 11:38 καὶ πρέβδε κράτης εἰς πράτε συνάντησα (Mar)

The use of πράτε as an adverb will be discussed in Chapter 11 (§11.4).
10.40 Thus πρῶτα + GEN always corresponds to Greek πρῶ + GEN in the meaning of 'before'. Its use is quite limited: it occurs with only a handful of nouns, with the 1st SG personal pronoun αὐτός—πρῶτα μενε— and with the demonstrative σάμι—πρῶτα σάμι.

10.41 ζα is another preposition which takes the GEN in OCS. Its only use in the Gospels is in the phrase ζα οὔτα, often discussed in previous chapters (cf. §§3.10.2 and 5.6.2). In this instance, the Greek source is the adverb πρῶτε, 'in the morning':

Mt 20:1 ... ἵνα ηδύει ἄσει ζα οὔτα      (Mir)
Mt 20:1 ὅστες ἔξηλθον ἰμα πρῶτε
Mk 13:35 ηε θετε εο σοικηγ τίς δούσον πρνόετε ...
Mk 13:35 ιι ρα οὔτα      (D)
Mk 13:35 οὐκ οἴδατε γάρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἶκου ἐρχεται ...
J 20:1 ... Μαρία Μαγδαληνή πρώες ζα οὔτα      (Ost)
J 20:1 ... Μαρία η Μαγδαληνή ἐρχεται πρῶτε

As discussed in Chapter 3 (cf. §3.10.2), ζα οὔτα sometimes competes with the prepositionless ACC to render Greek πρῶτε. In Mt 20:1, Asm and Mar show ούτε, instead of the ζα οὔτα seen in Ost, Sav and Mir:
In Mk 13:35, Ost, D and Mir have ζα ουτρα, but Mar and Z have ουτρο:

Mk 13:35 ουτρο

In all, ζα ουτρα occurs in six Gospel verses. It also occurs in Supr:

Supr 23:17-18 ζα ουτρα εκσταρξ οθερην εα
Supr 137:11 εν εκσταρξ ζα ουτρα ρανδ
Supr 257:3 ζα ουτρα ρευε εκεχοδα εξ γραδξ ιεουε

10.41.1 The other examples with ζα + GEN are also found in Supr: ζα is used with the noun ροκζ, which is defined by Miklosich (1862, 803) as meaning προβεσμία. Προβεσμία, in turn, is defined by Lampe as meaning "(1) appointed time...; (2) time limit...; (3) allotted span...; (4) interval, delay, respite; of time allotted for repentance" (1961, 1149):

Supr 38:23-24 οτεραγωσα εα ζα ροκζ εινοε εεηη

10.41.2 ζα also appears in Supr with the ordinal numeral πρβαζ "first" in the phrase ζα πρβαζ "first":

Mt 20:1 ἵσε ἡγιάς κούπηξεν οὔτρο (Asm)
This substantivized adjectival phrase functions adverbially here.

10.41.3 Thus ęża shows an extremely limited range of usage—it is used only with the nouns ṣṭrə and ṣokə with the ordinal numeral ṣpəkə. Its primary usage is in the adverbialized phrase ęża oṣọrə, which renders the Greek ṣφω. F. Miklosich defines the meaning of ęża + GEN as indicating "a time in which an action occurs" (1926, 527). As the action expressed by the verb is either inceptive or resultative, the verb itself is of the perfective aspect.

 Jazeera + GEN is used more broadly in the modern Slavic languages than it was in attested OCS. In several modern languages, it has come to mean 'during'. Therefore: Polish za moich czasów 'in my time', za życia 'in (one's) lifetime'; Czech za mlada 'in (one's) youth', za starých časů 'in old times'; Slovak za jeho životu 'in his days', za dňa 'in the day(time), daylight'; Serbo-Croatian za životu 'in (one's) days', za dne 'in daylight', and za vreme + GEN 'during'. Although it is not preserved in Modern Russian, ęża + GEN meaning 'during' was still active in the Old Russian period ęża pojūν ṣtora ṣtə (from the thirteenth-century žižnь преп. Теодора).

10.42 Another example of a preposition + GEN is seen only in Supr and only in extremely limited usage: ṣaz. As we saw in Chapters 2 and 9, ṣaz is most often used
with the ACC and the LOC (more frequently the former), in general, and to express time in particular. Even in Supr it is very rare:

Supr 319:26-27 \( \text{вь сего бо дне жизни исплни день} \)

Supr 52:19-10 \( \text{друженна взвиху въ маловръчиньаго сего жизни} \)

Supr 397:19-10 \( \text{и въ маловръчиньаго сего жизни соует нааго отъ рабы съ} \)

Supr 427:5 \( \text{вь сего елагааго жизни оугодно богови кротость} \)

The example from Supr 397:19-10 may not actually be an occurrence of this construction; the edition which I was using shows here \( \text{вь маловръчиньаго сего жизни} \). However, it is difficult to understand the meaning 'from' here instead of 'in'. In addition, although this edition does show word divisions, none of the other examples have the preposition \( \text{в} \) as a separate word from the demonstrative pronoun \( \text{сего} \): rather, it shows phrases such as \( \text{вьсего елагааго жизни} \). However, this changes the construction to a prepositionless GEN, which, as discussed in Chapter 6, was not a means of temporal expression in OCS. This interpretation shows a bias towards the GEN as used in Modern Serbo-Croatian, for example, with phrases such as \( \text{сего дни все} \) 'all day'. Obviously the construction \( \text{вь + GEN} \) is felt to be "un-Slavic", but it apparently existed at least in one dialect of early Slavic, as attested by Supr.

It is unlikely that this is merely "scribal error" due to the relatively high number of morphological endings involved: if the scribes/translators meant to use the more expected \( \text{вь + ACC} \), it is unlikely that they would have repeated the GEN ending on
two different items in the first example and three different items in the second. Also, the endings on each lexical item are different: -té, -ée; -dáro, -éro, and -a. If this were an example of scribal error, it would be more likely to have the same ending repeated; for example, the MASC o-stem noun and indefinite adjective ending -a. However, since we have so many different GEN endings in use here, I believe that the scribes/translators fully intended to use the GEN here; what their reasons were, however, we can only speculate. In her article on the use of prepositions in OCS, Xodova does not attempt to explain this phenomenon, she merely mentions εάζ + GEN as one of the structures used to designate a time which is not completely filled by the given action, i.e. a time during a segment of which an event takes place (1971, 128). In meaning it is identical to εάζ + ACC, and has not survived in any modern Slavic language.

10.43 In conclusion, OCS had many GEN prepositions with which to render temporal expressions. These had various meanings: ετάζ, εάζ and ηάζ 'from, since'; άο 'until'; πρεζάε or πρεζά 'before'; ζά 'during'; and the very rare and unusual εάζ 'during', which occurs only in Supr. All of these prepositions, as they vary in meaning, have various Greek prepositional constructions to which they correspond. Usually each preposition corresponds to only one Greek construction (or numerous constructions with different preposition, all of which express the same meaning), unlike many of the prepositionless constructions which have already been discussed. Ότάζ, εάζ and ηάζ render Greek ἐκ or ἁπό + GEN; άο--ἐσ, ἀχρ and μέχρ + GEN; πρεζάε--πρό + GEN. ζά as used in the adverbalized phrase ζά ογ τρά renders a Greek adverb πρωτι 'in the morning'. In these constructions with prepositions +
GEN, the time frames are often very specific: 'before', 'after', 'from'. There are not many opportunities for overlapping the meaning of a construction to express 'until', for example, unless a language has more than one preposition to express this meaning. In OCS, there were three prepositions which expressed 'from, since': οτζ, cz and Ηζζ.

As expected, we do see some overlapping in the usages of these amongst each other, although on a very limited basis. οτζ occurs in the overwhelming majority of occurrences, cz occurs only once, and Ηζζ occurs only in a small number of phrases with a restricted number of lexical items. We only see overlapping between οτζ and Ηζζ in one instance—in one occurrence of the noun ιονοςτζλ 'youth'.

Since we see so little overlapping where the possibility for it is so great, we may draw the conclusion that the parameters for the usage of each of the prepositions had already been established by the time of OCS. Since each preposition which was used with the GEN had a very specific temporal frame to which it referred—οτζ, cz and Ηζζ 'from, since', άο 'until', πρξξάε 'before' and ζα 'in, within'—it is not surprising that each preposition corresponds to a Greek construction containing a preposition with the same meaning (except in the instance of ζα ουτρα rendering a Greek adverb πρω' 'in the morning'; this phrase in OCS, however, had probably also become an adverb, and regardless expressed the same meaning as the Greek adverb).

Thus the usage of prepositions + GEN does little to support the theory of an independent OCS syntax—although it does nothing to contradict it, either. As with other constructions, patterns which we do not see are more important evidence of an independent OCS syntax than those which we do see. For example, if the prepositions οτζ, cz and Ηζζ varied in usage depending on which preposition occurred in the Greek text (ἐκ or ἀπνό) —say, οτζ always for ἐκ and Ηζζ always for ἀπνό—then we could suppose that the choice of one or the other in OCS depended upon which Greek
preposition was used. However, this is not the pattern which we see in the manuscripts—\( \text{o} \tau \varepsilon \) is found for both \( \epsilon \kappa \) and \( \alpha \pi \nu \) fairly equally, as is \( \iota \zeta \varepsilon \). Since we do not find a one-to-one correspondence, then the usage of \( \text{o} \tau \varepsilon \) vs. \( \iota \zeta \varepsilon \) as found in the extant manuscripts represents a distinction native to Slavic, not one copied from Greek.
CHAPTER XI
ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS OF TIME

11.1 In addition to the case structures and numerous prepositions which are used to express time in OCS, we also see the use of certain adverbial phrases. These include adverbs which also functioned as prepositions (ноC/ffet 'after' and npKgАc 'before'), as well as several ordinal numerals in the NTR SG ACC form (npKgОен/npKзег 'first', Леворопе 'for a second time', Третнек 'for a third time'). The NTR SG ACC quantifier мало 'little, few' (therefore: 'for a short time') also occurs adverbially. In addition, we have an adjective which may be interpreted as functioning adverbially: noКз 'anew' (in the MASC SG ACC form). These adverbs usually correspond to Greek adverbs, most often to adverbialized ACC forms. Individual correspondences will be discussed separately, under each category.

11.2 The preposition noC/ffet/noC/ffet 'after' is a less-seen form derived from the preposition но 'after' (in its temporal meaning, но takes the LOC case and was discussed in Chapter 9). The preposition noC/ffet gives us the Modern Russian and Serbo-Croatian prepositions носле/после 'after', as well as the Bulgarian adverb носле 'after'.

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1 For example, 'First gather together the tares' (Mt 13:30), 'he was crowned first' (Col 1:1;23-34). Note that the form npKзег is the comparative.
2 noC/ffet/noC/ffet is itself derived from a prepositional phrase, consisting of the preposition но and the noun стелс. стелс has various similar meanings: 'truck, trail', 'footstep', 'trace, sign'. Thus noC/ffet 'after the track', therefore 'following' (cf. the verb стелс 'to follow'), 'after, next, later'.
This adverb occurs quite frequently in the OCS Gospels and corresponds to Greek ὑστέρον, which itself is an adverbialized NTR SG ACC of the adjective ὑστερος. Examples of the use of ὑστερον in its adverbial function include:

Mt 4:2 . . . ὑστερον ἐπείνασεν
J 13:36 . . . ὑστερον δὲ ἀκολουθήσεις μου

In L 18:4, where the Greek shows μετὰ ταῦτα:

L 18:4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ . . .

three of the seven examined manuscripts (Asm, Ost and D) show the expected no σιξξ:

L 18:4 . . . no σιξξ χε ρεγε αξ σετ . . . (Asm)

The other four, however (Sav, Mar, Z and Mir), substitute the adverbial ὑστερον:

3 The preferred reading shows a different word order and omits the pronoun: . . . ἀκολουθήσεις δὲ ὑστερον. Although only a few mss. show the reading as I have given it, I chose the alternate reading because it is the one which is found in M.
...ENCIES KEE (Sav)

Последствия (in the form poslědствіе) also occurs in Cloz, in a phrase with four other adverbs which express temporal concepts:

Cloz 11b:32-34  

In this instance, it is quite interesting that Cloz translated Greek adjectives as adverbs—

'last' (MASC NOM SG) as послідствіе 'later, after, lastly' and пріоритет 'first' (MASC NOM SG) as перве 'first(ly)'

Thus 'he was the last to arrive and the first to be crowned' becomes 'he arrived last and was crowned first'.

11.3 The preposition пріоритет 'before' was examined in Chapter 10 as one of the prepositions used with the GEN to express time in OCS, a preposition which is etymologically derived from the adverb пріоритет.\(^4\) пріоритет is used adverbially quite

\(^4\) As was discussed in Chapters 8 and 10, пріоритет is the comparative form of пріоритет (Proto-Slavic *предъ). Note below that the comparative form of пріоритет, перве, is also used along side of the "plain" adverbial to indicate 'first'.

\(^4\) As was discussed in Chapters 8 and 10, пріоритет is the comparative form of пріоритет (Proto-Slavic *предъ). Note below that the comparative form of пріоритет, перве, is also used along side of the "plain" adverbial to indicate 'first'.
frequently in the extant texts as well, in correspondence to the Greek πρῶτον in the
meaning 'first, in the first place, before, earlier, to begin with' (W. Bauer 1979, 726).
Again in Greek we see the NTR SG ACC adjective functioning as an adverb. For
example:

Mt 6:33 ζητείτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν [τοῦ θεοῦ] . . .
J 6:62 . . . ὁποὶ ἦν τὸ πρότερον
Mt 6:33 προσέτε ἵνα πρῶτες εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσέλθητε
J 6:62 καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν πρῶτον

(Sav)

(Asm)

Supr and Cloz also show numerous examples of the adverbial use of πρῶτες:

Supr 30:23-24 πρῶτες ποιηθῆναι οἰκοδομοῦ οἰκοδομοῦ οἰκοδομοῦ
Supr 145:20-21 ἵνα ἀνείποι σπάσας πρῶτες ναρετενζίν ἱππαζ
Supr 342:26-27 εγορεῦναι θάνατος συγκαταναλίπτω

Cloz 1b:34-35 πρέπει πρῶτες εὐλογία ἐξάλληλα ἐλάχιστος ἐξωποήσω (no Greek given)

Cloz 9a:26-27 στολὴν ὅπως πρῶτες

Cloz 9a:26-27 ποιήσω τούτων ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον

Bauer defines τὸ πρῶτον (i.e. the articulated adverb) as meaning 'the first time, at first'.

Compare the use of η₽κχας as seen in Supr 342:26-27 above in the phrase 'Adam was created first' with the same phrase in Supr 368:16-17:

Supr 368:16-17  ᾍδαμς εἰς η₽κχας εξηανζ εξιετα

In this we see the same phrase 'Adam was created first', but expressed with a MASC NOM SG adjective instead of an adverb—'Adam was the first (who was) created'. These two phrases demonstrate stylistic options available in OCS to express phrases such as 'first' and 'last' (as seen in the Cloz example in §11.2 above).

11.4 Greek πρωτον is sometimes rendered by the equivalent OCS NTR SG ACC of the adjective πηραζ 'first': πηραζε or πηρατε. For example, in Mt 13:30, Asm shows πηραζε:

Mt 13:30  ηζεηατε πηραζε πατελαζι (Asm)

while Mar, Z and Mir show πηρατε (Mir—πηραζε):

Mt 13:30  εζεηατε πηρατε πατελαζ (Mar)

Both OCS words render Greek πρωτον:

Mt 13:30  συλλεξατε πρωτον τα ζιτανια
The substitution of ηπράτε + GEN for ηπτέχα + GEN to render Greek πρώ + GEN was mentioned in Chapter 10 (§10.38.3).

Various forms of the NTR SG ACC of ηπζαζ functioning adverbially are also seen in Supr and Cloz:

Supr 13:28-29 κ'το ηπζαζεη πρικοσετζ σα κξ ιενου
Supr 108:6-7 εραδα ιε ιου ραζι η ηπζο ηπραδηκελτζ
Supr 183:13-14 ηο ηπζαζε εραε ιενε ηπιλακελτζ
Cloz 1b:2-3 ιη παζι εραδα ι εξ ιαζε ηπζαζε ηα ιενελζι
Cloz 1b:2-4 καη παλεν ιενεμενοζ . . . δεοηεροζ εξ ιουρανου
Cloz 11b:32-34 ποζατε ιενοζαζ ξ ακζοη ιενοηεηεζ ηοζαζε ηεζδαζ ι ηπζαζ εα ακζοηεαζ
Cloz 11b:32-34 ηερεζεζ πστεζεζ, καη ταζεζ ιενοζεζ,
Τζαζαζ ιελεν, καη πρετζοζ (yes) ιεζεζες

The rendering of the Greek MASC NOM SG adjective πρωτοζ 'first' with the OCS adverb ηπζαζε 'first(ly)' was discussed above in §11.2.

Another variant is seen in the use of either ηπτέχα or ηπζαζε to express the same meaning. As we know, both express Greek πρωτοζ. The two examples below from Supr show that they may both be used in the same context:

Supr 266:21-22 ηπτέχα ιεζικεη ηι ηζδα ουνη
Supr 174:20 ηπροζε ιεζικεη ηι ηζδα Πρηη σα
11.5 ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν 'for the second time' and τρεῖς ἔκ 'for the third time' occur in numerous Gospel verses. These adverbials, expressing the temporal concept of repetition, however, compete with the INS adverbial forms ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν ἑξῆς ἀκριβῶς 'two times' and τρεῖς ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν ἕπετε ἀκριβῶς 'three times' (see Chapter 4, §4.8.4.1). In fact, the NTR SG ACC forms are never found in most of the manuscripts--Asm, Mar, Z and Mir. They occur twice in Sav (two occurrences of τρεῖς ἐκτὸς in J 21:17) and twice in D (two occurrences of ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν in Mk 14:72 and J 3:4). Ost shows the most prevalent usage of these forms--four of ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν and three of τρεῖς ἐκτὸς--and lowest usage of the INS forms--one of ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν and none of τρεῖς ἐκτὸς, et al.). These facts make it appear as if these adverbials only occur dialectally; this is discussed shortly (§11.5.1).

The Greek shows numerous forms as well--both the NTR SG ACC ἔκτετερον and ἐκ + GEN ἔκ δεύτερον occur (two of the former, three of the latter):

Mt 26:42 πάλιν ἐκ δεύτερου ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο
Mt 26:42 παξὶ ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν ἑξῆς ποιοῦν· (Ost)
Mt 26:42 παξὶ ἐκτὸς ὑμῶν ἑξῆς ποιοῦν· (Mar)

J 3:4 μὴ δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν ... δεύτερον εἰσέλθειν
J 3:4 κε δα μόχετ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἔλλειπτε καὶ ἕτοεξ ... (D)
J 3:4 κε δα μόχετ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἔλλειπτε καὶ ἕτοεξ ... (Z)

The Greek sources for τρεῖς ἐκτὸς show a slightly different pattern: here again we see one instance of ἐκ + GEN-- ἐκ τρίτου:
The other two occurrences of τρεμήνιευ, however, have as their source an articulated NTR SG ACC ὑπὸ τρύτον:

J 21:17, ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τρύτον . . .
J 21:17, ἤξα ἑκατον τρεμήνι . . .
J 21:17, ἤξα ἑκατον τρεμήνι . . . (Z)

Both ἐξτορπῆε and τρεμήνιευ also occur in Supr and Cloz:

Supr 56:1-2 ἑκατοτα ἐξτορπῆε . . .
Supr 91:9 τρεμήνι ἐκ ταξίας ἀλλὰ πρήκτε . . .
Cloz 1b:5-6 ἐξτορπῆε ἐκαθιστὰ ἐκλεμένα ἐκ Ἐκκλησίας ἐξῆγεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . .
Cloz 1b:5-6 δεύτερον ὡς φοβεῖτος ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὄνοματι κυρίου

11.5.1 Thus due to their occurrence in Sav, Cloz and Supr, these adverbialized NTR SG ACC forms cannot be written off as localisms which appear only in Ost and D. Besides, Ost represents the earliest dated manuscript in the Russian Church Slavonic
traditional and is an *Aprakos* Gospel and D—one of the earliest manuscripts in the Bulgarian/Macedonian recension of Church Slavonic and is a Tetrangospel. Obviously the geographic distance between these two "dialects" is vast; if εξτοροθε and τρεγιμε are indeed "dialectal" features at all, their spread among the Slavic languages must have been quite wide. Nor can we say that the existence of these adverbialized NTR SG ACC forms in some of the oldest Slavic manuscripts is due solely to a Greek influence, as some of the occurrences of εξτοροθε and τρεγιμε originate not from a Greek adverbialized NTR SG ACC adjective but rather in forms with εκ + GEN. The use of εξτοροθε and τρεγιμε (as opposed to εξτορικεμ and τρεγιμε, et al.) in some but not all manuscripts then most likely represents a native Slavic feature which was alive in many regions of the Slavic world.

11.6 In addition, Supr shows two other numerals used adverbially:

Supr 266:8-9  ζακον ίετμορο ίετμοριμε ουρεγε
Supr 266:7-8  ά η ε ν υ η α ά χ ά η έ σ ε η ν ρο ο σ ε σ η ν ρε μ η ά σ τ η

These show the NTR ACC SG indefinite or short-form ending: -ο instead of -οιε. Thus ίετμορο 'four times' and σεσνορο 'seven times'. What is especially interesting about these two occurrences of the adverbial form is that they occur in conjunction with the prepositionless INS phrase: ίετμορο ίετμοριμε 'four times four' and σεσνορο σεσνιμεμ 'seven times seven'. It is possible that the two different forms were used in this way for stylistic reasons: to avoid repetition of the same word in immediate context.
The NTR SG ACC quantifier 
occurs twice also adverbially in the Gospels
in a temporal meaning:

J 13:33 εστε μικρον ευθυς Δευτεροβιβασις (Asm)
J 14:19 εστε μικρον και ο κοσμος με αυκετι θεωρει (Mar)

Both of these occurrences correspond to a Greek NTR SG ACC μικρον:

J 13:33 έτη μικρον μεθ' υμων ειμι
J 14:19 έτη μικρον και ο κοσμος με αυκετι θεωρει

Both of these occurrences may be translated as 'for a short time'. It is interesting that
six other occurrences of μικρον (twice each in J 16:16, 16:17, and 16:19) were
rendered by εξ + LOC in every occurrence in every manuscript:

J 16:16 εξ μακθη και κα τομου ηε ειδήτε τε μενε ε πακζι εξ μακθη οψηριτε ηω
(J 16:19 εξ μακθη και ηε οψηριτε τε μενε ε πακζι εξ μακθη οψηριτε ηω
(Sav)
J 16:16 μικρον και αυκετι θεωτετε με, και παλιν μικρον
και αψηθε με
J 16:19 μικρον και ου θεωτετε με, και παλιν μικρον και
αψηθε με

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Some mss. do have the head noun καλον here; however, the preferred reading does not, nor
does M.
These occurrences, however, may be translated as 'in a short time', i.e. 'soon'. Thus OCS had two means available to it to render μικρόν: 'in a short time' was rendered by ες ματς, and, less frequently, μικρόν 'for a short time' was rendered by the adverb μαλα. Μαλα is found in Supr as well:

Supr 189:7 με μαλα ποξнζ αφωιηαετα

When the Greek adjective μικρόν is used adverbially, it could be seen simply as an example of ellipsis: a head noun θωρόν is assumed. When we see μαλα, we could also assume the ellipsis of a (NTR SG ACC) head noun: ερθαι. If this was all, we might think that this is an example of the copying of the Greek structure. However, as mentioned above, the adverbial μικρόν is rendered not only by the equivalent μαλα, but also by the prepositional phrase ες ματς when there was a sense that μικρόν meant not 'for a short time' but rather 'in a short time'. The variation in OCS shows that this was not a copying of the Greek, but rather a choice that was made to distinguish the two meanings of μικρόν—'for a short time' and 'in a short time'.

11.8 A Greek adjective is used adverbially in the NTR SG ACC form to express time: καινόν ' anew'. It occurs twice in the Gospels:

Mt 26:29 ὅταν αὐτῷ πῦνω μεθ' υμῶν καινόν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου

Mk 14:25 ὅταν αὐτῷ πῦνω καινόν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ
Contrary to expectation, only one Slavic manuscript shows the equivalent adverbial NTR SG ACC adjective here:

Mk 14:25  . . . εγδα εγο πιξν новбс въ црствни бжин  (D)

And D. of course, is a non-canonical manuscript. All the other manuscripts show the MASC SG ACC:

Mt 26:29  . . . εγδα н pij x съ вани норх въ црствне . . .  (Sav)
Mk 14:25  . . . εγδα пиж н норх въ црсьн бжин  (Z)

It is possible that the translator(s) mistook the NTR SG ACC adjective ending for that of the MASC SG ACC: -ν (-n). They were, after all, identical; and if there was no head noun to define the gender, the NTR SG ACC -ν could easily have been mistaken for the MASC SG ACC -ν. In addition, it is possible that норх here was used as an adjective modifying the MASC SG ACC pronoun н 'it' and that rather than 'when I drink it anew' with 'anew' modifying the verb 'drink', we have 'when I drink it new' with 'new' directly modifying 'it'.

11.9 Thus OCS had a handful of adverbial expressions of time, consisting of adverbs which were also used elsewhere as prepositions, adjectives and quantifiers. Although the range of words used adverbially was not large, the frequency of the words used thus is great enough to show that these adverbial constructions were an active means of
temporal expression in OCS. The occasional reinterpretations (for example, 

for μετὰ ταῦτα instead of no eικάκ: πρώτακε for πρῶτον instead of πρώτεκε) demonstrate that the translators/scribes could possibly have been looking for different Slavic constructions which would render the same general meaning but which would not copy the Greek exactly. The use of the numerical adverbs of repetition, which overlap the usage of prepositionless INS forms, translate not only Greek adverbs, but also prepositional constructions: ἐκτορος and ἐκτορομεγα both render either the Greek δεύτερον or ἐκ δευτέρου. If the syntax of OCS as found in the extant manuscripts represented nothing more than a translation of the Greek, we would expect only ἐκτορος to render the Greek δεύτερον and something like ὀτζ ἐκτοραγρο to render the Greek ἐκ δευτέρου. We would not see the prepositionless INS ἐκτορομεγα at all. But this is not the pattern which exists in the manuscripts; instead, we see the alternation of both ἐκτορος and ἐκτορομεγα which can each render either Greek construction. Since there is no one-to-one correspondence, again here we see that the constructions found in the extant OCS manuscripts are not Greek but rather living, native Slavic constructions representing real Slavic syntax.
CONCLUSION

12.1 Four issues are discussed in this conclusion: first and foremost, the expression of distinct temporal frames by various syntactic constructions in OCS are analyzed internally and synchronically. In this section, problems of this analysis are discussed, such as the inability to determine the construction used to express age or in what case the noun should be in the phrase "(X) times per (Noun)". Second, a comparison is drawn between those expressions used to distinguish various temporal frames in OCS and those used in Greek. Third, data from the modern Slavic languages is brought in to demonstrate that constructions found in OCS remain active today in its living relatives, towards the goal of revealing what is the native Slavic usage of the constructions under consideration. Finally, the facts presented by these three discussions are used to argue the hypothesis that the syntax of OCS as seen in the extant texts does indeed reflect native Slavic elements, and is not merely an imitation of Greek syntax.

12.2 In analyzing which syntactic constructions were used to express time in OCS, we must distinguish the various temporal frames involved. These include: (1) the time at which an action occurs, which may be a time which is not completely filled by the given action, or the time during a segment of which or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place or begins; (2) a time completely filled by an action; (3) a time completely filled by an action with emphasis on the duration of the action throughout the entire period in question; (4) a time within which an action is
completed:¹ (5) a time since which an action occurs; (6) a time before which an action occurs; (7) a time after which an action occurs; (8) a time until which an action occurs; (9) a time around which an action occurs; (10) a time for which or up to which an action continues;² (11) a time for which an action is repeated or intended to last; (12) the times between which an action occurs; (13) a time towards which an action occurs; and (14) how many times an action is repeated.

12.2.1 The temporal frame which is most common is that at which an action occurs, which may be a time which is not completely filled by the given action, or the time during a segment of which or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place or begins. Numerous constructions are used to express this temporal frame, the most common of which is ə ə + ACC, which, as we know, occurs over 500 times in the extant texts. Less common but also frequent are the prepositionless ACC, prepositionless INS, and prepositionless LOC. We also find constructions with the prepositionless GEN, ə ə + LOC, npn + LOC, ə ə + GEN and ə ə + GEN to express this meaning, although these are relatively rare.

In spite of this multiplicity of constructions available to express a time at which an action occurs, only rarely do we find overlapping between one or more constructions, either within one manuscript or among various manuscripts. Most often we find instances of ə ə + LOC overlapping with one of the other constructions (most

¹ This meaning differs from that expressed in (2) by the emphasis on the completion of an action, with the achievement of a result. This is discussed in Chapter 4, on the prepositionless INS, and in §12.2.4 of this chapter.

² This meaning differs from that expressed in (8), although they are both expressed in OCS with ə ə + GEN. This is discussed in Chapter 10, especially §§10.20 and 10.32 and in §§12.2.8 and 12.2.10 of this chapter. The meaning expressed by ə ə + GEN in (8) is an unmarked until, while the meaning expressed by ə ə + GEN in (10) is marked for extension of the action.
frequently the \textit{er} + ACC construction), and often these occurrences of \textit{er} + LOC represent a variation found in only one or a few manuscripts. For example, we can find both \textit{er} \texttt{stapo} and \textit{er} \texttt{stapo} 'in old age', \textit{er} \texttt{kou}r\texttt{ogl}a\texttt{sw}e\texttt{ne} and \textit{er} \texttt{kou}r\texttt{ogl}a\texttt{sw}e\texttt{ne} 'at the cock's crow'. Variation between \textit{er} + LOC and adverbs are also found: \textit{er} \texttt{ma}\texttt{ve} and \texttt{ma до 'in a short time' \textit{er} \texttt{skop}e and \texttt{skop}o 'soon'.

Other instances of overlapping include the use of either the prepositionless ACC or \textit{ta} + GEN of \texttt{otro} to express 'in the morning'; the prepositionless ACC or \textit{er} + ACC of \texttt{tr}e\texttt{tny} \texttt{dny} to express 'on the third day'; the prepositionless INS or \textit{er} + LOC of \texttt{now} to express 'in the night'; the prepositionless LOC or \textit{er} + LOC of \texttt{n}o\texttt{y}o\texttt{now} to express 'at mid-night'; and the prepositionless LOC or \textit{er} + ACC of \texttt{ta} \texttt{yac} to express 'at that hour'.

The fact that each of these instances of overlapping can occur in the same context to express the same meaning suggests that \textit{under certain circumstances}, these constructions were in free variation with each other. If it is necessary to specify what \textit{under certain circumstances} means, it is that these constructions are not always substituted randomly, but that only those constructions as named above had no semantic difference when containing those particular nouns or phrases, as named above. \textit{er} + LOC and \textit{er} + ACC are not always in free variation, rather only when they occur with certain nouns, especially nouns which do not have temporal meaning, such as \texttt{stapo} 'old age' or \texttt{kou}r\texttt{ogl}a\texttt{sw}e\texttt{ne} 'cock's crow'.

When \textit{er} + LOC and \textit{er} + ACC (for example) appear to be structurally identical, the phrases constructed with them in point of fact are different semantically. For example, the noun \texttt{dny} 'day' can occur in both constructions. However, \textit{er} \texttt{dny} seems to be the construction used for expressing 'in the day(time)' as opposed to
'on (a certain) day', which is expressed by $\texttt{bx} + \texttt{ACC}$. In the latter construction, $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Α} \texttt{Ν} \texttt{Δ}$ is always modified.

When $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Α} \texttt{Ν} \texttt{Δ}$ occurs in the $\texttt{bx} + \texttt{LOC}$ construction with modifiers, however, these phrases are probably idiomatic expressions. $\texttt{bx} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Α} \texttt{Ν} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ and $\texttt{bx} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Α} \texttt{Ν} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ both correspond to a Greek $\texttt{ευ} + \texttt{DAT}$ used with the perfect active participle of the verb $προβαλνω$ 'to advance', thus 'having advanced in many days/one's days'— i.e. 'being old'. As discussed in Chapter 9 (§9.3.1), phrases with 'in' + (time word) are common in Slavic to express agedness; cf. also English 'up in years'. Russian has the phrase $\texttt{В} \texttt{ίετα} \texttt{Χ}$ (lit. 'in years') meaning 'old', as does Polish ($\texttt{W} \texttt{latach}$). Polish has another phrase with $\texttt{(być) W takim wieku}$ (lit. '[to be] in such an age [century]') '(to be) old enough'. Regardless, $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$ cannot be interpreted here as bearing its concrete meaning 'day' (and therefore these are not even true expressions of time), and thus phrases such as $\texttt{bx} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ are semantically different from structurally similar phrases such as $\texttt{bx} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$.

Two other constructions which express this temporal frame are used with $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$: the prepositionless ACC and $\texttt{bx} + \texttt{GEN}$. The latter occurs only one time in one manuscript (Supr) in the phrase $\texttt{bx} \texttt{CE} \texttt{ΓO} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$. This particular construction (discussed in Chapter 10, §10.42) is considered to be a syntactic peculiarity of Supr and is equivalent to either $\texttt{bx} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ (rare— it too only occurs once and is an exact translation of the Greek) or $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ (extremely common) 'on this day' or 'today'. This phrase ($\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$) is one of two in which $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$ is found in the prepositionless ACC; the other is $\texttt{τρετη} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$ 'on the third day'. Both of these phrases appear quite frequently in all the manuscripts. As mentioned above, the phrase $\texttt{τρετη} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$ is in free variation with $\texttt{bx} \texttt{τρετη} \texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Δ}$—there is no semantic difference between the two phrases. However, $\texttt{ΔΛΝ} \texttt{Ξ} \texttt{Ξ}$ cannot be said to be in free variation with the other two
constructions, as they occur only once each. The frequency of the phrase _день_ is indicative of a semantic restriction of this construction of the prepositionless ACC with _день_ to express 'on this day' or 'today'. No other construction can be used to express 'today' and _день_ can only be used in the prepositionless ACC in these two phrases: _день_ and _тре́ть_ _день_.

The other constructions are restricted in usage in a similar way to the restriction between _в_ _день_ 'in the day(time)', _в_ (_т_ _день_ 'on (that) day' and _день_ 'today', in which _день_ occurs in the _в_ + LOC construction only when unmodified and only to express a general time frame ('in the day' can be in any day) but occurs in the _в_ + ACC construction only when modified and only to express a specific time frame ('on that day' cannot refer to any day), and the prepositionless ACC only to express one or two phrases, which also refer to specific times. Often the difference in usage of one noun in different constructions all of which express the time frame at or in which an event occurs depends upon whether or not the noun is modified, as with the example above of _день_. The same distinction is made with the noun _но́чь_ 'night'.

_но́чь_ is found in constructions with _в_ + ACC, and prepositionless INS; it is also found in the rare prepositional construction with _в_ + LOC. _в_ + ACC may only be used when _но́чь_ is modified; in the extant manuscripts, _но́чь_ occurs only when it is modified by one of the demonstratives--_є_ or _т_ _день_. In the prepositionless INS, _но́чь_ only appears unmodified. The fact that we see no overlapping in the usage of these two constructions suggests that they were not in free variation, but instead that each bore a different semantic sense: prepositionless INS _но́чь_ 'in the night' (general) against _в_ + ACC _в_ _т_ _день_ _но́чь_ 'in that night' (specific). _в_ + LOC _в_ _но́чь_, which is regularly found only in Supr (and once in Mir, a non-canonical manuscript), is an equivalent variant of the prepositionless INS _но́чь_. However, _но́чь_ is also found
in Supr, so that we should consider that both phrases could have been semantically equivalent (at least in this manuscript) to express this meaning.\(^3\)

The noun οὔτρο also appears in numerous constructions, the most common being the prepositionless ACC, the prepositionless LOC, ἐκ + ACC, and ἃ + GEN. To render Greek πρωῗ 'in the morning', two constructions are commonly used and seem to be semantically equivalent: the prepositionless ACC and ἃ + GEN. Both can be used in the same verse in different manuscripts:

- Mt 20:1 ... ἵνα ζῆλης ΚΟΥΝΑΣ ὁ οὔτρο (Asm)
- Mt 20:1 ... ἵνα ζῆλης ζὰ οὔτρα (Sav)
- Mk 13:35 οὐ στέκετε ἐκ ἑταίρας γῆς αὐτῶν πρῖν ἔρχεται ... ἅ ὁ οὔτρο (Z)
- Mk 13:35 οὐ στέκετε ἐκ ἑταίρας γῆς αὐτῶν πρὶν ἔρχεται ... ἅ ζὰ οὔτρα (Ost)

The other constructions with οὔτρο do not express Greek πρωῗ, but rather some variant of αὔρολον, which means 'tomorrow'. Thus οὔτρο itself, depending on the construction in which it appears, had two different meanings: 'morning', and 'tomorrow'. ἐκ + ACC only occurs when οὔτρο is in an adjectival form modifying ὁμός - ἐκ οὔτρην ὁμός. It renders Greek τῇ ἐπαύρολον: The prepositionless LOC οὔτρα occurs relatively frequently in both the Gospels and Supr. It renders the Greek αὔρολον 'tomorrow', and probably had already become a fixed adverb. From

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\(^3\) As was mentioned in Chapter 4 (§4.6), it is uncertain whether this represents a dialectal feature of the scribe(s) of Supr, as either form (ἐκ ΚΟΥΝΑΙ or ἃ) or both forms could have been copied from the protograph, or the scribe(s) could have made changes based upon their native dialect. Even if the latter case is true, we are unable to determine which was the original form and which form represents a dialectal feature of Eastern Bulgaria inserted into the text by the scribe(s).
the basis of the occurrences of the various phrases in the extant texts, it appears that the use of the prepositional construction in OCS was used to convey the more "explicit" Greek phrase τῇ ἐπαύριον, which may be translated as 'on the morrow', whereas the plain prepositionless LOC was used to translate the basic Greek ἀύριον 'tomorrow'.

All of the constructions (other than the most frequent ΕΞ + ACC) which express the time frame under consideration--the time at which an action occurs--are subject to restrictions in usage. Although many of these constructions may be found with other nouns expressing different temporal frames, the restrictions of each to express this particular time frame are as follows: (1) ΕΞ + ACC can be used with almost any noun with the limitation that nouns which carry temporal meaning must almost always be modified. (2) The prepositionless ACC is only found in two phrases with the noun ἀνάμεσα (and must be modified) and in unmodified adverbialized phrases with ἐν τῷ 'in the morning' and ἐν τῷ ἐρέα 'in the evening'. (3) The prepositionless INS is only found in one unmodified adverbialized phrase with the noun νυκτῆ 'in the night'. (4) The prepositionless LOC is found with five nouns which represent entirely different temporal concepts: πολύνυχτα 'at mid-night', τόμη γάτα 'at that hour', ἐν τῷ 'tomorrow', ἐν τῷ 'in the winter', and τόμη μητέρα 'in that year'. (5) The prepositionless GEN only expresses this meaning in phrases with the names of months: μάρτιον μεσάμμα 'in March'. (6) ΕΞ + LOC seems only to be used as a semantically distinct structure with two nouns: ἀνάμεσα 'day' and ἁρμότικο 'life'. In all other instances ΕΞ + LOC appears to be in free variation with some other construction used to express the same meaning. (7) ΠΡΙ + LOC is only used in this meaning with the names of persons to express 'in the lifetime of': πρὶς ἐνθέσι προφῆτα 'in the lifetime of Elisiah the Prophet'. (8) ΖΑ + GEN is only used in this meaning regularly with the
noun ὥρα 'morning' to express either 'in the morning' or perhaps also 'tomorrow', and once in Supr in the phrase ἡμέρα ἡμείς 'in the (allotted time)'. (9) ἔτη + GEN, a rare syntactic peculiarity of Supr, is found in two phrases: ἔτη στὸν ἡμῶν 'on this day' and ἔτη στὸν ἡμῶν 'in this life(time)'. These are equivalent to either the prepositionless ACC phrase ἡμέρα 'today' or ἔτη + ACC ἡμέρας, and ἔτη + LOC ἐτῆς ἡμῶν ἡμῶν 'in this life(time)'.

Although there are then nine different constructions to express a time at which an action occurs, in most instances we see that each individual construction is restricted. There are only six examples of "free variation", and these examples are not the random substitution of any construction for another in any context, but only the free substitution of one construction for one other which is semantically equivalent in one specific instance (for example the prepositionless ACC or ἡμέρα + GEN of ἥρα to express 'in the morning'). In all other instances the use of each construction is determined by the noun in question, whether or not it is modified, and which specific semantic reference the construction is expected to express--for example ἔτη ἡμῶν 'in the day(time)', ἔτη (τοῖς) ἡμῶν 'on (that) day' and ἡμέρας 'today'.

12.2.2 Another common temporal frame is that time which is completely filled by an action, which expresses the continuation or duration of the action for that time. The prepositionless ACC is the most prevalent means to express this particular meaning. However, some adverbial phrases are used as well, although they can be interpreted as frozen ACC forms.

For example, the quantifier μακρó occurs twice adverbially in the Gospels in a temporal meaning:
Both of these occurrences may be translated as 'for a short time'. As discussed in Chapter 11 (§§11.7 and 11.7.1), this corresponds to another OCS construction to express 'for a short time': the prepositionless ACC מָדוֹ וּפֶּשֶׁה. It is possible to interpret מָדוֹ as this same phrase with the ellipsis of the head noun פֶּשֶׁה.

It is the prepositionless ACC which is by far the most active means to express a time completely filled by an action. Although this construction has unlimited potential for use, only a limited number of nouns with temporal meaning are actually found in the canonical corpus: דָּן 'day', נוֹשֶׁ 'night', יָאָש 'hour', יִשְׁמָע 'month', יָאָש 'year', and פֶּשֶׁ 'time'. The noun is usually accompanied by a numeral (for example, תִּרְנִי דָּן וּתִרְנִי נוֹשֶׁ 'for three days and three nights') or another modifier (for example, בָּכָא דָּן 'all day'); however, the phrase דָּן וּנְוֶשֶׁ, 'day and night', occurs as well. Although the actual number of nouns used in this construction is relatively small, the frequency of the occurrence of this construction assures us that it was a quite active means of temporal expression in OCS.

12.2.3 On the other hand, though, we see quite restricted usage of that expression which designates a time completely filled by an action with emphasis on the duration of the action throughout the entire period in question: בּוֹ(וֹ) + ACC. This is seen only once, in the phrase בּוֹ(וֹ) נוֹשֶׁ בָּכָא. This same phrase ('all night') can also be found in the prepositionless ACC to designate a time completely filled by an action; the addition of the preposition emphasizes the completeness of the time filled--'throughout'.
12.2.4 To express the time *within* which an action is *completed* the prepositionless INS is used. This particular expression is relatively rare; it is found only a handful of times, and only with two nouns: ἅμεν 'day' and ἅττο 'year'. In this meaning, the nouns are always modified by a numeral. Cloz has one example of this, in the phrase ἐδείκτη ἅμεν 'within one day'. The phrase 'within three days' τρεῖς ἅμεν occurs six times in the Gospels; Supr shows ἀγχία ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο 'within forty days'. We also see ἀγχία ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο ἅττο 'within forty-six years' in the Gospels.

12.2.5 The time *since* which an action has occurred can be expressed by one of three prepositional constructions: ὁτζ, ἵζζ, or ζζ + GEN. The problems in delineating distribution were discussed in Chapter 10 (§10.16.2). ζζ only occurs once in the canonical corpus. ἵζζ is restricted to three adverbialized phrases (ἵζiostream 'from the beginning', ἴζίστι 'from the beginning' or 'from the first', and ἵζδαμε 'from a long time ago') and phrases involving nouns which represent stages of life (ἵζζ ὁτζιμάμα 'from childhood', ἵζζ ημε 'from a young age', and ἵζζ ἡμε 'from youth'), and competes with ὁτζ with the latter two nouns. ὁτζ, however, is quite active to express the time *since* which an action has occurred, and is not limited. It occurs with numerous nouns with temporal meaning, as well as with various events and names of persons. ὁτζ is also used with the demonstrative pronouns κα 'this' and τα 'that' (ὁτζ καίρο, ὁτζ τορσο), as well as in phrases with

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4 As was discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.1), although the meaning of the English preposition *within* is ambiguous here, this meaning of the prepositionless INS *within* is distinct from "a time during a segment or at one point *within* the boundaries of which an action takes place". The prepositionless INS in this instance expresses "a time over the duration of which an action lasts and at the end of which an action is completed". The Aktionsart here may be defined as resultative, and the semantic class of verbs used in such situations, which themselves may defined as telic, are verbs of achievement.
adverbs derived from these demonstratives to form conjunctions (отЗ се1А, отЗ то1н or отЗ то1с), and also the relative conjunction phrase отЗ не1н1че.

12.2.6  A time *before* which an action occurs is expressed by the preposition нр†кА ве usually with the GEN case (although the ACC and INS can be found as well) and also by the free-standing adverb from which this preposition is etymologically derived: нр†кА ве 'before' or 'first'. Unlike other prepositions, нр†кА ве occurs more frequently with nouns which do not have temporal meaning than with those which do. It only occurs once in the Gospels with the demonstrative сЛ 'this', and otherwise нр†кА ве is not found with substantivized adjectival or adverbial phrases. The nouns used in phrases with нр†кА ве which do not have temporal meaning include: ноп'по1з 'flood', са1л1не 'foundation, construction', навАл1о 'beginning', and е1зАа 'misery, suffering'. The 1st SG personal pronoun аЗА 'I' is also found.

12.2.7  As with нр†кА ве, a time *after* which an action occurs can be expressed both by the preposition нО + LOC and also by the free-standing adverb to which this preposition is etymologically related: носАкА ве or носАкА ве 'after'. нО + LOC is found with a broad range of nouns both with and without temporal meaning. Those nouns with temporal meaning are д1н1 'day', гАсА/гОд1нА 'hour, time', лЗтО 'year', and ер†кА 'time', all of which usually occur with some sort of modifier. нО is also used with the demonstrative pronouns сЛ 'this' and тЗ 'that' to create adverbial phrases 'after this' and 'after that', as well as with the quantifiers нег1н1н1го or нААО

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5 As was discussed in Chapters 8, 10 and 11, нр†кА ве is the comparative form of нр†кА (Proto-Slavic *перг*).
'little'. $\tau o +$ LOC is an extremely active means of temporal expression in the canonical OCS corpus.

12.2.8 The time *until* which an action occurs or lasts is expressed by $\tau o +$ GEN. This construction can occur with many nouns with temporal meaning, as well as a handful without. It is also used with substantivized adjectives and adverbs and in phrases equivalent to but opposite of the conjunctions $\alpha \tau x \ c e l e$, $\alpha \tau x \ t o l n / t o l n e$, and $\alpha \tau x \ n e l h e x e$: $\tau o \ c e l e$, $\tau o \ k o l e$, and the relative $c e n c d e x e$. The nouns which have temporal meaning and are used in the construction with $\tau o +$ GEN in OCS are: $\delta \nu n y$ 'day', $\beta e n \ e r z$ 'evening' $\gamma s c x / \gamma o d i n a$ 'hour, time', $\nu o l . n o w u y$ 'mid-night', $\beta r e n m a$ 'time', and $\lambda \epsilon t o$ 'year'.

12.2.9 The time *around* which an action occurs is not a frequently mentioned temporal frame in the canonical corpus. It is rendered by the construction with $\nu r n +$ LOC. This construction expresses the approximateness of time, rather than the exactness of time, and usually involves an hour or another specific time, such as $\nu r n \ d e s a t e n \ \gamma o d i n a$ 'around nine o'clock' or $\nu r n \ \gamma e t e r a t e n \ \sigma t r a j h i$ 'around the fourth watch/shift'. $\nu r n +$ LOC occurs with one other noun in the Gospels: $\beta e n \ e r z$ 'evening'. In this latter instance, however, $\nu r n +$ LOC can be interpreted as having the meaning 'towards', as it renders Greek $\nu r o s +$ ACC: $\nu r o s \ e \sigma p e r a v$ 'towards evening'. Support for this meaning of $\nu r n +$ LOC is also found in Old Russian manuscripts, especially in the phrase $\nu r n \ \sigma m e r t i$, 'on the edge of (i.e. towards) death'. 
12.2.10 Two different constructions are used to express the time for which or up to which an action continues: **na** + LOC or **do** + GEN. In this meaning, **na** + LOC is a fairly rare construction. Its most common occurrence is in the phrase **na** **do** **γε** (βρασμον) 'for a long time'. It also occurs with the nouns **γε** and **τε** on a very limited basis. It corresponds to Greek **επ** + ACC in the meaning of 'extension' (over a period of time). The other construction, **do** + GEN, corresponds to Greek **επ** + ACC as well. It occurs with several nouns with temporal meaning: **do** 'day', **πυρ** 'night', **γε** 'hour, time', and **το** 'year'. The noun is always modified by a cardinal numeral and indicates 'the continuation of the length of the action' (Xodova 1971, §88). Typical phrases include **do** **τρι** **δο** 'for (up to) three days' and **do** **πρι** **δο** 'for (up to) seven days and nights'. The distinction in meaning between this use of **do** + GEN and the use thereof to express 'until' is seen most visibly in the form of the numeral and the number of the noun: when **do** + GEN means 'for', 'up to', the numeral is in its cardinal form and the noun is in the PL (**do** **τρι** **δο** 'for (up to) three days'); when, however **do** + GEN means 'until', the numeral is in its ordinal form and the noun is in the SG (**do** **τρι** **μο** **δο** 'until the third day').

12.2.11 There are also two different constructions used to express the time for which an action is repeated or intended to last: **πο** + ACC or **na** + ACC. **πο** + ACC is limited in use to only nouns in the PL. In the canonical corpus, this construction is found with only three nouns which have temporal meaning: **πο** + ACC occurs most frequently with the noun **do** 'days'; there are also a few examples of the phrases **πο** **κα** **γε** **τα** 'every year' or 'for all years' and **πο** **κα** **γε** **τα** 'every hour' or 'for all hours'. Na + ACC shares a similar meaning with **πο** + ACC, but it is not restricted to
nouns in the PL; thus its range of usage is broader. It too occurs with the nouns Δύνα 'day' Από 'year' Ὑμέρα 'hour', as well as with the noun ἡ χρονιά 'time'. In this construction the nouns are typically modified by adjectives such as ἀλλ' or μάλον 'many', which emphasize the repetitive or continual nature of the construction.

12.2.12 The construction with μεσαίος + INS expresses the times between which an action occurs. This construction occurs temporally only once in the canonical corpus, in the phrase μεσαίος σήμερα 'between this' or 'in the meantime'.

12.2.13 The construction with Καὶ + DAT expresses a time towards which an action occurs; it too is rare in the canonical corpus. It is found most often in the idiomatic phrase Καὶ τούτοι in conjunction with a negated verb in the meaning 'no longer'. It also occurs with the nouns Βεγγέρα 'evening', Κατάρα 'morning', as well as Ὑμέρα 'hour'. There is one occurrence of another construction used to express a time towards which: Προς + LOC. This is found in the example Προς βεγγέρα, which renders Greek πρός ἐσπέραν 'towards evening'.

12.2.14 How many times an action is repeated can be expressed with three different constructions: the prepositionless ACC, the prepositionless INS, or an adverb. In the canonical corpus we find the following phrases: καλέ κράτζε or καλώς ἔπληθύνε 'how many times', μάλιστα/μεγαλοί 'many times', ἕκαστον 'one time', δύο κράτζε or δύο τριάντα 'two times', τρία κράτζε or τρεις τιμι&iota; 'three times', πέντε κράτζε 'five times', σέκαστε/σεκονδα 'seven times'; and πρώτον/πρώτος 'for the first time', δεύτερον 'for the second time', τρίτον 'for the third time'. As was
mentioned in the respective chapters, only the small numerals (1-5) occur in the prepositionless ACC or adverbial forms; anything higher occurs in the INS only.

12.2.15 In this section problems which arose in the analysis of the synchronic description of the temporal system of OCS will be discussed, such as the inability to determine the construction used to express age or in what case the noun should be in the phrase "(X) times per (Noun)".

12.2.15.1 Based on the data found in the canonical corpus, it is impossible to determine the construction used to express age. Numerous different constructions appear, some of which are direct translations from the Greek. For example, in J 8:57, Ost has the prepositionless ACC:

J 8:57 \[\text{πατὴς ἄρατς ἐκ ὑμῶν...} \] (Ost)

This corresponds to a Greek idiomatic expression--\(\varepsilon \chi \omega \) 'have' + ACC--to express age:

J 8:57 \[\text{πεντήκομα ἡ ὁπώ ἐκείς...} \]

However, Asm, Mar, Z and Mir have instead a GEN here (Sav does not contain the verse, and in D the ending is illegible):

J 8:57 \[\text{πατὴς ἄρατς ἐκ τῆς ὑμᾶς...} \] (Z)
As is obvious when compared to the Greek, both examples contain an exact translation of the Greek idiom 'don't you have fifty years', where 'fifty years' is a prepositionless ACC in Ost because it is a direct object of the verb 'have'. The other texts show a GEN, which can be interpreted most likely as a GEN of negation.

Another verse, L 3:23, also has two different constructions in different manuscripts. In Mar, D and Mir we see a prepositionless DAT:

L 3:23  ἤλθεν δεκατεσσάρες έτη...

(Mar)

Z, however, has the prepositionless INS here:

L 3:23  ἤλθεν δεκατεσσάρες έτη...

(Z)

The Greek text shows a GEN:

L 3:23  καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχάγγελος ὠσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα...

Obviously in this instance we do not have a direct translation from the Greek, but we are also surprised to see the use of the DAT or INS with the verb 'to be' to express age, as neither of them survives in any of the modern Slavic languages in this meaning. This absence from the modern Slavic languages, of course, does not exclude the existence of
such a construction in OCS. We do find an example of the INS with the verb 'to be' to express age:

Supr 414:3  

We also find, however, other constructions in Supr as well—the NOM with the verb 'to be':

Supr 128:21-22  

and the NOM with the verb 'to be' with the subject in the DAT—'to her is six months':

Supr 179:8  

This latter construction survives in several modern Slavic languages, but it is the only example of an impersonal DAT to express age which I found in the canonical OCS corpus. Thus we see that there is no consistency in the choice of construction to express age, a fact which leaves us unable to draw any conclusions with any certainty about this expression.

12.2.15.2 Another problem which cannot be resolved is in what case the noun should be in the phrase "(X) times per (Noun)". As with the expression of age, we find
numerous different constructions. The only conclusion that can be drawn about this particular expression is that OCS did not copy the Greek in its choice of constructions. For example, in Mt 20:2 we see the use of a prepositional construction in OCS corresponding to a Greek prepositionless ACC:

\[
\text{Mt 20:2} \quad \text{στῆσαι} \text{ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντελαξά} \text{ πο σήμα} \text{ ἔως} \text{ ἀλυ} \\
\text{(Mar)}
\]

\[
\text{Mt 20:2} \quad \text{συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκ δηναρίων τὴν ἡμέραν}
\]

We might be tempted to assume that this is the native construction to express "per (Noun)"; however, even if it is, it does not necessarily follow that the same construction would be used to express "(X) times per (Noun)"

In other phrases we see a prepositionless INS in OCS:

\[
\text{L 17:4} \quad \text{καὶ ἕκα] ἐπίκας τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ} \ldots \text{ (Asm)}
\]

Here the prepositionless INS corresponds to a Greek GEN, which is a partitive GEN:

\[
\text{L 17:4} \quad \text{καὶ ἕκασ} \text{ ἐπίκας τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ} \ldots 
\]

It is possible that ἀλυ here was "dragged" into the INS by the INS construction of the phrase 'seven times'. There is another similar example from Supr, in which the noun follows a numeral in the prepositionless INS:
However, it is possible that this phrase can be interpreted as 'in one night' (cf. §12.2.4); due to the uncertainty regarding such constructions, it is difficult to decide in which way this should be interpreted. As discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.7), the INS is not used this way in the modern Slavic languages. For example, the Modern Russian text of L 17:4 shows семь раз в день and the Modern Bulgarian shows седем пъти на ден. Since we see no traces of "(X) times per day" with 'day' in the INS, it is possible that this construction was not used in this meaning and that this occurrence is a grammatical error.

Supr shows one example of 'per' expressed with в + LOC:

Supr 68:2 ИЩОММЯ ИОШТЯЯ въ всѣ вѣкѣ ИЗВѢЩЫЯ

Ел в не вѣк, however, is the typical expression for 'in the/a week', and the presence of a "(X) times" phrase here may have had no influence on the choice of construction.

Cloz shows one example of the noun ЖИТИЕ 'life' in the на + LOC construction following the prepositionless INS phrase ИЗНОГАСЫМ 'many times'. In this instance, на + LOC corresponds to Greek εἰς + ACC, whose meaning had merged with that of ἐν + DAT:

Cloz 9a:9-10 ИЗНОГАСЫМ на семь ЖИТИЯ пакость ТВОРІАЗ ЕСІ
Cloz 9a:9-10 ПОЛЛАКІЄІ ЕІЄІ тон паронт тіон ἔβλαψας
Na селі жити in this instance may be translated then as 'in this life(time)' or 'for this life(time)', and again the construction here may not express 'per', but rather may just be the construction used to express 'in', and the presence of the phrase οὐκορά παλίν does not bear any effect.

Yet one other construction is found—the prepositionless GEN:

Since Greek shows the partitive prepositionless GEN in such expressions, it is possible that this was an exact translation from the Greek.

Thus we see five different constructions—na + ACC, prepositionless INS, ee + LOC, na + LOC and prepositionless GEN—in expressions with "(X) times per (Noun)"; but we have no way of knowing which, if any, of them was the actual means for expressing this phrase.

12.3 In this section a comparison is drawn between those expressions used to distinguish various temporal frames in OCS and those used in Greek. I also discuss those reinterpretations made in translating Greek preposition phrases, such as 'from that hour' being changed to 'at that hour'; 'towards X' to 'at X'; etc.

12.3.1 The temporal frame at which an action occurs, which may be a time which is not completely filled by the given action, or the time during a segment of which or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place or begins, as expressed in OCS by ee + ACC, the prepositionless ACC, prepositionless INS, prepositionless...
LOC, the prepositionless GEN, παρά + LOC, ἐν + LOC, σά + GEN and ἐν + GEN, is expressed most frequently in Greek by either ἐν + DAT or the prepositionless DAT, both of which bear the same meaning. Often adverbs are used to express this particular meaning, such as σήμερον 'today' or πρωί 'in the morning'. The following correspondences between constructions can be made:

1. ἐν + ACC almost exclusively (with exceptions and changes) corresponds to either ἐν + DAT or the prepositionless DAT. (2) The prepositionless ACC, except in the phrase 'on the third day' (τρεῖς ἅμα) which corresponds to a prepositionless DAT, corresponds to a Greek adverb: ἃμα to σήμερον 'today', ἱστορ to πρωί 'in the morning' and ἐγερός to ὅψε 'in the evening'. (3) The prepositionless INS corresponds to a Greek prepositionless GEN: κοιμήσ from νυκτός 'in the night'. (4) The prepositionless LOC, which is found with five nouns which represent entirely different temporal concepts, does not have one single correspondence, but rather each phrase has its own correspondence: πολύνυμψ 'at mid-night' corresponds to three different Greek constructions—two with the prepositionless GEN (μέσης νυκτός or μεσονυκτίου) and one with an adverbialized ACC (μεσονυκτίου). Τομή γατά 'at that hour' renders a Greek ἀπό + GEN 'from' and is a reinterpretation of the Greek, ἱστορ 'tomorrow' renders a Greek adverb ἄμμον. Ἰωμή 'in the winter' and Τομή λίπτε 'in that year' both render a Greek prepositionless GEN: κειμόνος and τοῦ ἔνθαπτοὗ ἐκείνου. (5) The prepositionless GEN only expresses the meaning of time at which, etc., in phrases with the names of months μαρτα μέσα μι 'in March', which correspond to Greek ἐν + DAT or the prepositionless DAT. (6) ἐν + LOC, as a structure which is semantically distinct with only two nouns, most often is the equivalent of some other OCS syntactic construction and thus corresponds to whichever Greek construction the other OCS construction renders. For example, ἐν
noi̇h is equivalent to the prepositionless INS noi̇h 'in the night' and corresponds to a Greek prepositionless GEN νυκτός; εἴ τις σταράεται is equivalent to εἴ τις σταράεται 'in old age' and corresponds to a Greek ἐν + DAT. (7) Πρὶ + LOC, only used in this meaning with the names of persons to express 'in the lifetime of', renders Greek ἐπὶ + GEN: Πρὶ εὐκαίριον πρεσβυτάρην ἔρχεται ἐπὶ ἐλευσίαν τοῦ πρεσβύτου 'in the lifetime of Elisiah the Prophet'. (8) Φα + GEN, only used regularly in this meaning with the noun στρογγυλόν to express either 'in the morning' or perhaps also 'tomorrow (in the morning)', renders the Greek adverb πρωί 'in the morning'. (9) Εξ + GEN, a rare syntactic peculiarity of Supr equivalent to phrases with Εξ + ACC or LOC, corresponds to Greek ἐν + DAT or the prepositionless DAT.

12.3.2 The time which is completely filled by an action, which expresses the continuation or duration of the action for that time, expressed in OCS by the prepositionless ACC, is expressed in Greek as well by the prepositionless ACC: ἅξεις ἄλληι, δύο ἡμέρας 'for two days'; ἅξεις ἐν ηεσίετέ λετέ, δώδεκα ἔτη 'for twelve years'; τοιοῦτοι βρέβαι, τοσοῦτοι χρόνον 'for such a time' ('for so long'). However, as discussed in Chapter 3, this convergence is due not to a copying of Greek syntax into OCS, but rather to a common inheritance from Proto Indo-European. The quantifier μαλατό (which exhibits the NTR ACC SG adjectival ending) which occurs adverbially in the temporal meaning 'for a short time' renders also a Greek NTR ACC SG adjective functioning adverbially: μαλατόν.

12.3.3 The expression which designates a time completely filled by an action with emphasis on the duration of the action throughout the entire period in question, expressed in OCS by οἴκ(α) + ACC (seen only once in the canonical corpus in the
phrase φος(ζ) μοιτίας από την γραμμή renders a Greek prepositional phrase as well: 
δικτύων (< διά) διήνυστον 'through(out) the whole night'.

12.3.4  To express the time within which an action is completed the prepositionless INS is used in OCS, which can correspond to one of two Greek prepositional constructions: 
διά + GEN (διά τριών ἡμερῶν 'within three days') or ἐν + DAT: 
( ἐν τρισήμερον ἡμέρας, also 'within three days'). In this particular instance, the meaning of the Greek construction with ἐν overlaps that of the Greek prepositionless GEN: W. Bauer (1979, 260) defines this usage of ἐν + DAT as denoting a period of time "covered by an occurrence of action in the course of, within".

12.3.5  The time since which an action has occurred can be expressed by one of three prepositional constructions in OCS: ὑπὸ τίς, ἡπείροις, or ἐκ + GEN, which correspond to Greek ἐκ or ἀπὸ + GEN. The problems in delineating between the usage of ὑπὸ, ἡπείροις, or ἐκ + GEN in OCS cannot be solved within the Greek. Each OCS preposition can correspond to either Greek preposition: ὑπὸ ἀλλες τόσο, ἀπὸ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας 'since that day', ὑπὸ ἡμᾶς ἡμείσας, ἐκ τεντητῆς 'since birth', and both ὑπὸ τινος and ἡπείροις τινος render Greek ἐκ παιδόθεν 'since childhood'; thus the differences among the OCS prepositions are inherent rather than borrowed.

12.3.6  A time before which an action occurs, expressed in OCS by the preposition πρήξας, usually with the GEN case, is expressed in Greek by the preposition πρὸ + GEN: πρήξας πραξάμανη παντοτά, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἔφορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα 'before the festival of Passover', πρήξας ποτινά, πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ
'before the flood'. The adverb πρῶτον corresponds to a Greek NTR ACC SG adjective functioning adverbially πρῶτον 'first'.

12.3.7 A time after which an action occurs, expressed in OCS by the preposition no + LOC, is expressed in Greek by the preposition μετά + ACC: ό νάνοςτέρατωμεν, μετά πολὺν χρόνον 'after much time', ό σήκολ' ό μείναξ', μετά δὲ ταύτας τὰς ημέρας 'after these days'. The adverb ποσλέα/ποσλέαι corresponds to a Greek adverb ὑστερον 'afterwards, later'.

12.3.8 The time until which an action occurs or lasts, expressed in OCS by the preposition ἄο + GEN, corresponds to various Greek prepositions with identical meaning, all of which require the GEN: ἔως, ἀχρεί, and μέχρι. For example, ἄο τόρο ἁλεν. ἔως ἐκέφυρν τῆς ημέρας 'until that day'; ἄο ὧν ηῆς τοῦ υἱόν 'until now'. As these prepositions differ only stylistically and not semantically or structurally, there was no need in OCS to render them with different prepositions. Nor could it be done—OCS had only the preposition ἄο to express 'until'.

12.3.9 The time around which an action occurs, rendered in OCS by the construction with ἐρό + LOC, is expressed in Greek by περὶ + ACC: ἐρό μεῖρατείν γοῦν 'περὶ τῆς ἐνάτης ὥραν 'around the ninth hour'.

12.3.10 The time for which or up to which an action is intended to last, expressed by two different constructions in OCS (νά + LOC or ἄο + GEN), is rendered in Greek

6 In Modern Greek, ὑστερον (the NTR ACC PL) continues to be used adverbially in the meaning 'afterwards; then, later'; however, μετά is also used adverbially in the meaning 'afterwards'.
by ἐπί + ACC in the meaning of 'extension' (over a period of time). A typical phrase is ἡ διὰ δεκατετάομενον, rendering Greek ἐπί χρόνου 'for a long time'.

12.3.11 The construction used to express the time for which an action is repeated or intended to last (rendered in OCS by ὥς + ACC or ἡ + ACC) in Greek is almost always κατά + ACC. The phrase καθ’ ἡμέραν 'every day', with [κατά + rough breathing] becoming καθ’, was quite widespread and served as the basis for the creation of a new lexeme in later Greek: κάθε, which means 'every' (as in the Modern Greek phrases κάθε μέρα 'every day', κάθε βράδυ 'every evening/night'). However, occurrences of εἶ + ACC or ἐπί + ACC, with the same meaning, are also found. Καθ’ ἡμέραν 'every day' can be translated into OCS with either ἡ ἐπάκεν ἄλλη or ἡ ἐπάκε ἄλλη. Καθ’ ἐτῶς 'every year' is translated as ἡ ἐπάκε ἄλτα .

12.3.12 The one occurrence of the OCS construction with μετά + INS (μετά + ὑμνω), which expresses the times between which an action occurs, corresponds to a Greek phrase with ἐν + a substantivized adverb--ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ 'in the meantime'.

12.3.13 The Greek construction with πρὸς + ACC expresses a time towards which an action occurs. In OCS it was rendered both by κατ’ + DAT and by πρὸς + LOC.

12.3.14 All of the nouns and numerals used to express how many times an action is repeated in OCS correspond to various Greek forms, including those, as in OCS, with a prepositionless ACC of a substantivized ordinal numeral (τῷ)
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πρῶτον/πρότερον, ἵτολ δεύτερον, ἵτολ τρίτον): or a numerical adverb with the suffix -ς (δύς, τρίς) or -άκις (ποσάκις, πολλάκις, ἡπτάκις): or in a prepositional construction with ἐκ + GEN (ἐκ δευτέρου, ἐκ τρίτου). The constructions with, for example, δεύτερον and ἐκ δευτέρου carry the meaning of 'for a second time', whereas δύς simply carries the meaning of 'two times'. However, this distinction is only rarely carried over into OCS: we can find δύς, δεύτερον and ἐκ δευτέρου all being translated by αζτοριμέσχ (or αζτοροε in Ost), for example.

12.3.15 Throughout this paper, numerous instances of reinterpretations of the Greek have been mentioned. Here I will repeat them and discuss them further.

12.3.15.1 In Mt 20, ἐκ + ACC with ὑδήνα is used four times (vs. 3, 5, 6, 9):

Mt 20:3 ἡ ἁψᾶξ ἐκ τρεῖς ὑδήνας ... (Ost)
Mt 20:5 παξὸς ἐκ ἁψᾶξ ἐκ σκεύων ἐκ δεκατέρων ὑδήνας ... (Asm)
Mt 20:6 ἐκ ἑδήνικεν ἐκ ἐκ δεκατέρων ὑδάζ ... (Sav)
Mt 20:9 πρισμελαίσῃ ἐκ ἐκ τε ἑδήνικεν ἐκ δεκατέρων ὑδήνας ... (Mar)

However, this does not correspond to Greek ἐν + DAT, but rather περὶ + ACC:

Mt 20:3 καὶ ἐξελθὼν περὶ τρίτην ὤραν . . .
Mt 20:5 πάλιν [δὲ] ἐξελθὼν περὶ ἐκτην καὶ ἐνάτην ὤραν . . .
Mt 20:6  περὶ δὲ ἐνδεκάτην ἐξελθὼν . . .
Mt 20:9  καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ὦραν . . .

No known texts contain | ἐν + | DAT in these verses. Περὶ + ACC means 'about, around, near, approximate', not 'at' or 'during'. Although the Slavic text shows 'during the third hour' rather than 'around the third hour', the approximation is still expressed, although it has become more limited: the event is occurring between the third and fourth hour, whereas in the Greek it could be occurring during that time period or before it. The reinterpretation here demonstrates that the translator(s) did not feel constrained to translate a phrase word-for-word, but instead felt free to render the meaning of it which they sensed within it.

12.3.15.2 In addition, we find reinterpretations of phrases with the preposition πρὸς, which has various meanings. For example, we find two instances of πρὸς + ACC translated with ἐξ + ACC:

L 8:13  . . . οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν . . .
L 8:13  . . . ἵνα ἔξοδον ἐπὶ πρᾶξ σαφέστατα . . . (Asm)

J 5:35  ὁμοίως δὲ θελῆσατε ἀγαλλιαθῆναι πρὸς ὦραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ
J 5:35  ἐξ ἵνα ἀσχολήσητε ἐξαπατθαρτείς εἰς ἐξ ἔσχατος σεβαστίνησθε.

This phrase was rendered with ἐξ + LOC in Sav: . . . ἵνα ἐξ ὑστερα ἐπούστε ἐξ ὑστερα ὑστερα ὑστερα αὐτῶν ὑστερα ὑστερα αὐτῶν ὑστερα.
As was discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.7.3), not only was a syntactic reinterpretation made in the text, but also a semantic reinterpretation--in these examples, πρός has the meaning of "the duration of a period of time for" (W. Bauer 1979, 710). In the OCS texts, the events are no longer occurring 'for' the given time, but rather 'at' it. This demonstrates that the translator(s) were not copying every expression before them with exact equivalents, but rather striving to come up with a Slavic sentence which would make sense and carry meaning for the Slavic audience.

12.3.15.3 As was discussed in Chapters 2 (§2.6.1.1), 5 (§5.2) and 10 (§10.6), the Greek phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸς ἐκείνης 'from that hour' was translated by three different constructions in OCS: ἐξ + ACC, the prepositionless LOC, and ὀτζ + GEN. Only the last construction renders the exact meaning of the Greek 'from that hour'; ἐξ + ACC and the prepositionless LOC both express a time at which an action occurs, i.e. the time during a segment of which or at one point within the boundaries of which an action takes place or begins. We see great discrepancies within and among manuscripts:

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<th>Asm</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mt 9:22</td>
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<td>J 19:27</td>
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As we see, in only two verses is ἀνὸ τῆς ὑπας ἐκείνης translated as 'from' (Mt 9:22 and J 19:27, whereas in Mt 15:28 'at' prevails. On the other hand, in Mt 17:18 'at' prevails, with 'from' occurring in one (canonical) manuscript. As was discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.6.1.1), this variation shows us that the translator(s) did not feel compelled to translate the Greek construction with an exact equivalent in Slavic, but rather chose a phrase which best expressed the meaning as they understood it. This change was probably felt to be necessary due to the semantics of the verb involved--verbs of 'healing' denote a state (here, of being healthy) which begins at the moment designated by the time expression. Since these verbs are perfective and indicate the inception of a state, a time phrase which expresses the moment of inception ('at') combines better with them in Slavic. With ὀτίζ + GEN, as we frequently saw in Chapter 10, the verb which expresses the action is frequently a durative imperfective, indicating that the action has been continuing since the time expressed in the ὀτίζ + GEN construction.

12.4 In this section, data from the modern Slavic languages is brought in to demonstrate that most constructions found in OCS remain active today in its living relatives. The format is the same: the various temporal frames which existed in OCS and were discussed in §12.2 are now compared to these same temporal frames in various modern Slavic languages, and constructions with which they are expressed within the latter.

12.4.1 The temporal frame which was most common in OCS and remains quite common is that at which an action occurs. OCS had numerous constructions available
to it to express this temporal frame, the most common of which was $\text{raz} + \text{ACC}$. Less common but also frequent were the prepositionless ACC, prepositionless INS, and prepositionless LOC; we saw also the usage of constructions with the prepositionless GEN, $\text{raz} + \text{LOC}$, $\text{nol} + \text{LOC}$, $\text{zal} + \text{GEN}$ and $\text{raz} + \text{GEN}$ to express this meaning, although these were relatively rare.

The modern Slavic languages all show some usage of all of the constructions except for the prepositionless LOC (which was replaced by one of the other constructions) and $\text{raz} + \text{GEN}$, which as we know only occurred a few times in Supr. However, in some of the languages, although the remaining constructions are still used, some of them have switched spheres; for example, numerous languages have the $\text{zal} + \text{GEN}$ construction instead of $\text{nol} + \text{LOC}$ to express 'during a person’s lifetime'. The prepositionless GEN, which, as was discussed in Chapter 6, was not an attested means of temporal expression in OCS, is an active construction in several languages. Sometimes we see in one language the frozen remnant of a form found in OCS, although otherwise that construction is not actively used (for example, Modern Bulgarian ştrp 'tomorrow' from the prepositionless LOC ştrp*).

As was discussed in §12.2.1, the $\text{raz} + \text{LOC}$ construction usually overlapped one of the other constructions (most frequently the $\text{raz} + \text{ACC}$ construction). The modern languages each resolved this overlap in an individual way, and sometimes within one language we see the use of $\text{raz} + \text{LOC}$ for a certain set of nouns but $\text{raz} + \text{ACC}$ (or something else) for another. For example, OCS had two ways to express 'at mid-night' and 'at mid-day': the prepositionless LOC or $\text{raz} + \text{LOC}$ of $\text{nol} + \text{nozal}$ and $\text{nol} + \text{alr}$. They appear to have been semantically equivalent. In the modern Slavic languages, which do not have a prepositionless LOC, we see only the survival of a prepositional construction, either with $\text{raz} + \text{LOC}$ or, now, $\text{raz} + \text{ACC}$. The languages
with remnants of \( \text{t}z \) + LOC include Czech with \( \text{v půlnoc i} \) 'at midnight' and \( \text{v poledne} \) 'at noon', and Serbo-Croatian with \( \text{u podne} \) 'at noon'. Polish chose the LOC, but substituted the preposition \( \text{0} \) (also used elsewhere in place of \( \text{t}z \) with 'midnight': \( \text{w poludnie} \) 'at noon', but \( \text{0 půlnocy} \) 'at midnight'. Bulgarian shows a form with \( \text{t}z \), but as it has lost nominal declension, we cannot know whether it is \( \text{t}z \) + ACC or LOC: \( \text{b полунош} \). Some of these forms are categorized as \( \text{t}z \) + ACC, but we can see from either the ending on \( \text{noiz} \) or the ending on \( \text{nol} \) or \( \text{dlnl} \) that this form was originally LOC: forms such as the Czech \( \text{pol} \) or Bulgarian \( \text{poly} \) show a LOC of \( \text{noiz} \); forms such as the Polish \( \text{nocy} \) or Serbo-Croatian \( \text{dne} \) show a LOC of \( \text{nol} \) or \( \text{dlnl} \). Russian and Serbo-Croatian show an innovative form (from the stand point of OCS) with \( \text{t}z \) + ACC: Russian \( \text{b польдень, b полночь} \); Serbo-Croatian \( \text{u пonoć} \) 'at midnight' (which, unlike its counterpart \( \text{u podne} \), does not show any remnants of a LOC form in either part).

Similarly, OCS showed variation between the prepositionless LOC and \( \text{t}z \) + ACC of \( \text{taz yacz} \) to express 'at that hour'. In the modern languages, we see forms with either \( \text{t}z \) + LOC or \( \text{t}z \) + ACC. Czech and Polish show preservation of the LOC construction with the addition of a preposition: \( \text{v té hodině and w tej godzinie} \). Russian, and Ukrainian on the other hand show preservation of the \( \text{t}z \) + ACC construction: \( \text{в тот час, в ту годину} \). However, this particular expression is seen as odd in all of the languages, and native speakers expressed a preference to say 'at that time' or 'at that moment' rather than 'at that hour'.

The ways in which the modern languages utilized constructions with the noun \( \text{iотро} \) to express 'in the morning' or 'tomorrow' have been mentioned frequently in this paper. As we know, OCS made use of either the prepositionless ACC or \( \text{z iotro} \) + GEN of \( \text{iотро} \) 'to express 'in the morning', but used the prepositionless LOC \( \text{iотро} \) to express
'tomorrow'. All three of these forms show the latter meaning in the modern languages; thus, a semantic shift has taken place for the noun \( \text{утра} \) in the prepositionless ACC and \( za + \text{GEN} \) constructions from 'in the morning' to 'tomorrow' (for example, \( \text{утрe} \) in Russian, \( \text{zítěra} \) or \( \text{jutro} \) in Czech, \( \text{jutro} \) in Polish, etc.). They all have innovative forms (from the viewpoint of OCS) to express 'in the morning'.

Each language (or, in the case of West Slavic, family of languages) has a different way of expressing 'in the morning'. Russian shows the prepositionless INS (perhaps based on the pattern of \( \text{nощь} \) 'in the night' [Modern Russian \( \text{ночью} \)]) with the other parts of the day as well; thus we see \( \text{утром} \) 'in the morning'. Bulgarian shows a form constructed with remnants of the preposition \( \text{чз} \) 'from': \( \text{sutrin(ta)} \). Serbo-Croatian has an adverb \( \text{ujutru} \) or \( \text{ujutro} \), both frozen prepositional phrases based on either the \( \text{чз} + \text{LOC} \) or \( \text{чз} + \text{ACC} \) constructions, unknown in canonical OCS for expressing 'in the morning'.

In West Slavic, as discussed in Chapter 4 (§4.9.1), the adverb \( \text{рано} \) (or \( \text{рано} \)) 'early' replaced any construction of the noun 'morning' to mean 'in the morning'.

We also saw variation between the prepositionless INS or \( \text{чз} + \text{LOC} \) of \( \text{nощь} \) to express 'in the night' or 'at night'; each language resolved this in its own way, too. As mentioned earlier, perhaps on the basis of the phrase \( \text{nощь} \) 'at night, by night' or 'in the night(time)', we see the INS with the other parts of the day in Modern Russian. Thus: \( \text{ночь} \) 'in the night(time)', \( \text{утром} \) 'in the morning' \( \text{вечером} \) 'in the evening' and \( \text{днем} \) 'in the day(time)'. Bulgarian, too, preserves remnants of an earlier synthetic

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8 However, recall that Mir (an early Serbian document) shows one instance of \( \text{чз} + \text{LOC} \): \( \text{чз} \text{утрe} \).

9 Recall from that discussion (§4.9.1) that it is possible that this semantic shift occurred through contact with German, in which \( \text{morgen} \) means both 'tomorrow' and 'morning', but to express 'tomorrow morning', the phrase \( \text{morgen früh} \) 'tomorrow early' is used, thereby giving \( \text{jutro ранe} \) 'tomorrow early', which became 'tomorrow morning', in Polish, Czech and Slovak. Eventually \( \text{ранe} \) came to stand independently in the meaning 'morning'.

system in phrases such as денем 'by day' and ноцем 'by night'. In Bulgarian we see that the MASC soft ending -ем was appropriated by the FEM noun ноць. In Serbo-Croatian we see the opposite—the spread of the FEM ending (-ju) to the MASC noun: danju 'by day' and ноцu 'by night'. In West Slavic, we see the preservation of the eз + LOC construction to express both 'in the night'—Polish в нощ, Czech/Slovak v ноči—and 'in the day': Czech and Slovak v dne.

All of the constructions which express the time frame under consideration—the time at which an action occurs (other than the most frequent eз + ACC) were subject to restrictions in usage in OCS. They remain restricted in the modern languages, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

(1) eз + ACC has received even greater usage in some languages, although it has become more restricted in some instances, in which other constructions are used in phrases where we saw eз + ACC in OCS. eз + ACC continues to be used to express 'on (a certain) day' in Russian (в тот день, в последний день), Ukrainian (в той день), Polish (w ten dzień), Czech (v ten den), Serbo-Croatian (u тaj dan; restricted in usage for emphasis, with the prepositionless GEN to(g(a) dana being the unmarked expression) and Bulgarian (в този ден).10 and is used with the days of the week in all of the modern Slavic languages, for example Russian в пятницу 'on Friday', Serbo-Croatian у среtu 'on Wednesday' and Polish w сobotę 'on Saturday'. It is used in all but Polish and Ukrainian (which in numerous instances have 0 + LOC where OCS had eз + ACC) to express 'at (X) o'clock':

10 Note that the restriction which was in place in OCS remains in the modern languages: ез + ACC is only used when денем is modified (and therefore refers to a specific day), whereas some other construction (cf. above; Russian INS денем, Bulgarian with the remnant of an INS денем, but West Slavic ез + LOC в дне) is used to render 'in the day(time)'. 
Russian в два часа 'at two o'clock', Serbo-Croatian у један сат 'at one o'clock' and Czech в пět hodin 'at five o'clock'. It is retained in Russian (в то время), Ukrainian (в той час), and Serbo-Croatian (у то време) to express 'at that time'; but Polish and Czech have в + LOC in (w tym czasie, в том часе) and Bulgarian has но (no това време). Its distribution with 'night' remains similar to that seen in OCS: in order to appear in the в + ACC construction, ночь must be modified (Serbo-Croatian у ову ноћ, Russian в ту ночь); otherwise, it will appear in the prepositionless INS or some other construction. In Serbo-Croatian, the u + ACC construction (from в + ACC) is used to express seasons, replacing an earlier prepositionless LOC construction: у зиму 'in the winter', у јесен 'in the autumn' (although a variant зима also survives). With months and years, it has been replaced by the в + LOC construction in all almost the languages which retain nominal declension, with the exception of Serbo-Croatian (which uses the prepositionless GEN).

(2) The prepositionless ACC was found only in phrases with the noun днесь (e.g. днесь данас 'today') and in unmodified adverbialized phrases with утре 'in the morning' and вечер 'in the evening'. All three phrases have been preserved in one or more of the modern Slavic languages to express these same meanings. To express 'today' we see Serbo-Croatian danас, Bulgarian денес, Macedonian денес, Czech/Slovak denne, and possibly also Polish dzisiaj as remnants of the phrase днесь seen in OCS. West Slavic shows jutro as both a noun and an adverb (however, its present meaning is 'tomorrow') and вечер 'evening' as well; Slovenian also has večer as an adverb meaning 'in the evening'. Serbo-Croatian has the phrase jutros to express 'this morning', which can be analyzed as analogous to danас for
'today', as discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.10.1). In addition, we find other frozen adverbial phrases in Russian, such as сейчас 'now, at the present; immediately, soon' (‘at this time’), тутчас 'immediately, at once, instantly' (‘at that time’).

(3) The prepositionless INS, as mentioned earlier, is preserved in some languages to express 'in the night' and is used in them with other parts of the day as well; in addition, in a few languages the prepositionless INS has replaced the prepositionless LOC to express 'in (a season)'. In Modern Russian we see ночь 'in the night(time)', утром 'in the morning' вечером 'in the evening' and днем 'in the day(time)'; Bulgarian also shows phrases such as денем 'by day' and ношем 'by night'; and Serbo-Croatian too we see данju 'by day' and ноци 'by night'. We see the expression of seasons in the prepositionless INS in Modern Russian (зимой 'in the winter', летом 'in the summer'), Ukrainian (весной 'in the spring') and Polish (зима 'in the winter', лете 'in the summer').

(4) The prepositionless LOC was only used in OCS with five nouns which represented entirely different temporal concepts: половина 'at mid-night', тогда 'at that hour', завтра 'tomorrow', зима 'in the winter', and том же 'in that year'. We find traces of frozen adverbs derived from the prepositionless LOC in Bulgarian; as already mentioned, завтра survived as утре 'tomorrow'. In addition, we see the frozen LOC forms for the seasons: зима survived as зиме 'in the winter', and лето survived as лете 'in the summer'. In Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, a variant зима/zime also survives, although we also see usage of the the у / в + ACC construction (from у + ACC) to express this (у зиме зиме) and other seasons.

11 The -s is no longer a synchronically recognizable morpheme or lexeme for 'this' in any of the Slavic languages.
Elsewhere, these phrases have been replaced by other prepositionless and prepositional constructions, which have been discussed throughout this conclusion and this paper. I reiterate here: η ρ ο υ μ ο ψ ι 'at mid-night' and τ ο μ ι ν ατι 'at that hour' are now expressed by constructions descended either from εξ + ACC or εξ + LOC; ν ο τ ρ η 'tomorrow' is now expressed by constructions descended either from the prepositionless ACC or ζα + GEN; and γημώ 'in the winter' is now expressed by constructions descended from εξ + ACC, εξ + LOC or the prepositionless INS.

Τομλη λεγμέ 'in that year', which has not been discussed, is now expressed by a construction with either εξ + LOC or the prepositionless GEN, as are other phrases involving 'year', e.g. those which name the year. We see Russian в том году and в 1995-ом году 'in that year', 'in 1995'; Serbo-Croatian у тоj години and у прошле години 'in that year', '(in) last year' (but as with the phrase у тaj дan, this form is reserved in usage for emphasis only; the unmarked forms consisting of the prepositionless GEN: те године, проšle године); Polish в tym roku and в 1995-ym roku 'in that year', 'in 1995'; and Czech v tom roce and v roce 1995 'in that year', 'in 1995'. Bulgarian has в оной година and в 1995 година 'in that year', 'in 1995'.

(5) In OCS, the prepositionless GEN only expressed this meaning in phrases with the names of months, for example мартa у тесама 'in March'. We see that the modern Slavic languages also have the GEN of dates, although only when the full day-month-year construct is expressed; to express phrases such as 'in March', we see εξ + LOC in all the modern Slavic languages except Serbo-Croatian, which has both januарa and у janуару 'in January'. But we do have Modern Russian 1-го января 1995-го года 'on 1 January, 1995', Ukrainian 1-го січня 1995-го року;

The origin of the adverb вчера 'yesterday' was discussed as a possible GEN of time (§6.2.1); however, it is unlikely that it was an actual GEN form, frozen or not. Regardless, the modern languages all retain a variant of this to express 'yesterday': Modern Russian вчера, Ukrainian учора, Polish wczoraj, Czech včera, Slovenian včera, Bulgarian вчера.

Except for the GEN of dates, all of the other expressions of time found in the GEN in the modern Slavic languages would appear to be the result of independent developments which occurred later in their history. As was discussed in §6.7.1, in spite of the lack of an attested GEN of time in OCS, we see an active GEN of time in many modern Slavic languages: Serbo-Croatian shows the GEN to express 'every (X)' or 'in/at this (X)' or 'this whole (X)': svakog dana 'every day', svake godine 'every year'; ove godine '(in) this year', ove zime '(in) this winter', toga časa 'at that hour', te nedelje '(in) that week'; celog dana 'all day', cele godine 'all year'. The GEN is also used as a variant to express 'in (a month)': januara or у januaru 'in January', and is the only way to express 'in (a year)': 1995-е godine 'in 1995'. Polish also shows this usage to express 'every (X)': każdego dnia 'every day', każdego roku 'every year'. Ukrainian shows the GEN in phrases such as наступного ранку 'in the next morning', наступного дня 'on the next day', or 'in this (X)': того тижня 'in that week', того місяця 'in that month', того року 'in that year'; as well as the 'every (X)' phrases: кожного дня 'every day'. Polish, Czech and Ukrainian show tego dnia/toho dne/того дня 'on
that day', and Russian and Ukrainian have сегодня/сегодня 'today' from 'on this day'.

Old Russian secular manuscripts also given plenty of examples of various usages of a GEN of time, primarily with parts of the day, seasons and dates, in phrases such as тог же день 'on that day', тог нокой 'in that night', тог же осень 'in that autumn'; such usages in the Old Russian monuments continued up to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In Modern Russian, however, these particular usages of the prepositionless GEN have been replaced by prepositional constructions (Lomtev 1956, §117), most often with б + ACC: в эту зиму instead of тог зима 'in that winter'; в эту ночь instead of тог нокой 'in that night'.

As was discussed in Chapter 6 (§6.8.1), the absence of an attested GEN of time in the OCS manuscripts is inexplicable. If the expressions of time expressed by the GEN in the modern Slavic languages are the result of independent developments which occurred later in their history, then why do we see so many similarities between the languages? Whence did the very prevalent GEN of time in Modern Serbo-Croatian originate? Questions such as these are beyond the scope of this paper, but their very existence is suggestive of the possibility that a GEN of time has always been present in Slavic, even if it did not surface in OCS other than in the expression of dates.

(6) In OCS, бъ + LOC seemed only to have been used as a semantically distinct structure with two nouns: день 'day' and жизнь 'life'. In all other instances бъ + LOC appears to have been in free variation with some other construction used to express the same meaning. Many of these phrases which could occur in the бъ + LOC construction in OCS do occur in the бъ + LOC construction in the modern Slavic languages. Indeed, it has become a very active means for the expression of time,
rivaling even the **BZ** + ACC construction. In some instances, the **BZ** + LOC construction has replaced an older prepositionless LOC construction, for example тóм **нaчaлa** 'in that year' was replaced by phrases such as Polish **w tym roku**, Russian **в тóм году**. Often words which do have temporal meaning only in context and could be used either in the **BZ** + LOC or in the **BZ** + ACC construction in OCS now occur only in the **BZ** + LOC: Russian **в начaлe 'in the beginning'**, в **дeтствe 'in childhood'**; Serbo-Croatian **u početku 'in the beginning'**, u **младости 'in youth'**; Polish **w dzieciństwie 'in childhood'**; but Bulgarian **на млади години 'in youth'**.

In West Slavic, we see the preservation of the **BZ** + LOC construction as one of the variants which expressed 'in the night': Polish **w nocy**, Czech/Slovak **v noci**. In addition, we see the preservation of **BZ** + LOC to express 'in the day': Czech and Slovak **v dne**. And in Czech, the **BZ** + LOC construction has replaced an older prepositionless LOC construction in expressions involving seasons: **v zímě 'in the winter'**, **v létě 'in the summer'**. Polish shows this as well, with **w zimie** and **w lecie** being variants of prepositionless INS adverbials **zima** and **lata**. Many of the modern languages have preserved the **BZ** + LOC variant to express 'at midnight', as discussed earlier in this section, for example Czech, with **v půlnoci 'at midnight'**.

The **BZ** + LOC construction is used where we saw other constructions in OCS: as already mentioned, to express 'in (a certain) year' it has replaced the prepositionless LOC; it is also used to express 'in (a certain) month', which was expressed in OCS by the prepositionless GEN: Modern Russian **в января**, в **1995-ом году 'in January'**, 'in 1995', Polish **w styczniu, w 1995-ym roku** and Czech **v lednu, v roce 1995**. Serbo-Croatian has two variants: **u januaru 'in January'**, but **u januaru or januara 1995-e godine, 'in January, 1995'**; but only **1995-e godine 'in 1995'**.
Some of the other "new" usages (i.e. those not attested in OCS) of r z + LOC include: Serbo-Croatian u jednom danu 'in one day', ujutru 'in the morning' (but also ujutro); Polish w tym dniu 'on that day', w tym czasie 'at that time'; and Czech v tom čase 'at that time'.

(7) ɒrɪ + LOC was used in OCS in this meaning with the names of persons to express 'in the lifetime of'. We see this construction preserved only in Modern Russian, with phrases such as при Петре первом 'in the time of/under Peter the First', при Сталине 'in the time of/under Stalin', and in Bulgarian. Examples of при + LOC are found in Old Russian manuscripts as well, expressing a time during which an action occurs. For example, the Mstislav Gramota has при животе 'during (one's) life(time)'. Elsewhere, we see instead za + GEN, as in Polish za Piotra I 'in the time of/under Peter the First', za Kazimierza Wielkiego 'in the time of/under Casimir the Great'. Czech za časů Stuartovců and Slovak za Stuartovcov 'in the time of/under the Stuarts', and Slovenian za časa Marije Terezije 'in the time of Maria Theresa'.

(8) Zα + GEN, as just mentioned, is used more broadly in the modern languages than it was in OCS, in which it was only actively used in this meaning with the noun нор м 'morning' to express either 'in the morning' or 'tomorrow'. In several modern languages, it has come to mean 'during'. Therefore: Polish za moich czasów 'in my time', za życia 'in (one's) lifetime', za dnia 'in the day(time), daylight'; Czech za mláda 'in (one's) youth', za starých časů 'in old times', za dne 'in the day(time), daylight', za bělňho dne 'in broad day(light)'; Slovak za jeho života 'in his days', za mojich čias 'in my times' za dňa 'in the
day(time), daylight'; Slovenian za mladosti 'in (one's) youth', za dne 'during the day'; Serbo-Croatian za života 'in (one's) days', za dne 'in daylight', and za vreme + GEN 'during'. Although it is not preserved in Modern Russian, za + GEN meaning 'during' was still active in the Old Russian period: za полою витора лита (from the thirteenth-century Жизнь прел Феодора).

(9) za + GEN was a rare syntactic peculiarity of Supr, found only in two phrases: za сего дне 'on this day' and za сего жити 'in this life(time)'. These were equivalent to either the prepositionless ACC phrase днь сь в 'today' or za + ACC за днь сь, and za + LOC za сень жити 'in this life(time)' and thus find expression in the modern Slavic languages in the equivalent phrases of these latter constructions.

There were then nine different constructions to express a time at which an action occurs in OCS, all of which are preserved (except for za + GEN and the prepositionless LOC). When two constructions were semantically equivalent in OCS, each was preserved in one or more languages (for example Modern Russian в тот час vs. Polish w tym godzinie 'at that hour'). Many of the constructions were preserved in their same usage as in OCS (for example the za + ACC construction being used to express 'at [X] o'clock' or 'on [a day of the week]'), whereas others became more restricted overall (the loss of the prepositionless LOC, for example) or within certain languages (the reduction of the use of the prepositionless INS to express 'in the night', 'in [other parts of the day]', for example). On the other hand, many constructions received a more widespread usage in the modern languages, especially the prepositionless GEN (for example Serbo-Croatian svakog dana and Polish kazdego dnia 'every day') and
BZ + LOC (for example W tym dniu 'on that day', W tym czasie 'at that time', and Czech v tom case 'at that time'; cf. also the use of BZ + LOC to express 'in [a month]' and 'in [a year]' in almost all of the languages with synthetic nominal systems). Thus the data from the modern Slavic languages both supports and disputes that from the extant OCS texts: we see all nine constructions except the rare BZ + GEN and the extinct prepositionless LOC being used to express a time at which an event occurs, and although in many cases they are used in at least one or even more languages in the same way as in OCS, in many other cases one construction has been reduced and another expanded in usage at the expense of the former to express this particular time frame.

12.4.2 Another common temporal frame is that time which is completely filled by an action, which expresses the continuation or duration of the action for that time. The prepositionless ACC was the most prevalent means to express this particular meaning in OCS, and continues to be such in all of the modern Slavic languages. For example, the Russian phrases жить год 'to live (for) a year', ждать час 'to wait (for) an hour', провести в городе неделю 'to spend a week in the city', (целые) столетия неизвестный '(for|entire|) centuries unknown'. ... ждать много лет 'to wait (for) many years', все время печальный 'sad all the time' were given in Chapter 3 (§3.1.3), as well as the Polish phrases całą noc 'for the entire night', wszystek dzień 'all day'.

The adverbial phrases which were available to OCS to express time (such as малое 'for a short time') are available also to the modern Slavic languages. In addition, we see phrases such as Russian долго or недолго where OCS had на дзярзь брэшем 'for a long time'.

In addition to the prepositionless ACC, Modern Bulgarian shows usage of the preposition за in a new meaning: 'for'. We have seen examples of this throughout this paper, e.g. in J 5:35 за малко време, L 12:19 за много години and L 20:9 за дълго време.

Serbo-Croatian, too, shows an innovative form (from the viewpoint of attested OCS) to express time which is completely filled by an action, which expresses the continuation or duration of the action for that time: the prepositionless GEN. Although some usages of the prepositionless GEN in Serbo-Croatian fall under the sphere of other temporal frames, we see in phrases such as це SOME године 'all year' and цеleg dana 'all day' that the prepositionless GEN can be used to express this particular temporal frame as well.

12.4.3 The preposition оз (а) + ACC) which expressed a time completely filled by an action with emphasis on the duration of the action throughout the entire period in question is no longer found in the modern Slavic languages. However, it may be considered that some of the expressions just discussed in §12.4.2, such as Modern Bulgarian за or the Serbo-Croatian prepositionless GEN arose to emphasize the completeness of the time filled, as opposed to the prepositionless ACC which designated a time completely filled by an action and but which does not emphasize completeness.

12.4.4 To express the time within which an action is completed the prepositionless INS was used in OCS. In the modern languages we see that this is expressed instead by a prepositional construction, most often with за + ACC. For example we have Russian за один час '(with)in one hour', where за is used with a perfective verb to
indicate an action which was achieved within a time; Ukrainian за день 'within a day'; Serbo-Croatian за mesec dana 'within one month'. za jedan dan 'within one day', Czech za tu dobu 'within that time'. Bulgarian за един ден 'within one day'. Polish shows the use of a prepositional phrase—w ciągu—+ GEN: w ciągu godziny 'within one hour'. Serbo-Croatian shows a similar prepositional construction as a variant of za + ACC—u toku + GEN: u toku jednog dana 'within one day',

12.4.5 The time since which an action has occurred could be expressed by one of three prepositional constructions in OCS: o t z, h z z, or c z + GEN. Most of the modern languages preserve o t z + GEN for most temporal expressions, except, for example, in some idiomatic phrases, such as Russian издавна 'from a long time ago' and Polish z dawien dawna 'from time immemorial' (cf. the OCS phrase издавна 'from a long time ago'); but Polish also has o t dawna 'for a long time') or z dnia na dzień, a phrase which most languages have (cf. also Russian изо дня в день Ukrainian изодня as a variant to express 'every day') to mean 'from day to day'. Most often, there was overlapping between h z z and o t z in OCS only with nouns which represent stages of life (иззз отрояннз 'from childhood', иззз/отз млада възраст 'from a young age', and иззз/отз юность 'from youth'). In the modern languages, we see the preference for the variant with o t z: Bulgarian от младостта, Polish od maleńkości, Russian от младенчества 'from infancy', Czech od dětství 'from childhood', od narození 'from birth'.

O t z, however, was quite active in OCS to express the time since which an action has occurred, and was not limited. It occurred with numerous nouns which bear temporal meaning, as well as with various events and names of persons, the
demonstrative pronouns, as well as in phrases with adverbs derived from these demonstratives to form conjunctions. We see in the modern languages as well almost unlimited usage of the preposition \( o t z + \) GEN to denote the time \textit{since} which an action has occurred. For example, we have Bulgarian \( o t \) \( haxoe \) \( bpeMe \) 'for some time now', \( ot \) \( toraba \) 'since then'; Serbo-Croatian \( od \) \( danas \) 'from today on', \( od \) \( jutra \) \( do \) \( m\bar{r}aku \) 'from morning until night'; Polish \( od \) \( rana \) \( do \) \( nocy \) 'from morning until night'; Czech \( od \) \( t\check{e}ch \) \( dob \) 'from that time; since'; Russian \( o t \) \( начала \) \( до \) \( конца \) 'from beginning to end', \textit{время от времени} 'from time to time'.

Russian shows preservation of \( cz \) to express the time \textit{since}: \( c \) \( того \) \( часа \) 'since that hour/moment', \( c \) \( того \) \( времени \) 'since that time'; \( c \) \( пяти \) \( часов \) 'since five o'clock'; \( c \) \( прошлого \) \( года \) 'since last year'; \( c \) \( января \) 'since January'; \( c \) \( начала \) 'from the beginning'; and the conjunction \( c \) \( тех \) \( пор. \) \( как \) 'since', based on the adverbial phrase \( c \) \( тех \) \( пор \) 'since': \( я \) \( его \) \( не \) \( видела \) \( с тех \) \( пор. \) \( как \) \( была \) \( в \) \( Москве \) 'I haven't seen him since I was in Moscow', and \( я \) \( его \) \( не \) \( видела \) \( с тех \) \( пор \) 'I haven't seen him since'.

12.4.6 A time \textit{before} which an action occurs, expressed in OCS by the preposition \( np\check{x}d\check{e} \) usually with the GEN case, can be expressed in some of the modern Slavic languages with this preposition, but with \( np\check{x}d\check{e} \) \( + \) INS case;\(^{12}\) however, in some the meaning of \( np\check{x}d\check{e} \) \( + \) GEN has merged with that of \( do \) \( + \) GEN, which can now mean both 'before' and 'until'. Russian distinguishes the time in distance: \( до \) \( урока \) 'before class' (anytime before class begins), but \( перед \) \( уроком \) 'before class' (immediately before class begins). Thus a teacher would admonish a student to finish

\(^{12}\) Recall from earlier discussions (Chapters 8, 10 and 11), \( np\check{x}d\check{e} \) is the comparative form of \( np\check{d}d \) (Proto-Slavic *\( perd- \)), and, as a comparative, governs the GEN case. In the modern languages, the "plain", undervived form descended from *\( perd- \) is found.
his/her homework до урока, rather than перед уроком! Czech and Polish, too, have \( \text{před} + \text{INS} \) (před svatbou 'before the wedding'; przed świtem 'before dawn'); but Serbo-Croatian shows both do and pre(d) to indicate 'before': do rata/ pre(d) ratem 'before the war'. Bulgarian also shows both пред--преди 5 часа 'before 5:00', пред Нова година 'before New Year's'--and до--до зори 'before dawn' (which is equivalent to преди зората).

12.4.7 A time after which an action occurs was expressed in OCS by the preposition no + LOC. No + LOC is preserved to varying degrees in the modern languages. Polish preserves the original construction as seen in OCS (po pracy 'after work', po wszystkim 'after everything), as does Czech. No + LOC is preserved elsewhere, but only as a variant means of expressing 'after'. In Modern Russian, examples of no + LOC are can be found, but the more prevalent means of expressing 'after' is with the preposition posle\(^\text{13}\) + GEN: после того как 'after' (conjunction), после урока 'after class'. Serbo-Croatian shows a similar pattern, with posle + GEN being the more common preposition (e.g. posle rata 'after the war'), coexisting with po in phrases such as po novom ljetu 'after New Year's', po obedu 'after lunch'. Bulgarian, which has lost nominal declension, preserves the preposition no to mean 'after' (по Нова година 'after New Year's'), but also preserves the "second half" of the longer form послѣждѣ in след (след два месѣца 'after two months', след войны 'after the war') Послѣ in Bulgarian is an adverb which means 'after'. Therefore two different words are found in Bulgarian which are descendants of the longer form of the preposition 'after' послѣждѣ, in addition to the "short" form no.

\(^{13}\) Recall the adverb послѣдні (§9.27) and the variant of no seen in Supr: послѣждѣ (§9.28).
12.4.8 The time *until* which an action occurs or lasts was expressed by \(do + \text{GEN}\) in OCS. This construction is preserved in all of the modern Slavic languages. In addition to the phrases given in §12.4.6, where it was discussed that in some cases \(do + \text{GEN}\) has merged with the meaning expressed in OCS by \(\text{np}\text{x}\text{d}e + \text{GEN}\), we also find examples such as: Bulgarian \(do \ \text{днес} 'until today', do \ \text{утре} 'until tomorrow', \) от \text{сутрин} до \text{вечер} 'from morning until night'; Serbo-Croatian \(do \ \text{Петка} 'until Friday', od \text{jutra} do \text{mraku} 'from morning until night'; Polish \(od \ \text{rana} do \ \text{nocy} 'from morning until night', \)) \text{dо виєч} 
\text{зора} 'until evening'; Russian от \text{начала} до \text{конца} 'from beginning to end', до \text{войни} 'until the war'. Czech has two variants to express 'until', one based on \(do\): až do and k, which is related to the OCS preposition \(kz + \text{DAT}\) 'towards'.

12.4.9 The time *around* which an action occurs was rendered by the construction with \(\text{np} + \text{LOC}\) in OCS. This construction expresses the approximateness of time. It does not survive in the modern Slavic languages, but instead we see another preposition which expresses approximateness: \(oko\). Therefore Bulgarian около един час 'about one hour', Serbo-Croatian около 20 година 'about 20 years', Polish około godziny trzeciej 'at about 3:00', Russian около трех часов '(at) about 3:00', около десяти минут '(for) about 10 minutes'. Czech again has two variants to express 'about', one related to około--koledm--and also asi v.

12.4.10 Two different constructions were used to express the time *for* which or *up to* which an action continues: \(na + \text{LOC}\) or \(do + \text{GEN}\). In this meaning, they are both fairly rare constructions in the modern Slavic languages, but vestiges do survive. The most common occurrence in OCS was in the phrase \(na \ \text{для} + \text{темен} (\text{ер} + \text{менн})). Most
often, we see na + ACC where OCS had na + LOC, as in Russian на долго 'for a long time.' And in Russian the sentence он пел до трех часов would be interpreted by most native and non-native speakers alike as 'he sang until 3:00,' but may have a secondary meaning, in the appropriate context, of 'he sang (for) up to three hours'. Instances like this are rare, but since they can be found, it may be said that the constructions found in OCS survive, at least in limited fashion, today.

12.4.11 There were also two different constructions in OCS to express the time for which an action is repeated or intended to last: no + ACC or na + ACC. No + ACC was limited in use to only nouns in the PL; na + ACC was not restricted in this manner. However, in this construction the nouns were typically modified by adjectives such as всено 'all' or множество 'many', which emphasized the repetitive or continual nature of the construction. As mentioned in 12.3.11, phrases with either no + ACC or na + ACC corresponded to Greek κατά + ACC, which in temporal phrases bears the meaning 'every'. Thus both Greek and OCS used prepositional constructions to express 'every'; the modern Slavic languages do not. Instead, we see a prepositionless ACC construction of a noun modified by an adjective which bears the meaning 'every': každy or vséki (or variants thereof in the individual languages): Bulgarian всеки ден 'every day', Czech každí den, Russian каждый день. Serbo-Croatian, Polish and Ukrainian show a similar construction, but with the prepositionless GEN instead of ACC: Serbo-Croatian svakog dana 'every day', svake godine 'every year'; Polish každego dnia 'every day'; Ukrainian кожного дня 'every day'. In addition, Polish has a second variant, with the particle co: codziennie.
12.4.12  In OCS the construction with между + INS expressed the times *between* which an action occurs. This construction occurred temporally only once in the canonical corpus, in the phrase между синь 'between this' or 'in the meantime'. In the modern Slavic languages actual occurrences are few in number, although the construction is not subject to restrictions. We see phrases such as the Russian между часом и двумя 'between 1:00 and 2:00'; Bulgarian между 2 и 3 часа 'between 2:00 and 3:00', междувременно and помежду 'inbetween'; Polish (po)między godziną trzecią a czwartą 'between 3:00 and 4:00'.

12.4.13 The constructions with къ + DAT or при + LOC expressed a time *towards* which an action occurs. In many modern Slavic languages, къ does not express just this meaning any longer, but rather also other temporal meanings; sometimes different constructions are also found to express *towards*. In Bulgarian към still means 'towards', but it also means 'about': към 5 часа 'about 5:00'. In Polish къ is still used, but 'towards' may be expressed by other constructions as well: ку коњеови месиа 'towards the end of the month', до рана 'towards morning' под вечер 'towards evening' на године 12-а 'towards 12:00' or 'by 12:00'. In Russian к can mean both 'towards' and 'by', depending on context and the *Aktionsart* of the verb:14 к утрю 'towards morning' or 'by morning', к 12-и часам 'towards 12:00' or 'by 12:00'. In Czech, as mentioned earlier (§12.4.8), к has merged with до in the meaning of 'until', but can still retain the meaning 'towards': к вечеру 'towards evening'. However, it can also express the same meaning as окolo или asi: 'about'. Thus in many of these languages other prepositions have assumed the function

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14 The distinction is similar to that found in English: "She arrived *towards* morning", vs. "She worked all night because she had to *finish* the project *by* morning".
of кз (such as на or до) while кз itself has expanded beyond its original meaning of 'towards' to now also mean 'by' or 'about'.

При + LOC is no longer found in this meaning in the modern languages, although it is attested from earlier times. For example, Old Russian documents show frequent usage of the phrase при смерти, which may be translated as 'on the brink of death': при смерти есть (кормчая книга Ефремовская: c. 1100); сие же знамение на людех: при смерти явится железа. пребыве три дни. оуме (First Novgorod Chronicle, 6898i). And Bulgarian, for example, preserves an adverbial expression with при: призори 'before dawn' < 'towards the dawn'.

12.4.14 How many times an action is repeated could be expressed with three different constructions in OCS: the prepositionless ACC, the prepositionless INS, or an adverbial. In the canonical corpus we found the following phrases: колк кратзи or колиншьди 'how many times', мзновиш/мзновашди 'many times', единош 'one time', двана крата or дванторица/дважашди 'two times', три кратзи or трацием, et al., 'three times', пять крата 'five times', едницием, et al., 'seven times'; and првае/първъ 'for the first time', едноре 'for the second time', третиеш 'for the third time'. In the modern Slavic languages, we see no vestiges of the prepositionless INS phrases except for the Bulgarian триж/трижди 'thrice', which was borrowed into Russian via Church Slavonic. Even in Bulgarian we see also a more common три пъти 'three times'. Similarly, in the other modern Slavic languages we see phrases with a lexeme with the meaning 'time' only in the prepositionless ACC construction: Bulgarian много пъти 'many times'; Serbo-Croatian три пута 'three times'; Slovenian трикрат 'thrice'; Czech трикрат 'three times', мнохократ 'many times'. Russian does not use the continuation of Common
Slavic *kort-*, but rather *raz-*: три раза 'three times', много раз 'many times'.
Polish, too, uses *raz-* instead of *kort-* for 'time'; however, *kort-* is preserved in various adverbial phrases to express repetition: trzykroć, trzykrotni, and the prepositional phrase po trzykroć, all meaning 'three times'.

12.4.15 In § 12.3.15 problems which arose in the analysis of the synchronic description of the temporal system of OCS were discussed, such as the inability to determine the construction used to express age or in what case the noun should be in the phrase "(X) times per (Noun)". I now discuss which constructions are used to render these constructions in the modern languages.

12.4.15.1 Based on the data found in the canonical corpus, it was impossible to determine the construction used to express age. Numerous different constructions appeared: the prepositionless ACC, the prepositionless GEN (which can be interpreted most likely as a GEN of negation), the prepositionless DAT, the prepositionless INS, the prepositionless INS with the verb 'to be', the NOM with the verb 'to be', and an impersonal DAT with the verb 'to be'. This last construction survives in Modern Russian (сколько вам лет? 'how old are you?', мне тогда было 20 лет 'at that time I was 20'), Czech (kolik je mu let? 'how old is he?') and Serbo-Croatian (koliko ti je godina? 'how old are you?'). The construction with 'to have' with ACC direct object is also found in Serbo-Croatian as another means of expressing age: on ima 20 godina 'he is 20'; and also in Polish: on ma 3 lata 'he is 3'. In Bulgarian we find phrases of the type на колко си години 'how old are you?', with the verb 'to be'.
Thus we see variation too in the modern Slavic languages, between DAT (subject) impersonals with the verb 'to be', the NOM (subject) with the verb 'to be', and the NOM (subject) with the verb 'to have'. The last, however, is found only in the West Slavic languages, where it is more possibly due to German influence rather than Greek influence (ich habe 20 Jahre or ich bin 20 Jahre alt 'I am 20'), if it is not a native Slavic structure. As the NOM structure is not really a construction expressing a temporal frame but rather just a "naming" device, it too can be excluded as a temporal construction. (If we say 'Today is Saturday' we are referencing a time, but we are only naming it; we are not saying that something is happening on Saturday, before Saturday, by Saturday, after Saturday, etc.) Thus of the three structures found in the modern Slavic languages, the one that remains both distinguishable from any outside influence and distinctive of a "naming" device is the DAT impersonal construction. The fact that it is found in all three language families (East, West and South), in languages which did not have direct contact with each other (Russian, Czech and Serbo-Croatian) is suggestive of the fact that this is a structure native to Slavic which has been preserved in these individual languages for over a millennium.

However, even if the DAT impersonal construction is a native means of expressing age in Slavic, that does not rule out the possibility that there were other structures available at earlier times. Even if some of the constructions found in the extant OCS texts are borrowings from Greek, it is impossible to say with certainty that these structures (such as the NOM of the subject with the verb 'to have') were not also native to Slavic but have since been lost in one, many, or all of the modern languages. Based on the data provided by the modern languages, it seems unlikely that the

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15 It is, after all, the West Slavic languages which, among the Slavic languages, are typologically "have" languages—they have "have" in more constructions than do the others. So it is quite possible that this is an independent development in West Slavic, or one that occurred parallel to German.
prepositionless GEN, DAT or INS were actually active means for expressing age in Slavic, as they are not preserved in any of the modern languages. Even so, this could be the case simply because they have gone out of active use, rather than because they never were in active use. The problem remains unsolved.

12.4.15.2 Another problem which could not be resolved is what case the noun should take in the phrase "(X) times per (Noun)". As mentioned earlier, the only conclusion that can be drawn about this particular expression is that OCS did not copy the Greek in its choice of constructions. In the extant texts we see a prepositional construction with na + ACC in OCS corresponding to a Greek prepositionless ACC to express 'per day' (but where the phrase "(X) times" is absent); a prepositionless INS in OCS corresponding to a Greek prepositionless GEN, which is a partitive; na + LOC (in Cloz) corresponding to Greek ες + ACC ('in' or 'for'); α + LOC (in Supr); and a prepositionless GEN (also in Supr), which also corresponds to a Greek partitive GEN.

In the modern Slavic languages we see numerous different constructions, but only one which corresponds to a construction seen in OCS: na + ACC. For example, we see in Polish dwa razy na tydzien/rok 'two times a week/year'. But Russian shows в + ACC: два раза в неделю/год 'two times a week/year'. Czech expresses this with adverbs: třikráte denně 'three times a day', třikráte ročně 'three times a year'. Serbo-Croatian has two variants, one of which is also an adverbial phrase: pet puta dnevno or pet puta na den 'five times a day'. Bulgarian, as mentioned in Chapter 4 (§4.7), has седем пъти на ден, but as the preposition на has replaced most case constructions (including the GEN) in Bulgarian, it is not possible to
determine if this is a true function of the preposition na or a use of it to express an earlier prepositionless construction.

Again in the modern languages we see great variation in expressing "(X) times per (Noun)". One thing that this could indicate is that there was no set way of expressing the concept in OCS, leading to the variety of means found in the extant texts. Only one of the modern expressions is similar to one found in OCS: na + ACC; and as mentioned, the occurrence of na + ACC in OCS was in a phrase without the "(X) times" of "(X) times per (Noun)". Because Bulgarian has na to express 'per' it is tempting to choose this as the "official" construction; however, as just mentioned, this usage of na in Bulgarian could have replaced an earlier prepositionless construction. Numerous other languages (Polish and Serbo-Croatian, for example) also have na + ACC, which is even more suggestive of it being a common Slavic means of expression. Again the puzzle remains unresolved, as neither the data from the extant OCS texts nor from the living Slavic languages allow us to decide definitively how "(X) times per (Noun)" was expressed in OCS.

12.5 What does all of this mean, and what is its value? My intent in investigating temporal expressions was to test the hypothesis that the syntax of OCS as seen in the extant texts does indeed reflect native Slavic elements, and is not merely an imitation of Greek syntax. In order to demonstrate this, it was necessary, however, to make comparisons with the Greek, in order to separate that which is Greek from that which is Slavic. Recall H. Birnbaum's exhortation: "Erst so liesse sich ja echt Slavisches, Altererbtes von Nachgeahmten [sic-SF] und Entlehnten trennen und dadurch in manchen
Punkten ein deutlicheres Bild der ältesten genuin slavischen Syntax, ihrem Bau und den ihr zu Gebote stehenden Ausdrucksmitteln, gewinnen" (1958, 241).

If we see, for example, that a certain phrase has a GEN of time where we would expect say, a prepositionless INS (perhaps ηούμι instead of ηούμικ to render Greek υπκτός 'in the night'), we could claim Greek interference. Otherwise, when we see the prepositionless INS (a case which Greek did not possess and had not possessed for at least a millennium and a half prior to the period of canonical OCS) we may claim that, since this was not Greek interference, this construction must have been native Slavic.

As additional proof of that, we might look to the other Slavic languages. Fortunately, we do find remnants of a prepositionless INS to express time in numerous modern Slavic languages (for example Russian ночь, Bulgarian ночь, and Serbo-Croatian φυτο 'in the night[time]'). If we do not find examples from the modern Slavic languages, we might search further back, examining texts from earlier periods in time, to see if the prepositionless INS, for example, was a means of expressing time at any point within the history of an individual language. And even if we do not find examples in the other Slavic languages (such as the construction with ξ + GEN or the prepositionless LOC, which have disappeared), this does not preclude such constructions from being Slavic, unless we can demonstrate exact construction-for-construction translation from the Greek (which we cannot).

For example, when we see that OCS had πρι + LOC to express the time around which an action occurs, expressing the approximateness of time, we know that this was the syntactic means available to express this reference in OCS, even if none of the modern languages have πρι + LOC. Since this is the case, one might think that this was a borrowing from Greek, which has a preposition with similar phonetic shape--πέρι + ACC. However, numerous occurrences of πέρι + ACC were rendered in
OCS with αξ + ACC instead of πρι + LOC, changing the meaning to 'at' or 'during', rather than 'around' the time involved. If a translator is going to "borrow" a preposition from one language to another, they would probably borrow it in all instances, and not make such changes in some cases but not in others. In addition, περί in Greek governed the ACC case, whereas OCS πρι governed the LOC case. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that πρι + LOC was a native means of expressing approximate time and not a borrowed one, in spite of its absence in the modern Slavic languages.

The opposite phenomenon may also occur: a construction exists in one, some or all of the modern Slavic languages but did not exist in OCS. Take the case of the GEN of time (Chapter 6). Very few examples of such are found in the canonical OCS texts, and most of those occurrences may be categorized as something other than temporal expressions (such as negation, verbal government, etc.). Most examples of the GEN of time, however, cannot be said to be imitations of the Greek GEN, which denoted a time within which an action occurred (and was rendered by something other than the GEN in OCS, for example the Greek ξεμώνως 'in the winter' was rendered in Slavic by the prepositionless LOC γίνεται). On the basis of the data from the canonical manuscripts, it may be claimed that OCS did not have a GEN of time.

If we look to the modern Slavic languages, however, we find quite a few with a very active GEN of time. Examples such as Serbo-Croatian toga časa 'at that hour', Polish kazdego dnia 'every day', Ukrainian того року 'in that year', Czech toho dne 'on that day' are but a few which show that the GEN is a construction which is quite viable in the modern Slavic languages. In addition, we may look to Old Russian secular manuscripts to find other examples of various usages of a GEN of time, such as того же дне 'on that day', тому нощи 'in that night', тому же осени 'in that autumn'. Although Modern Russian has replaced these particular usages of the
prepositionless GEN by prepositional constructions (в ть зиму instead of ть зима 'in that winter'; в ть ночь instead of ть ной 'in that night'), the Old Russian secular manuscripts show that this construction was also active at one time within the history of this language.

Cases such as this, with the prepositionless INS and GEN of OCS and the modern Slavic languages, are just two of many. First by demonstrating that the syntax of OCS represented native Slavic elements and was not a borrowing or copying of Greek syntax and second by establishing exactly what the means of expressing time in OCS were, we are now able to use the language of OCS as seen in the extant texts as a reliable source of comparison with the modern languages. Based on this information, comparative studies of the Slavic languages including OCS may be conducted. In point of fact, this has always been done. When searching through many comparative grammars, I found OCS examples given instead of examples from the modern Slavic languages. Or if the latter were included, they were far outnumbered by the OCS examples. Now, however, we may be more sure of using OCS as a basis for investigating the history and structure of the syntax of the Slavic languages, since we are now able to state with more certainty that the syntax of OCS as found in the extant texts does indeed reflect the native Slavic idiom, and that OCS is a Slavic language, and not merely a mixture of Slavic lexicon and morphology with Greek syntax. OCS is an independent language, capable of being declared a real Slavic language.
THE SYNTACTIC EXPRESSION OF TIME IN
OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC: A COMPARISON WITH
NEW TESTAMENT GREEK
VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1995

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APPENDIX A

PHRASES SUBSTITUTING
εξ ω / εξ ερημω ονο
FOR OTHER EXPRESSIONS

The following verses have εξ ω (or εξ ερημω ονο) in the Aprakoi corresponding to a different time expression in the other texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>3:1</th>
<th>--- 1</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>Mir</th>
<th>εν ταις ημεραις ἐκειναις 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>11:25</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>εξ άνυ Σαδάνη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>17:1</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Νο σέστη άνυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>22:23</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>εξ ΤΖ άνυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>1:9(2x)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>X 3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>εξ άνυ ΤΖ1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>1:35</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Νoyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>2:1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Νο άνυ Χζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>8:1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>εξ άνυ ΤΖ1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>9:2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Νο σέστη άνυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>1:24</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Νο σχι ζε άνυ Χζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>1:39</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>εξ ΤΖ1 άνυ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 The dash (---) indicates that the given text does not contain the given verse.

2 All of the examined Tetragospel texts are missing the opening chapters of Matthew, including this verse.

3 The (X) indicates that the given text does not have εξ ω but rather the expected time expression.

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<p>| | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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| Luke | 2:1 | Asm | X | Sav | X | EZ ДНИ ТЗ!
| Luke | 5:17 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | EZ ЕДИНИ ДНЯ
| Luke | 5:27(2x) | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | по СИХ
| Luke | 6:12 | — | — | — | Mir | EZ ДНЯ ТЗ!
| Luke | 7:11 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | EZ проче ДНЯ
| Luke | 8:22 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | EZ ЕДИНИ ДНЯ
| Luke | 9:28 | — | X | — | Mir | по СИХ
| Luke | 9:37 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | EZ проче ДНЯ
| Luke | 10:1 | Asm | — | — | Mir | по СИХ
| Luke | 13:1 | — | Ost | — | Mir | EZ то ЕРЪЯ
| John | 1:29 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mir | EZ уТРЪЯ ДНЯ
| John | 1:35 | Asm | Ost | Sav | — | EZ уТРЪЯ ДНЯ
| John | 1:44 | X | X | — | Mir | EZ уТРЪЯ ДНЯ
| John | 2:1 | — | Ost | — | — | EZ трет ДНЯ
| John | 2:12 | Asm | Ost | — | — | по СЕМ
| John | 3:22 | Asm | Ost | — | X | по СИХ
| John | 5:1 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | по СИХ
| John | 7:1 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | po CИХ
| John | 19:38 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | po CИХ
| John | 21:1 | Asm | Ost | — | Mir | po CЕМь


## APPENDIX B
### THE ACCUSATIVE CASE WITH THE PREPOSITION Β'Τ

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<td>EZ ТЗ ДНЬ ПОКЕЛЯ НУЗЕСТИ А</td>
<td>EZ ТЈЖЈЕ ДАНЬ ПРИДЕ ТЈЖЈЕ ЧАЛОШШТЫ</td>
<td>EZ ТЈЖЈЕ ДАНЬ ПРИДЕ</td>
<td>ЧИКО EZ ТЗ ДНЬ МТИ ЕЗЈЈЈА СИИ СЗ САВНИЩ</td>
<td>ЧИКО ОУТРО EZ ТЗ ДАНЬ МТИ ЮГТЗ ЕЗЈЈЈИ ...</td>
<td>ДВА ЕЗЈЈА ОЗЬ МЗЈЈ ЖАШШТА EZ ТЗ ДНЬ ...</td>
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**EZ NUMBER + ДНЬ**

| Matthew | 26:17 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |

**Matthew 26:17**

**Luke 1:59**

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**Supr 10:19-20**

**Supr 47:11-12**

**Supr 52:27-28**

**Supr 61:1**

**Supr 136:9-10**

**Supr 137:3-4**

**Supr 204:15-16**

**Supr 321:23-24**

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**EZ ПОСЛЕДНИЙ ДНЬ**

| John | 6:39 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | — |
| John | 6:40 | Asm | Ost(2x) | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John | 6:44 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John | 6:54 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John | 7:37 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John | 11:24 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John | 12:48 | Asm | Ost(2x) | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| Matthew 10:15 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew 11:22 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew 11:24 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew 12:36 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Mark 6:11 | — | Ost | — | — | — | — | D |

Supr 120:1-2 ... ныхштаге властъ ΕΞ ΑΔΗΝ ΣΔΗΚΗΝ

Supr 316:7-8 ... СЗТКРН ОТБЕТη ΕΞ ΣΔΗКΗΝ ΑΔΗΝ ΟΥЄΟ

### ЕΧ ΟУΤΡΗ / ΟΥΤΡΗΝ ΑΔΗΝ (+ various spellings)

| Matthew 27:62 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | ηα |
| Mark 11:12 | — | — | — | (πος ΑΔΗΝ) | Z | — | ΕΧ |
| John 1:29 | (ΕΧ Ο) | (ΕΧ Ο) | (ΕΧ Ο) | Mar | Z | D | (ΕΧ Ο) |
| John 1:35 | (ΕΧ Ο) | (ΕΧ Ο) | (ΕΧ Ο) | Mar | Z | — | — |
| John 1:43/4 | Asm | Ost(по ΑΔΗΝ)— | Mar | Z | D | (ΕΧ Ο) |
| John 6:22 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John 12:12 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | (ΕΧ ΟΤΡ Μιρ |

1 This verse only appears in some Greek mss.: A, 0133, f.113, M.
When a subscript number appears after a verse, it indicates which temporal phrase within that verse is cited—in this instance, L 13:14 contains two temporal phrases, and this is the second one.
### EZ ДНЬЯ / ДНЯ + ADJ, con't

| Supr  | 25:19-21 | смотрите са EZ ПрЕдЕТЗИЕН ТЗ ДНЯ Памяти Сватаого КОНОНА . . . |
| Supr  | 80:29-81:2 | КЗИМ ОТЕЦ ЗА ЕЖДЕТЗ EZ САЛЕЗИИ И КЕАНЗИЗ ДНЯ ПРЫШСТВИИ |
| Supr   | 124:3-4 | Иже ДНЕМЫНІ ДНЯ ЕЗ ЕККЗІ Радости Рабоу Своему Дарствовавзин |
| Supr   | 295:2-3 | И прази и совъх рпкк EZ ПРЯДДНЯ ДНЯ на ДЛЮ ПРСТЪРФ |

### EZ ДНЯ / ДНЯ + GEN phrase

| Matthew 2:1 | Asm | Ost | Sav | — | — | — | Mir |
| Matthew 23:30 | — | Ost | — | Mar | — | — | Mir |
| Matthew 24:37 | Asm | * | oo | Mar | Z | — | * |
| Matthew 24:38 | + | + | Sav+ | + | + | + | + |
| John 12:7 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |

* (Тако ЕЖДЕТЗ EZ ПрИСЫСТВИЕ СИА ЧАЧЪСКААГО)
∞ (Тако ЕЖДЕТЗ ПрИШСТВИЕ СИА ЧАЧЪСКААГО)

*(SAV has: прежде EZ ДНЯ потопа; all other texts have: EZ ДНЯ прежде потопа)*

| Matthew 2:1 | EZ ДНЯ мрода црък |
| Matthew 23:30 | EZ ДНЯ бцъ наших |
| Matthew 24:37 | EZ ДНЯ бцъ ЧАЧЪСКААГО |
| Matthew 24:38 | прежде EZ ДНЯ потопа |
| Luke 1:5 | EZ ДНЯ мрода црък |
LUKE 12:7 *EZ DAYN POGRYEEEIN'T MOEGO*

SUPR 21:11-12 PONADDNA EZ NIHZ *EZ DAYN GIKEOU . . .*

SUPR 162:3-4 SATKORI JHE KOMIKZ *EZ DAYN IGHNI . . .*

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**EZ IEDINH OTZ DAYN**

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<th>D</th>
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<td>(ez o)</td>
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**EZ IEDINH EZ NIJE**

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<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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</tbody>
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3 The Greek text contains no relative clause here; the verse concludes:

*ΩΤΙ ΟΙΚ ΟΙΔΑΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΤΘΕ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΑΤ.*
(EZ ДНЬ) EZ НЬЖЕ, con't

Supr 43:26-28
пионни же виад пръжде едногого ДНЬЕ ВЬНЕГАА съ роди...

Supr 74:4-5
... ДНЬЕ [dat.] ВЬНЕГАА пръжесей акфуата EZ народа.

Supr 94:14-15
... ВЪ ДНЬЕ [acc.] ВЬНЕГАА съ роди блажени зм.женник.

CLOZ 11а:4-5
(ДНЬЕ) ВЬНЕГАА ХОШТЕТЗ съдити EZ всееї земи

(ЕЗ ДНЬ) ЕЗ НЬЖЕ

Luke 1:25  Asm  Ost  —  Mar  Z  D  Mir(2x)

ЕЗ КЗІ ДНЬ

Supr 132:23
и в ЕЗ КЗІ ДНЬ ЕЗПРАШАЕ ІХЗ

ЕЗ ЕДИНИ / ЕДИНИЦ СЪБОТЗ / ЕЗ ЕДИНИЦИ СЪБОТЗІ

Mark 16:2  FEM  PL  —  FEM  FEM  FEM  FEM
Luke 24:1  FEM  PL  —  FEM  FEM  FEM  FEM
John 20:1  MASC  PL  —  FEM  FEM  FEM  FEM
John 20:19  MASC  PL  —  FEM  —  FEM  FEM
| Matthew | 12:2 | — | — | — | PL | PL | — | — |
| Matthew | 12:5 | — | — | — | PL | PL | — | — |
| Matthew | 12:10 | — | — | — | FEM | FEM | — | FEM |
| Matthew | 12:11 | — | — | — | FEM | FEM | — | FEM |
| Matthew | 12:12 | — | — | — | FEM | FEM | — | FEM |
| Matthew | 24:20 | MASC | FEM | FEM | FEM | — | — | FEM |
| Matthew | 28:12 | * | PL | * | * | * | — | * |
| Mark | 1:21 | — | — | — | PL | PL | — | — |
| Mark | 2:23 | MASC | PL | FEM | PL | PL | PL | PL |
| Mark | 2:24 | MASC | PL | FEM | PL | PL | PL | PL |
| Mark | 3:2 | FEM | PL | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | — |
| Mark | 3:4 | FEM | PL | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | — |
| Luke | 6:1 | MASC | FEM | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | — |
| Luke | 6:2 | FEM | PL | — | FEM | FEM | PL | — |
| Luke | 6:7 | FEM | FEM | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | — |
| Luke | 13:10 | PL(2x) | PL(2x) | FEM | PL | PL | PL | PL(2x) |
| Luke | 13:15 | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM |
| Luke | 14:1 | MASC | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | — | FEM |
| Luke | 14:3 | MASC | FEM | PL | PL | PL | PL | PL |
| Luke | 18:12 | MASC | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM |
| John | 5:16 | — | — | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | — |
| John | 7:22 | FEM | FEM | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM |
| John | 7:23 | FEM | FEM | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM |
| John | 7:23 | FEM | FEM | — | FEM | FEM | FEM | FEM |
| John | 19:31 | MASC(2x) | FEM(2x) | FEM(2x) | FEM | FEM | GEN | FEM(2x) |

* (see below under εζ εχέτοξ + ADJ)

Supr 209:7-8  εζ εχέτοξ ... εζ οχέδασε εξ ιρξκ' εί
Supr 334:14-15  κέχερξ ηξε εζ εχέτοξ ... πρίε ει Μαρινα Μαγδαλίνη
### EZ СЖЕОТХ + ADJECTIVE

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** (сентакштоу пръкоусуоу кз скеотз1)

Supr 95:6-7 | EZ СЖЕОТХ КЕАКХХ ПРИДЕ К НИМ... |

### EZ ПАТКЗ

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### EZ НЕДКЗ

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Supr 16:14-15 — ОБЕЩИ О МЫЛЕ СИЛАХ БОЖЕСТВА ТВОЕГО В ТУ ЧАСЬ
Supr 217:7 — В ТУ ЧАСЬ НЕ В СЕЛЯХ ВИФЛЕМУ
Supr 359:4-6 — ДВА МЕСТА ОТ МЕХ ИЖИТНА... В ТУ ЧАСЬ ВЬ НЫШЕ ЖИЗНЬ НА ДРУГИХ ПРИВОЗДИМ...

**EZ ГОДИНА + ADJECTIVE**

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<th>Commentary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 20:3</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
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<td>Matthew 20:6</td>
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<td>Mark 15:34</td>
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<td>Mar</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 4:52</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
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</table>

⁴ The time expression which occurs in this verse appears only in Sav and has no Greek source—i.e. it does not appear in any known Greek ms.
### ez годинъ + ADJECTIVE, con't

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>20:3</td>
<td>ez третих годинъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>20:5</td>
<td>ez шестых и ez девятых годинъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>20:6</td>
<td>ez нинъ на декате годинъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>20:9</td>
<td>ez нинъ на декате годинъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>15:34</td>
<td>ez девятых годинъ</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>4:52</td>
<td>ez седьмых годинъ</td>
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### ez часъ + ADJECTIVE

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<td>57:6-7</td>
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### ez къ часъ / ez къ годинъ

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<td>—</td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>ez</td>
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которы
### БЗ НЖЕ ЧАСЗ / БЗ ЧАСЗ БЗ НЖЕ

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<td>—</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<td>Mir</td>
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<td>Z</td>
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</table>

Супр 359:4-6

dve $\varepsilon$в$\varepsilon$ta o$\varepsilon$ $\nu$ι$\zeta$ξ $\iota$κ$\zeta$τα $\ldots$ $\varepsilon$ $\tau$ $\chi$ас$\zeta$ $\varepsilon$ $\nu$ι$\zeta$ξ $\iota$ζυμ$\zeta$ $\kappa$α $\lambda$ξη $\delta$ γρέ$\zeta$ζ$\gamma$ση$\zeta$ $\ldots$

dвe въстa отъ въз$\zeta$ца въз$\zeta$ца жи$\zeta$цa на

dръжкa пригвозди$\zeta$a $\ldots$

### ГОДИНА БЗ НЖЕ

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>12:46</th>
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<td>—</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Ost</td>
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<td>—</td>
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### $\varepsilon$ ГОДЗ

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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

As mentioned above, the Greek text contains no relative clause here; the verse concludes:

$\delta$τι ο$\ou$κ σ$\ou$βάτε τ$\ou$ν $\hat{\eta}$κ$\hat{\eta}$ραν σ$\ou$βε τ$\ou$ν $\hat{\omega}$ραν.
### ez годз + GEN PHRASE

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>— = Mar Z D</td>
<td>— = Mar Z D</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Matthew 13:30  
  
  (εζ γόργω) жатези

- Luke 1:10  
  
  εζ γοργος темеєна

- Luke 14:17  
  
  εζ γοργοс вечера

### ez часц + GEN PHRASE

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Святын ирну 3470 εζ годз безкрешціа жатези</td>
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### ez годіны + GEN PHRASE (святійці)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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### EZ ἐρήμιον + GEN

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<th>Verse</th>
<th>Aquila</th>
<th>Syriac (Ost)</th>
<th>Masoretic Text</th>
<th>Revisers (Mar)</th>
<th>Archimandrite (Z)</th>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar Z</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>(EZ чакч)</td>
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<td>Luke</td>
<td>8:13²</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sav Mar Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>—</td>
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**Matthew 13:30** EZ ἐρήμιον ἔστεζι

**Luke 8:13** EZ ἐρήμιον ἡπαστή

### EZ ἐρήμιον + ADJECTIVE

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bible Book</th>
<th>Verse</th>
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<th>Syriac (Ost)</th>
<th>Masoretic Text</th>
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<td>11:25</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>14:1</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>Mar Z</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21:41</td>
<td>Asm Ost Sav</td>
<td>Mar —</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>13:1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(EZ)</td>
<td>Mar Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>*</td>
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(Cλρήμιον ὀνόματι)

**Luke 18:30** — — — Mar Z D Mir

**John 12:35** Asm ACC Sav Mar Z ACC Mir(2x)

*Mir here has: EZ ὁ (For other verses where the Aprakoi have EZ ὁ (or EZ ἐρήμιον ὀνόματι) corresponding to a different time expression in the other texts, see Appendix A).
**ez er'ema + ADJECTIVE, con't**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>11:25</th>
<th>ez to er'ema</th>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>12:1</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>14:1</td>
<td>ez oko er'ema</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>21:41</td>
<td>ez er'ema svoe / er'mena svoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>ez er'ema se mnyz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>1:20</td>
<td>ez er'ema svoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>13:1</td>
<td>ez to er'ema</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>18:30</td>
<td>ez er'ema se</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>12:35</td>
<td>ez molo er'ema</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supr</th>
<th>11:17</th>
<th>ez to er'ema ... pridite prym'ennikz</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>56:28-29</td>
<td>ez to je er'ema egda svatxila xhchaxx</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>110:9-10</td>
<td>azx je vlasz ez efesc cx ez to er'ema</td>
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<td>Supr</td>
<td>110:19</td>
<td>kro imenem ez to er'ema czi</td>
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<td>Supr</td>
<td>111:17-19</td>
<td>ez to je er'ema orhamiz ... ekache ez poysteviz gradz</td>
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<td>392:11-12</td>
<td>ez vse er'ema osebshanez xzdanaxz</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cloz</th>
<th>4a:25-26</th>
<th>t3 nachui ouchitel ez tako er'ema</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>4b:38-40</td>
<td>iposobuwa chato stвори ez to er'ema prydanьu</td>
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**ez er'ema**

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<td>Luke</td>
<td>8:13</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>ez</td>
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<td>Z</td>
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**частъ**

**EZ ЕРЪМЪ, con't**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Алм людне ... ЕZ ЕРЪМЪ придощь</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>4a:26-27</td>
<td>τζ указа на красть простер ржцк ЕZ ЕРЪМЪ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>13b:5-6</td>
<td>ЕZ ЕРЪМЪ кълпък нжцк придъ</td>
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**EZ СЪХ НОШТЬ**

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<tr>
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<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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<td>John (τξ)</td>
<td>21:3</td>
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<th>пръкъгъмъ же ЕZ ТѢ НОШТЬ</th>
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<td>съкроу тѢгда ЕZ ТѢ НОШТЬ къхштоу</td>
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<td>Supr</td>
<td>381:3-4</td>
<td>послоунте въсн нашанин ... дъньсъ и ЕZ СЪХ НОШТЬ</td>
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**EZ ВЪСХ НОШТЬ**

| Supr  | 59:11-12 | омъ же кѫдък ЕZ ВЪСХ НОШТЬ |

**EZ ВѢЧЕРѢ СѢСОТѢЗѢI**

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ЕЖ ТХ ЕЧЕРЗ

Supr 339:22  
ΔΕΣ ΧΡΤΣΕ ΕΖ ΤΖ ΕΗΕΡΖ ΔΑΜΣΕΤΕ CA

Cloz 13b11  
ΕΖ ΤΖ ΕΗΕΡΖ ΔΑΜΣΕΤΕ CA

ЕЧЕРЗ ΕΖ ΝЬЖЕ

Cloz 6a18-19  
ΕΖ ΕΗΕΡΖ ΕΖ ΝЬЖЕ ΟУЧΕΝΙΣΙ ΣΕ ΓΛΑΑΧ ... (sic)

ЕЗ ΕШЕΤЗΗΝ ΖΕ ΜΕΣАЧЬ

Luke 1:26  
Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

Supr 178:4-5  
ЕЗ ΕШЕΤЗΗΝ ΜΕСАЦЬ РЕЧΕ ΠΟΣΙΑΝΕ ΕΖΙΣΤΖ ΑΓΓΕΛΖ ...
Supr 186:13-14  
Supr 204:15-16  
Supr 213:27-28  

Supr 11:15-16  
Supr 49:20-21  
Supr 83:8-9  
Supr 110:5-6  
Supr 121:26  
Supr 124:3-4  

**EZ ΑΣΤΟ, other**

**EZ ΕΖΚΖ / ΕΖΚΖΙ**

| Matthew | 6:13 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | — | — | PL |
|———|———|———|———|———|———|——|——|——|
| Matthew | 21:19 | — | — | — | Mar | — | — | PL(2x) |
| Mark | 3:29 | — | — | — | Mar | PL | D | PL |
| Mark | 11:14 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | D | PL |
| John | 4:14 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 6:51 | PL | Ost | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 6:58 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 8:35 | Asm(2x) | PL(2x) | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 8:51 | Asm | Ost(2x) | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL(2x) |
| John | 8:52 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 10:28 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 11:26 | PL | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 12:34 | Asm | PL | PL | Mar | Z | PL | PL(2x) |
| John | 13:8 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | PL | PL |
| John | 14:16 | Asm(2x) | Ost(2x) | Sav | Mar | PL | PL | PL(2x) |

Supr 11:15-16  
Supr 49:20-21  
Supr 83:8-9  
Supr 110:5-6  
Supr 121:26  
Supr 124:3-4  

... ηζήνη και πρόσκοπο ηζκζι εξελιχθη εκ ηζκζι κεφαλι  
ι το γιοτ ηζκζι ρεσελπει εα  
τετες πολυεκαταληγη αμινην  
σεμπτοςσι οθυο ησμπτοσσου σουλοσου ηζκζι αμινην  
ςετρπζζεζις εκπασετα εα ηζκζι  
ιζε δυμεμελης δαν ηζκζι ραδοτη ραθο σκοιεμου δαρκτεροκεζζι  

394
**ez e'kka / e'kkzi + ADJECTIVE**

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<tr>
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|          | Matthew | 12:32 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Matthew | 12:32 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Mark    | 10:30 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Luke    | 18:30 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |

**Supr** 113:24-25 *е'ккзи е'кса не протившал са емоу*

*ez начало*

|          | Supr | 6:21-22 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Supr | 7:27    |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Supr | 7:28    |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Supr | 212:8-9 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |
|          | Supr | 426:16-17 |     |     |     |     |    |   |     |

*ez заключение е'кка (сего)*

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Matthew 14:25  
Matthew 24:43  
Luke 12:38  

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Matthew 14:25  
Matthew 24:43  
Luke 12:38  

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John 2:23  

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Matthew 26:5  
Mark 14:2  
Luke 2:41  
John 2:23  
John 7:11  
John 12:20  

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Cloz 6a:27-28
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### EZ рождения

| Supr 3:4-5 | ez проказ рождение Христос . . . езяке ез земных Иерусалим
| Cloz 14:11-12 | пелени ез рождение премелет
| Cloz 14:24-26 | ез проказ рождение ез . . . езяке . . . ез цякел |
## APPENDIX C

### THE PREPOSITIONLESS ACCUSATIVE

**ΔΙΕΙΔ ΑΓΙΟΣ**

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<td>John</td>
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**ΤΡΙ ΑΓΙΟΣ**

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**ΣΥΝΙΕΡΤΕΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ**

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398
### День и ночь

| Mark  | 4:27 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | D | — |
| Mark  | 5:5  | — | — | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| Luke  | 2:37 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | — |
| Luke  | 18:7 | Asm(2x) | Ost(2x) | Sav | Mar | Z | D | Mir |

| Supr  | 23:14-15 | върху ти и тях и върху тя и тях |
| Supr  | 52:17-18 | всичко върху ти и тях |
| Supr  | 102:6-7 | ... и бога молит и денонощие |
| Supr  | 110:22-23 | върху и молит и денонощие привежа |

### Три дня и три ночи

| Matthew | 12:40(2x) | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir |

### Дни и ночи

| Matthew | 4:2 | Asm | Ost | Sav | — | Z | — | — |
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### Тэ дьнь

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ночь

Supr 68:19  ночь прокаждаахь тръпните страсть

ночь + MODIFIER

Supr 67:4-5  ежшна на мячъ всс ночь стойна
Supr 191:11-12  и пръчвя мяоу на ледъ всс ночь
Supr 194:10  пръчвя ночь онъ всс

ЕДИНЪ ЧАСЩ

Matthew 20:12  Asm Ost — Mar — — Mir

NUMBER + часз

Supr 47:3-4  похште третин часз
Supr 108:10-12  мнчеша же ежшта сватши Писани месаца марта ей день съкота часз и при манъ цесарн
### NUMBER + МЄЗАЛУ

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Luke 1:24 МЄЗАЛУ ПАТЬ

Luke 1:56 ТРИ МЄЗАЛУ

Luke 4:25 ШЕСТЬ МЄЗАЛУ

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| Mark   | 5:25 | ДЕСЯТЬ НА ДЕСАТЫ ЛЕТ |
| Luke   | 2:36 | ТРИ ЛЕТА |
| Luke   | 2:37 | ТРИ ЛЕТА И ЧЕТЫРЕ |
| Luke   | 2:42 | ТРИ ЛЕТА |
| Luke   | 4:25 | ТРИ ЛЕТА |
| Luke   | 13:7 | СЕ ТРИ ЛЕТА / СЕ ТРЕТИЕ ЛЕТО |
| Luke   | 13:8 | СЕ ЛЕТО |
| Luke   | 13:11 | ТРИ ЛЕТА |
| Luke   | 13:16 | СЕ ОСМОЕ НА ДЕСАТЫ ЛЕТО |
| Luke   | 15:29 | СЕ КОЛЯКО ЛЕТА |
| John   | 5:5  | ТРИ ДЕСАТЫ И ОСЬМ ЛЕТА |
| John   | 5:6  | МИНОГА ЛЕТА |
| John   | 8:57 | ПАТЬ ДЕСАТЫ ЛЕТ (age?) |

| Supr   | 7:11-12 | ЖИСТО ДЕСАТЫ ЛЕТ И ТРИ ЛЕТ |
| Supr   | 8:15   | КАЧИТЕ ТРИ ДЕСАТЫ ЛЕТ |
| Supr   | 37:22  | ЖИЗЬ ДЕСАТЫ ЕЗ ДОБРЕ СТАРОСТИ |
| Supr   | 41:11  | МИХСЯ ТРИ ЛЕТА В ТЕМНИЦИ |
| Supr   | 401:24 | ТРИ ЛЕТА ЖИ ТОУ |

### MODIFIER + лето

| Supr   | 103:25-26 | ТОЛЯКО ЛЕТ ЕСЕН НЕПОЛЯТ СА |
| Supr   | 152:13-14 | ТАКО ЖЕ ТВОРОВАШЕ МИСА ЛЕТА ЖИТЫ СЕГО |
| Supr   | 203:2    | МИЗЯ ЖЕ НАСЕ ЛЕТА |
**QUANTIFIER + еръма**

| Mark | 2:19 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | — |
| John | 7:33 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | D | — |
| John | 12:35 | еръ + Ost(2x) | еръ + | еръ + | еръ + | D | Mir |
| John | 14:9 | ACC | ACC | ACC | ACC | Mar | Z | D | Mir(2x) |

| Mark | 2:19 | много еръма |
| John | 7:33 | мало еръма |
| John | 12:35 | мало еръма |
| John | 14:9 | только еръма |

**Кръма**

| Supr | 49:17-18 | еръма присъщено пресъствъте са паче . . . |
| Supr | 379:28-29 | земът оку еръма всичко еръма растеря и ня и ницца цвъта расте |

**QUANTIFIER + годъз**

| Supr | 212:18-19 | пръцът от него годъз мало |
### Третий день

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### NUMBER + день

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<td>129:19-20</td>
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</tbody>
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**Notes:**
- Matthew 1:21 — Mark — — — —
- Matthew 17:23 Asm Ost E + ACC Mar — — — —
- Matthew 20:19 — — — E + ACC Mar — — — —
- Mark 8:31 — — по трех Sav Mar Z по трех —
- Mark 9:31 ez + ACC ez + ACC ez + ACC ez + ACC ez + ACC ez + ACC Mir
- Mark 10:34 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z D —
- Supr 8:22-23 ТРЕТИЙ ДЕНЬ ЕЖЕСУХ
- Supr 118:4 ТРЕТИЙ ДЕНЬ ПРИШЕДШЕ

---

**Supr 94:13-15**

- Всего шестого — День настал вечером невесть в такой день
- Всего сан родил вложи и вложил вложил вложил

**Supr 108:10-12**

- Вложил же краткое сказанное Понимать сказанную вложили вечером День сказано часы и при навек вложил

**Supr 129:19-20**

- И четвертый день нынче третье без брожения
### ДНЕСЬ / ДНЕСЬ

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<th>Verse</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
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<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
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<td>Mar</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
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<td>ПОСЛУЧИТЕ ВЪСИ НАКАЗАННИ ... ДНЕСЬ И ЕЗЪ СЪЕ МОШТ</td>
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<td>1a:34</td>
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<td>Cloz</td>
<td>3a:33-34</td>
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<td>ДНЕСЬ ЕО ІЗЪ НАШАМЪ ИС ІЗЪ ПРѢДАНЗ Е...</td>
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<td>6a:15</td>
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<td>ДНЕСЬ ОУЕЗДѢТ</td>
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</table>

1 The Greek text has ογνηρου ... τρίς; the Slavic text only has три краты (i.e. no 'today').
день / день, con't

Cloz 10b:25-26  
день сг Ѵ Ѵ кадатк ... 

Cloz 12b:1-2  
день безъщее много на земи 

Cloz 12b:32-34  
день същее сяшти Ѵ на земи и отк Ѵка 

Cloz 12b:35  
день същее всекой мироу 

Cloz 12b:37  
день присесть гие 

Cloz 13a:20-23  
вчераво смотръящаа твора а днееъ вкладзичкъ вчерав 

актскаъа а днееъ господскаа дъл вчерав чѣкаа а днееъ 

вѣстъная дѣятъ ... 

(continues; in all, both phrases occur 7 times, i.e. 4 more times) 

Cloz 13b:39-40  
и по средь дньэх жиазвзъ и връзживъ вѣлъ са 

день + ADJECTIVE

Supr 124:3-4  
мже днешьніі днь в Ѵкжі радости рабоу своеоу 

дариствуеваіі 

утро / outra

Matthew 6:30  
LOC LOC Sav LOC LOC — (утро)

Matthew 16:3  
— — — Mar Z — Mir

Matthew 20:1  
Asm за утра за утра Mar — — за

Matthew 21:18  
— — — Mar — — утра

Mark 1:35  
(εζ ο) (εζ ο) (εζ ο) Mar Z — (εζ ο)

Mark 11:20  
— — — Mar Z D Mir

Mark 13:35  
— за Mar Z за утра утра
ЮТРО / ОУТРО, cont

| Супр  | 51:9-10 | УТРО ПРСТПИШЬШЕ ЖРБЕТ ЕГОМЗ
| Супр  | 94:21-22 | ИКО ОУТРРО БЗ ТЗ ДЗНЬ АТИ МЯХТК ЕЗИТИ...

**КЕЧЕРЗ**

| Марк  | 13:35 | — | Ост | — | Мар | Z | D | Мир |
| Супр  | 67:4-5 | пришадшую жму керелк | Супр  | 334:14-15 | КЕЧЕРЗ ЖЕ БЗ СЖКОТК ... приде Марина Магдалини | Супр  | 442:29-443:1 | приде же кечерз зкло сжак поуштенз отк того ... |

**NUMBЕR + КРАТК**

| Матфей  | 18:21 | — | — | — | Мар | — | — | — |
| Матфей  | 23:37 | Асм | Ост | — | Мар | — | — | КОЛІЩИ |
| Матфей  | 26:34 | Асм | Ост | — | Sav | Мар | Z | — | Мир |
| Матфей  | 26:75 | Асм | Ост(2x) | Sav | Мар | Z | — | Мир |
| Марк  | 14:30 | — | — | — | Мар | Z | D | — |
| Марк  | 14:71/72 | — | Ост | — | — | Мар | Z | ТРИЩИ | — |
| Марк  | 14:71/72 | — | Ost | — | — | Мар | Z | ТРИЩИ | — |
| Лука  | 13:34 | — | — | — | Мар | — | D | Мир |
| Лука  | 18:12 | Асм | Ост | — | Sav | Мар | Z | D | Мир |
| Лука  | 22:34 | — | — | — | Мар | Z | D | Мир |
| Лука  | 22:61 | — | Ost | — | — | Мар | Z | D | — |
| Иоанн  | 13:38 | Асм | Ост | — | Sav | Мар | Z | ТРИЩИ | Мир |

* ДЗЕК КРАТК added in margin
NUMBER + *Крат:* con't

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<th>Глагол</th>
<th>Старинное Славянское</th>
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<tr>
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Supr 77:29-78:1 | Изынкнешь в са *пать краты*.
APPENDIX D

THE PREPOSITIONLESS INSTRUMENTAL

КЕДИНИБИК ДЬЮНЬИ

Cloz 8b:17-18

ТРЫНЙ ДЬЮНЬИ

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<td>Sav(2x)</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<td>Asm(2x)</td>
<td>Ost(2x)</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
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<tr>
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<td>14:58</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<td>Mark</td>
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<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
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ЧЕТЫРЬЯКИ ДЕСМЯТЗI ДЬЮНЬI

Supr 68:24-25

ЕЖЕ ПОЧЕНЪ ЕСМ ЧЕТЫРЬЯКИ ДЕСМЯТЗI ДЬЮНЬI ПОСТА

Supr 68:25-26

ЧЕТЫРЬЯКИ ДЕСМЯТЗI ДЬЮНЬI ПОСТОМЪ НИМЬ ИЗИСКАЭЗ ГОСПОДА ВНДИЛЗ

410
ЧЕТВЕРЬМУ ДЕСЯТКИ И ШЕСТЬХ ЛЬТЗ

John 2:20  Asm  Ost  —  Mar  Z  D  Mir

ТРУМЫ ДЕСЯТКИ ЛЬТЗ


УЗНОГЗИ ЛЬТЗ!

Luke 8:29  Asm  отз  отз  отз  отз  отз  отз  + GEN  + GEN  + GEN  + GEN  + GEN

НОЩИХ

Matthew 2:14  Asm  Ost  Sav  —  —  —  —  Mir
Matthew 28:13  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  —  Mir
John 3:2  Asm  Ost  —  Mar  Z  D  Mir
John 7:50  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  D  —
John 11:10  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  D  Mir
John 19:39  Asm  Ost  —  Mar  Z  D  Mir
ношних, con't

Supr 11:10-11 ... откеде стре́пгштам коники наошних
Supr 68:2 "кай нощних ей бикак ошённых"
Supr 137:3-4 "как четергтий же день послал княхука наошних"
Supr 151:19 "то нышгождаше наошних"
Supr 214:18 "... и страшна храмшта и наошних и дыхих"
Supr 392:10 "ны наошних не осънянете са"

Cloz 11b:2-3 "ношних безакон их которых дражает"
Cloz 14a:7-8 "ношних их ки ви́оших рвшает са"
Cloz 14a:8-10 "ношних накзг в сионе ... поражает са"
Cloz 14b:37 "пршеджкх икем наошних тайни"

(7 times +) дыхные

Luke 17:4 Asm Ost Sav Mar(2x) no D(2x) Mir*

* 2nd time—пд дыхыми

КОЛИШДИ (various spellings)

Matthew 23:37 коль коль — — коль — — Mir кратци кратци кратци
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>(illegible)</td>
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1 = МЗНОЖИЦЕХ
2 = МЗНОГАЩДИ

Supr 62:90-91  ýyко и доьлства покраыскам многоащди . . . начрытх³
Supr 133:4     мы могоащди ръховъ ти
Supr 135:13    глаголаховъ ти многоащди
Cloz 4a:1-2    гы́кше и мьножицех краги сево
Cloz 9a:9-10   МЗНОГАЩТИ на сьем житии пакость творилъ еси

И(Н)НОЖ / И(Д)НОЖ

Supr 166:21    жьрцы йдяхъ лътя сладка крашна пода́ннъ ныз
Supr 210:26-27 йдяхъ сую о́т дъны пожелъ отца́ Ишака Ми́сееу итн . . .
Supr 409:4-5   кладькэ Христа не йдяхъ . . . отваръ га съ
Cloz 8a:23-24  речень кэй ёднэв кэйнэ на вскъ лътя сьях даетъ


**ВТОРОЦЕХ**

| Matthew | 26:42 | Asm | экзирое | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir
| Mark | 14:30 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir
| Mark | 14:71/72 | — | экзирое | — | Mar | Z | экзирое | —
| John | 3:4 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | экзирое | Mir
| John | 9:24 | Asm | экзирое | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir
| John | 21:16 | Asm | экзирое | Sav | — | Z | D | Mir

**Супр 444:1-2**

и пакз | ВТОРОЦЕХ | ... | ВТОРОЦЕХ | ... | экзирех | ... | ВТОРОЦЕХ

**Слоз 1b:2-4**

и пакз | грэда... | ВТОРОЦЕХ | на эклазых | эк мее

**ДЖАШАДИ**

**Супр 409:4-5**

еклазэкх | Христоса не... | ДЖАШАДИ... | отзерагз см

**Супр 411:3-4**

ДЖАШАДИ | в недзий | дкьрыцым | отзеразал

**ТРЕТИЦЕХ / ТРЕТИЦИ**

| Matthew | 26:44 | 1 | ТРЕТИЦЕХ | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1
| Mark | 14:41 | — | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | —
| Luke | 23:22 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1
| John | 21:14 | 2 | — | 2 | — | 2 | 2 | 1
| John | 21:17 | 1 | ТРЕТИЦЕХ | ТРЕТИЦЕХ | — | 2 | 1 | 1
| John | 21:17 | 2 | ТРЕТИЦЕХ | ТРЕТИЦЕХ | — | 2 | 1 | 1

1 = ТРЕТИЦЕХ

2 = ТРЕТИЦИ

414


ТРЕТИЦЕЗ, con't

Supr 444:1-2

Также "ТРЕТИЦЕЗ" употребляется следующим образом:

Марк 14:72

— ACC — ACC ACC ACC D —

Иоанн 13:38

ACC ACC ACC ACC D ACC

Supr 409:4-5

"Владыка Христа... Трициди, Его отвергл см"
"seven times"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Z</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Mir</td>
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Matthew 18:22 Mar СЕДНИЦЕХ

Luke 17:41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>СЕДЬМИКРАТИЦЕХ ДНЕНЬМЪ</td>
<td>СЕДНИЦЕХ</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
<td>СЕДНИШЫДИ ДНЕНЬМъ</td>
<td>СЕДНИШЫДИ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sav</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>СЕДНИРИЦЕХ ДНЕНЬМЪ</td>
<td>СЕДНИРИЦЕХ ДНЕНЬМЪ</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir</td>
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<td>СЕДНИРИЦЕХ</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr 266:7-8 а телицъ да желаетъ седи́рыо седи́цех
APPENDIX E
THE PREPOSITIONLESS LOCATIVE

Томь часть

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew 15:28</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>+ ACC</th>
<th>+ ACC</th>
<th>+ ACC</th>
<th>+ ACC</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 17:18</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>отп</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr 264:21</td>
<td></td>
<td>томь часть ноз ньшоу оутерьнимь</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 434:20</td>
<td></td>
<td>томь часть проглаголити</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Полунощи

<p>| Matthew 25:6 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | — | — | Mir |
| Mark 13:35 | — | Ost | — | ez | Z | D | Mir |
| Luke 11:5 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | ez | + LOC |
| Supr 273:4-5 | полунощи же кпах бзистз |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Верхняя часть</th>
<th>Matthew 24:20</th>
<th>Asm Ost ξήμνυο Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>Mir(2χ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark 13:18</td>
<td>— — —</td>
<td>— — —</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 18:13</td>
<td>DAT DAT Say</td>
<td>— — —</td>
<td>DAT DAT DAT</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Средняя часть</th>
<th>Matthew 6:30</th>
<th>Asm Ost ΑCC Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>ΑCC</th>
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</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Нижняя часть</th>
<th>Supr 76:17-18</th>
<th>иже днесь съешь а вытрап не еждхтъ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr 118:3-4</td>
<td>и пръмудрижше вытрап</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr 125:13</td>
<td>днесь съешь а вытрап оумирахта...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr 442:29</td>
<td>вытрап отже ихта самом</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F
THE PREPOSITIONLESS GENITIVE

### въчера

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>4:52</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr  70:8  
СЗИХ ВЪЧЕРА ГОНИТЕЛЬ ДЬНЕСЬ ЕУАГГЕЛИСТЬ

Supr  166:21  
ВЪЧЕРА СЪМОТРЯЩИЯТ ТЕОРА
(used 5 more times in immediate sentences)

Cloz  13а:20-23  
ВЪЧЕРА ИЕ СЪМОТРЯЩИЯТ ТЕОРА А ДЬНЕСЬ КЛАДЯНЦЕТА ВЪЧЕРА
ЛѢТСКАЯ А ДЬНЕСЬ ГОСПОДЬСКАЯ ДѢТЪ ВЪЧЕРА ЧѢКА А ДЬНЕСЬ

(continues; in all, both phrases occur 7 times, i.e. 4 more times)

### ІЄДИНОГО ЧАСА

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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>26:40</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>14:37</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

419
ВРЕМЕНЕ СЕГО


ПАТЫ ДЕСАТЗ АЗТЗ

John 8:57 ACC ACC — Mar Z (illegible) Mir

ДЕКОЮ НА ДЕСАТЕ АЗТЗ

Luke 8:42 — — — Mar Z D Mir(2x)

ТРЕТЬЕГО ДНЕ

Supr 359:4-6 Два екста отъ ныхъ нажды тыхъ дньны третийъ же днѧ прѣзисте меже рече ныхъ . . .

ТОМ СЪЕСТЗ"!

John 19:31 Asm(3x) Ost(3x) Sav(3x) Mar Z D Mir(3x)
ЕДИНОГО ДНЯ


АДА

Supr 166:21 жрьчи ЕДИНОГ АДА смлйчка ераща поданых ных

МФСАЦА + NAME

Supr 10:19-20 ez четератьон день МАРТА МФСАЦА изидоста...
Supr 47:11-12 сжноньча ша же са семте... МАРТА МФСАЦА ez е
Supr 61:1 си ръчь ez кз ферилара
Supr 94:13-15 МФСАЦА ШЕСТАГО ez дня наставшьч сънот елиньчн еь день
сънегда са роди елаженци мяхечение
Supr 108:10-12 Мяхеччк же ежиста сметаци Пиньк МФСАЦА МАРТА еь день
сънота част 2 при нанч цвъсърн
Supr 204:15-16 ez й день ЕНЧАРА МФСАЦА ez четератон АДА МАРКИЯНА
цвъсърствтка...
Supr 148:24 смбраша же са МФСАЦА нан епископы же и цвъсър и...
# APPENDIX G

## THE ACCUSATIVE WITH PREPOSITIONS

### на

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew 20:2</th>
<th>Asm (день)</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Mir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### на всякий день

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matthew 27:15</th>
<th>Asm(2x)</th>
<th>Ost(2x)</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>Mir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke 11:3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 16:19</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Cloz 1b:38-39 | испытывай на вский день разрещайте... |
| Cloz 2a:12-13 | просвещи вский на вский день |

### на днин + MODIFIER

| Supr 23:17-18 | ... вардз на другиа днии за оутра встает... |
| Supr 39:2-3   | ... ек а'чисе и молите из на дниси днии |
| Supr 78:27    | и не претош его тако на многи днии |
| Supr 419:22   | лежашто же муоу на многи днии |
| Supr 431:8    | не доколеах вост врек на маки днии |
| Supr 434:26-27| и то тропаше тька страждя на многи днии |

422
на съднннй дьнь

na otrynn / na otrynn / na otrynn

|Matthew 6:34| — | — | 2a | 1 | 1 | — | — |
|Matthew 27:62| (4) | (4) | 2a | (4) | (4) | — | 2c |
|Mark 15:1| — | — | — | 1 | 2b | 2c | — |
|Luke 10:35| 2a | 2a | 2a | 3 | 2b | 3 | 3 |

1 = на отрьн (MASC SG ACC ADJ)
2a = на отурн (NTR PL ACC NOUN)
2b = на отур
2c = на отур
3 = на отурны (MASC SG ACC ADJ)
(4) = въ отурны дьнь

Supr 14:23-24 — дошедшемъ же нын на отурн...
Supr 33:26-27 — на отурнъ же придестъ благ поклъ привести...
Supr 42:26-27 — оствроу мы на отурн
Supr 43:24-25 — на отурнъ на рѣчъ тигъстъ да съ обращатъ...
Supr 88:8 — на отурнъ покл...

на единъ часъ

Supr 319:27-28 — и аще и на единъ часъ намъ бъстъ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>35:28-29</td>
<td>магна покелъ и миски на много подцеди</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>451:16-17</td>
<td>... на много подцед гръ́ма</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>134:13-14</td>
<td>депомеме аже сеатзимы на много подцед сиах даєтз</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>403:1</td>
<td>на много подцед екз глаза лежаше</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>5:4 2</td>
<td>Asm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>289:20-21</td>
<td>на всичко кръ́ма добро и спасно поканение држаштиным сър его</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>2b:7-9</td>
<td>аше е лъзд пощати жена свох на всичко кръ́ма</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>5:4 2</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloz</td>
<td>8a:23-24</td>
<td>речено ехи еднох ехимъ на всич арта сиах даєтз</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Only some very old mss. contain this expression— K, B, D; all others have οὐν instead.
2 Many Greek mss. are missing this verse altogether— p66, 75, K, B, C*, D, W8, 1025, 33.
на много времена / на многа времена

Supr 141:20-21 дръжка же такована неутвърдим скръб на много времена
Supr 266:22 ... онътвърд на много времена

на пръво време

Supr 304:17-18 велики гледен разумна на пръвое време

на лъта многа

| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |

на + ADJ + лъто

Supr 41:5-6 къма ком ском оутронеж на другое лъто
Supr 220:17 на лъто се съ местези роди

на пасях

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John 2:23</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>ez</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John 18:39</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Маттей 26:55 Асм Ост Сав Мари З — Мир
Марк 14:49 — — — Мари З Д —
Луки 9:23 Асм Ост — Мари З — —
Луки 19:47 — — — Мари З Д —
Луки 22:53 — Ост — Мари З Д —

Супр 151:12-13 и прихождающих отъ ежеднево къ ньму по всѣ днѣ
Супр 190:29 того ко по всѣ днѣ ожидать
Супр 294:14-15 и по всѣ днѣ наши ныдомъ местъ
Супр 333:3-4 имѣте мечи и . . . и бичеваться по всѣ днѣ смыртѣ
Супр 430:15-16 и по всѣ днѣ . . . прихождающихъ многие къ ньму

Луки 2:41 Асм Ост Сав Мари З Д Мир

Супр 205:2-3 по всѣ днѣ много полагаешь спящему . . .
Супр 314:19 къ по всѣ днѣ дѣло езикаетз
Супр 329:12 по всѣ днѣ глаголетз
Супр 414:12 помните его по всѣ днѣ творашите
Супр 447:29 . . . по каждѣ смотрѣ по всѣ днѣ

Супр 102:11 многих величье твораште по всѣ часѣ
Супр 201:6 по всѣ часѣ жиристь помнішаѣ
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<tr>
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<th>Chapter</th>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>5:5</td>
<td>Asm Ost</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX H

THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

МЕЖДУ СИМЬ

John 4:31 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

прежде шести день пасхи

John 12:1 * * * * * D **

* прежде шести день пасхи

** прежде 7 дня пасхи

428
APPENDIX I

ΚΛ WITH THE DATIVE CASE

κζ τομου (+ negative)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Asm(2x)</td>
<td>Asm(2x)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>никогда</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mar</td>
<td>Mar(2x)</td>
<td>Mar(2x)</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Mar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Supr 143:12 το κζ τομου. Πώς κανές κατασκευή

κζ οι χερέοι

Supr 57:2-3 κζ οι χερέοι χως κατά ταςα δανί

κζ + NUMBER + часоу

Supr 7:13-14 Ποιο είναι κζ θεστούληνή χασού κοιτή κανές κατά ταςα δανί
Supr 328:3-4 Ποιο είναι κατά ταςα δακτύλιο το χασού κατά ταςα δανί
Supr 328:21-22 Κοικία κατά ταςα δακτυλιού κοικία το χασού κατά ταςα δανί

429
# APPENDIX J

THE PREPOSITIONLESS DATIVE

<p>| | | | | | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>λέγει εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην</strong></td>
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APPENDIX K

THE LOCATIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

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431
**КЗ дьячъз дыньъз**

Luke 2:36  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  D —

**КЗ тръкъз дыньъз**

Supr 333:29

**КЗ тръкъз дыньъз**

Supr 430:13-14

**КЗ нощъз**

Luke 21:37 —  INS  —  INS  INS  INS  Mir (2x)

Supr 60:17  приди оуко КЗ нощъз
Supr 334:25-26  и КЗ нощъз то КЗистъз

**Нощъз КЗ нежъе**

Supr 66:16-17  нощъз сълзда ПЕК ЕЗ ИЗИДЕЗ
**ЕЗ ИУРВЯТ**

Mark 11:12 — — — **ez** ez — Mir
+ ACC ADJ + ACC ADJ

**ЕЗ ПОЛУНОШИ**

Mark 13:35 — LOC — Mar LOC LOC LOC LOC

Luke 11:5 LOC LOC LOC LOC LOC LOC Mir

Supr 135:25 **ез полуновшт вмоластвема са**
Supr 139:5-6 по ожечію моластвому са мовоу **ез полоу нощтн**
Supr 184:20 **ез полуновшт пришадюшоу кналую . . .**
Supr 275:20 **ез полоу нощтн же вплиб екіста**

**ЕЗ ЕРЬМЕНЬЯ +ADJECTIVE**

Supr 61:10-11 **ико хвалаштей доєле ухва ез тццнять эрьменех**

**ЕЗ ЕРЬМЕНЬЯ + PERSON**

Supr 17:19 **ез ерьменех сватийть апостолъ . . .**
Supr 100:18-19 госпожда ео мн ез ерьменехъ Гордима цтєдєръ
**EZ ЛЕТДэХ + PERSON**

Supr 50:1  
EZ ЛЕТДэХ ЛИКЙНЭ ЦЭСЭРЭ БЭШЭ ГОНЕИИГ ЕЛИКО . . .

**EZ ЛЕТДэХ + NUMBER**

Supr 212:29-213:1 ИЖЕ ЭЗ ПУСТЗИЙ . . . EZ ЧЭТЭРИЭЗ ДЕСАТЕЭЗ ЛЕТДэХ

**EZ НЕДЗИНИ**

Supr 209:5-6 ПАТЬ ЭЗ НЕДЗИНИ ДЗИНИ НЕ ЫКБЭМ СА ЧИЛОЕКЭБЭЙ . . .
Supr 411:3-4 ДЭШЭДНЭ ЭЗ НЕДЗИНИ ДЕПРИЦЯО ОТЗЭДУЛ

**EZ ЧАСТЭ**

Luke 8:13  
ez  ez  Suu  ez  ez  ez  —  
крээм  крээм  крээм  крээм  крээм  крээм

**+EZ ЧАСТЭ ЭРЭМЕНЭТ**

**EZ МАЛК ЕРЯМЕНИ**

**EZ МАЛК**

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* Ost, Mar and Z all have χερνογού

**EZ СКОРФ**

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<td>Ez СКОРФ начьих искать тебе</td>
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<td>Supr 14:29-30</td>
<td>Ez СКОРФ сбрьтых погоукать и</td>
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ВЗ старости (Сюен)

Luke 1:36 ВЗ ВЗ ВЗ ВЗ ВЗ D ВЗ
+ ACC + ACC + ACC + ACC + ACC + ACC

Вз старости моий

Supr 407:14 тыми ВЗ старости моий зело саткорнез

Вз добръ старости

Supr 37:22 жинъ двер летъ ВЗ добръ старости
Supr 152:24-25 састаръВЗ же слоб добръ старости
Supr 414:1-3 по малъВЗ дневъ жинъ слобъ са ... бляженъ и Маховъ ВЗ старости добръ

Вз взздрастъ юнъ

Supr 404:25 ВЗ взздрастъ юнъ постадиша
**Евреи и эллины**

*Марк 13:35* - **Евреи** - **Евреи** - **Евреи** - **Евреи** - **Дионисий**

+ ACC + ACC + ACC

**Евреи изгнаны из Иерусалима**

*Матфей 1:11* - **Асма**

**Евреи изгнаны из Иерусалима**

*Лука 16:25* - **Асма**

**Евреи и жители**

*Супр. 184:6-7* - Тогда в Скифии жили жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители жители 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на днепр връзки


Supr 128:12 "на днепр връзки съ села към дъха съ домах"

на днепр

Supr 13:22 "молиме сътвори на днепр"
Supr 399:17 "мази съ сърдече на днепр"

на много часъ

Supr 81:26-27 "кричъ вълкъ сътвореша на много часъ"

на годъ

Supr 29:25 "вълкъ на годъ"
На семь житни

Cloz 9a:9-10 Многашти на семь житин пакость теориз еси

На вечери

John 21:20 Asm Ost Sav — — D Mir
по

по идномь днин

Supr 443:3-4 по идномь дни приди съ множествомъ войска

по джено дню

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<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>4:43</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr 142:26-7 по джено же дниню учение царь во всем

Supr 212:3-5 по дено же дниню или по трых ... исхождаше и пещеры

по трэх дненх

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>27:63</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mir(4x)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>8:31</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>теть</td>
<td>теть</td>
<td>теть</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>2:46</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir(2x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr 60:5 по трэх же дненх книг са 

Supr 383:19 по трэх же дненх книг стае 

Supr 212:3-5 по дено же дниню или по трых ... исхождаше и пещеры

440
по шести днём

Matthew 17:1 (εν) — Mar — — — —
Mark 9:2 — — — Mar Z по тому (εν)

по седьмым днём

Supr 5:9-10 по седьмым дням изиде аурелианц

по осмым днём

John 20:26 Asm Ost — Mar — D Mir

по трёх десятёх дня

Supr 341:2-4 ... Христос по трёх десятёх дня въйди въ землі Нерусаінці

по четырёх десятёх днём

Supr 341:6-7 ... по четырёх десятёх дня въйди ...
Cloz 14a:24-26 ... ἔσται ... по четырёх десятёх дня въйди ... въ церкви
Cloz 14a:28-29 ἔσται по ἦ δνεην въйде въ церквины ихь


**Luke 15:13**

- Asm
- Ost
- Sav
- Mar
- Z
- D
- Mir

**Matthew 25:19**

- * (Asm)
- * (Ost)
- * (Sav)
- * (Mar)
- * (Z)
- D (Mir)

---

*Ost, Mar and Z all have here [no <ἐν> κρφμενη], which is a more appropriate correspondence to the Greek: μετὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων.*

---

1 Sav, Mar and Z all have *εν* ιεδος κρφμενη.
пословцем сих


* cf. above

по лёгчес

Mark 2:1 — — — Mar Z — (κα εν)

по малк част

Supr 194:22 по малк част глагола цесарь к клахеноувую

по девятн годин

Matthew 27:46 при при при при при — Mir
+ LOC + LOC + LOC + LOC + LOC

по мисцых

Supr 129:25 и по мисцых мисцых сатвори немоу жизни
по + NUMBER + ЛЕТВХЖ

Supr 7:13-14  конечно премьшою по дебати ЛЕТВХЖ и тринадцати ЛЕТВХЖ...
Supr 273:19  по ЛЕТВХЖ едином отгоните ежели вижны МЦКБ тот
Supr 5317:24  по дебати на десапах ЛЕТВХЖ НИДЕ...

по МНОЗВХЖ ЛЕТВХЖ

Supr 429:22-24  по МНОЗВХЖ же ЛЕТВХЖ превеликий има КЗ коупт и сиюны ежити... а съ клажени АНИКО

по ЛЕТВЮ

Matthew 2:16  АМУ по кръмени по кръмени — — — тогда

по кръмени

Matthew 2:16  по ЛЕТВЮ Ost Sav — — — тогда
Matthew 25:19  Asm  Ost(2x)  PL^2  PL  PL  —  +

(+Mir has here не по ыничээк врэменэ, as listed earlier)

Supr 142:26-27  по врэменэ же дэзэ дэштин... ынчио кьийше

Supr 433:9  по тэээж врэменээз  ойкэдээз Патрикий...

Matthew 27:62  2  1  1  2  2  —  1 & 2

1  по патцэ
2  по параскевынні

2  Sav, Mar and Z all have не по ыничээк врэменээз.
по сжати дня твых

Matthew 24:29  Asm  *  Sav  Mar  Z  —  Mir(2x)**

* сжати едет тогда...
** 1st time has по печати дня твых

по сжати том

Mark 13:24  —  —  —  Mar  Z  D  —

по преселении вавилоны

Matthew 1:12  Asm  Ost  Sav  —  —  —  Mir

по въскрс(пов)еніем его

Matthew 27:53  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  —  Mir(2x)

по христа

John 13:27  —  —  —  Mar  Z  D  —

'after death''

Supr 31:17  по смирить его славьёмшима сгтярн''
Supr 37:29  по смирить же его''
Supr 47:9-10  по съячаннии же христа женынка''
Supr 332:4-5  и по умертвили же хотевших за не дрдокати
Supr 407:1-2  и по съячаннии благодарстве паки съдоста

John 5:4  Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

по взъшении водки

Supr 8:19  по взъшении димолы''

по молите''

Supr 56:15-16  по молите'' къ шестоюшоу часоу хочти и гласъ бысть къ нимъ''
по маль / малю

Supr 232:21 его же по маль хоть взталины
Supr 201:3-4 из по малу зрао ... 

+не по малозъ

| Matthew   | 26:731st | Asm | * | Sav | * | * | — | Mir |
| Mark      | 14:70    | —   | — | —   | — | — | — | —   |

+не по малогоу

| Matthew   | 26:731st | +   | Ost | +   | Mar | Z  | — | +   |
| Mark      | 14:70    | —   | —   | —   | Mar | Z  | — | —   |

+по сихъ (же)

| Mark      | 16:12    | (по хз) | Ost | —   | Mar | Z  | — | Mir |
| Luke      | 5:27     | Δ      | Δ  | —   | Mar | Z  | D | Δ   |
| Luke      | 10:1     | Δ      | —   | —   | Mar | Z  | D | Δ   |
| Luke      | 18:4     | Asm    | Ost | послани | послани | послани D | послани | D | послани |
| John      | 3:22     | Δ      | Δ  | —   | Mar | —  | * | (едва) |
| John      | 5:1      | Δ      | Δ  | —   | Mar | Z  | D | Δ   |
| John      | 6:1      | Asm    | Ost | —   | Mar | Z  | D | Mir |
| John      | 7:1      | Δ      | Δ  | —   | Mar | —  | Δ | Δ   |
| John      | 13:7     | Asm(2х) | Ost(2х) | Sav | Mar | Z  | D | Mir |
| John      | 19:38    | Δ      | Δ  | —   | Mar | Z  | D | Δ   |

Supr 29:5 по сихъ послани ауринных покол...
### *По сему*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Δ</th>
<th>Δ</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tr>
<td>John 2:12</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 3:22</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>John 11:11</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 19:28</td>
<td>Ск</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ск</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 21:1</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Δ</td>
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### *По томъ*

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<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark 9:2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark 16:12</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 8:12</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 5:14</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 13:5</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir(3x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 19:27</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John 19:28</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Mir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Δ in all of these verse, the *Aprakoi* have ΕΧΩ instead of ΠΟΣΗ (ЖЕ), et al.

### ПОСЛЕЖДЕ ВСѢХЪ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Слова</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr 8:17</td>
<td>по томъ приготовляетъ ся на дрѢкъ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 10:1-2</td>
<td>по томъ по всѣмъ тѢламъ прижати</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 12:12</td>
<td>по томъ же придѣлѣ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 111:4-7</td>
<td>по томъ же малѣ дѣйстви нискити ... пришедшъ</td>
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### ПОСЛѢЖДЕ БѢСѢХЪ

<table>
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<th>Segment</th>
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<th>Слова</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supr 6:23</td>
<td>послѣжде же всѣхъ суда человѣка ...</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ПРИ</td>
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<tr>
<td>при + PERSON</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|---|-----|

Supr 108:10-12 ἔπειτα ἦν καὶ συνέζητε σπάταις Πισινί ... при нах церкви

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ПРИ ДЕВЯТКИ ГОДИНИ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Matthew | 27:46 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | по + LOC |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ПРИ ЧЕТВЪРТКИ СТРАЖИ НОШТЪНКИ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Mark | 6:48 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ПРИ ВЕЧЕРК</th>
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</thead>
</table>


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## APPENDIX L

### THE GENITIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

**Отъ**

**Отъ того дня**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>22:46</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>11:53</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supr 43:26-28 **отъ того**

**Отъ днешняго дня**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Supr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>210:14-15</td>
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</table>

**отъ днешняго дня**

Supr 148:4-5 **и ко отъ днешняго дня поклею низ местъ**

Supr 210:14-15 **из отъ днешняго дня да ильчить**

**отъ днеги же иоанна кръла**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>11:12</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

451
от того часа

Matthew 9:22  Asm   Ost   Sav   Mar   Z   —   Mir
Matthew 17:18  LOC   LOC   Sav   LOC   —   —   LOC
John 19:27  Asm(3x) Ost(3x) Sav(2x) Mar   Z   D   Mir

ота часа дебатаого

Supr 43:26-28  смотрим же шествие ... ота часа дебатаого до света

ота шестцйа години

Matthew 27:45  Asm   Ost   Sav   Mar   Z   —   Mir(2x)

ота многоа крьмена

Luke 23:8   —   —   —   Mar   (SG)*   (SG)*   Mir

* ота многоа крьмене

ота арта

Supr 31:9-10  иже ... присемат ота арта на светах и славных память
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tr>
<td>Luke 8</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>12b:7-8</td>
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<td>Cloz</td>
<td>12b:32-34</td>
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<td>John 9</td>
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</table>
отца рода

Supr 238:10 «отца рода»

отца юности моем

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Luke</th>
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<tr>
<td>Verse</td>
<td>19:20(^1)</td>
<td>10:20</td>
<td>18:21</td>
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<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
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<td>Manuscripts</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

отца младенства / млада ездракта

Supr 163:24 «отца младенства ездракта»

Supr 428:9 «отца млада ео ездракта»

отца девствка своего

Luke 2:36 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z D —

\(^1\) Not all Greek mss. contain a temporal expression in this verse—only \(\mathcal{N}\), C, D, W, \(f^{13}\), M.
### ОТЗ НАЧАЛА ВСЕГО МИРА

| Матфей | 24:21 | Асм | Ост | Ств | Мар | З | — | МиР*
| 1st time has | ὧν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ζηλωσεν | * 2nd time has | ὧν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου |

### ОТЗ НАЧАЛА ЗДАНИЯ

| Марк | 13:19 | — | — | — | Мар | З | Д | — |

### ОТЗ + PERSON

| Матфей | 1:17₁ | Асм | Ост | Ств | Мар | — | — | МиР
| Матфей | 1:17₃ | Асм | Ост | Ств | Мар | — | — | МиР

### ОТЗ ПРЕСЕЛЕНИЙ ВАВИЛОНСКАГО

| Матфей | 1:17₅ | Асм | Ост | Ств | Мар | — | — | МиР

### ОТЗ СЕГО

| Иоанн | 6:66 | Асм | Ост | — | Мар | З | Д | МиР

Not all Greek mss. contain a temporal expression in this verse—only Α, Θ, Ψ, f1,13, m.
None of the major Greek mss. contain a temporal expression in this verse—\( \mathbf{N}^{*}, \) A, C\(^3\), D, \( f^1\), M.
СБ

СБ ВЕЧЕРА

Supr 25:22  СБ ВЕЧЕРА нажmite...
НЗБ

НЗБ отрочинцы

Mark 9:21  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  —  Mir

НЗБ юности моем

Luke 18:21  отъ  Ost  отъ  Mar  Z  отъ  —
+ GEN  + GEN  + GEN

НЗ дя́тска вздравста

Supr 23:10  сяте таин твор НЗ дя́тска вздравста...

НЗ дя́тци връщци

Supr 184:23-185:1  мрже НЗ дя́тци връщци чести навзвикова
### ИСКОНМ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mir</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 19:4</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 19:8</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 1:2</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 1:1</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 1:2/3</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 6:64</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 8:44</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<td>John 15:27</td>
<td>Asm</td>
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Supr 12:28-29  ИСКОНМ  НАПИСАНЫH  ИСПЕЦИЗ

### АСПРЫВА

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<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>John 6:64</td>
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<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 8:44</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>John 16:4</td>
<td>Asm</td>
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<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir(2x)</td>
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Supr 30:26-27  ЕЖЕ НА ЧЛОВЕКЗИ ВЗИТИ ИСПРЫВА
Supr 112:1  ИСПРЫВА НИТЕНЗИВ ОТЗ ЕАШЕМ ВЛАСТК
Supr 254:16  ИСПРЫВА КЪ СЛОКО
Supr 288:25-26  ТЗИ ИСПРЫВА АДАМОУ ЕЗ ПОРОДК ЕЗЗАКИДК
Supr 364:10  ИСПРЫВА СЕТКРМИХ КОГЗ НЕКО И ЗЕМЗК

Cloz 1a:18-19  КАКО ИСПРЫВА ГЛЕЙТ ПРОТИВЛЕНЬЕ ВАШЕ
Cloz 10b:33-34  ИСПРЫВА КРЕСТЯ ОСЖДЕНЗИУЗ НАЧАТЯ СВОБОДК ДАВТИ

### ИЗДАВНЯ

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<th>Scripture</th>
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5 Asm has ИСПРЫВА [sic-SF] added in in smaller letters.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Строки</th>
<th>Ашм</th>
<th>Ост</th>
<th>Сав</th>
<th>Мар</th>
<th>Ж</th>
<th>Мир</th>
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<td>Ж</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>Мар</td>
<td>Ж</td>
<td>Д</td>
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<td>Матфей 27:8</td>
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<td>Ост(2х)</td>
<td>Сав</td>
<td>Мар</td>
<td>Ж</td>
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<td>Матфей 28:15</td>
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<td>Ост</td>
<td>Сав</td>
<td>Мар</td>
<td>Ж</td>
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**До сего дня**

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<th>Ж</th>
<th>Мир</th>
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<td>Матфей 11:23</td>
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<td>Мар</td>
<td>Ж</td>
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<tr>
<td>Супрун 25:19-21</td>
<td>Сии же глас до днесьского дня...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Супрун 38:22-23</td>
<td>Сить до днесьского</td>
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До 461
ДО ДНЯЕСЬ

Supr 420:26 оттого до денье...  
Supr 314:21-22 ...речень ва их трпепех ва црквяхвах оттого до денье...

ДО ТРЕТЬЕГО ДНЯЕ

Matthew 27:64 Asm Ost — Mar Z — Mir  
Supr 338:18-19 и до третьего дняе покеъвъма оутрыти

ДО ДНЯЕ АПЕЛЕНЯ СВОЕГО

Luke 1:80 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

ДО НЕГО ЖЕ ДНЯЕ

Matthew 24:38 Asm(2x) Ost(2x) Sav Mar Z — Mir  
Luke 1:20 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z D Mir  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Luke</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mir</th>
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<tr>
<td>27:45</td>
<td>15:33</td>
<td>23:44</td>
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### до девятнадцати Години

### до шестого часа

Supr  326:29-327:1  се до шестого часа твори са

### до полудня

Supr  51:20  номи до полудня

### до време + genitive

Supr  19:16  до време именния евоу съхраня

### до време


Matthew 1:17  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  —  —  Mir
Matthew 1:174 Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  —  —  Mir
Matthew 11:13 Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  —  —  Mir

Matthew 2:15  Asm  Ost  Sav  —  —  —  Mir

Matthew 13:30  Asm  Ost  —  Mar  Z  —  Mir

Matthew 28:20  Asm  Ost  Sav  Mar  Z  —  Mir
до света

Supr 43:26-28  схватришь же шествие ... от часа деплтаго до света
Supr 51:25-26  ... престиша до света
Supr 191:14-15  ... останнеше и тоу до света

dо исчезновения

Supr 126:29-127:1  дохи и до исчезновения

dо пришествия

Supr 314:21-22  ... реченько въ них трепезъ въ црыкхахъ отъ того до днесь и
dо пришествию иху

dо + NUMBER крат

Matthew 18:21  —  —  —  —  Mar  —  —  —  —  —
Matthew 18:221  —  —  —  —  Mar  —  —  —  —  —
Matthew 18:222  —  —  —  —  Mar  —  —  —  —  —
Matthew 18:21  до седьм крат
Matthew 18:221  до седьм крат
Matthew 18:222  до седьм десятк крат
ДО КОНЬЯА

<table>
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<th>Verse</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost(2x)</th>
<th>Sav(2x)</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Mir</th>
<th>Mir(2x)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 10:22</td>
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<td>Matthew 24:13</td>
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<td>Mir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark 13:13</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke 18:5</td>
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<tr>
<td>John 13:1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</table>

Supr 51:23-24       | из нже сътрьпита до коньца |
Supr 86:9           | и покъдя дожни до коньца |
Supr 151:4-5        | дожни до коньца жизн имь вмъ |
Supr 198:26         | дожни до коньца |
Cloz 1a:18-19       | постиже же из них гнъз до коньца |

ДО СЕГО

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Testament Book</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
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<td>Luke 22:51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloz 1a:15-16</td>
<td>и не до сего же доколя нмште</td>
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ДО НЗИКШЪНЬГО

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<th>Verse</th>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 30:29</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>се же до нзикшънъго схраненъ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr 94:12-13</td>
<td>и до нзикшънъго имъти наyouri память оучения его</td>
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<td>Supr 97:16-17</td>
<td>до нзикшънъго послушавства оужшту езивпой на нен...</td>
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</table>
Matthew 24:21 — — — — — — (2nd time)*
Mark 13:19 — — — Mar Z D —

* see below: до селч

до селч (толк)

Matthew 11:12 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z — Mir
Matthew 24:21 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z — (1st time)
John 2:10 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir
John 5:17 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir
John 16:24 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z D 6 Mir

Supr 22:21 Осматришее ма до селч...
Supr 93:5-6 Не уско бъше до толк емкълс агъела

до колк

Matthew 17:171 Asm Ost Sav Mar — — Mir
Matthew 17:172 Asm Ost Sav Mar — — Mir
Mark 9:191 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z D Mir
Mark 9:192 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z — Mir
John 10:24 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

6 D has до added in margin.
ДО КОЯ, СОКТ

<table>
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<th>2:3-4</th>
<th>ДО КОЯ ДОСАДАЕШИ НЕ СОМАЩА СА</th>
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<td>Supr</td>
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<td>ДО КОЯ ХОУЛЗИ ГЛАГОЛЕШИ ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
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<td>ДО КОЯ ОУКАРАЕШИ</td>
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<td>24:23-24</td>
<td>ДО КОЯ ПРЕКИЗАЕТЕ ЕЗЕ ГЕСОУНИ</td>
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ДОАНЬДЕЖД

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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>14:22</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>24:34</td>
<td>Asm Ost Sav Mar Z</td>
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<td>Matthew</td>
<td>26:36</td>
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<td>13:38</td>
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Supr 28:28 ... ДОАНьДЕЖЕ ДОКОУША МЕСТА

7 Only the Greek ms. D has a temporal expression here—έφ οὖν.
8 Only a few Greek mss. have a prepositional temporal expression here—ἐγώ ὀνομάζων in D and ἐγώ ὀνομάζων in K and 1241; all the other mss. have a conjunction: either ἐγώ—N, B, L, T, Θ, f̅ 13, 892—or πρὸς —A, Q, W, Θ, f̅ 1, M.
9 Sav has ДОАНьДЕЖЕ added in by a later hand.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Сурат</th>
<th>Использования</th>
<th>Текст</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 22:27</td>
<td>Не иматъ докти икста до четъръ дъни</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 129:11-12</td>
<td>Того ради не въниде до три дъни</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 160:1-2</td>
<td>Келъждоу же оставеною кзиквоу тоу до четъръ дъни</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 162:3-4</td>
<td>Сътвори же козисц... до другиыхъ пати дъни</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 8:26</td>
<td>Пил съл апостоиз! до четъръ десата дъни</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 11:5-6</td>
<td>И сице теоръахже до седъмн дъни и ношти!</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Дъни и Ношти</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 148:6-8</td>
<td>До докол ни до трии часа... лвъжк ржкк кз огню прида въ тръпьваше</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Часи</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 148:6-8</td>
<td>Такого же аркаги до четъръ десата лътка правържкияхъ</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Лътка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сурана 211:12-13</td>
<td>Разък кх служаштвоууомоу жиюу до четъръ лътка</td>
<td>до NUMBER + Лътка</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ПРЪЖДЕ

ПРЪЖДЕ НЕ ЕЗИСТЪ МИРЪ

John 17:5 Asm Ost(2x) Sav10 Mar Z — Mir(2x)

ПРЪЖДЕ ШЕСТИ ДЬНЪ ПАСЪХА!

John 12:1 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z * **

* ПРЪЖДЕ ШЕСТИ ДЕНЬ ПАСХА!

** ПРЪЖДЕ ТРЪНИ ДЪНЪ ПАСХА!

ПРЪЖДЕ + NUMBER + ДЪНЬ

Supr 94:19  * ПЪЙНИ ИЗ ЕДНОГО ДНЯ ВЫНЯДИ СА РОДИ . . .
Supr 127:27-28 * ПРОУКЪДЯХ ПРЪЖДЕ ТРИ ДЪНИ СЪКИЧАНИЕ СКОЕ

10 This verse also occurs twice in Sav; the first occurrence has instead:

ПРЪЖДЕ ЕЗИСТЪ СВЕТЪ МИРЪ О ТЕБЪ.

The second occurrence has the expected ПРЪЖДЕ НЕ ЕЗИСТЪ МИРЪ.

470
прьжде + DATE + марта

Supr 61:1 ... прьжде четырь месяцев марта ... 
Supr 61:2 ... прьжде в день марта ... 

прьжде время

Matthew 8:29 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z — —

Supr 304:23-24 прьжде того времени прьжде того часа придет Величества
Supr 430:28-29 прьжде времени приготовьше в ученикъ ском на молитвъ

прьжде мала время

Supr 342:26-27 омрачашааго сънче (sic) прьжде мала время

прьжде того часа

Supr 304:23-24 прьжде того времени прьжде того часа придет Величества
прежде праздника пасх

John 13:1 — Ost(2x) Sav Mar Z D —

прежде пасх

John 11:55 — — — Mar Z D —

прежде век / века

Supr 124:17-19 оставили живаого... отрока исуна христа... прежде век
Supr 177:6 прежде века роди са
Supr 357:11 прежде века суготови са

прежде сих

пръжде мена

John 5:7 Asm Ost — Mar Z D Mir

(Кр дъни) пръжде потопа

Matthew 24:38 Asm(2x) Ost(2x) * Mar Z — Mir

* пръжде Кр дъни потопа

пръжде съложение мира

John 17:24 Asm Ost Sav Mar Z — Mir(2x)

пръжде К'заз1

Supr 114:1 Исповъзкъз дъво по коли пръжде К'заз1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Статья</th>
<th>Раздел</th>
<th>Версия</th>
<th>Версия</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>20:1</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>13:35</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>16:2</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>16:9</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>18:28</td>
<td>Asm(2x)</td>
<td>Ost(2x)</td>
<td>Sav(2x)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>20:1</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost(2x)</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>23:17-18</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>137:11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supr</td>
<td>257:3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**За утром**

Supr 23:17-18 ... варгн на дропгзя дькм Заутра Квстаз ... 
Supr 137:11 и Квстаз Заутра рано 
Supr 257:3 Заутра рече Квходом к2 града Ісоус

**За рока**

Supr 38:23 открагошон са За рока йшоу кеси

**За прьва**

Supr 29:5 по неже его За прьва не послушаша 
Supr 64:25-26 За прьва овуко льштш'ше иха ласканина ... 
Supr 66:22 За прьва кесе оснинетк 
Supr 382:5 ... окзчам За прьва себ' устромыш 

474
ВЪ

ВЪ СЕГО ДЬНЕ

Supr 319:26-27  ВЪ СЕГО ДЬНЕ ЖИЗНИ ИСПАНИ ДѢЛЮ

ВЪ СЕГО ЖИТИЯ

Supr 52:19-10  ДРУЖИНА БЗИХОМЪ ВЪ МАЛОВѢМѢННѢГО СЕГО ЖИТИЯ
Supr 397:19-10  И ВЪ МАЛОВѢМѢННѢГО СЕГО ЖИТИЯ 11 СОУКѢТѢ НАГО ОТКЪЕРѢГЪ СѢМь
Supr 427:5  ВЪ СЕГО БЛАГѢАГО ЖИТИЯ ОУГОДѢЮ ЕООѢКѢ КРОТОСТЬ

11 This particular edition actually shows сѣмь малоевѣменнаго сего житія here, which I believe is either a typographical error or a conscious change on the part of the editor of the publication; cf. the discussion on this subject in Chapter 10.
APPENDIX M
ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

** Последы **

| Matthew  | 4:2 | Asm | Ost | Sav | — | — | — | — |
| Matthew  | 21:29 | — | — | — | Mar | — | — | — |
| Matthew  | 21:32 | — | — | — | Mar | — | — | — |
| Matthew  | 21:37 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew  | 25:11 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew  | 26:60 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Mark     | 16:14 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | — | D | Mir |
| Luke     | 18:4 | по сих | по сих | Sav | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| John     | 13:36 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | Mir |

** Прежде **

| Matthew  | 5:24 | — | — | — | Mar | Z | — | Mir |
| Matthew  | 6:33 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | — | — |
| Matthew  | 13:30 | Asm | дремлю | — | прые | прые | — | прые |
| Mark     | 16:9 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | — |
| John     | 6:62 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John     | 7:51 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | Mir |
| John     | 12:16 | Asm | Ost | Sav | Mar | Z | D | — |
| John     | 19:39 | Asm | Ost | — | Mar | Z | D | — |

476
пръжде, con't

Supr 10:19-20 пръжде повелъкъ към чистотоумието духовно отити
Supr 145:20-21 иже акне пръжде къ пръжде нареченъ градъ
Supr 180:12-13 се ко пророкъ пръжде издаде и прогласи
Supr 266:21-22 пръжде езики в този тагда уччи
Supr 342:26-27 егоже видъхъ Адамъ създанъ въ пръжде
Cloz 1b:34-35 премъхъ пръжде елико отъ къ класть пръежде
cloz 9a:26-27 створи духъ пръжде

първо / пръдъе

Matthew 13:30 пръжде древие — Mar Z — (първо)

Supr 13:28-29 къто пръдъе прокосновъ съ към невою
Supr 43:25 . . . иже и пръдъе въшла
Supr 108:6-7 края же емоу ако то пръдъе градъхъштъ съставше съ
Supr 174:20 пръдъе езики въ този пърти съ cf. <
Supr 183:13-14 тоу пръдъе крачъ езики прилагаеътъ
cloz 1a:2-3 и покажи градъ и към славъ пръдъе на миръцъ
cloz 1b:4-5 пръжде кратко младистъ жениш
Cloz 11b:32-34 потягъ кърекъ и скоро испокходъ поръжде пръжде и пръжде
съ вънчавъ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matthew 26:42</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>INS</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>INS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mark 14:72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 3:4</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>INS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 9:24</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John 21:16</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>INS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**КЗТОРОК**

**ТРЕТИМЕХ**

|        | Matthew 26:44 | INS | Ost | INS | INS | INS | — | INS |
|        | John 21:17_1 | INS | Ost | Sav | —   | INS | INS | INS |
|        | John 21:17_2 | INS | Ost | Sav | —   | INS | INS | INS |

**ЧЕТВОРО**

|        | Supr 91:9     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|        | Supr 266:8-9 |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |

**СЕДМОРО**

|        | Supr 266:7-8 |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
### Мало

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Маль</th>
<th>13:33</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Mir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Маль</td>
<td>14:19</td>
<td>Asm</td>
<td>Ost</td>
<td>Sav</td>
<td>Mar</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Mir(2x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Supr | 189:7 | Мже малъ ножь гушиаета |

### Норэз

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Матфея</th>
<th>26:29</th>
<th>Asm</th>
<th>Ost</th>
<th>Sav</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>Mir</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Марк</td>
<td>14:25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>(норэз)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Supr | 388:13 | ть це норэз вон и господь прец аткэ вь копыл вь норэз |
APPENDIX N
GREEK PREPOSITIONLESS DATIVE


tῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

Matthew 16:21 17:23 20:19
Mark 10:34
John 2:1


tῇ τρίτῃ

Luke 13:32


tῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ

Luke 9:37


tῇ ἐρχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ

Luke 13:33


tῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

John 6:39 6:40 6:44 6:54

480
πολλὴ ἡμέρᾳ

Matthew 24:42

Luke 17:29 17:30

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ


τῇ ἐπαύριον

Matthew 27:62
Mark 11:12
John 1:29 1:35 1:43 6:22 12:12

τῇ πρώτῃ [ἡμέρᾳ] (τῶν ἁδύμων)

Matthew 26:17
Mark 14:12

τῇ μεθ [ἡμέρᾳ] (τῶν σαββάτων)

Mark 16:2
Luke 24:1
John 20:1

1 Some mss. have here πολλὴ ὃρᾳ (K, L, 1241, M).


τὴν ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τὴν μια (σαββάτων)

John 20:19

τὴν πρώτη [ἡμέρα] (σαββάτου)

Mark 16:9

τὴν ἡμέρα (τοῦ σαββάτου)


πάσας ταῖς ἡμέραις

Luke 1:75

σαββάτω

Matthew 24:202
Luke 14:1

τῶν σαββάτων


---

2 Some mss. have the GEN here (D, L); perhaps because they follow the GEN λέγεινος.
Matthew 12:1 12:5 12:10 12:11 12:12
Mark 1:21 2:24 3:2 3:4
Luke 6:2

Luke 1:10 14:17

Luke 2:38 24:33

John 4:53

Matthew 24:42\(^3\)
Luke 12:39

Matthew 24:44
Luke 12:40

\(^3\) The preferred reading here is with πολύ ᾠράς; only some mss. have here ποιά ᾠράς (K. L. 1241, M).
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>15:34</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τῷ καιρῷ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>12:2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>καιρῷ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>20:10</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>14:30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>12:20  17:34</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>14:25</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ποίᾳ φυλακῇ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>24:43</td>
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</table>
χρόνῳ ἴκανῷ

Luke 3:1 8:27

τοσσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ

John 14:9

πολλοῖς χρόνοις

Luke 8:29

τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν

John 2:20

τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ

Matthew 28:1

τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα

Luke 2:41

---

4 Only some mss. have the DAT here—P75vid, א*.2, B, L, א, (f'), 33, 1241; D has ἀνό + GEN; but many mss. have ἐκ + GEN instead—א, R, W, א, 0135, f1, M.
APPENDIX O

GREEK ΕΝ + DATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Matthew</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Luke</th>
<th>John</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7:22</td>
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<td>6:23</td>
<td>5:9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13:1</td>
<td>4:35</td>
<td>10:12</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Luke</th>
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</table>

Some mss. have here ἐν ταύτῃ / αὕτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐρα (P75, A, B*, D, L, f13).
év tῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>7:37</th>
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<th>12:48</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
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év ἡμέρας ἥ

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<td>Matthew</td>
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<td>Luke</td>
<td>12:46</td>
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<td>John</td>
<td>9:14</td>
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év μαύρα (τῶν ἡμέρας)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5:17</th>
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év τῆς ἡμέρας (τῶν σαββάτων)

<table>
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év τῆς ἡμέρας

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11:29</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
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év τῆς ἡμέρας + GEN phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

---

2 The time phrase is omitted from a few mss.: (P75, B, D).
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ (τοῦ σαββάτου)

Luke 14:5

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρύστεως

Matthew 10:15 11:22 11:24 12:36
Mark 6:11

ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις

Matthew 3:1 24:19 24:38
Mark 1:9 13:17 13:24

ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις

Mark 8:1

ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς

Luke 2:36

ἐν ἡμέραις + GEN phrase

Matthew 2:1

---

3 The time phrase is included in a only a few mss., inc. M.
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις + GEN phrase

Matthew  23:30  24:38

ἐν αὐταῖς

Luke      13:14

ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς

Luke      1:25

ἐν αἷς


ἐν τρεῖσιν ἡμέραις

Matthew  27:40
Mark      15:29
John      2:19  2:20

ἐν (τῷ / τῇ) ἐξῆς

Luke      7:11
ἐν σαββάτῳ
Matthew 12:2
Luke 6:1
John 5:16 7:22 7:23(2x)

ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ
Luke 6:9
John 19:31

ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ
Luke 6:6

ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν
Mark 2:23

ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί
Matthew 26:31 26:34

ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί
John 21:3
ἐν τῇ νυκτί

John 11:10

ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνη

Matthew 8:13 10:19 18:1 26:55
Mark 13:11
Luke 7:21

ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ ὥρᾳ


ἐν ὥρᾳ τῇ

Matthew 24:50
Luke 12:46

ἐν τῇ

John 4:52 4:53 5:28

ἐν καιρῷ

Matthew 24:45
Luke 12:42

\textsuperscript{4} Some mss. have here ἐν ταύτῃ / αὐτῷ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (B¹, W, T, Ψ, 070, M).
εν ἐκείνω τῷ καιρῷ

Matthew 11:25 12:1 14:1

εν τοῖς καιροῖς (αὐτῶν)

Matthew 21:41
ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι

Matthew 12:32

ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχόμενῳ

Mark 10:30
Luke 18:30

ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι [αἰῶνι]

Matthew 12:32

ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἐκτῷ

Luke 1:26

ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ (τῆς ἡγεμονίας)

Luke 3:1

ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ [φυλακῇ]

Luke 12:38

ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ

Luke 12:38
ἐν ἀρχῇ

John 1:1 1:2/3

ἐν τῷ πάσχα

John 2:23 18:39

ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ

John 4:31

ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ (τοῦ αὐτοῦ τούτου)

Matthew 13:40 13:48

ἐν γῇρει αὐτῆς

Luke 1:6
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<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ ἐορτῷ is omitted in B.
John 4:27

ἐπὶ τούτῳ
APPENDIX P
GREEK PREPOSITIONLESS ACCUSATIVE

thn hemeran
Matthew 20:2  25:13
John   8:56

dilen thn hemeran
Matthew 20:6

mian twv hemerwn
Luke 17:22

ekewn thn hemeran
John  1:39

vukta kai hemeran
Mark  4:27
Luke  2:37

os hemeras
John  4:40  11:6

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τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος

Luke 13:8

tοσαῦτα ἔτη

Luke 15:29

τρία ἔτη


ἐπτὰ ἔτη

Luke 2:36

δώδεκα ἔτη

Matthew 9:20
Mark 5:25

dέκα [καὶ] ὀκτώ ἔτη


τριάκοσια [καὶ] ὀκτώ ἔτη

John 5:5

πεντήκοσια ἔτη

John 8:57
τὸν καλὸν τούτον

Luke 12:56

tὸν καλὸν + GEN PHRASE

Luke 19:44

 ?>& οἶκον χρόνων

Mark 2:19

tοσοσοῦτον χρόνων

John 14:9

πολὺν χρόνων

John 5:6

μικρὸν χρόνων

John 7:33 12:35

---

1 Only occurs in a handful of mss.: P66, A, B, Θ, Ψ, /, M.
APPENDIX Q
GREEK ACCUSATIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

ΕΙΣ

eis tēn ἡμέραν

John 12:7

Matthew 28:1
eis mēn sabbatōn

Matthew 6:34
eis tôn aúroun

Luke 1:20
eis tôn kairoûn aútōn

Luke 12:19
eis ētē pollla


εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

Matthew
Mark
John

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

Matthew
Luke

εἰς τέλος

Matthew
Mark
Luke
John

εἰς τὸ πανταλές

Luke

---

1 Only one Greek ms. (1253) has a temporal expression here.
ΕΠΙ

ἐπὶ ἐτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἔξ

Luke 4:25²

ἐπὶ χρόνον

Luke 18:4

ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον

Luke 10:35

ἐφ' ὅσον

Matthew 9:15
Mark 2:19³

---

² Three Greek mss. omit the preposition ἐπὶ here (B, D and 1241)
³ Only one Greek ms. (D) has a temporal expression here.

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ΚΑΤΑ

καθ' ἡμέραν

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κατ' ἐτος

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κατὰ τὸν χρόνον

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ΜΕΤΑ

μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας

Matthew  26:2
Mark       14:1
John       4:43

μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας

Matthew  27:63
Mark       8:31  9:31  10:34
Luke       2:46

μετὰ ἡμέρας έξ

Matthew  17:1
Mark       9:2

μετὰ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ

John       20:26

μετὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας

Luke       1:24

μετὰ οὖ πολλὰς ἡμέρας

Luke       15:13

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μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον

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μετὰ μικρὸν

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μετὰ βραχὺ

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μετὰ ταῦτα

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μετὰ ταῦτα

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μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν

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μετὰ τὴν μετοίκεσιάν

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μετὰ τὴν ἐξέρησιν αὐτοῦ
Matthew 27:53

μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν
Matthew 27:62

μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους
Luke 9:28

μετὰ τὸ ψωμίν
John 13:27

μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι
Luke 12:5
ΠΕΡΙ

περὶ (τῆν) τρίτην ώραν

Matthew 20:3

περὶ ἑκτῆν καὶ ἑνάτην ώραν

Matthew 20:5

περὶ τὴν ἑνάτην ώραν

Matthew 27:46

περὶ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην ώραν

Matthew 20:6 20:9

περὶ τετάρτην φυλακῆν

Mark 6:48
ΠΡΟΣ

πρὸς καὶράν

Luke 8:13

πρὸς ὕραν

John 5:35

πρὸς ἐσπέραν

Lk 24:29

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APPENDIX R
GREEK PREPOSITIONLESS GENITIVE

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<td>Luke</td>
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μέσης νυκτός

Matthew 25:6

μεσονυκτίου

Luke 11:5

(δύο) τοῦ σαββάτου

Luke 18:12

ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου

John 19:31

σαββάτων

Matthew 28:1

χειμῶνος

Matthew 24:20
Mark 13:18

τοῦ ἐνναυτοῦ ἐκείνου

John 11:49 11:51 18:13
έτων δώδεκα

Luke 2:42 8:42

έτων τριάκοντα

Luke 3:23

άλεκτροφωνίας

Mark 13:35
APPENDIX S
GREEK GENITIVE CASE WITH PREPOSITIONS

ΑΠΟ

ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας
Matthew 22:46
John 11:53

ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ
Matthew 11:12

ἀπὸ ἑτῶν δώδεκα
Luke 8:43

ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας
John 19:27

ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης
Matthew 9:22 15:28 17:18
Matthew 27:45

λάθος ἐκτῆς ὑπασ

Luke 14:18

ἀπὸ μιᾶς

Matthew 23:39 26:29
John 1:51 13:19 14:7

ἀπὸ τότε

Matthew 4:17 16:21 26:16

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν

John 8:11

ἀπὸ τοῦ

Mark 9:21

1 Only in three mss.—N, j[1, 3], 1424.
Δπ' ἀρχῆς
Matthew 19:4 19:8
Luke 1:2
John 8:44 15:27

Δπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου
Matthew 24:21

Δπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως
Mark 13:19

ἀπὸ τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῆς
Luke 2:36

ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος
Matthew 1:17

ἀπὸ + PERSON
Matthew 1:17(2x)

ἀπὸ δυνατοῦς
Matthew 2:16
Matthew 24:38  
Luke 17:27

Luke 1:20

Luke 4:13

Luke 21:24

517
ΔΙΑ

δι᾽ ἡμερῶν

Mark 2:1

διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν

Matthew 26:61
Mark 14:58

διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας

Mark 5:5

δι᾽ θλήσεως νυκτὸς

Luke 5:5
ΕΚ

ἐξ ἀρχῆς

John 6:64 16:4

ἐκ γενετῆς

John 9:1

ἐκ παιδιόθεν

Mark 9:21

ἐκ νεότητος (μου)

Matthew 19:20\(^2\)
Mark 10:20
Luke 18:21

ἐκ δεύτερου

Matthew 26:42
Mark 14:72
John 9:24

ἐκ τρίτου

Matthew 26:44

\(^2\) Not all Greek mss. contain a temporal expression in this verse—only \(\text{א}^2\), C, D, W, f\(^1\), M.
Although many mss. have ἐκ + GEN here—א*1, א, ר, ו, ת, פ, 0135, f13, M; some mss. have the DAT instead—P75vid, א*2, ב, ל, ג, (f1), 33, 1241; and D has ἀνά + GEN.

Only some Greek mss. contain ἐκ οὖ here—א*2, ב, ל, ד, ת, פ, 33, 565, 892, 1241. A few have ἀπ' οὖ—א, f13, 1424; none of the major Greek mss. contain a temporal expression in this verse—א*2, א, כ, ד, f1, M.
ΕΠΙ

ἐπὶ + PERSON

Luke  3:2  4:27

ἐπὶ τῆς μετακεισῆς Βαβυλῶνος

Matthew  1:11

ἐφ’ ὅσου

Matthew  9:15
Luke  5:45

5 Only in D.
ΕΩΣ

ἐως τῆς ἡμέρας έκείνης

Matthew 26:29
Mark 14:25

ἐως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ

Luke 1:80

ἐως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας

Matthew 27:64

ἐως ἕρας ἐνάτης

Matthew 27:45
Mark 15:33
Luke 23:44

ἐως τούτου

Luke 22:51

ἐως τῆς σήμερον

Matthew 27:8

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6 Only a few Greek mss. have a prepositional temporal expression here—ἐῶς ὅτου in D and ἐῶς οὗ in K and 1241; all the other mss. have a conjunction: either ἐῶς in Ξ, B, L, T, ℞, f1,3 892—or πρὶν in A, (Q), W, ℞, f1, M.
ἐὼς τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρῴδου
Matthew 2:15

ἐὼς τοῦ θερισμοῦ
Matthew 13:30

ἐὼς τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος
Matthew 28:20

ἐὼς τῆς μετακεσίας Βαβυλὼνος
Matthew 1:17

ἐὼς + PERSON
Matthew 1:17 11:13

ἐὼς ἐτῶν ὁρισθέντα τεσσάρων
Luke 2:37

ἐὼς ἐπτάκις
Matthew 18:21 18:22

ἐὼς ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά
Matthew 18:22
ΜΕΧΡΙ(Σ)

μέχρι τῆς σήμερου

Matthew 11:23 28:15

μέχρις οὖ

Mark 13:30
ΠΡΟ

πρὶν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ

Matthew 24:38

πρὸ δὲ τούτων πάντων

Luke 21:12

πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα

John 11:55

πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα

John 12:1

πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα

John 13:1

πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου

John 17:5

πρὸ τοῦ τῶν κόσμων εἶναι

John 17:5

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πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

John 17:24

πρὸ καιροῦ

Matthew 8:29

πρὸ ἐμοῦ

John 5:7
APPENDIX T
GREEK ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

πρῶς

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ὁψὲ

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σήμερον

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αὔριον

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\[\text{Σήμερον} \] only occurs in a handful of mss. in this phrase, inc. M.
έξθες

John 4:52

μεσονύκτιον

Mark 13:35

μικρῶν

John 13:33 14:19 16:16(2x) 16:17(2x) 16:19(2x)

νῦστερον

Mark 16:14
John 13:36

έννυχα

Mark 1:35

ποσάκιος

Matthew 18:21 23:37
Luke 13:34
πολλάκις

Matthew 17:15(2x)
Mark 9:22
John 18:2

ἐπτάκις

Luke 17:4(2x)

δῖς

Mark 14:30
Luke 18:12

τρίς

Matthew 26:34 26:75
Mark 14:30 14:72
John 13:38

πρῶτον

Matthew 5:24 6:33
Mark 16:9
John 7:51

δεύτερον

John 3:4 21:16
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>23:22</td>
<td>τρίτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>21:14</td>
<td>τὸ πρῶτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>6:62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>12:16</td>
<td>τὸ πρῶτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>19:39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>14:41</td>
<td>τὸ τρίτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>21:17(2x)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>22:6</td>
<td>εὐκαρίαν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>26:29</td>
<td>καὶ νῦν</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX U
VARIOUS TIME EXPRESSIONS
SLAVIC LANGUAGES

1. OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

The event happened/will happen:

- in the morning: ομπερικά
- in the next morning: ομπερικά, χάρα ομπερικά
- at night: χάρα ομπερικά, μπροστά ομπερικά
- at noon: ομπερικά
- at midnight: ομπερικά
- on that day: ομπερικά
- on Saturday: ομπερικά
- yesterday: ομπερικά
- today: ομπερικά
- tomorrow: ομπερικά, perhaps also ομπερικά, χάρα ομπερικά
- in that week: ομπερικά, χάρα ομπερικά
- in that year: ομπερικά, χάρα ομπερικά
- at that time: ομπερικά, perhaps also χάρα χάρα, χάρα ομπερικά
- in winter: ομπερικά
- in January: ομπερικά, χάρα ομπερικά

532
in 1256
in January, 1256
on January 1, 1256
every day

bx лвто 1256
(месца) енуара bx лвто 1256
bx а дьнь енуара месца bx
лвто 1256
по всм дьым / на всэкдь дьым
2. MODERN BULGARIAN

The event happened/will happen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the morning</td>
<td>сутрин, сутринта</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the next morning</td>
<td>на следващата сутрин</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at night</td>
<td>нощем</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at noon</td>
<td>на обяд (обед), по обяд</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at midnight</td>
<td>в полунощ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at (two) o'clock</td>
<td>в два часа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on that day</td>
<td>в този ден</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Saturday</td>
<td>в събота</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>вчера</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>днес</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tommorrow</td>
<td>утре</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that week</td>
<td>през тази седмица</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that year</td>
<td>през тази година</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>по това (онова) време</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in winter</td>
<td>през зимата</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in January</td>
<td>през януари</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1256</td>
<td>през 1256 година</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in January, 1256</td>
<td>през януари 1256 година</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on January 1, 1256</td>
<td>на 1-и януари 1256 година</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every day</td>
<td>всеки ден</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Modern Serbo-Croatian

The event happened/will happen:

- in the morning: ujutru; ujutro
- in the next morning: sledećeg jutra
- at night: noću
- at noon: u podne
- at midnight: u ponoć
- at (one) o'clock: u (jedan) sat
- on that day: tog(a) dana; u taj dan
- on Saturday: u subotu
- yesterday: juče
- today: danas
- tomorrow: sutra
- in that week: te nedelje (sedmice)
- in that year: te godine; u toj godini
- at that time: u to vreme
- in winter: u zimu; zimi
- in January: u januaru (siječanju)
- in 1256: 1256-e godine
- in January, 1256: januara (u januaru)
- in 1256: 1256 godine
- on January 1, 1256: 1-og januara 1256 godine
- every day: svakog dana

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4. MODERN CZECH

The event happened/will happen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Czech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the morning</td>
<td>ráno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the next morning</td>
<td>přiští ráno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at night</td>
<td>v noci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at noon</td>
<td>v poledne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at midnight</td>
<td>v / o půlnoci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at (three) o'clock</td>
<td>v (tři) hodiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on that day</td>
<td>toho dne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Saturday</td>
<td>v sobotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>včera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>dnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>zítra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that week</td>
<td>v tom týdnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that year</td>
<td>v tom roce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>v tom čase / v té době</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in winter</td>
<td>v zimě</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in January</td>
<td>v lednu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1256</td>
<td>v roce 1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in January, 1256</td>
<td>v lednu roku 1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on January 1, 1256</td>
<td>1 - ího ledna 1256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every day</td>
<td>každý den</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. MODERN POLISH

The event happened/will happen:

in the morning
in the next morning
at night
at noon
at midnight
at (X) o'clock
on that day
on Saturday
yesterday
today
tomorrow
in that week
in that year
at that time
in winter
in January
in 1256
in January, 1256
on January 1, 1256
every day

rano
następnego ranka
w nocy
w południe
o północy
o (pierwszej) godzinie
tego dnia, w tym dniu
w sobotę
wczoraj
dziś, dzisiaj
jutro
w tym tygodniu
w tym roku
w tym czasie, o tej porze
zimą
w styczniu
w (roku) 1256-ym (roku)
w styczniu 1256-ego (roku)
1-ego stycznia 1256-ego (roku)
każdego dnia, codziennie
6. MODERN RUSSIAN

The event happened/will happen:

in the morning  утром
in the next morning  на следующий день утром
at night  ночью
at noon  в полдень
at midnight  в полночь
at (two) o'clock  в (два) часа
on that day  в тот день
on Saturday  в субботу
yesterday  вчера
today  сегодня
tomorrow  завтра
in that week  на той неделе
in that year  в том году
at that time  в то время
in winter  зимой
in January  в январе
in 1256  в 1256-ом году
in January, 1256  в январе 1256-ого года
on January 1, 1256  1-го января 1256-ого года
every day  каждый день
7. MODERN UKRAINIAN

The event happened/will happen:

in the morning
in the next morning
at noon
at (four) o'clock
on that day
on the next day

yesterday
today
tomorrow
in that week
in that year
at that time
in spring
in January
in 1256
in January, 1256
on January 1, 1256
every day
APPENDIX V
VARIOUS TIME EXPRESSIONS
GREEK

1. NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

The event happened/will happen:

in the morning                  τὸ πρωί
in the next morning             τῇ ἐπαύριον
at night                       νυκτὸς; ἐν τῷ νυκτί
at noon                        μέσης τῆς ἡμέρας
at midnight                   μέσης νυκτὸς, μεσονυκτίου or
                               μεσονυκτίου
on that day                    ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
on Saturday                   ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ
yesterday                     ἔκθεσ
today                         σήμερον
tomorrow                      αὔριον; τῇ ἐπαύριον
in that year                  ἐν τῷ ἐτελ ἐκείνῳ
at that time                  (ἐν) ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ
in winter                     χειμῶνος
every day                     καθ’ ἡμέραν

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### 2. Modern Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the morning</td>
<td>το πρωί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the next morning</td>
<td>το άλλο πρωί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at night</td>
<td>τη νύχτα (το βράδυ)¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at noon</td>
<td>το μεσημέρι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at midnight</td>
<td>τα μεσάνυχτα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at (X) o'clock</td>
<td>στις (X) (ώρα)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on that day</td>
<td>εκείνη τη μέρα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Saturday</td>
<td>το Σάββατο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>Χθές</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>σήμερα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>αύριο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that week</td>
<td>εκείνη τη (ε)βδομάδα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in that year</td>
<td>εκείνο το χρόνο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at that time</td>
<td>εκείνο τον καιρό</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in winter</td>
<td>το χειμώνα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in January</td>
<td>το Ιανουάριο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1256</td>
<td>το 1256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

¹ Although the phrase τη νύχτα is available to express 'at night' in Modern Greek, the preference is to use το βράδυ, literally 'in the evening'.
in January, 1256
on January 1, 1256
every day

tο Ιανουάριο του 1256
tην πρώτη Ιανουαρίου
tου 1256
καθε μέρα
I list here those texts which I analyzed in this dissertation. They are listed in alphabetical order by title.

Библия или свечеето писание на стария и новия заветъ. Библейско Дружество.


Monument Linguae Palaeslavonicae e Codice Suprasliensi, Miklosich, Fr., ed. Vindobonae: Guilelmus Braumüller, 1851.


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Old Church Slavonic


Greek


Modern Slavic Language Dictionaries

Belorussian


544
Bulgarian


Czech


Polish


Russian


**Serbo-Croatian**


**Slovak**


**Slovenian**


**Ukrainian**

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