

NANDOR MOLNÁR

THE CALQUES OF GREEK  
ORIGIN IN THE MOST  
ANCIENT OLD SLAVIC  
GOSPEL TEXTS

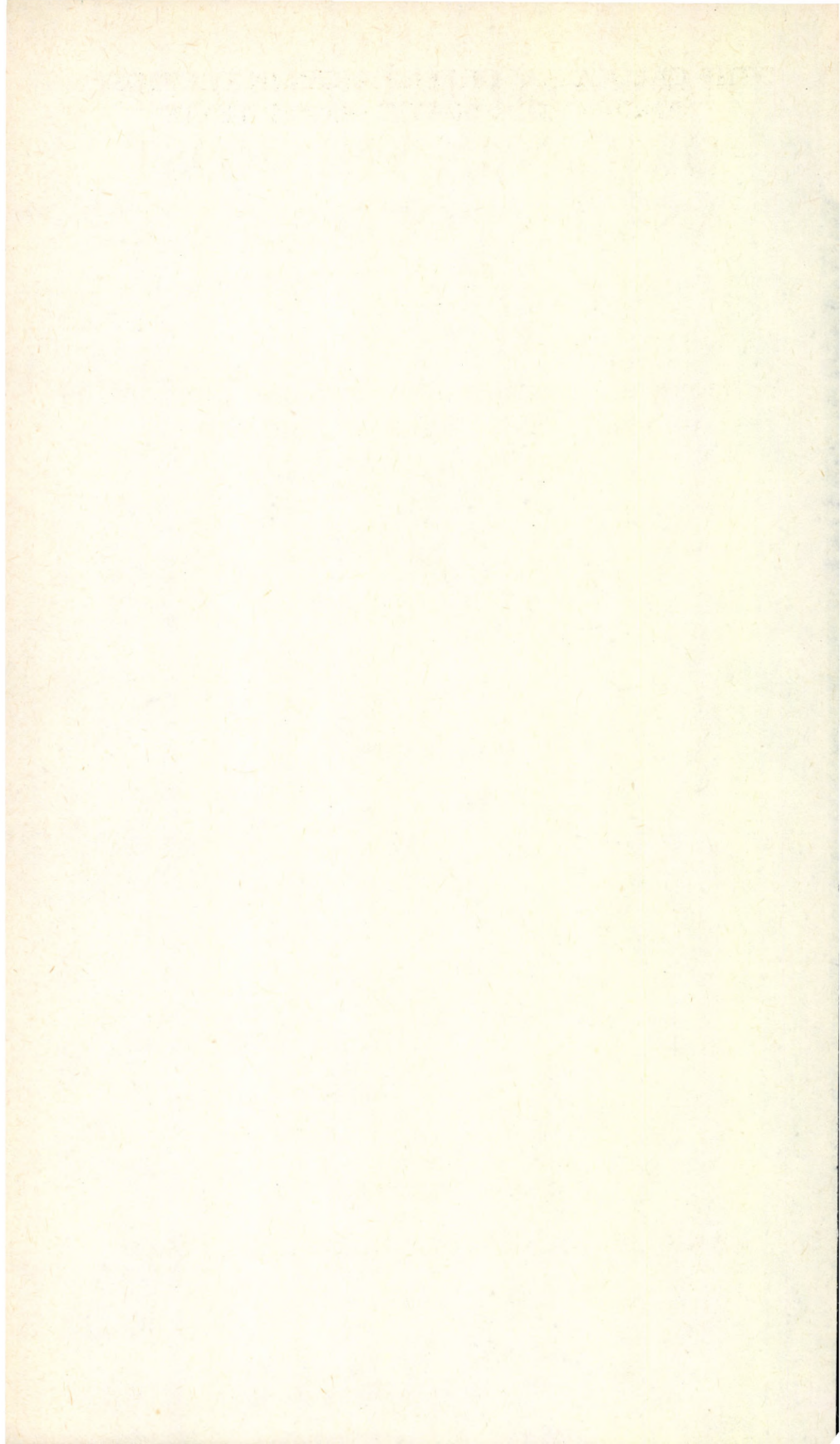
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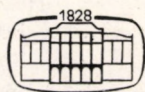
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# THE CALQUES OF GREEK ORIGIN IN THE MOST ANCIENT OLD SLAVIC GOSPEL TEXTS

A theoretical examination of calque phenomena  
in the texts of the archaic Old  
Slavic gospel codices

by  
Nándor Molnár



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*To My Wife and Family*



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## PREFACE

Nearly twenty-five years have passed since the publication of Kurt Schumann's essay *Die griechischen Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altbulgarischen* (Greek loan formations and loan meanings in Old Slavic) in the 16th volume of Max Vasmer's Slavic series in Wiesbaden. In about two thirds of this work which is not very long for its subject—consisting only of 66 pages—but which is very important, the author enumerates the calque phenomena of Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavic) in alphabetical order. His vocabulary presents, for each Old Slavic calque, the Greek model or prototype, as well as the place of the earliest provenance. Of course, he could not go into a more detailed investigation of the constituents of this word stock consisting of more than 1200 words in his essay as such an undertaking would have filled bulky volumes.

Nevertheless, this brief monograph is a very valuable starting point for further studies of Old Slavic calques. Not only the enumeration of Old Slavic and Greek parallels or their distribution into thematic word groups proved to be a very valuable work in Slavic philology, but also the theoretical foundation which Schumann laid down in the first third of his book. Schumann has credit for a proper appreciation of Old Slavic stylistic art, for a fair-minded evaluation of the technique of interpretation of the Slav Apostles and their disciples and, first of all, for the creative development of the principles and terminology related to calques in general, and to the Old Slavic texts in particular.

Schumann adopted his terminology mainly from W. Betz who had applied them to Old High German texts, comparing them to their Latin parallels or originals. This adoption turned out to be useful for Slavic philology not only in regard to German language literature on the subject, but in studies written in other languages, too. Moreover, the Betz-Schumann calque terminology, as evidenced by later linguistic studies in other fields, can also be well utilized with minor alterations in examining calques in other languages and of different origins.

Of course, Schumann's essay—primarily because of the contradiction between its brevity and the multiplicity of the studied matter—cannot be considered an exhaustive discussion of the Old Slavic calques of Greek origin but rather as a very useful practical compendium and, at the same time, a good theoretical starting point. The parts of the material contained demand a more detailed explanation and examination in themselves, too; as for the theoretical foundation, there will always be more work to do with its expansion and development.

To accomplish a part of this large-scale endeavour was my aim with this monograph. I did not investigate calques in all the Old Slavic texts, but only in the gospel texts which are or can be assumed to be most archaic; in these, however, I surveyed all the gospel loci in order to collate the possible variations of the Old Slavic translations. In addition to the immediate Old Slavic-Greek parallelisms, I also took into consideration the Latin, Gothic (and sometimes the Old High German) texts, and some later Slavic (Czech, Russian and, sometimes, Slovak, Low Sorbian) translations. As for these latter texts, I examined the possible impact of Luther's translation on them, too. I examined the congruences, differences or non-existence of the Old Slavic calques in the modern word stock of the more important living Slavic languages as well, taking into consideration the fact that, especially the Old Russian, Middle Bulgarian and Old Serbian languages (i.e. literary works) used the Old Slavic calques as a rule, under the influence of Church Slavic texts. At the same time, in order to contribute to the study of linguistic interference, I also examined the gospel loci in question and their relation to some other South-Eastern European languages (Romanian, Albanian, Hungarian) in their gospel texts. Before the glossary part, that is the backbone of the whole work, I added some introductory chapters, too, related to certain general problems. By means of these I primarily sought to make a contribution to the theory and terminology of calques, adapting some results of special and general linguistics. It is for this reason that the Bibliography contains so many works which do not bear on the problems of the Old Slavic texts, but provide data on the phenomenology of calques.

On the whole, although my work encompasses less material of the investigated Old Slavic texts and words, I have nevertheless gone into greater depth as far as the comparisons and theoretical discussions are concerned than Schumann did in his valuable essay. (My own search for materials for this work began in 1954.)

Although the subject of this work does not really require an examination of the problem of the original place, date and circumstances related to the Old Slavic gospel codices of the 10th and 11th centuries, or of the translation technique of the text that have been handed down, nevertheless I think it reasonable, before discussing the problems of Old Slavic calques in detail, to define which codex texts will be examined, what is meant by the word "calque",

and how this linguistic phenomenon appears in Old Slavic. Therefore these questions will be touched upon in the chapters of Introduction.

I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who has assisted me in this work in the theoretical, editorial and technical respects. Special thanks are due to the late Professors István Kniezsa and Gyula Moravcsik, Regular Members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, my former professors; I will always remember the wise and benevolent teachings of these great men with gratitude. I also feel indebted for useful advice to my good friends, the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Hajdúdorog, Msgr. Dr. Imre Timkó and Father Mihály Máté Volosinovszky O.S.B.M., for their technical aid for putting down this work and for their theoretical and practical guidance in Eastern Liturgy, that has retained so much of the biblical way of thinking, of both earliest Christendom and Old Slavic Christianity.

I owe a debt of gratitude to other hermeneutists, exegetists, classical philologists and Slavists as well. In connection with this work, I would like to mention the kind and valuable philological remarks of László Hadrovics and István Borzsák, Members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I wish to thank Lajos Kiss Ph.D., D.Sc. Ling., who, as the appointed reader of this work and himself an eminent expert in the calque problem, contributed much valuable advice; to Pál Heltai Ph. D., for reviewing the English text; I feel deeply indebted to Attila Hollós, Lecturer of the Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest, for the preparation of the indices, and for the final, very conscientious reviewing of this work, though — caused by lack of time — I could not take all his recommendations into consideration; and, last but not least, to Prof. Dr. Reinhold Olesch for the inclusion of my monograph in the series *Slavistische Forschungen* published by the Böhlau Verlag.





## PART ONE

# INTRODUCTION

### THE MOST ANCIENT OLD SLAVIC GOSPEL TEXTS

As it is known, there is no agreement on the dates of origin and the respective ages of the archaic Old Slavic "tetraevangelia" and "aprakoi" among scholars. It is enough to refer to different views expressed by V. Jagić, G. Voskresenskij, J. Vajs, M. Weingart and K. Horálek on the priority of certain codices. However, some noteworthy accords of opinion can be found. It does not seem accidental that Jagić, in his edition of *Codex Marianus* (Saint Petersburg, 1883) did not take the "lectiones variantes" of his "apparatus criticus" only from the texts of Zographus, Assemani, Ostromir and Savvina Kniga, but with good sense also from the Nikolja Gospel. M. Weingart, in addition to the Assemani, considers the same Nikolja Gospel, or rather its protograph, a very ancient text, and he thinks the Ostromir and Marianus to be the youngest redactions among the archaic group, corrected on the basis of the Byzantine Greek text—though he considers the Marianus to have originated from a primary text, identical with the Zographus (450, pp. 20–25).

It is, perhaps, not without any interest to mention K. Horálek who, following G. Voskresenskij's theory of four redactions, divides the Old Slavic and Church Slavic manuscripts into four groups. He places the Codices Assemani, Savvina, Ostromir and Marianus at the head of the first, so-called archaic group in which he also mentions, as does Voskresenskij, the Nikolja Gospel, saying that according to Daničić, this codex of Serbo-Bosnian–Bogumilian character originated in the beginning of the 14th century.

In determining the age of the Nikolja Gospel, we must consider M. Weingart's opinion, who believes the Nikolja Gospel to be the revision of a very ancient Glagolitic text. So this gospel is relatively new as a codex, but as a text it precedes the Archangelsk aprakos-evangelion, the Dobrejšo tetraevangelion and the Hvalj's "rukopis" (manuscript), too, which is a "sbornik" (collection) of Serbian–Bogumilian character. As for the age of the protograph of the Nikolja

Gospel, A. Vaillant had a similar opinion saying that its extant Cyrillic MS goes only back to the 14th or 15th century, but this codex seems to be the copy of an ancient Glagolitic manuscript which contains both Old Macedonian and Western Church Slavic traditions of a Serbo-Croatian character. (439, p. 15.)

On the other hand, Horálek sees the ancient Cyrillian style of translation mostly in the Zographus and Marianus; as for the Assemani and Ostromir, he considers them to be much more uniform texts where the rigid imitation of the Byzantine text-type imposed many more Grecisms on the translators than can be found in the superior Cyrillian-Methodian translation.

This fact, of course, strongly influenced the increase of the number of syntactic calques as well. In this respect, the Savvina Kniga occupies middle ground. We can find some texts in it, markedly altered compared with the Zographus and Marianus, but in Horálek's opinion it dates back to a protograph which surpasses the age and textual integrity of the Assemani (178, pp. 291-293).

Although scholars do not perfectly agree upon the mutual date relations of the most ancient Old Slavic gospel texts, it seems we have to regard Jagić's above-mentioned Marianus edition as the basis of our Old Slavic gospel text examinations, i.e. to deal with the calques of the following codices: Zographus, Marianus, Assemani, Savvina Kniga, Ostromir, Nikolja Gospel.

The basis of Jagić's edition is the Marianus, from the orthographical and phonetical points of view it is the Zographus that seems to be more original. Jagić's statement about the Marianus cannot be left out of consideration either (also quoted by 185, p. 172, namely, that the Marianus originated without any doubt from a Serbo-Croatian territory (Bosnia, Zachlumie, or Dalmatia), since this codex sometimes confounds ж and ѡу. Some examples of this confusion of letters and sounds, respectively, are: мѣжѣж 'to the husband', мѣдѣрѡу 'the wise' (masc. dat. or fem. acc.), по ѡбѣчѣж 'as usual', лѣбѣвѣ 'of the love', лѡуѡуѡуѣж 'the other' (sg. fem. acc. or instr.), ѡтѣпѡуѡуѣтѣно 'left, pardoned'.

Another characteristic phenomenon of the Marianus is the use of the noun кѡкѡтъ 'cock' instead of кѡуѣтъ. (Conev also quotes Miletic's opinion who thinks these features to be North Macedonian, and not Serbo-Croatian).

As for the Zographus, Conev quotes Jagić's verdict on it (71, I, p. 167), who asserts that this codex came into being in Bulgaria at the end of the 10th or at the beginning of the 11th century. Consequently, though the Marianus is a translation nearer to the original text regarding its technique (since the Macedonian and Bosnian-Bogumilian texts were less affected by the Byzantine unification), nevertheless the Zographus shows a more ancient Old Slavic phonetic structure due to its Bulgaro-Macedonian origin, and also represents a more original phonetic state compared with the Marianus.

In recent years L. P. Žukovskaja has also devoted several studies to the origin and interdependence of the archaic Old Slavic texts. She divides the Slavic gospel

MSS of the 10th–14th centuries into four groups or principal types: tetraevangelia, Sunday (holiday) aprakoi, brief aprakoi and entire aprakoi (463, p. 225). She does not always agree in her conclusions with the opinions of other Slavists—e.g. those of A. S. L'vov (263) and L. Moszynski (309)—nevertheless she shares the opinion that in accordance with the needs of liturgy and missionary work the aprakoi-evangelia had been prepared first, then these were later expanded into tetraevangelia by the Slav Apostles themselves.

As for the interdependence of the Old Slavic evangelia, Moszynski's position is similar to that of E. M. Vereščagin (444), who represents Moszynski's derivational theory in a table, too (p. 15). According to this, two redactions came into being from the primary brief aprakos text, translated by the Slav Apostles. The text of the Assemani originated from the first redaction; the aprakos protograph which served as a common source for the protographs of the Savvina Kniga, and the common tetraevangelion protograph of the Zographus and Marianus from the second one. (In this derivational table, naturally, the existing *de facto* are only the two aprakoi, the Assemani and the Savvina Kniga, and the two tetraevangelia, the Zographus and the Marianus; the alleged "connecting" protographs are only hypothetical sources.)

Taking all this into consideration, and also the correlations of the date of origin and the linguistic features of the codices (including the Ostromir and Nikolja Gospel which have survived in later copies only, but also date back to the ancient basic texts) I shall make the above-mentioned six codices, considered the most archaic ones by Jagić and Vaillant, the subject of my investigation from the point of view of the Old Slavic calques of Greek origin.

#### IMMEDIATE GREEK SOURCES OF THE OLD SLAVIC GOSPEL TEXTS

The most excellent exegetes and critics of the New Testament from Griebbach to Soden, divide the Greek New Testament codices essentially into 3 main versions, namely the Hesychian or Egyptian (Alexandrian), the Judean or Syro-Palestinian (Western) and the Syro-Constantinopolitan redactions; these types are marked by Soden as H-, I- and K-recensions (the I-recension is also called W-recension by English Bible scholars). The source investigations and critical comparisons have also shown that the textual variations, if we disregard the so-called "apocryph" and "heretic" redactions of the early times, exhibit a far lower number of divergences in the 2nd–3rd centuries than later, in the 4th–9th ones.

At the same time, from the second half of the 7th century, the number of the H-recension codices decreased. This seems to be in close connection with the Arabian occupation of Egypt in 640 by Amar Ibn al-As. However, the number of I-(W)-recension codices also decreases, especially the original forms. There is

no doubt that this fact is also related to the spreading of the Islam, because Syria and Palestine, which earlier had a major part in transmitting both the oral and written Christian teachings in the East and West alike (Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, Armenia, Georgia, Persia, Asia Interior, India), became possessions of Khalifa Omar in 636 in the wake of the Damascus and Yarmouk battles. This circumstance had also contributed to the increasing growth of the significance of the texts belonging to the sphere of the K-recension texts, paralleling the Chrysostomos' Liturgy (the "domestic" liturgy of Constantinople), gaining hegemony over the Alexandrian Mark's Liturgy and the Syrian Jacob's Liturgy with the shrinking of the Empire although it was precisely the latter which was the source of Chrysostomos' and other Byzantine liturgies (Basilios' and Gregorios' Liturgies) just as the Greek New Testament texts of K-recension originated from the Syrian Lukianos. It is a fact that the texts of the I-(W)-recension were more and more influenced by the K-recension texts, and during the 9th–10th centuries some "compromise" texts arose.

From the point of view of Old Slavic textual criticism these compromises (mixed texts) are the most important as they served as sources for the Old Slavic protographs. Already Dobrovský thought that the Old Slavic text can be traced back to a mixed type. In his opinion the basis of the Old Slavic gospels was a Byzantine redaction but influenced by the variation of the D-codex, which was transcribed into Byzantinian Greek. J. Vajs has, in essentials, the same opinion and he reconstructed and published the Old Slavic text of the four gospels with a Greek text and "lectiones variantes" in 1935–1936. He said that the Western countries did not appreciate the significance of the textual criticism of the Old Slavic New Testament translations, although it was impossible to understand some loci of the Greek original without knowing the Old Slavic versions, as far as the reconstruction of the missing parts of Western recensions was concerned.

This opinion is maintained by Miloš Weingart (450, pp. 20–28) too. On my part I could also add that the Balkano-Slavic Bogumilian and the Russian "Old Faith" (s.-c. "heretical", Niconian) texts are sometimes of vital importance for the reconstruction of the original manuscripts of the so-called apocryph books (apocryph "gospels", "ascensions", "creations" and "apocalypses").

In Weingart's opinion the primary Cyrillian-Methodian texts were translated on the basis of the Western Greek recension at the end of the 9th and at the beginning of the 10th century respectively, and these translations were later corrected on the basis of the Byzantine redaction. So he postulates the same equalization in text development as Dobrovský, but in the opposite direction. He thinks the Western recension was safe in a Bogumilian and Catholic environment but not in areas under the direct influence of Byzantium (East Bulgaria and Russia). So, in Weingart's opinion, we can find the I-(W)-recension in Croatian-Glagolitic texts of Croatia and Dalmatia and in West Macedonia, mostly in the codices Assemani and Nikolja Gospel, but hardly in the codices

Marianus and Ostromir; the Zographus and Savvina Kniga, although of Bulgarian origin, occupy middle ground between Assemani and Marianus.

In his arguments Weingart relies on J. Vajs who, in his work, on the basis of Westcott and Horn, enumerates the more important Grecian codices of the 6th–12th centuries which might have been the immediate sources of the Old Slavic New Testament texts. Among the uncial codices he mentions the Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (Codex N, or, with Soden's sign: ε 19) from the 6th–7th centuries, the Codex Romanensis from the 2nd century (Codex E, or ε 18) which are Byzantine (K-type) redactions. Among the minuscular codices he enumerates Codex 1 (Soden: ε 254), Codex 13 (ε 368), Codex 565 (ε 94) and Codex 33 (δ 48) which originate from the 9th–13th centuries. These are also Byzantine recensions but they share several features with the Western—even the Alexandrian—type.

Vajs showed in a detailed statistics that the Marianus and Zographus contain the most Antiochian–Byzantine peculiarities, while the Assemani and Nikolja the most prae-Syrian ones; the Western and Alexandrian features can be found chiefly in these two codices, while they hardly occur in the Marianus and the Ostromir.

It is also characteristic that among the gospels it is St. John's Gospel that contains the most I (W) qualities, and St. Mark's the least. In Vajs' opinion, this phenomenon is connected with St. John's Gospel the greatest (90%) and with St. Mark's Gospel to the least (47%) extent; because of the liturgical practice we assume the "aprakos" translations to be earlier than the tetraevangelia.

In my opinion the greater antiquity of the Old Slavic St. John's Gospel texts can be proved by the fact that the Bosnian and Macedonian Bogumils—being spiritualists-dualists of Manichean–Paulikian origin—had greater esteem for St. John's Gospel than the Synoptical Gospels, thus they were certainly more attached to the older Old Slavic text of the original St. John's Gospel, than the Orthodox Bulgarians and Russians, who were influenced more immediately by Byzantium. For this very reason, we also share Weingart's opinion rather than Vajs' theory. I also consider the Western and the mixed, "freer" texts, respectively, to have been the first models, which were more and more unified with the K-recension from the beginning of the 10th century.

In addition, we must take into consideration that among extant Greek gospel texts only some parts of St. Matthew's and St. John's Gospel can be traced back to dates earlier than the 4th century, e.g., some Egyptian papyri from the 3rd century. The oldest gospel fragment we have at present, the Ryland Papyrus from the beginning of the 2nd century, contains a coherent part only from the Passion story of St. John's Gospel, Jo 18, 31–33 and 37–28, the interrogation before Pilate. The Greek codices of St. Luke's and St. Mark's Gospels, being later texts, do not belong to the I- and H-recensions to the same extent as the texts of St. John's and St. Matthew's Gospels do.

With respect to the increasing uniformity of the Old Slavic texts (particularly of the later ones) it is important to take into consideration a remark of Vereščagin's (444, p. 18), who states that the Greek New Testament editions, compiled on the basis of some 3rd–4th century MSS are much less useful in the search for the Greek original of the Old Slavic translations than the later editions. Thus, e.g., the non-critical Venetian Greek edition of 1879, which is a complete “evangelion” based on a uniformed K-recension, shows many more identities with the Old Slavic and Church Slavic literary monuments than the Greek MSS either of the 2nd–4th, or of the 7th–8th centuries.

In the last analysis, the Greek texts of the 9th century seem to be more important than any other in the search for Greek sources of the Old Slavic texts, since it may be rightly supposed that Constantine (Cyril) had access primarily to the manuscripts of his own time.

Of course, we have to add to Vereščagin's opinion that Constantine, a “cartophylax”, the librarian of the Hagia Sophia, had the possibility to come across some earlier codices, too, and perhaps among these MSS there were also some less unified ones which might have caught his attention. Perhaps Saloniki—the ancient Christian Thessaloniki—also possessed certain New Testament textual traditions, different from those of Byzantium and the “Slovjane”, the Slavonic inhabitants of Macedonia, from the 6th–7th centuries, surely got their Christian faith on the basis of less centralized biblical and liturgical texts than people of the later Byzantine age (11th–15th centuries). (444, pp. 90–91.)

#### THE LATINISMS OF THE OLD SLAVIC GOSPEL TEXTS

The deduction of the Old Slavic gospel protograph (or, perhaps, protographs) from a H + I(W)-type Greek original with a tendency for unification with the K-type texts, i.e. the supposition of a translation made from a “compromise” or “neutral” Greek text, in my opinion, solves most of the problems of the Latinisms of the archaic Old Slavic texts as well.

As early as in the second half of the 18th century some Slavists (e.g. G. Dobner and J. Dobrovský) made a conjecture about the possible Latin original of the Old Slavic translations, or, at least, of a strong Latin influence exerted on these texts. It was V. Pogorelov who emphasized the opinion that the very considerable Latin influence on the Old Slavic codices can only be explained by the immediate effect of Latin texts (343).

Pogorelov compared the St. Mark's text in the codices Marianus, Zographus, Assemani and Savvina Kniga with Soden's *Neues griechisches Testament* (Göttingen, 1913) and with Brandscheid's Vulgata edition (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901), in order to ascertain the extent of Latin influence in Old Slavic.

He found that a great number of phenomena could only be explained with the supposition of at least the occasional use of the Vulgata by the translator, although he does not exclude the possibility of explaining these "Latinisms" on the basis of another Greek codex, which might be discovered in the future.

It would not be reasonable to examine Pogorelov's theses in detail here because I shall reflect on them when we come to Old Slavic lexical calques. At this point I only mention the cases which appear to be most probably influenced by the Vulgata. In my opinion, Pogorelov's most important lexical Latinisms are as follows:

a) ΓΡΑΔΥЦЬ ~ *castellum* (Greek: κώμη) 'village, town': Mc 6, 6; Mt 14, 15; Jo 7, 42; Jo 11, 1. In respect of its grammatical form it corresponds to the Latin word which also contains a diminutive suffix. But it arouses suspicion that, in contrast with the four loci cited, in 10 others we can find ВЪСЬ (or the vocalized later form: вѣсь corresponding to Latin *castellum*. In our opinion the Old Slavic interpreters, just like the pre-Vulgata and Vulgata translators, showed an intelligent and exquisite taste in the interpretation of the Greek word κώμη: the Latin interpreters used the nouns *castellum*, *civitas*, *vicus*, the Old Slavic translators the nouns ΓΡΑΔΥЦЬ and ВЪСЬ, respectively. The later Russian Church Slavic text uses СЕЛЕНІЕ, the Kralice Bible the diminutive noun *městečko*.

b) ВЪ СΟΥЕ ~ *in vanum* (Greek: μάτην) 'in vain': Mc 7, 7. The Latin influence seems to be certain; but there is also a chance of influence by some (as yet unknown) non-K but Western Greek versions. In the Russian-redaction Church Slavic an adverb of similar meaning, ТЪЦЕТЪНО can be found; the Kralice Bible uses the word *nadarmo*.

The Old Slavic word in the later Church versions occurs in the form НА СΟΥЕ as well, and is very productive in forming compound words as, e.g., СΟΥЕСЛОВИЕ, СΟΥЕТОСЛОВИЕ which became synonyms of the words ПОУСТОСЛОВИЕ and МЪНОГОГЛАГОЛАНИЕ 'chatter, loquacity'. As for the primary base of СΟΥЕ, L'vov does not adopt the general opinion on the Indo-European stem \**keu-*, \**kou-* (Sanskrit *çūnyás*, Gr. κοῖλος, Latin *cavus*), but he believes the word to have a Proto-Bulgarian origin (cf. Chuvash *суӗ* 'to lie', *суя* 'untruth'; in his opinion the Old Turkic root goes back to a Chinese word, *czui* 'sin, crime, fault').

c) МИРЪ ИМѢТИ ~ *pacem habere* (Greek: εἰρηνεύω) 'to have peace': Mc 9, 50. It seems to be nearer to the Latin than the Greek which has its immediate analogy with the Gothic translation: *gavainþeigai sijaiþ* 'pacifici estis'. The Old Slavic МИРЪ ИМѢТИ means, however, 'pacem habete' as we can see in the Latin text; it is not impossible that there was a Greek codex, we do not know of at present, which contained the variant εἰρήνην ἔχετε. The Gothic comparison is also interesting as Wulfila's translation is also thought to have been subject to a strong Latin influence. The Old Slavic expression is preserved in the Russian-redaction Church Slavic texts as well; in the Kralice Bible we find a similar calque, *pokoj míti*.

d)  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$  ~ *gratias agens* (Greek:  $\epsilon\delta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  'giving thanks': Mc 8, 6; 14, 23. The Gothic text uses the verb *aviliudon*, related to the noun *aviliub* 'thanks'. This latter seems to be a compound from *avi* 'praise' and *liub* 'saying, song'.

The Old Slavic participial collocation, if it is considered a phrase, suggests a Latin text, but the microphilological analysis does not show the analogy to be as unambiguous as Pogorelov thought it to be. As for the Old Slavic phrase, a Latin *laudem dans* or *laudem dedens* may correspond exactly (in Greek:  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu \delta\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$  or  $\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu$ ) while after the Latin phrase we could rather expect a form like  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\delta\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu\iota\epsilon \epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$ .

The later Church Slavic translations do indeed contain the expression  $\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\delta\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu\iota\epsilon$  or the participle  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\delta\alpha\rho\iota\upsilon\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$ ; the Kralice Bible, however, suggests a Latin form: *gratias (per) agens* by the phrase *diky učiniv*. But the grammatical expression of the archaic Old Slavic texts with the participle praeteriti activi I of a perfective verb reflects exactly the Greek aoristos participle, therefore from a morphological point of view it stands nearer to the Greek than to the Latin text. Although the Latin influence may be supposed (because of the Old Slavic two-word composition)—and it is not impossible, either, that once a Greek text will be found where the  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu \delta\acute{o}\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ , or a similar expression is used,—it seems to be more plausible that the Old Slavic expression praises, first of all, the art of translation of the Slav Apostles as a well-found calque neologism. For its creation, apparently, the Greek  $\epsilon\delta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  provided the immediate impulse. (Similarly to the Gothic verb *aviliudon* in Mc 8, 6 which is perhaps a semicalque, created under the influence of the loanword *aivxaristia* ~ Greek  $\epsilon\delta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , and which also renders the phrase  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ .)

It is also possible that the Latin, Gothic and Old Slavic translations are calques which came into existence independently of each other, motivated by the Greek verb. The Savvina Kniga, however, contains the form  $\rho\omicron\chi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  which is an immediate and precise reflection of the meaning of the Greek  $\epsilon\delta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ .

e)  $\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\tau\iota$  ~ *adulterium committere* (Greek:  $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ), 'to commit adultery' Mc 10, 11.

In all these three languages as well as in Gothic we can find similar prepositional governments (Greek:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ , Latin: *super*, Old Slavic:  $\text{на}$ , Gothic: *du* + acc.), and this fact proves a dependency on the Greek text as original. Without a more detailed analysis, the Old Slavic expression may seem to be the calque of the Latin phrase; however, its use is not exclusive.

In my opinion, these expressions came into existence independently of each other, under Greek influence, so they are independent Latin and Old Slavic neologisms, respectively. The noun  $\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}$  itself is a compound word but its origin is to be found somewhere else than the Latin *\*ad-alterium*; if it had been based on a Latin model, its Latin original would probably have been a certain *super-amatio* or *trans-amatio*. The verb  $\tau\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\tau\iota$  also seems to differ in its original



meaning from the Latin *committere*. It should also be noted that the Latin texts generally do not use the expression *adulterium committere* but the Greek loanword, the deponent verb *moechari*, while the Old Slavic texts usually have the expressions *прѣлюбы творити* and *прѣлюбы дѣти* in the Savvina Kniga originating from the 10th century. Later the compound verb *прѣлюбодѣйствовати* also occurs in the Church Slavic texts, according to the sense of the compound noun *прѣлюбодѣяние*. Conev (71, p. 101) considers the more "simple" noun *прѣлюбы* to be a Bulgarian provincialism from the neighbourhood of Rečen—though it is also possible that it was carried over into the vernacular from the language of the Church.

In any case, both components of the Latin and Old Slavic expressions are based on different underlying concepts. The Old Slavic *прѣлюбы* would require the postulation of a Latin phrase like (*trans*)-*grediens amor* as its original, and on the basis of the Latin *\*ad-alterium* we could expect in Old Slavic something like \*къ дѣрѹг(ом)ѹ любы (лѣжаниѣ), or a similar expression. Much later, in the Czech Bible of Bratislava published in 1786 we do indeed find the verb *cyzoložiti* (word for word: 'to go to bed with a stranger'); this compound may have come into being on the basis of the primary meaning of the Latin *adulterium*.

As for the second part of the Latin and Old Slavic expressions (the verbs *committere* and *творити*), they also reflect different ways of thinking. The primary meaning of the Latin compound verb is: 'to join up together, to let go together', but the Old Slavic verb meant originally 'to create, to produce'. We may assume, however, that the first Old Slavic interpreters did not always take account of the basic meanings of the components in the expressions, since the concept itself must have been known to the heathen Slavs. The Slav Apostles themselves were Greeks, and not Italians or Slavs, so they regarded the components as unified words in themselves, and they often translated an expression with an expression. However, as we know how talented they were in translating, we may also believe that they could render the simple Greek verb without recourse to the Latin, by means of a successful neologism or, perhaps, a popular expression.

Г) *пробити главлж* ~ *in capite vulnerare* (Greek: κεφαλαίω) 'to wound (on) the head': Мс 12, 4.

The meaning of the expression may refer both to blows delivered with the fist on the face and to causing a head wound by throwing stones. The first meaning is attributed to this text by Streitberg (394, Vol. 2, p. 179), but the concordance of the parallel verse (Mt 21, 23) renders the latter meaning more probable. The Gothic text uses the expression *haubip vundan brahtedun* i.e. 'caput vulneratum faciebant'. Both the Old Slavic and Gothic texts seem to point to the Latin version. However, the Old Slavic codex contains a free translation, and it reproduces the primary concrete sense of the Greek verb with great plasticity.

The various older and more recent translations and their exegeses conceive of this expression as referring to mistreatment resulting from disrespect; cf. e.g. the version of the Kralice Bible: *kamenovavše ranili v hlavu* 'throwing stones to him they wounded him on the head'.

A different interpretation may also be found, however, e.g. in the Russian translation of the Stockholm edition (1960) that explains this locus as an intended wounding with stones: *и тому камнями разбили голову* 'and they wounded him on the head with stones'.

After a more detailed examination the other lexical and phraseological calques of Latin origin, offered by Pogorelov, turn out to be partly spontaneous Old Slavic neologisms, partly accidental similarities, and there are only a few uncertain cases whose sole explanation may be Latin origin. In addition to the philological evidence, objective evidence is supplied by liturgy in the embolismus attached to the end of the Old Slavic Lord's Prayer text. While the Old Slavic liturgical texts join the clausula "For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, now and ever and forever" to the "Our Father"—just like the Greek gospel and liturgical codices—we cannot find this doxology in most of the Latin translations, and until the Second Vatican Synod, in the Latin mass the priest prayed here, exclusively, the oratio "Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine". This latter had been formed, in all probability, in the course of the 6th century at the latest, since it is known from the Latin "Sacramentarium Gelasianum" et "Sacramentarium Gregorianum" established in the 7th–8th centuries. The Sacramentarium was made obligatory by Charlemagne for the whole Frankish Empire, so we can rightly suppose that the German missionaries used this Roman embolismus among the Moravians, too, in their Latin liturgies. The afore-mentioned doxology, however, can be found in most Eastern rites and liturgical texts (in Coptic–Sahidi, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian manuscripts). It is also worthwhile considering that none of the Greek codices in which the doxology "For Thine is the kingdom" can be found (with Soden's symbols: ε 014, ε 050, ε 93 and δ 368) is of K-recension, i.e. they belong to the non-unifying texts. The Old Slavic gospel texts generally do contain this embolismus.

Considering all the above-mentioned facts, we must also take into account the circumstance that even the most ancient Greek gospel protographs (written presumably as early as in the second half, or in the last third and at the end of the 1st century) had been influenced by the Latin language, as a consequence of the unified administrative, legal, financial and military systems and other homogenizing factors of the Roman Empire. The number of loanwords in the Greek New Testament in the first manuscripts is already in excess of 60. Only half of this number are proper nouns; the other half, however, are related to the above-mentioned thematic groups; in addition a lot of Latin-imitating set phrases and sentence sequences can be found even in the oldest Greek gospel texts. Therefore, in the author's opinion, it is necessary to take into account the

primary Latinisms in the Greek original when trying to form a judgement on the so-called "Latinisms" of the Old Slavic translations.

The greatest number of Latinisms is to be found in St. Mark's Gospel; however, there is also a great number of Aramaisms, which appear to be indicative of the author's mother tongue. It can be felt that he writes in the everyday Greek of the Roman citizens which is variegated with Latinisms; or perhaps the Greek translation of a possible Aramaic original was made in an Italian milieu. Besides, the "Latinisms" of St. Mark's Gospel can be found in many cases even in the most ancient Greek H- and J-recensions. In a number of loci, however, it is noticeable that the Old Slavic translation does not correspond to the Latin expression precisely either, so we can suppose that the first Slav interpreters sometimes translated from the Greek freely, according to the sense, therefore their versions do not always correspond exactly either to the Greek or the Latin manuscripts. The hypothesis of heavy reliance on the Latin translation is also inconsistent with the fact that the Old Slavic formulation in many loci seems to be rather more parallel with the Gothic translation of Wulfila than with the Latin. (Naturally, it is a different question that Wulfila's translation in the Codex Argenteus also relied, to some extent, on the Latin text as well as the Greek original).

Latinisms can be found, of course, not only in St. Mark's Gospel, but in other parts of the New Testament as well, especially in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels, and in the Actus Apostolorum whose author is probably the same person as the author of St. Luke's Gospel. (This supposition was supported by the Church tradition as well.) But St. Matthew's Gospel is so rich in Aramaisms that this gospel was the first where Aramaean origin, supplemented by other sources, was hypothesized. St. Luke's Gospel and the Praxeis Apostolon, however, may be attributed in some scholars' opinion to the same author as the Greek text of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews (originally written, in all probability, in Aramaic), whose classicizing Hellenistic style, which imitates the older Greek historiographs, also reveals, among others, the fact that the author might have lived in an Italian environment for a while. But as a whole, St. Mark's Gospel seems to be most "Latin" from among the Greek texts, so it is easy to understand that it was this gospel where the exegetists of the Old Slavic codices suspected most direct Latin-Old Slavic connections; however, I think, they made too much allowance for deceptive appearances.

We must not forget either that the Old Slavic texts with a "Latin" character, and especially their Glagolitic copies have survived mainly in Bosnia and Dalmatia, i.e. in a Roman Catholic environment, so the permanency of the "Latinisms" in the Glagolitic texts was perhaps supported by their greater outward similarity to the texts of the Vulgata and the Roman liturgy.

Besides the common H- and I-recensioned Greek sources of the Old Slavic and Latin texts, and disregarding the primary Latinisms of the most ancient

Greek protographs (first of all those in St. Mark's Gospel), we can trace back the Latinisms of the Old Slavic texts to a certain indirect Latin influence as well, that can be observed in some passages used in liturgy which were translated from Latin in Moravia and Pannonia probably before Cyril's activity (perhaps under some Old High German and, later, Italian influence), such as the Lord's Prayer text and some other gospel parts of pericopal (aparakos) character, too. These Latinisms could have been transferred into the Old Slavic text through the contemporaneous linguistic properties of Moravian or Pannonian Slavic, taking into consideration also that before the activity of the Slav Apostles in Moravia, the Christianization of this territory had been commenced, first of all, by East Frankish, namely Old High German-speaking missionaries on the basis of Latin texts. Taking into consideration Cyril's great knowledge of languages, a certain influence of Samaritan, Syrian and perhaps also of Coptic texts is possible, and even more probable is the influence of the Gothic Bible translation studied during the time of his preparation to the missionary work in the Balkans. As for the pre-Cyrrillian missionaries, some influence of Old High German on Old Slavic can also come into account besides the Latin, through the early Moravianisms. Presumably, some Armenian and Georgian translations may have been available for Cyril as well.

Otfrid's period of activity (863–871) roughly coincides with that of Cyril and Method, so there is also a chance that the Old High German rewriting of Tatianus' Diatessaron also had some influence on the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts, perhaps by virtue of its Syrian features, although there are no Syrian codices which could be considered the immediate source of this Old High German gospel harmony but rather more the works of the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, Bede and Hrabanus Maurus, called *Magister Germaniae*.

Naturally, some part of the Old High German influence is questionable because the first Old Slavic texts were not gospel harmonies but aprakoi. So it is not quite certain that the Moravian popular-liturgical texts were influenced at all by the Diatessaron, either before Cyril's activity or in the time of the Slav Apostles. In any case, we may suppose that some Latinisms, inasmuch as they cannot be traced back to either the Latinisms of the ancient Greek texts or of a Greek W-recension that served as a common source for the Latin and Old Slavic translations, penetrated the Old Slavic gospels primarily through the Moravianisms.—It is a fact that the Old Slavic gospels (and liturgic texts) obtained a great success among the Moravians as they were fully intelligible for them in the Slav Apostles' missionary work. (Szántó, Konrád: *A katolikus egyház története*.—The History of the Catholic Church. Budapest, 1983, Vol. I, p. 276.)

Consequently, in the question of Latinisms we must take a much more cautious and moderate stand than Pogorelov did on the one hand, and, on the other, some earlier scholars, who overvalued the significance of the

pre-Cyrillian Latin-German evangelization of the Moravian and Pannonian Slav peoples. In this connection I should like to mention only two recent opinions. E. M. Vereščagin calls our attention to the fact that there exists no Greek manuscript which could correspond in every respect to the wording of the Old Slavic gospels in relation to each other, not even inside one codex. In other cases, however, the peculiarities of Latin character (e.g. καρπὸν φέρετε ~ ПЛОДЪ СЪТВОРИТЕ ~ *fructum faciatis*; μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν ~ НЕ ВЪВЕДИ НАСЪ ΕΒЪ НАПАСТЬ ~ *ne nos inducas in tentationem*) correspond, beyond any doubt, to the ancient way of thinking in Latin, but these locutions appear in a number of other languages in Europe as well (444, p. 122). Let us add also that in Hungarian we find phrases that agree with the Greek versions in both cases, although all our archaic Biblical translations and ancient liturgical texts were prepared on the basis of the Latin versions. This again confirms Vereščagin's view (and that of L. Huntley, cited by him). The same view is held by the present author, as expressed earlier in this book. This is the principle of the parallel but independent development of calque neologisms, implying that the character of word compositions *can* lead to similar results in two (or even more) languages independently of each other, when translating from the same third language.

The other, to some extent compromise opinion, is represented by K. Horálek who does not exclude the Latin influence but believes that Cyril may have used sometimes the Latin text as an aid (not only the Vulgata, but also the *Vetus Latina*, and in some places perhaps even the Syrian text). Also he translated from the very first from Greek texts whose word use is near to that of the Latin texts.

K. Horálek admits that a number of "Latinisms" can be explained from the Greek texts of the W-type but even so he does not rule out the possible Latin translations having been used as sources for the Old Slavic texts. In his paper he also refers to the fact that the use of the Latin textual traditions is in keeping with Cyril's harmonizing tendencies, as shown, first of all, by the use of St. Peter's Liturgy, reflecting Eastern and Western Christianity alike. In his opinion the number of Latinisms is probably even higher in the Psalter, and on the face of it his argumentation appears to be plausible.

But well-founded doubts emerge on the part of the present author. Notwithstanding all his harmonizing tendencies, why should Cyril, who was a Greek and had a good knowledge of the Macedonian Slavic language of his age, have been compelled to have recourse to the Latin (or even the Syrian) language when he was translating from Greek into Slavic? Taking his great knowledge of languages into consideration, the influence of Coptic, Samaritan and even Arabic could be postulated with the same probability: he presumably borrowed some letter forms from the former two languages, and he must have known Arabic because, as his Legend relates, he had tried some missionary work in Mesopotamia as well. The examples of Latinisms mentioned above may

indicate, as I pointed out, knowledge of the Gothic text, too: in the Balkans and to the north of it as well as in Italy, Hispania and the Crimea there were still a few Goths in Cyril's time. There were some scattered groups maybe, by the Ister also in the 9th century, and in Crimea, perhaps until the 17th century, too.

The Moravianisms may also reflect Old High German features. In this I come nearer to Vereščagin's opinion: there is, sometimes, a danger of overestimating the role of Cyril's many-sided knowledge of languages and looking for its manifestations even in cases where we could rather speak about an instinctive stylistic creative power, or about popular locations, or simply about psycholinguistic parallelisms. The fact of taking over some letters does not necessarily involve lexical influence by the source language, just like the spontaneous parallelisms in human thinking and expression do not mean borrowing, either.

Therefore, summarizing the problem of Latinisms in the Old Slavic gospels we must state that they can be traced back at least to three principal sources:

a) The common I-(W)-, sometimes H-type Greek sources of the Old Slavic and Latin texts;

b) The primary Latinisms of the most ancient Greek protographs, first of all those in St. Mark's Gospel;

c) An indirect Latin influence that can be observed in Moravian and Slovenian, perhaps pre-Cyrrillian (partly—maybe—is result of Old High German, Italian or Irish missions) popular-pericopal texts (e.g. the Pater Noster).

The other "Latinisms" are presumably the creative inventions of Cyril himself, but in part they can be explained as fortuitous phenomena having, perhaps, psycholinguistic reasons.

#### POPULAR CHARACTERISTICS IN THE VOCABULARY OF THE OLD SLAVIC GOSPELS

In the discussions related to the place and language of origin of the Old Slavic gospels the idiomatic differences of the Old Slavic gospel versions, and the different parlances of the codices have been dealt with by Slavists, over many long decades, beginning from Dobrovský, Miklosich and Kopitar through Šafárik and Jagić until recent times (Kul'bakin, Il'inskij, Sobolevskij, Oblak, Lavrov, Ščepkin, Valjavec, Vondrák, Polívka, Pogorelov, Conev, Mirčev, Seliščev, Horálek—to mention only a few scholars). But I wish to mention only four names now, whose works reflect four different aspects of the question of the popular features.

V. Jagić deals with the question of Moravianisms in the *Appendix* of his edition of the *Codex Marianus* (pp. 463–471) and in 187, pp. 261–270, too. He does not agree with Vondrák's opinion about the Pannonian origin of the Marianus and Zographus, in contrast to the Bulgarian origin of the Assemani and Ostromir because some word-doublets may have been created in Moravia as well, and later their differentiation may have taken place in Bulgaria. (The Moravianisms, partly, may have risen owing to the earlier Irish, Scottish and Italian missionary work as well.) (Cf. also H. Tóth, Imre: *Life and Activity of Constantine—Cyril and Methodius*. Budapest, 1981. pp. 98–99.)

a) Here, e.g., the noun *жизнь* preserved its original meaning, 'life' as the Greek *ζωή*, while its doublet, the noun *животъ* acquired the meaning 'animal', as the Greek *ζῷον*, e.g. in the works of Johannes Exarcha. The latter Old Slavic noun then lost this later meaning, which came to be expressed by the substantivized adjective *животъное* which corresponds precisely to the neutral adjective form *ζῶον*, while the noun *животъ* re-acquired its original meaning, 'life' as we can see it in the texts of the Byzantine liturgy, e.g. in the Easter Troparion: *и сжштимъ въ грѣбѣу животъ подарѣвалъ* 'and for people being in their graves He bestowed life'.

b) As a calque-like solution, there is an interesting difference in the translation of Mt 27, 5 between the Marianus and Zographus, on the one hand, and the Ostromir and Savvina, on the other. The Greek text *ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγγξατο* is rendered as *и оушѣдъ възвѣси са* 'and going away, he hanged himself'. Undoubtedly, this latter translation stands nearer to the Greek original, and the former corresponds to the Latin *et abiens se laqueo suspendit*, similarly to the Gothic: *jah galeipands ushahhah sik*. Thus, the simplest explanation of the difference seems to be if we assume that the Latin, Gothic and the earliest Old Slavic texts go back to an undiscovered Greek MS of W-recension, or, which is perhaps more probable, to the looser wording of the translators deriving primarily from the effort to give a close translation of the content. The later *оудави са* is naturally a Byzantine-style correction of the Preslav–Bulgarian text-revising activity.

c) A similar situation arises in the case of the doublet *вода ~ потопъ*, interpreting the Greek *ὁ κατακλυσμός* 'the Flood'. While the Zographus and Marianus apply the phrase *дондеже приде вода* 'till the Water came' for translating the original *ἕως ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός* 'till the Water came', the Assemani and Ostromir show the variation *дондеже приде потопъ* 'till the Flood came'. The Latin texts use the word *diluvium* so this cannot be the source of *вода*; in the Gothic text this passage is missing. Consequently, the wording of the earlier Old Slavic gospel texts was perhaps a free translation "ad intellectum",

and the word  $\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\pi\iota\zeta$  — a calque neologism that was created on the model of the word  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

d) A doublet analogous to the above is the pair  $\text{снѣмъ}$  and  $\text{сѣборѣ}$  'council' in Mt 26,59: *omne concilium, quaerebant falsum testimonium* 'and all the council (Sanhedrin) was seeking false evidence'. The Old Slav codices render this passage as  $\text{I снѣмъ вѣсь и скарѣхъ ѡ ѡжа сѣбѣдѣтѣаѣ}$ , similarly to Latin "constructio ad intellectum", except the Ostromir and Savvina where we can read  $\text{сѣборѣ вѣсь}$  etc. As we have seen, the Latin interpretation is *concilium*; in the Gothic this locus is not comprised. Comparing all this from the etymological viewpoint, we can conclude that the two Old Slavic words seem to be neologisms which came into being under Greek influence. The word  $\text{сѣборѣ}$  appeared in the liturgical application of the Eastern and Southern Slavic peoples; thus it probably took its origin in Bulgaria, and consequently the word  $\text{снѣмъ}$  is a Moravianism. (Cf. the Proto-Slavic *\*sъjъmъ* → Polish *sejm* 'meeting, Parliament'.)

e) Similarly, differences of word usage can be found between the Savvina Kniga and the other archaic Old Slavic gospel codices (Zographus, Marianus, Ostromir, Assemani) in Mt 19,6:  $\delta\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \delta\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\ \chi\omega\rho\iota\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$  ~ *quod ergo Deus coniunxit, homo ne separet* 'that God has coupled, a man should not divide'. While the archaic codices generally translate this as  $\text{еже оубо богъ съчета, члвкъ да не разлжчаатъ}$ . The Savvina renders it as  $\text{еже оубо богъ сѣредѣ}$ , etc., and it adds to the sentence as completion the words  $\text{женѣ сѣа}$  'his wife' that may be a contamination with the end of the following verses; it may have taken its origin from a Greek recension which served as a basis for the Latin pre-Vulgata codices Veronensis, Colbertinus, Brixianus and Corbeillensis: *ne separet uxorem suam* 'should not separate his wife' (this passage does not exist in the Gothic). — Pogorelov sees, of course, a great number of Latinisms in the Savvina Kniga as well (343).

f) The parlance of Savvina Kniga differs from that of the other archaic texts in Mt 5,45, too:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ~ *et pluit super iustos et iniustos* 'and He gives rain to the just and the wicked' is interpreted as a rule as  $\text{дъждитъ на правѣдъныи и на неправѣдъныи}$  but in the Savvina Kniga this passage with the word  $\text{на обидѣлихъ}$ , instead of  $\text{на неправѣдъныи}$ . This latter is a calque of the Greek  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , just like the Latin *iniustus*, while the Gothic *invidipa* which is a derivate of the verb *invidjan* 'to turn away, to lead out of one's way', is just as an arbitrary calque neologism as  $\text{обиѣлихъ}$  in the Savvina Kniga (its etymology, according to Meillet and others, is *\*об-внл-*, i.e. it developed from a verbal stem and reflects an attitude similar to  $\text{за-внлѣвати}$ ).

g) In Jagić's opinion the composition  $\text{мало-моштѣ}$  is also a Moravianism, which corresponds to the sense of the Greek  $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; in fact, it is a living adjective form in the Czech and Slovak languages even today (*malomocný* 'weak').



h) Jagić also considers the adjective ΔΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΩΣ to be a Moravian idiom in the earliest Old Slavic codices for interpreting these the Greek ἄξιος while the Savvina Kniga produces a locution НА ПОДОБЪ in Mt 10,37; οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος ~ *non est me dignus*, 'he is not worthy of me' which it translates НѢСТЬ МИ НА ПОДОБЪ (all the other 5 archaic codices: НѢСТЬ МЕНЕ ΔΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΩΣ). It is certain that the enclitical dative ми instead of the genitive form МЕНЕ points to the Bulgarian character of the Savvina; at the same time, the relations of ΔΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΩΣ with the verb ΔΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΕΙ and the noun ΔΟΥΣΤΟΥΝΩΝΙΑ show that the adjective was occasionally used for interpreting the Greek ἄξιος. The Latin *non est me* (ablative) *dignus* and the Gothic *nist meina* (genitive) *vaird*, are the translations of the Greek texts; perhaps they had exerted some influence on the differences in the Old Slavic texts.

i) Jagić mentions many more examples on the Moravian doublets in his *Entstehungsgeschichte* (186, pp. 270–421) and they will be referred to again in the detailed treatment of the Old Slavic calques. At this point Horálek should be mentioned who, in his *Evangeliaře* (178, pp. 34–35) explains that there are a lot of Greek loanwords among these doublets parallel to the original Slavic words. These can be found, first of all, in the pericopae; it can be supposed that the tetraevangelia came into being by supplementing these aprakoi-evangelia.

α) Some Moravian doublets are, e.g. πίναξ: миса ~ бляуѣдо 'plate' Mt 14,8; Lu 11,39. γράμματα: бѣжкѣви ~ кѣнигы 'debuture'; 'Scripture': Lu 16,6–7; 23,38 705,47, 7.15. γράμματεус: кѣнижьникъ ~ кѣнигычии 'scribe': Mt 23,14, 23,15, 23,23; 8,19; 23,29; 23,34 πλοῖον: ладии ~ корабль 'ship': Jo 6,17; Mc 1,19–20; 3,9; 4,36–37; 5,18. πειρασμός: напастъ ~ искушениѣ 'temptation': Mt 6,13; 26,41; Mc 14,38; Lu 8,13; 22,28; 40,46; 4,13; 11,4. As for искушениѣ, it can be found in Lu 4,13 and 11,4 only, but it is unknown in the ancient aprakoi.

β) Some Greek doublets are, e.g.: καταπέτασμα: катапетазма ~ опона 'coverlet, curtain': Mt 27,51; Lu 23,45; Mc 15,38. The word опона does not occur in the most ancient aprakoi, although it seems to be an ancient Moravianism: it can be found in the Czech, Slovak and Polish languages (and due to the Church Slavic influence, in Russian and Ukrainian); later also we find завѣса, покрѣвь, занавѣсъ. σκηνή: скинии ~ кровъ 'tent, shelter': Mt 17,4, Mc 9,5; Lu 9,33; Lu 16,9. (The later codices apply the words сънь, кѣшта, храмъ.) Exactly this non-uniform word usage indicates that at first, similarly to the case of катапетазма the noun скинии was generally applied as a non-translated loanword, or perhaps, it was a word from Cyril's own Macedonian dialect that he brought with himself into Moravia from the region of Saloniki. In any case, Jagić's theory of the Cyrillian authorship of the aprakoi and the later Methodian authorship of the tetraevangelia implies, in the present author's opinion, that the earliest West Bulgarian (Macedonian) idioms of the Slav Apostles which they had brought from Saloniki were in a state of weakening, together with their Grecisms, compared with the Moravianisms at the time of the supplementing of

the pericopae into the full texts of the tetraevangelia; but as the later translators and transcribers soon had to take shelter in the Balkan peninsula and to transfer their place of activity to Bulgaria, the Moravianisms were soon ousted by a new, puristic, Preslav Bulgarian (East Bulgarian) usage that shows a Byzantinian character in its content.

We can find as many as 90 Grecisms, which had not been translated at first but later obtained their loan meanings just in the first Pannonian and Moravian gospel pericopae because of the special historical conditions while the ancient non-translatable Grecisms of the other biblical and liturgical texts (not considering the names of the months and feasts) were no more than 40. This fact again testifies to the ancientness of the pericopae. In any case, it would be worthwhile comparing the earliest Old Slavic aprakoi with the Old High German gospel harmony and its Greek, Latin and Syrian sources, and generally, with other Syrian, Armenian, Samaritan and Coptic gospel texts (as has already been attempted between the Latin, Gothic, Old Slavic, Syrian, and Armenian texts, either in pairs, or by three or four), because of Cyril's very great knowledge of languages, and the earlier Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian Greek recensions he may have used. (As it was mentioned, naturally, the parallelisms obtained cannot be *always* considered to be the results of some direct influence).

*Bulgarian and Macedonian (East and West Bulgarian)  
lexical variations*

The question of the correlation of Moravianisms and Bulgarianisms, if taking the historical conditions into consideration, leads us onto another field of the popular character of the Old Slavic gospels, namely to the differences between the Macedonian (West Bulgarian) Glagolitic and the East Bulgarian Cyrillian manuscripts. Seliščev makes mention in his work (381, I, pp. 31–32) of the difference that appears between the more mental way of translation in the Macedonian MSS, and the more verbal character in the East Bulgarian ones; he enumerates 15 doublets of this sort. From among these only the calque-like compounds will be examined here in some more detail.

а) ПОГРЖЖАТИ ~ ВЪДАТИ СЕБЕ ЕЪ ВЪРЖ НЪКОГО ~ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ ἑαυτὸν τιμὶ ~ *credere seipsum alicui* 'to rely on somebody'. In the archaic Old Slavic codices in our apparatus, in Jo 2,24: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐπίστευεν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ~ *ipse autem Jesus non credebat semetipsum eis*, 'Jesus himself, however, did not rely on them' is translated as follows: САМЪ ЖЕ ИСЪ НЕ ВЪДАДШЕ СЕБЕ ЕЪ ВЪРЖ ИХЪ, while the later East Bulgarian codices apply the verb ПОГРЖЖАТИ (cf. Russian погружаться, but Bulgarian погрѣжа се). The Latin *non credebat semetipsum* follows the original more rigidly than the Old Slav expression does; it cannot be found in the Gothic text. The early ВЪДАТИ СЕБЕ, in this use, is also one of Cyril's

own successful creations; the verb later became common in Russian and Bulgarian as well under the influence of Church Slavic, but with the suffix -ва-: Russ. вдаваться, В. вдавам се, as the aspectual doublet of вдаться, or вдам се, respectively.

b) ДОСТОЯНИЕ ~ НАСЛѢДИЕ are the translations of the Greek κληρονομία, with the meaning 'inheritance', occurring four times in the gospels, as in Mt 21,38: καὶ σχωμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ ~ *et habebimus hereditatem eius* 'and let us have (take off) his inheritance'. The earliest Old Slavic variations render this sentence as ѿ оудрѣжимъ достѣвнѣе его, but the later East Bulgarian texts carry the word НАСЛѢДИЕ instead of ДОСТѢВНѢЕ ЕГО; the word family of НАСЛѢДИЕ includes the verbs НАСЛѢДИТИ, НАСЛѢДОВАТИ, НАСЛѢДСТВОВАТИ and the adjective НАСЛѢДЪНЪ which occur several times even in the archaic texts. Both nouns have been preserved through Church Slavic, but with a difference in their meanings: while the Russian and Bulgarian достояние primarily means 'possession, fortune' today, the noun наслѣдие means 'inheritance, bequest'.

Similar loci for this word pair are: Mc 12,7; Lu 20,14 and Lu 12,13; this latter contains the form ДОСТѢВНѢЕ which is a more popular form.

c) ИСКОНИ ~ ИСПРѢВА serve to render phrases like ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐν ἀρχῇ 'in (from) the beginning'; the first Old Slavic form is more archaic while the second form can be found in later manuscripts. They occur in 9 loci of the gospels, as e.g. in Mt 19,4: ὅτι ὁ κτίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ~ *quia qui fecit [hominem] ab initio* 'that who created [the man] from the beginning'. The earliest Old Slavic versions say here ѣко сътвори ѿ искони.

Similar loci: Mt 19,8; Lu 1,2; Jo 8,44, Jo 15,27; Jo 16,5 and Jo 6,64 (ἐξ ἀρχῆς), Jo 1,1 and Jo 1,2 (ἐν ἀρχῇ). The later versions have the form ИСПРѢВА, but the archaic ones also apply this word in Jo 16,5: ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ εἶπον ~ *haec autem vobis ab initio non dixi* ~ сѣхъ же вамъ испрѣва не рехъ 'but I did not tell you these from the beginning'. The Latin *ab initio, in principio* do not suggest a special, strict relationship to any of the Old Slavic solutions mentioned but the Gothic *fram fruma, fram frumistin, fram frumistja* do; especially the Gothic *fram fruma* and the Old Slavic ИСПРѢВА match each other almost word for word.

d) НАТРОУТИ ~ НАПИТАТИ ~ ΤΡΕΦΩ 'to nourish'. This Old Slavic doublet occurs once in the gospel texts, Mt 25,37: Κύριε, πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν; ~ *Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem et pavimus te?* 'O Lord, when did we see Thee famishing, and did we nourish Thee?' The archaic manuscripts translate this question as follows: ꙗкогда та видѣхомъ алчуща, ѿ натроухомъ. The later codices use the verb НАПИТАТИ here; even among the archaic ones we read НАПИТАХОМЪ in the Ostromir, and НА-ПИТѢХОМЪ in the Savvina. In Jagic's opinion this is a direct Moravian or Pannonian Slavic influence. In fact, the archaic codices also use the simple verbs ПИТѢТИ or ПИТАТИ, respectively, in Mt 6,26, and вѣспитѣти (вѣспитати) in Lu 4,16. Step by step, the verb ПИТАТИ and its prefixed derivatives displaced the verbs ПИТѢТИ and

НАТРОУТИ in later linguistic records of Church Slavic (and the *вѣз-* and *на-* prefixation of *питѣти* also disappeared). The Latin version applies the verb *pascere* (in Lu 4,16: *nutrire*) for translating *τρέφω*, and the Gothic *fodjan*, so these simple verbs could not play a role in the creation of the Slavic compound verbs.

е) *наоустити* ~ *навадити* (and their synonyms) reproduce the meaning of the Greek *πείθω* in Old Slavic. Thus e.g. in Mt 27,20 we read: *οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπεισάν τοὺς ὄχλους* ~ *principes autem sacerdotum et seniores persuaserunt populis* 'but the superiors of the priests and the elders persuaded the people', and this sounds in the Zographus and Marianus as *архиереи же и старци наоустиша народы*, but in the Ostromir and Savvina the predicate is *надавиша*, and in the Assemani *научиша*. In addition the following synonymous verbs can be found in the Old Slavic New Testament texts: *оубыштати*, *оутолити*, *оумолити*, *творити*, *прѣпирати* and *припирѣти*. The Latin versions as a rule apply *persuadere*; in the Gothic these loci cannot be found. Thus, the Old Slavic verbs were used for rendering the Greek *πείθω* according to the sense of the original locus, choosing between the verb *наоустити* having the primary meaning 'to put into the mouth of somebody', and *навадити* the basic meaning of which was 'to lead onto it'. The Russian *наводитъ* and *навестѣ* or the Bulgarian *навеждам*, however, show that the East Bulgarian variant was the stronger rival (although it is certain that the Russian verbs *наускать*, *наускивать* (*наустѣть*) 'to set on, to investigate, to turn loose on' have preserved the relationship with *наоустити*.

*Parallels between the literary Old Slavic language  
and the Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects*

In addition to the foregoing mention should be made of at least one other aspect of the lingual popularity of the archaic Old Slavic codices, namely the fact that a significant part of their word stock (and what is more, a great number of the words which may be considered to be loan meanings) do not seem to have been merely the creations of an artificial or purely literary language, but they can also be found in many living Bulgarian dialects. Naturally, in the case of many of these words—especially of those, definitely belonging to theological and liturgical terminology—there can arise a well-grounded supposition that they became rooted in the vernacular under the more than millennial influence of Church Slavic on the Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects. However, there are many words among them which are so closely related to everyday life that the primacy of the dialects may be supposed with more reason. Moreover, some popular Grecisms of the Cyrillian translations as e.g. *сѣбота* (just as the German *Samstag*!) from the popular Greek plural form *σάββατα* instead of the literary *κοινὴ* and the Byzantine *σάββατον* enable the conclusion that Cyril

(Constantine), the Byzantine χαρτοφύλαξ in Saloniki (Thessaloniki) was familiar with the Middle Greek popular language as well and sometimes used the popular Middle Greek words when he started creating a written language from the simple Macedonian (West Bulgarian) "govor" of his city.

It is no wonder then that e.g., Conev in Part I of his *Istorija* . . . (71, I, pp. 83–108) deals in detail with the dialectal equivalents of the earliest Old Slavic texts. He offers an alphabetical glossary of the Old Slavic words which are not used any longer in the common Bulgarian language but are still found in some Bulgarian dialects (in the following decreasing order: South-Western or Macedonian, South-Eastern or Rhodopeian, North-Eastern and North-Western) either the words themselves or their derivatives; of course, some of them have undergone substantial semantic changes. These examples show that the popular word stock has been freely drawn upon by Cyril and Method.

From our point of view the following data and relations may be relevant:

Old Slavic (1)	Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects (2)	Meaning (3)	Place of occurrence (4)
БРАТОУЧАДИ	братучеди	'cousin'	Kostura
СЪБИВА СЕ	бива се	'to have a set-to'	Tetevo
ВЪНЕЗАПЪ	внезапъ	'unexpectedly'	Prilep
ГЛАГОЛЪ	глагол	'voice'	Kustendje
ГЛАГОЛЪ	глагол	'bell-clapper'	Kostura
НЕДЪЯТИ	недеал	'to pardon'	folk songs
ДВЕРЪНИКЪ	двернице	'doorkeeper'	folk songs
ДЪВНИЦА	девица	'girl'	folk songs
			(Tetevo)
		'bridegroom'	Rhodope
ЗЪРЪТИ СЕ	оузре се	'to observe'	Gablov, Târnovo
ИСКΟΥСИТИ	искуси	'to ask about'	Ochrida
КОУЗЪНЬЦЪ	кузници	'blacksmith'	folk songs
ЛѢСТЪВИЦА	лествица	'ladder'	Macedonia
ЛѢТЪ МИ КЪСТЬ (НѢСТЬ)	(не) мне лет	'I may (not) do it'	Ochrida
ЛОЖЕ	ложе	'bed'	Râzlog
ЛЪЖЪ	ложе	'liar'	Ochrida, Kazanlyk
МЪДЪНЪ	мудно	'slowly'	Vidin
НЕМОШТЬ, -ЪНЪ	немошь, -ица	'sickness'	all over the country
НЕЖИТЪ	нежитъ	' <i>Sedum tectorum</i> '	Šumen, Mace- donia, Kotel

Conev also mentions Šapkarov's collections which contain a great number of words known from Old Slavic and also found in some dialects, especially in Western Macedonia, near to Lake Ochrida. Some of these might be considered

in connection with the calque problem, such as бреме 'burden'; весло 'oar'; двояк 'double'; единок 'solitary'; двоеобразник 'astute man'; лестница 'ladder'; листопад 'fall of the leaves, autumn'; нагон 'instinct'; обещник 'professed monk'; одеяло 'blanket, coverlet'; пасинок 'stepson'; пашерица 'stepdaughter'; ужина 'a snack before dinner' and some others.

### *Proto-Bulgarian (Turkic-Bulgarian) peculiarities*

Seliščev (381, I, p. 33), dealing with the Codex Suprasliensis (which has an East Bulgarian character), mentions some Turkic-Bulgarian words unknown from other Old Slavic manuscripts. This is due to the historical fact that the Proto-Bulgarian influence on the South-Eastern Slavic dialects was strongest in the Eastern part of Bulgaria.

Such words are: капъ 'face, presentment, idol'; капиште 'place of the капъ, or 'the presentment itself'; боляринъ 'aristocrat, landlord, gentleman' from the Turkic word *boy* 'size, height' or *boylu* 'adult' or *bay* 'rich, noble' (cf. *Bayan*, the most famous khagan of the Avars); бълма 'landlord, aristocrat' from the root of боляринъ; its doublet is комисъ from the Byzantine κομής (latin *comes*).

From among the words ending in Turkic suffix -чии, Seliščev considers only the word самъчии 'functionary, leader' to be of Turkic origin; in his opinion, the others (сокачии 'cook', шаръчии 'artist', кръмъчии 'steersman, governor', кънигъчии 'clerk, scribe' are fully Slavic words consisting of a Slavic root and a Slavic suffix \*-ък + њі, \*-ък + њі.

In relation to the gospel texts, it is the noun кънигъчии that may command our interest, primarily because its root also seems to be rather of Turkic-Bulgarian origin than of Scandinavian, or Sumerian-Accadian-Armenian descent (265); furthermore, the adverb соуе mentioned above in connection with the Latinisms and the verb запечатлѣти which, in the former author's opinion, goes back to a Proto-Bulgarian base word rather than Caucasian one. A discussion of these words will be presented in the Glossary in some more detail.

### PRINCIPLES AND TERMINOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE CALQUE PHENOMENA

Before tackling the theme of Greek-Old Slavic lexical relations, testifying to the borrowing of the "interior form of language", it seems appropriate to briefly survey the general problems of calque phenomena.

Although the literature dealing with calques, compared to other research fields in linguistics, cannot be said to be very extensive it may be stated that the linguists who dealt with the question of loan meanings, made a considerable progress in the more exact elaboration of the problems and in establishing a more sophisticated terminology in their "thesauri" of examples and in their theoretical definitions.

Their theories are more or less comprehensive and in essentials reconcilable; they can also be complementary to each other.

Linguistic reflection or, at least, its most common form, which can be perceived by anyone who speaks at least two languages on an acceptable level, generally means that a lexicographic or phraseologic unit, or a morphological or syntactic regularity of a language is reproduced, part by part, by means of the corresponding elements of another language, in its entirety. The semantic congruence between the elements may be full or partial, and some transitory forms are also possible in this respect, both towards loan words and simple translations. In other words, it is the "internal" form of language that gets adopted, and not the "external" form of the language; i.e. the construction and meaning, not the sound envelope, although some of the transitory forms mentioned (semicalques or partial translations, hybrid word compositions) can combine the adoption of extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic forms. In Deroy's opinion (85, p. 216), the calque is "the (most) discreet variation of the linguistic borrowings, that does not offend the linguistic sensitivity of those, who use it".

The role of loan translations seems to increase in importance in the linguistic activities of individual peoples and of mankind as a whole as all the nations move towards a unified human culture and world civilization. Because of the many-sided relations between individuals and peoples, the whole sphere of material and cultural life has for many decades shown a tendency towards unification. It is no wonder that as early as in 1874 F. Miklosich (289, p. 740) stated that the analogous phraseology of the European languages was displacing the specifically Slavic expressions, and the peoples partaking of the common European culture are united, so to speak, into a single idiom. In the last third of the 19th century this phenomenon was named by Miklosich very aptly "Neo-Europeanism". Partly, our neology in Hungary also served this aim in the 18th–20th centuries (18). This tendency had been observed earlier, too, and since it has been evident both on small (interstate, regional) and on large (intercontinental) scales; thus a century after Miklosich's statement we can rightly add to the terms "Neo-Europeanism" and "Pan-European", terms referring to such cultural and linguistic spheres as "Eurasian", "Eurafrican", "Euramerican", "Afroasian", "Ameroaustralian", etc. B. L. Whorf, e.g. introduced the term "SAE = Standard American-European" in his book (456).

Hungarian is a secondary SAE language as stated by Gy. Szépe (406, p. 21). In fact, in some respects, e.g. with reference to the general use of a large part of scientific and technical terminology, we may speak about worldwide language contacts. In this way, calques do not only assist in ensuring the so-called "linguistic purity" but they are also fundamental means for the cultural levelling that began in Europe as early as in the 18th century.

A great number of examples of borrowing inner and/or outer linguistic forms have been provided, in a wider sense, by various mixed, secret (either clandestine or esoteric) and artificial languages since Antiquity. The archaic Latin ritual language of the heathen Roman priesthood is full of Etruscanisms, and in the Middle Ages, e.g. Saint Mechtild's "lingua ignota" is a real "glossolalia" in the religious sense, or in the modern history, e.g. the "macaronic" Italian-Latin poems of Folengo, or those of Magister Stopinus, we can find the characteristics of the bi-, tri-, or multilingualism just as much as in the esoteric-sacral languages of the Indonesian, Polynesian, African or Red Indian (Ameroindian) peoples, or e.g. in the mixed Arabian-Persian-Turkish texts of the Balaibalan, that came into being in the early modern age, on a "Hurufi-Moslem" medium. The taking over of inner and outer linguistic forms appears even more manifestly in the "lingua franca"-type languages (Pidgin and Creole types) which have developed in a natural way. This latter category represents a transitory state from mixed languages serving regional communication aims towards popular, and even national languages deriving from a mixture of languages, as e.g. Papamiento in some islands of the Caribbean Sea, etc. (33). Caused by bilingualism, "the speakers of one language may begin to use a simplified form of the other group's tongue (pidginization), which in turn is passed on to children as their first or mother tongue (creolization)". (Lieberson, St.: *Language Diversity and Language Contact*. Stanford, Ca., 1981, p. 133.)

The situation is similar, although more complicated, in the so-called "mixed-type" artificial languages (e.g. Volapük), and in the "a posteriori"-type artificial languages as well, either "schematic" as Esperanto, Ido, or "naturalistic" as Interlingua; whether it is a "zonal" language project as Idiom Neutral, or an "intersystematic" as Interlingua, the mixture of several intrinsic and extrinsic forms is characteristic (409).

Because of an increasing recognition of the importance of calque phenomena, the interest of linguists has from time to time turned towards the problems of the principles and terminology of calques, as manifested in some sections of the scholarly works on Old Slavic, and also in some articles concerned exclusively with the problem of calques. In view of the fundamental importance of these problems for the present monograph, we shall briefly survey the theoretical statements of the literature of calques illustrated with the authors' examples (without the claim of completeness), and we shall make some remarks and addenda to them; finally, we shall attempt to explain our own view of terminology.



*A brief historical survey of the theory of calques*  
(A critical review and some addenda)

After the above-mentioned statement of Miklosich, almost a quarter of a century had passed until Jagić's essay on Slavic word composition appeared (187); later he devoted a special chapter in his principal work, the *Entstehungsgeschichte* . . . , to this question (186). Here we can content ourselves with mentioning only one of his statements, namely, that Slavic languages originally had no special inclination to create compound words; thus the calque-type Old Slavic (largely later Old Slavic or Church Slavic) *composita*, established under Greek influence, were essentially as foreign to the Slavic languages as the Polish, Czech, Croatian, Slovenian or Russian calques created in the 19th century primarily under German influence. Consequently, German *Dampfschiff* ~ Russian пароход ~ Polish *paroplyw* ~ Slovenian *parabrod* 'steamship' are as alien to the original Slavic linguistic outlook as Czech *okamžení* or Polish *okamgnienie* 'moment' (word for word: 'twinkling of an eye') created also on the model of a German word: *Augenblick*.

S. Singer takes his material, besides Slavic, from other European languages as well (385), and he divides calques into two groups: "Bedeutungsentlehnungen" (borrowings of meaning) and "Bildungslehnwörter" (loanwords by derivation). From among his examples let us mention here some German-Russian parallels (though some of them, in the present author's opinion, may also be regarded as calques from French words: *Abstand* ~ отстояние 'distance, difference'; *anständig* ~ пристойный 'proper, decent'; *Ausstellung* ~ выставка 'exposition, exhibition' (French 'exposition'); *Bildung* ~ образование 'formation, instruction'; *Lage* ~ положение 'condition, situation' (French 'situation'); *nachgiebig* ~ податливый 'compliant, indulgent'; *Entwicklung* ~ развитие 'development, evolution' (French 'evolution'); *umständlich* ~ обстоятельный 'circumstantial, intricate'.

The theory and terminology were further developed by K. Sandfeld-Jensen (372) who, on the basis of a number of Germanic, Neo-Latin, Slavic, Finnish and Hungarian examples, makes a distinction between freer, neologistic loan translations, half-borrowed, half-translated new words and calques proper. As an example for the first group he mentions Latin *paeninsula* ~ German *Halbinsel* 'semi-island' as a characteristic word pair, for the second group German *wohlthätig* ~ Danish *velddaedig* 'charitable, beneficent', and for the third Latin *paeninsula* ~ French *presqu'-île*.

In the same year as Sandfeld-Jensen's appeared O. Weise's book (452), in which the author refers to calques as "Begriffslehnwörter" (conceptual loanwords), and he also determines a new group among them which he calls "freigeschaffene Ersatzwörter" (freely established substitute words). As an example, he brings forth the parallel between French *milieu* ~ German *Umwelt*

'environment, surroundings', the creation of a new word moulded on the pattern of an alien word, i.e. in essence he recognizes calque neologisms.

Three years later a linguistic work of fundamental importance appeared, that of F. de Saussure (374), where we can also find some interesting remarks concerning the conceptual sphere of calques. Speaking about folk etymology, he cites several compound words deriving from a false "recognition" of the meaning of a word of another language. Thus e.g. French *aventure* 'adventure' received the form *Abenteuer* in German: it seems it was associated with German *Abend* 'evening' (perhaps because adventures were usually narrated (or effected) in the evening). German *Sauerkraut* gave rise to French *choucrouste* 'crusty cabbage' (word for word 'picked cabbage'); the intention to make the word "more meaningful" resulted in a re-ordering of constituents as well. Similarly, Greek-Latin *margarita* 'pearl' in the gospel texts became *mari-breor* in Old High German, i.e. 'maritime pebble', and Latin *carbunculus* was transformed by folk etymology into *Karfunkel* (because the 'burning coal' or the 'carbuncle' scintillates, or seems to throw out sparks: German *Funkel* 'spark'). French *escarboucle* took its origin from the same Latin word, with the same meaning, but its form was associated with French *boucle* 'bracelet, snap'. Greek-Latin *dromedar(ius)* 'one-humped camel' has become by German popular etymology *Trampeltier* from the German words *trampeln* 'to patter', 'to shamble' and *Tier* 'animal', though the description 'pattering' or 'shambling animal' does not fit only camels or elephants, as in the cited locus of the gospel (the story of the Three Magi).

On the whole, Saussure's examples are either partial translations or semiloan translations (semicalques) or calque neologisms deriving from a false "recognition", like most of the composita of popular etymology.

After this statement it is worthwhile reverting to a profound observation of Saussure's that analyzes the similarities and differences of analogy and popular etymology. Both have the common property that in them we apply meaningful elements placed at our disposal by language. But their radical difference appears in their psychological origins: "L'analogie suppose toujours l'oubli de la forme antérieure . . . Au contraire, l'étymologie populaire se réduit à une interprétation de la forme ancienne . . . Ainsi, dans un cas c'est le souvenir, dans l'autre l'oubli qui est à la base de l'analyse, et cette différence est capitale" (374, p. 216).

Now, if we relate this statement to the concept of loan translation, we may infer that loan translation is a doublefaced phenomenon for which the statements made on the psychological bases of both analogy and popular etymology are equally valid. In order to create a loan translation, it is required, on the one hand, to well remember the meaning and "interior linguistic form" of the language of origin: the way of word composition, the formation or combination of words (otherwise, instead of loan translation, another kind of translation would arise, right or unright); on the other hand, it is necessary to

forget the sound envelope of the foreign word compositum, word group or expression, the “exterior linguistic form” (otherwise, instead of loan translation a loanword would arise, perchance phonetically accommodated to the adopting language, or just a full or partial popular etymology). Consequently, loan translation, if we consider its origin, is a bipolar phenomenon, and it shows a “dialectical” bipolar unity: as for its “internal linguistic form”, it belongs primarily to the language of origin; its “external linguistic form”, however, joins it principally to the adopting language. It should be noted, however, that in many cases, especially in the case of partial translations and calque neologisms of a popular etymology character, the new word created clearly indicates that neither of these forms can be considered as belonging to a single group of linguistic borrowings. Robert Bead calls the multilingual parallel phenomena “the intersection of the diachronic and synchronic axes”. His selected multilingual (German–French–Russian–Modern Greek) lexical parallels are mostly morphologic, in less part phraseologic calques. (*The Indo-European Lexicon*. Amsterdam–New York–Oxford, 1938, 1981, pp. 281–308.)

In our opinion, there is another doctrine of Saussure’s that has a reference to the calque problem: i.e. if we apply the thesis of the contradiction of syntagmatic and associative relations, to the contradiction between real and virtual mnemonic sequences, the opposition of their existences “in praesentia” ~ “in absentia” to the translation forms, then per analogiam we can draw a parallel between the poles of antithetic notion pairs. If we represent the psychic process between them by means of vectors, we come to the results seen in the Graphic presentation of loan translations and popular etymologies on pp. 40–41.

This figure can also be represented in the form of a proportion, cf. Saussure’s French example: *pardonner: impardonnable = décorer: indécorable*.

If one of the four members is unknown, we can deduce it from the other three, e.g.: *pardonner: impardonnable = décorer : x (= indécorable)*, or, in other words, it can be represented as a simple equation with one unknown:

$$a : a_1 = b : x, \quad \text{where}$$

$$x = \frac{a_1 b}{a}$$

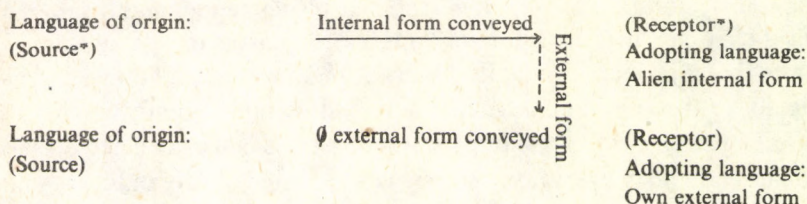
If we substitute the French word ‘*pardonner*’ for *a*, *impardonnable* for *a*<sub>1</sub> and *décorer* for *b*, the wanted *x* (= *b*<sub>1</sub>) is  $\frac{\textit{impardonnable} \times \textit{décorer}}{\textit{pardonner}} = \textit{indécorable}$  (of course, we have to be aware of the phonetic law of regular variation of *in* ~ *im* in French words inherited from Latin).

In more recent years one of A. Meillet’s works on general linguistics (274) also deals with the problems of borrowing and he also mentions two phrases as examples for calques: the German *was für* ~ Russian что за parallelism, and the

*A graphic presentation of loan translations and popular etymologies*

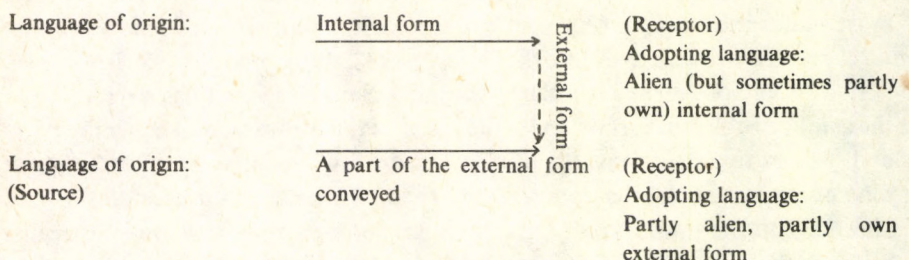
a) *Real full loan translation*

(A compound, or a derived word, a word group, or an expression)



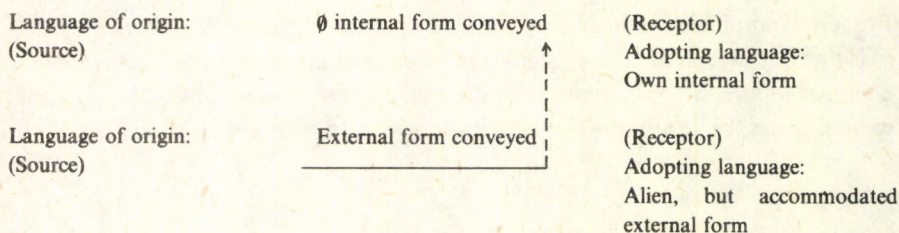
b) *Partial loan translation*

(The former categories)



c) *Popular etymology, Type 1.*

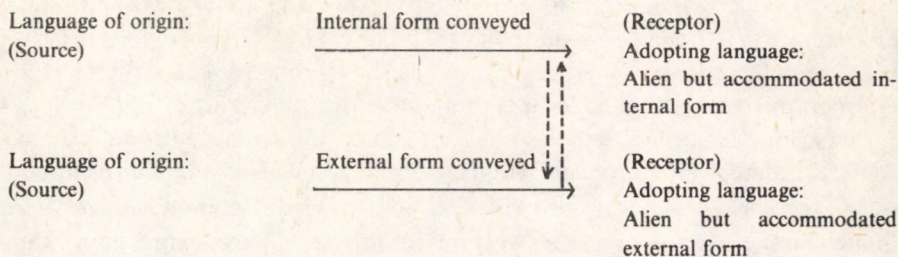
(Type: *dromedarius* ~ *Trampeltier*)



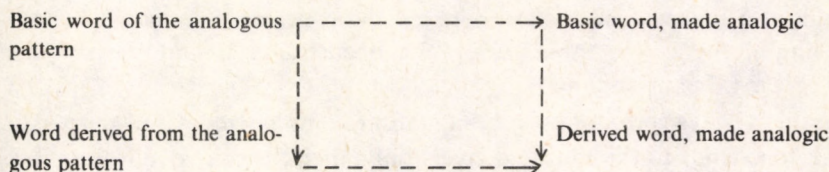
\*The terms "Source" and "Receptor" are used for the language of origin and the adopting language, respectively, by Nida and Taber (317).

Greek  $\kappa\alpha\theta' \epsilon\nu\alpha$  ~ Low Latin \**cata unu* (Spanish *cada uno*, Italian *caduno*) compositions (he speaks of the latter ones as of the models for the hybrid word compositions). Sometimes it occurs that the same compound has got a twofold calquization in another language. E.g. German *Tierzucht* 'animal husbandry' is *állattenyésztés* in Hungarian, but *jószágtenyésztés* also among the Hungarians living in Yugoslavia; similarly, German *Filmserie* is *filmsorozat* in Hungary, but

d) *Popular etymology, Type 2.*  
 (Type: Sauerkraut ~ choucroute)



e) *Analogous word formation*



*sorozatfilm* among the Yugoslavian Hungarians. (Cf. Hernádi, S.: *Szó—beszéd.* — Word and Speech. Budapest, 1981, p. 229.)

A German translation of an essay by the Danish linguist O. Jespersen was published at the same time as Meillet's book (193). It also alludes to the calque problem in brief (p. 197), citing examples mostly on the basis of the aforesaid work of K. Sandfeld-Jensen, with a special reference to the Danish language.

Prof. B. O. Unbegaun rendered great services to linguistic science (434) not only by giving a detailed explanation of calques in the Slavic languages but also by clarifying, in a general way, the theoretical and terminological problems of loan translations. In the introductory part of his work he states: "Le calque est un emprunt de la forme interne." In his opinion, consequently, the phonetic form only belongs to the adopting language, while the sense of the word or expression is linguistic content, borrowed from the language of origin. Thus, there exists something common between the calque and its source, namely the process of expressing. Therefore, a loan translation attains a real and permanent existence only if the internal form of the word is immediately comprehensible. If this identity of inner forms is lacking, no calque is possible; in this case the *sense* ("Sinn") is common in the two languages but the *signification* ("Bedeutung") differs. This is the case of simple translations, as a rule.

However, it is not important that the internal form should have the right etymology in the adopting language. Popular etymology is just as suitable for the creation at the internal form as the right etymology, so it can give rise

to a real calque there. Thus, Czech *králík*, Polish *królik* 'rabbit' are real semantic borrowings on the basis of Middle High German *Küniklin* (cf. Bavarian-Austrian *Königlhas* ~ *Könighase*, while the literary Modern High German form is *Kaninchen*), although the Middle High German word is based on a popular etymology from Latin *cuniculus* 'rabbit', as in Middle High German this word was felt to be a diminutive of *Künik* 'king'.

Unbegaun also calls attention to the fact that certain syntactic relations can be found in almost all European languages, as e.g. *sommeil profond* 'profound sleep', *pêcher en eau troublée* 'to fish in troubled waters', *lune de miel* 'honeymoon', *dent de sagesse* 'wisdom tooth', etc. These expressions were taken over by one language from another in succession. Here not only single words were translated, but also word groups which comprise and supersede the aforesaid elements with respect to the meaning of the whole expression. Unbegaun also makes a distinction between the concepts of *calque* ("Lehnübersetzung"), the *calque sémantique* ("Lehnbedeutung"), and the *calque phraséologique* ("Lehnwendung").

A calque always presupposes bilingualism, emphasizes Unbegaun. If bilingualism extends to the educated layers only, then the calque, owing to its origin and sphere of application, will be a "mot savant"; however, if bilingualism involves most layers of a nation or nationality, then several calques of "mot populaire" character can come into being. These latter "popular" loan translations belong, first of all, to two special categories: they are a) either structural (part for part) calques as e.g. German *Pech haben* ~ Slovenian *iméti smolo*, i.e. they are the loan translations of whole expressions or syntagmata, b) or they are semantic calques when an existing word of the adopting language receives a new meaning or new meanings which could only come into being on the basis of the meanings of the model words, as e.g. the secondary meaning 'to read' or the Slovenian verb *brati* on the basis of the double meaning 'to collect' and 'to read' of German *lesen*, which, on its part, reflects a similar dual meaning of its model, the Latin word *legere* (cf. also the meanings of Greek λέγω), originally 'to collect with sorting out'.

These two kinds of loan translations have become important in the popular language because the adopting language can carry out loan translation with its existing linguistic means without being required to create new "internal forms". As a result, the popular language rarely forms "common" or "real", "structural" calques, i.e. compound or derived structural loan translations.

The loan translations of "learned" (or frequently and more precisely: pedantic or hypercritical) character are, however, mostly word compositions and derivations. This method of creating loan translation can flourish only in languages where it belongs to the usual methods of enlarging the word stock.

The capacity and inclination of Slavic languages to *décalquage* ('making loan translations on the basis of words of alien languages') is less than that of the

German languages, but it is stronger than in Latin and Neo-Latin languages as observed by Unbegaun. To this general statement it should be added that the role and significance of calques varies in every single language, depending on the people and the historical conditions; this is also true for individual Slavic languages. Generally, it can be considered characteristic that most of the Slavic languages, in most ages, showed a preference for phraseological and semantic calques over morphological ones in a strict sense, i.e. to compound and derived calques. Words of the latter type were created, from time to time, mostly under some alien literary influence.

This is in agreement with Unbegaun's theoretical position, cited above, that the popular language prefers semantic and phraseological calques to compounds; in the popular language even suffixed calques outnumber compound calques. In the middle of 9th century, the Old Slavic language was a very young popular language, compared to Armenian, Greek, Latin and Gothic with their written records, not to speak of such languages as Greek, Hebrew, Syrian-Aramaic or Coptic, Armenian, Georgian and Iranian, to enumerate all the languages that could have exerted some influence on the Cyrillian or Methodian translations—not speaking of course, in this relation, about other old languages which could not do so as Sanskrit, Ethiopian or Arab. In any case, it seems to be reasonable to distinguish and separate “calques savants” and “calques populaires” in this respect, i.e. “literary” and “popular calques”.

Unbegaun's theoretical results were further developed by W. Betz (42) in the theoretical introduction of his work, in its dictionary material and summarizing tables alike. In this monograph Betz determines (42, p. 2) how one language can exert an influence on another, and he provides a classical characterization of calque types. “Das bekannteste und siehbarste wichtigste—die *Lehnbedeutung*, die eindringlichste, nächst der *Lehnbedeutung* häufigste und am wenigsten untersuchte Einwirkung ist die *Lehnübersetzung*. Eine schwächere Form der *Lehnübersetzung* ist die *Lehnbildung*, eine selterne Art des Einflusses: die *Lehnschöpfung*.”

Subsequently, he gives a more detailed classification of loan translations, illustrated by Latin ~ Old High German parallels.

a) He assumes the concepts *Lehnwort* and *Lehnbedeutung* to be well-known, therefore he does not explain them. The former corresponds to the category of *loanword*, the latter is identical with the *semantic calque*.

b) The term *Lehnbildung* means the partial translation of an alien word, i.e. one of the components is translated precisely, but the other receives a much freer treatment as e.g. Latin *patriarcha* ~ Old High German *hohfater*, or Latin *oratorium* ~ Old High German *betehus*.

c) The term *Lehnschöpfung* or *Neuschöpfung* means the creation of a new word in the adopting language modelled on a word of the language of origin, when the adopting language does not imitate the model either in compounding

or derivation, but it endeavours to reflect its meaning, connotational content and emphaticum. Whether a new word belongs to this group is much more difficult to decide than in the former cases. Such words in Betz's glossary are e.g.: Latin *substantia* ~ Old High German *gitragida*; Latin *experimentum* ~ Old High German *arsuahnissa*; Latin *experientia* ~ Old High German *pifindunga*. For practical purposes, we call such calque-like words *calque neologisms*.

d) The term *Lehnübersetzung* 'loan translation' corresponds to the calque type which an ordinary "bilingual" person without any linguistic experience is able to notice; in our opinion, even more easily than the semantic calque that Betz considered the most frequent and well-known type of calque, i.e. the translation of compound or derived words, or expressions into another language, constituent for constituent. Betz keeps on stressing that here a profound amalgamation of two languages takes place; the *Prägung* ~ *typus* ('stamp', in this relation, the calque of Greek τύπος) of an alien language will be "formed once more" with the linguistic matter of the adopting language. That is, a concept from the language of origin creates a phonetic form for itself in the adopting language, as in Betz's examples; Latin *abstinentia* ~ Old High German *firhabida* 'abstinence, abstention'; Latin *praeiudicium* ~ Old High German *furgisona* 'prejudice, preconception'; Latin *conscientia* ~ Modern High German *das Gewissen* 'conscience, conscientiousness'.

After presenting his calque terminology, Betz expresses his opinion that there are two very important theoretical problems that can be raised concerning the origin of loan translation (naturally, he deals with the questions on the basis of his concrete subject, i.e. Latin ~ Old High German linguistic relations). These two questions are:

1. Was the new word really first formed on meeting the supposed language of origin?

2. Was the adopting language enriched in its expressive potential (by compounding, derivation or establishment of a new figurative expression) through the creation of a new word?

A positive reply to the second question includes the affirmation of the first question, too. If the answer to the second question is negative there are two alternative replies to the first. Consequently, the similarity of two words, showing a parallel inner form and meaning in two languages, can produce three cases:

- a) The new word in the adopting language means an enrichment of expressive means, and the word comes into being due to the encounter with the language of origin; in this case the word is a *real structural calque* (in Betz's terminology: "echte Lehnübersetzung"), or a *real partial calque* (in Betz: "echte Lehnbildung").

- b) The new word does not mean an enrichment of expressive means in the adopting language, but it is certain that it came from another language; this



word is not a real structural calque or a real partial calque, respectively (in Betz's terminology: "unechte Lehnübersetzung" and "unechte Lehnbildung"). In our opinion, however, the fact of superfluosity and needlessness cannot be the basis of a formal category; if a new word came into being according to a foreign pattern, it has to be considered as a calque even if a corresponding term had existed much earlier. This category of Betz's can be applied only if the stylistical value of a word is in question in the adopting language. (A number of such calques went out of usage during the lingual reforms of several languages, as a rule.)

c) The new word does not mean an expressive enrichment in the adopting language and it is also probable that it did not come into being under the influence of another language, supposed to have been the language of origin; this situation, in Betz's opinion, is indicative of a structural correspondence between two related languages ("Bauentsprechung"). This third category is that of *phenocalques* in our terminology, the examination of which does not fall within the scope of the subject of loan translations. We also wish to remark here that such structural correspondence or an expression based on a similar metaphor is possible not only between related languages; therefore it very often happens that in the case of adjacent but unrelated languages some puristical cultivators of the language consider certain word groups, derived or compound words to be loan translations although they came into being without any influence from a foreign language (cf. the putative "Germanisms" of the Hungarian language).

Some problems of detail concerning calques are dealt with by Ch. Bally (21). His remarks, relating primarily to Franco-German language contacts, can also be applied in judging contacts between other languages. He stresses, e.g., that in French there is a number of compound words of Latin-Greek origin which do not bear any semblance to the simple French equivalents of the Latin-Greek constituents of which they are composed. Thus e.g. French *regicide* 'regicide' does not have anything in common with the words *roi* 'King' and *tuer* 'to kill' in its external form; neither does *anthropophage* 'man-eater' with *homme* 'man' and *manger* 'to eat', in contrast to German *Königsmörder* and *Menschenfresser*. The German language is much more inclined to good compositions than French, therefore existing French composita are less forceful and expressive than their German equivalents, as shown by Bally's examples: *retrograder* ~ *rückwärtsgehen* 'to fall behind', *intromission* ~ *Einführung* 'reception, coming into force', *inoxydable* ~ *rostfrei* 'rust-proof'.

Bally's statement about the difference of French and German in their abilities for compounding words (and thus, for creating calques) sustains Unbegaun's aforementioned opinion about the differences of Neo-Latin and German languages in creating loan translations. But the question arises whether this forceful compound word is more successful from the viewpoint of content than

reproduction of the sense by explicative loose translations, partial translations or calque neologisms? It is not at all! Thus, e.g., is not the primary Old Slavic privative compound ПЕРЪЗДЪНЪ — word for word: ‘non-empty’ — a much more proper and more pleasant solution for Greek ἔγκυος ‘gravid’ than the later КЪ ЧРЪВЪ ИМЖИТЪНА ОГ ИМЖИТЪНА ВЪ ЖТРЖЕВЪ (word for word: ‘having in her womb’)? (Mt 24,19; Mc 13,17; Lu 2,5; 2,21; 2,23.)

Bally makes another observation in relation to the German–French parallels (21, p. 304): “Les calques (ou emprunts par traductions) différent parfois de leur modèle par quelque *détail surajouté* . . .” He mentions the examples as follows: *tiré* par les cheveux ~ an den Haaren *herbeigezogen*; *mener* par le bout de nez ~ an der Nase *herumführen*; *cela ne compte pas* ~ das *zählt nicht mit*; *ne rien laisser à désirer* ~ nichts zu wünschen *übrig lassen*.

In these parallels, the “*détail surajouté*” ‘auxiliary detail as a surplus’ (we could call this more freely as a “supplementary element for increasing the strength of meaning”) lends such a liveliness and suggestiveness to the German word groups that cannot be found in French.

We can state that this phenomenon often plays a role in the earlier Old Slavic calques, too. It may be supposed that it is just this presence of the “*détail surajouté*” that is the cause of the fact that Greek non-prefixed nouns and verbs were often translated into Old Slavic by prefixed words, e.g. τρέφω ~ НАПИТАТИ and НАТРОУТИ ‘to nourish’, πειρασμός ~ ИСКΟΥШЕНИЕ and НАПАСТЬ ‘temptation’ etc. Inasmuch as the use of these additional elements occurs in the case of all the categories of ordinary and loan translations in Old Slavic, we cannot consider it to be a special type of calque, but a general feature of Old Slavic translation techniques based, in the last analysis, on a conscious or unconscious endeavour to achieve precision and vigour, just as in the case of the German–French parallels.

In the elaboration of the theoretical concepts in the examination of calques, E. Haugen (167) followed an independent path. He proceeded from the notion of “Sprachmischung” ‘mixing of languages’ mentioned already by Hermann Paul (333) but he added that a speaker who *is* in possession of his normal abilities, always *knows* which language he is using in speaking or writing and reading, therefore we can never properly speak of a full mixing of languages.

Haugen’s new viewpoints and his new kind of synthetism exerted a beneficial influence on the theory of calques. He pointed out several transitory phenomena between loan translations, on the one hand, and accidental similarities and simple translations, on the other. The cardinal points of his system were established on the basis of the linguistic features of the English or mothertongue speech of non-English people (Norwegians, Portuguese, Italians, Germans) living under American conditions. Therefore, the “classical” forms of loan translations, stressed by Unbegaun and Betz, play a minor role in Haugen’s theoretical works. For our subject, the Greek ~ Old Slavic lexical reflections,

the statements of the former scholars are, however, more important; Haugen's terminological innovations and theoretical theses appear more useful in examining bilingual phenomena in living Slavic languages, although his fine distinctions are illuminating in studying calques of all types.

In the last two decades Soviet linguists have also shown increased interest in interlinguistical problems. Thus, L. A. Bulachovskij's university textbook (61) deals with the problems of calques in a separate chapter, explaining the origin of the word "calque" (French "calque" means 'copy, taken on a transparent linen or paper'), and he supplies Russian examples for calques and semicalques (hémicalques); he also calls them "ка́льки" and "полука́льки".

L. Deroy (85) does not mention Bulachovskij's book, although his bibliography includes many Eastern European works. His 500-page essay deals in detail with all kinds of linguistic borrowings, thus e.g. with semantic borrowings as well, but he does not mention the term "calque"; he only states that a language can borrow not only whole words from another language but also their parts, the morphemes and phonemes. Then he adds:

"Mais il arrive souvent également que l'on prenne à l'étranger quelque chose de plus immatériel: des significations nouvelles, qui viennent s'ajouter aux sens anciens de mots traditionnels. C'est l'emprunt sémantique."

In a footnote L. Deroy remarks that the German term for semantic borrowing is "Bedeutungsentlehnung" (85, p. 93). However, his large example material makes up for the laconism shown in the determination of concepts. Apparently, he adheres to a stricter than necessary interpretation of the idea of "borrowing", thus he only includes semantic calques ("Lehnbedeutung") in the category of "semantic borrowing", and he does not extend this category to the groups of calque neologisms, structural calques (compound or derived loan translations) and semicalques (partial loan translations). For our subject, i.e. the calques of the Old Slavic gospels, some of his examples from the Greek text of the New Testament are very valuable: some words are indicative of translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, therefore they have an additional meaning (difference or surplus) if compared to Attic Greek usage. Such words are, e.g. ἡ χαρά: Attic 'joy' ~ New Testament also 'feast, banquet', cf. Hebr. שִׂמְחָה; διέρχομαι in Attic 'to pass through' but in New Testament also 'to proceed', cf. Hebrew אָבַר; τὸ ῥῆμα: Attic 'speech, words', but New Testament also 'command', cf. Hebrew דִּבְרָה; φέρω: Attic 'to bring, to fetch' ~ New Testament also 'to lead', cf. Aramaic אָבַל; δίδωμι: Attic 'to give' ~ New Testament also 'to place, to set', cf. the Hebrew verb נָטַן.

Sometimes the Greek text of the gospels only renders *one* of the meanings (not always the most proper one) of a word supposed to be of Aramaic origin, as e.g. Mt 24,16: τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη ~ *tunc qui in Judea sunt, fugiant ad montes* 'then who are in Judea, should escape to the mountains' where we do not know why the Evangelist should lay stress on escaping to the

mountains in Judea that is full of mountains. However, in Lu 15,4 we find the syntagm ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ 'in the desert' parallel to ἐπι τὰ ὄρη 'onto the mountains' in Mt 18,12. The solution is, as Deroy (85) points it out on the basis of his exegetic sources, primarily P. Joüon's studies, that the supposed Semitic source of Matthew's Gospel used the Hebrew מִדְבָּר 'desert' for the Aramaic טְנָה 'mountains' and 'uncultivated area', and not the Proto-Semitic form דְבַר \**dabr* 'mountains' known from Arabic and Ethiopian. The Old Slavic gospels, as well as the later Slavic translations, use a "décalquage" reflecting the Greek (and Latin) texts which give different and imprecise translations of the Aramaisms of the three loci mentioned.

From among the semantic calques of Christian terminology presented by Deroy let us mention only two: The French expression *édifier quelqu'un par sa conduite* 'to set a good example for somebody' (and, by this, 'to be edifying for him') is considered by Deroy and his source, Bally (21, p. 176) to be derived from the secondary meaning of the Latin verb *aedificare* in its Low Latin form, and the Latin word, in this case, is the loan translation of Greek οἰκοδομέω in the use of the Greek Church Fathers. (Cf. also Russian Church Slavic домострои!)

The other example is taken from H. Kronasser's (234) work which is mentioned there in relation to M. Luther who used the Hebrew text of the Old Testament in his translating but also took the Latin and Greek versions of his predecessors into consideration. Luther rendered the Hebrew adjective מְמָה by the Middle High German *frōm* 'good, brave, honest, legal'. But the Hebrew word occasionally has the additional meaning 'pious, devoted' which follows naturally from the world view of the Bible; in such loci Luther could have used more properly the Middle High German words *gotvorhter*, *gotwert*, *gotlied*, *gotelich*, as these German words had already existed. However, he adhered to a consistent German translation; therefore, the original meaning of *frōm* almost fell into the background.

It is also worth mentioning that I. Rizescu's work (363) divides calques into two principal groups: lexicological and grammatical calques. In the first group he makes a distinction between *semantic calques*, involving enrichment of meaning, and *lexicological calques* proper which interpret a compound or derived word or an expression components by components. With respect to the creation of loan translations, he is of the opinion that there is a direct proportion between the calque-producing ability of a language, and its general capacity to create compound and derived words.

In our opinion, every language is able to create derived words in a wider sense, even isolating languages, for which the almost fully assimilated compounds (in practice, ex-compounds) play the role of derived words; classical examples for this phenomenon can be found in Chinese. Therefore, loan translations may come into being in every language; it is just the Chinese structural calques, or rather, calque neologisms that prove this thesis. It is a fact, however, that the

practical ability for creating compound words varies from language to language, thus the chance of forming loan translations is also different for each language. This shows a correlation with the second rule established by Rizescu: "grammatical" calques (i.e. the *décalquage* of a morphological or syntactical law of one language in another) can be formed in every language much less easily than lexical calques. This is only natural because the internal laws of a language cannot be changed easily; these laws are modified much more slowly than the word stock. The history of languages offers few examples for such changes. See, e.g. the so-called "French" comparative and superlative of English adjectives (*more statical* ~ *plus statique*), or the so-called French genitive, also in English (*the house of the father* ~ *la maison du père*), or, e.g. the dialectal superlative forms of the Gipsy adjectives: *naj šukārē* (Slavic superlative), *mai šukārē* (Romanian superlative), *leg-šukārē* (Hungarian superlative) 'most beautiful', where the alien particles of the same sense are used to create the superlative of the original Gipsy adjectives.

Finally, the author states that the greatest need for loan translation arises when translating from one language into another, if they are very distant from each other. On the other hand, peoples endeavouring to establish a common culture, e.g. socialist states, must also resort to loan translations, e.g. in order to unify their common ideological, political or technical terminology; in some cases, the *décalquage* is a concept in close connection with standardization.

Betz's terminology is used and completed by H. Gneuss (131) who dealt with Old English calques, and similarly it is the terminology of Betz that K. Schumann also uses in his work (379) relating to loan translations, since he considers it very exact and well-suited. Schumann extends the validity of Betz's results, obtained for Latin ~ Old High German translations to Greek ~ Old Slavic relations as well (cited from Betz's work, 42, p. 210):

"Es kann nicht nur sprachlich Unvermögen sein, das diese neuen seltsamen und so oft um Lateinischen klebenden sprachlichen Gebilde schafft, es muss eine bestimmte Überzeugung dahinter stecken, etwa derart, dass das Wort Gottes in strengste Treue wiedergeben werden muss, wenn es sich auch noch so schwer in die eigene Sprache fügen will."

However, as we shall see in the course of our examination of Old Slavic loan translations, Schumann might have been mistaken in thinking that Betz's evaluation could be applied "ohne weiteres" ('without further ado') to the Old Slavic translations. Bearing in mind Jagić's, Conev's and Seliščev's fair and positive evaluations, it seems safe to say that Cyril's and Method's translations, although closely following the "Божие слово" in their faithful respect for the text of the Bible and in their humility in interpreting it, are also characterized by the stylistic art of the writer's personality. The first Slavic translators of the Bible freely drew upon the Slavic word stock brought from their native country but they also applied a number of variants from the Slavic linguistic features of their

new environment to enable them to always render the Greek original by the most suitable version.

Betz's and Schumann's opinion may hold true for Wulfila's Gothic Bible translation, because for this interpreter, apparently, a close literal translation of the text is more important than the "linguistic field". In Wulfila's case the statement that, first of all, text exerted influence on another text, not one language on another language, seems to be justified. Naturally, due to the widespread use of the Gothic language and liturgy among other Eastern Germanic tribes, their close relation and the temporary supremacy of the Goths over other Germanic tribes of Arian confession, a number of conscious "parole" phenomena probably developed later into conscious "langue" phenomena in Gothic, diminishing the distance between the "mots savants" and "mots populaires" of this language.

Otherwise, Schumann illustrates Betz's terminology by Greek-Old Slavic examples, too, and he amends it as follows: for all borrowings of non-phonemic character taken together, he applies the term *Lehnprägung* which is common in German linguistics ('loan impression'). Within this he distinguishes the following groups (we mention his Greek-Old Slavic examples only):

a) *Lehnübersetzung* ('loan translation'): translation of the alien model (either of a compound or a derived word) e.g.: πλεον-εξία ~ лихо-имѣствие 'avidity'; μονό-κερως ~ ино-рогъ 'unicorn'; γραμματεὺς ~ книжникъ 'scribe'; ἱερεὺς ~ свѣт-и҃тель 'priest'; πολί-της ~ гражд-анинъ 'citizen'.

b) *Lehnübertragung* ('loan metonymy'): only a partial borrowing of the alien model, by means of a new derivational pattern, e.g.: υἱο-θεσία ~ въ-сыненіе 'adoption for sy's son'.

c) *Lehnbedeutung* ('loan meaning'): an additional taking-over of meaning in a word of the adopting language derived from an equivalent word in the language of origin, e.g.: κοίμησις 'sleeping, death' ~ ποκοи 'sleeping', but in the Bible translations also 'death' as in Greek; ἦχος 'voice, echo; liturgic mode of singing' ~ гласъ 'voice', but on the basis of Greek, the liturgical meaning is also found.

d) *Lehnwendung* ('loan version'): imitation of an alien turn of speech, e.g.: πορείαν ποιεῖν ~ шикствие творити 'to cover a distance, to make a journey'.

e) *Lehnsyntax* ('loan syntax'): imitation of an alien syntactic feature (function or construction), e.g.: ἐπηρωτᾷ αὐτόν, εἴ τι βλέπει ~ 'interrogavit illum, quid videret' ~ въпрашиє њ, аште чѣто видитъ 'he asked him about what he saw'.

f) *Teillehnwort* ('partial loanword'): a word of the adopting language, consisting of an alien part and a loan translational part, e.g.: θεο-στυγής ~ бого-стигъ 'god-hater'. This rare category was later referred to by Betz as mere translation. However, Schumann does not regard such new formations on alien bases (calque neologisms), termed *Lehnschöpfung* ('loan creation') by Betz as calques.

g) On the other hand, he sets up a new category of calques which he calls *Lehngliedzusatz* ('loan member addition'), thus developing Betz's terminology. This new category is derived from the contamination of analogous and loan translation. In this way compound or derived words from the language of origin are translated by a word group, consisting of two or more elements, but one of these is the equivalent of the whole original compositum or derivatum, without the other part(s) as well. Thus, e.g.: εὐ-λαβής ~ ДОбро-ГорѢиНъ 'pious', 'cautious', παρὰ-πτωμα ~ Грѣхъ-ПаданиЕ 'crime', σώ-φρων ~ ЦѢло-МѢДРЕНъ 'intelligent', εὐ-χρηστος ~ ДОбро-ПотрѢБЕНъ 'useful'.

In the case of these Old Slavic composita it is the second part that renders the full sense of the Greek compound word; the first component is an emphatic addition; in essence, it is similar to the "détail surajouté" mentioned by Bally (21) for the German language as opposed to French (see above), and it means a transition from analogous translations and structural calques to calque neologisms.

Schumann does not deal with Betz's categories of *Lehnwendung* and *Lehnsyntax*; he is interested in the single word or single expression ("einzelnes Wort oder einzelnes Ausdruck"), not in word groups.

In classifying calque phenomena we shall refer back to the Betz-Schumann-terminology; now we should like to make only two remarks:

1. In our opinion, both Betz's *Teillehnwort* and *Lehnschöpfung* and Schumann's *Lehngliedzusatz* belong to calques; they represent transitory categories from loan translation towards loanwords or analogous translation and intralingual word formation, respectively.

2. The bracketing of *Lehnwendung* and *Lehnsyntax* together by Schumann does not seem fully justified inasmuch as the former category is rather more of a lexicological and, besides, of a more permanent character than the syntactic *décalquage* that is mostly of grammatical nature and is realized in highly variable conditions. Although syntactic borrowings exhibit some degree of relation to the *Lehnwendung*, still they stand nearer to morphological borrowings in view of their formal and logical relations (inasmuch there are such morphological borrowings between two languages, as in the case of Old English and French-Norman).

I. Fodor (115) deals with the role of linguistic borrowings primarily from the viewpoints of history and cultural history (p. 196-210) and, on the other hand, of the cultivation and correct usage of language. He points out the importance of loanwords from the above viewpoints, but his statements *mutatis mutandis*, apply to calques, too. All kinds of linguistic borrowings indicate relation between the two peoples, the educational level of the adopting people; in many cases, to the origin or development of the object denoted, and the positive or negative influence of the linguistic borrowing on the adopting language.

The fact of this many-sided correlation is one and perhaps the most important piece of theoretical evidence of support of the statement that linguistic phenomena, in spite of the differences that show up both in the morphological and genealogical classifications of languages, may ultimately be related to common underlying principles. These are called by Noam Chomsky, the pioneer of transformational generative grammar and one of the greatest linguistic philosophers of America and of the 20th century, "deep structures" concerning our "faculté de langage" ("innate mental structure") and our "tacit knowledge that emerges with exposure to appropriate experiences" (psychological base!) (69). As it may be assumed that nobody is predisposed to learn one language rather than another, we can draw conclusions relating to this "innate mental structure" from any language. This idea was also raised by Descartes, the great linguistic philosopher of the 17th century, and in the experiments of Leibniz aimed at developing a universal grammar, in the *Grammaire* of Port-Royal: all grammars and languages have to satisfy some formal requirements.

Here the question may be raised on our part, whether the basis of calque phenomena is the "deep structure" or "innate mental structure", using Chomsky's terminology. We have seen that languages do not show the same inclination (not even within the same family or group of languages) for loan translations, or they have different preferences for the several types of calques. Nevertheless, the possibility or capacity for creating calques cannot be denied for any language, whether we are referring to calques in general or some specific type thereof. This statement may be evidenced by the religious works of the great world religions, thus e.g. the Bible and some liturgical texts (holy mass, sacramentaries, priestly offices), and also by some frequently translated philosophical works, e.g. those of the classic thinkers of Marxism-Leninism, and also some scientific, technical or literary works, translated into a wide variety of languages. So we have to assume that, similarly to Chomsky's formula, general formulae can also be set up for calque phenomena which express the mechanism of their possibility in a concise form. In our opinion, such generative formulas can be, e.g. the following ones:

<i>Formula</i>	<i>Type of calque</i>
1. $IF_{LO} + EF_{AL} \rightarrow Ca_{CW}, Ca_{DW}, \text{ or } Ca_{Ph}$	Real structural calque (compound or derived), or phraseological calque
2. $IF_{LO} + \frac{EF_{LO} + EF_{AL}}{x \text{ or } y} \rightarrow Ca_{Pa}$	Partial translation (semicalque)
3. $M_{LO} + EF_{AL} \rightarrow Ca_{Se}$	Semantic calque
4. $M_{LO} (IF_{AL} + EF_{AL}) \rightarrow Ca_{Ne}$	Calque neologism (pseudocalque)



The meanings of the symbols:

+	= connection	LO	= Language of Origin
→	= effect, result	M	= Meaning
AL	= Adopting Language	Ne	= Neologism
Ca	= Calque	Pa	= Partial
CW	= Compound Word	Ph	= Phraseology
DW	= Derived Word	Se	= Semantics
EF	= Extrinsic Form of a word or expression	x, y	= a part of the word or expression
IF	= Intrinsic Form of a word or expression		

Similar symbols and formulas, but on general semantics, see e.g. in Uriel Weinreich's book: *On Semantics*. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

I think that these symbols and formulas could be the symbolic basis for a generative theory and the representation of loan translations of different kinds.

In 1971 Éva Ruzsiczky published a review (370) of Eva Martins' monograph (269). It was not only the linguistic interference studied on Hungarian material by Eva Martins that Ruzsiczky evaluated (set a good example for studying interactions between Hungarian and the continuous languages), but she also criticized her theoretical, methodological and terminological procedures. Eva Martins surveys the works of the authors who have dealt with the problems of calque and concludes that of all them, despite their deficiencies, have contributed to the clarification of the principles and terminology.

She notes, however, that the different viewpoints of these linguists also lead to one-sidedness. Thus, e.g., she considers it a fault that Betz's terminology separates form and content which leads, in her opinion, to the unilateral stressing of the content side in the *Lehnbedeutung* (semantic calque), whereas in the case of *Lehnübersetzung* (compound or derived calque) and *Lehnübertragung* (loanword) to that of the formal side, although all kinds of borrowing and transfer presuppose both the form and the content. Therefore, in Martins' opinion, Betz's separation of form and content in principle and in terminology cannot be right.

At the same time, however, she introduces a new term for similar creations, the term "literarische Lehngebrauch" ('literary loan application') corresponding to all kinds of Betz's *Lehnprägungen*, that should be considered a 'similar literary use'. By this she means, as her reviewer, Ruzsiczky states, the usage that e.g. Kazinczy the great Hungarian neologist prompted by the literary fashion or a foreign author's individual style, applies in his works. É. Ruzsiczky regards as a weak point in E. Martins' terminology that the author of the monograph did not

clear up either the relations between Betz's terms and this "similar literary use", or the problem how the semantic calque and the "similar literary use" could be identical, as the former can be both a "langue" phenomenon and a "parole" one, while the latter is a typical "parole" phenomenon.

It seems to me that both E. Martins and É. Ruzsiczky present very useful viewpoints, although they have to be supplemented. E. Martins' new term, the "literarische Lehngebrauch" is a useful one although it cannot always be distinguished from *Lehnbedeutung*.

In the series *Slavistische Forschungen* of the Böhlau Verlag appeared (in the same year as Eva Martins' work) a valuable study by Robert Zett, under the title *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nominal-Komposita im Serbokroatischen* (459). He supplies us with a classically concise definition of the most characteristic groups of calques: "die Nachbildung der Nominal-Komposita nach fremdem Muster." He calls the whole group of calque phenomena *Lehnprägungen*, stating that K. Sandfeld-Jensen's division (372) of these into three principal classes is basically correct even today. R. Zett then presents a brief but comprehensive review of the works devoted to calque problems, and states that his terminology is based upon that of Betz, H. Gneuss (131) and K. Schumann (379). R. Zett divides the calques into 7 classes (459, pp. 2-28):

1. *Lehnbedeutung*: as German *Ente* from French *canard* 'false report, hoax' ("analoge *Lehnbedeutung*"). But such equivalents as  $\beta\omicron\gamma\zeta$  for  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau\beta$  ~  $\delta\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\epsilon\beta\omicron$  ~  $\omicron\upsilon\theta\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\rho\alpha\iota$  ~  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha$  ~  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\iota\alpha$  don't belong to this category, but to the "Substitütierende *Lehnbedeutung*" i.e. a subcategory which includes the original sense of a lot of ancient Slavic words as Zett points out. In our opinion, its place is between semantic calques and simple translations.

2. *Lehnübersetzung*: as German *Wolkenkratzer* ~ English *skyscraper*; German *Zufall* ~ Latin *accidens*, or as  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\rho\nu\eta\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa$  ~  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  *Geistlicher* ('priest'),  $\mu\iota\tau\eta\nu\alpha\nu\iota\nu$  ~  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  *Laie* ('layman'),  $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\eta\iota$  ~  $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$  etc., and the names of liturgical books. In Croatian Church Slavic we find a lot of structural calques of Latin origin: *otkupiti* ~ *redimere*, *stozernik* ~ *cardinalis*, *sjemenište* ~ *seminarium*, *čistilište* ~ *purgatorium*, etc. — As for modern Serbo-Croatian calques, it is often difficult to decide whether a Latin, Neo-Latin (French, Italian) or a German word was the model of the new word.

3. *Lehnübertragung*: where the foreign model is only partially translated; the translated part will be "modified, enlarged or reduced" as Betz, Schumann and Zett state. Thus e.g.

a)  $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ~  $\tau\rho\beta\eta\zeta\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron$ , *Eisenbahn* ~ *železnica* 'railway', *Bleistift* ~ *olovka* 'pencil', i.e. the compound word is rendered by a simple (mostly derived) word;

b)  $\sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\beta$  ~  $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\iota\nu\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron$  ~ *sacramentum*, *Vaterland* ~ *patria*, *Fegefeuer* ~ *purgatorium*, etc., i.e. the simple word is rendered by a compound;

c) *Bahnhof* ~ *kolodvor* 'railway station', *Landwirtschaft* ~ *poljopriveda* 'agriculture', *Blitzableiter* ~ *gromobran* 'lightning-conductor', etc. i.e. the first part of the model compound is transformed;

d) *Glaubensbekenntnis* ~ *vjerezakon*, *Fußball* ~ *nogomet*, etc., i.e. the second part of the model compound is transformed;

e) φιλολοΐδορος ~ χογλολυβικς, *Schauspiel* ~ *igrokaz* 'dramatic piece', *Ehrfurcht* ~ *strahopočitanje* 'homage, reverence', etc. i.e. the parts of the model compound are transposed.

4. *Lehngliedzusatz*, where a part of a compound calque is added to a translation (or calque), which is meaningful even in itself, e.g.: εὐλαβής ~ доброговѣинъ, μακροθυμῶν ~ дълготръпѣликъ, παραπτώμα ~ грѣхъпадание, Dutch *admiraliteit* ~ Russian адмиралитѣйство. (In the two latter cases the supplement is added in the second part of the word of the receptor language). These new words also exhibit a certain relation to the calque neologisms.

5. *Lehnschöpfung*: a formally independent new formation of a (mostly compound, or derived) word, for translating a foreign (mostly compound or derived, but often also simple) word. Thus e.g.: *Kraftwagen* ~ *Automobil*, *Weinbrand* ~ *Cognac*, *Umwelt* ~ *Milieu*, Serbo-Croatian *kazalište* ~ *teatar*, *glazba* ~ *muzika*, etc. These words are the typical creations of a puristic tendency, related primarily to the neologicistic movements (linguistic reform in certain languages).

6. *Lehnwortbildungstyp*: imitation of some foreign ways of word formation, e.g. συγγενής ~ съродъникъ, συμφυλέτης ~ съплъменъникъ, French *contemporain* ~ Russian современник, German *Mitschüler* ~ Russian соученик, etc. This type often produces analogous examples without a foreign model; if not, it can hardly be distinguished from real structural calques, in our opinion, in a lot of cases.

7. *Teillehnwort* or *Teilübersetzung* (Russian: полукáлька ('half-calque') here: "semicalque" or "hémicalque") comes into being when only one part of a foreign compound word is translated, while the other part remains untranslated, e.g.: θεοστυγής ~ богостигъ 'who hates (or is hated by) God', German *Baumwolle* ~ Czech *bavlna*, Polish *bawelna* 'cotton'.

Zett also deals with the "décalquisation" of proper names in Serbo-Croatian which also belong to the various groups of *Lehnprägungen*, both personal and family names and geographical names; but naturally there is no semantic calque (*Lehnbedeutung*) among them. Using his terminology, they are mostly *Lehnübersetzungen*, *Lehngliedzusätze* and *Lehnschöpfungen*, sometimes motivated by popular etymology as *Lavoslav* 'Leopold' (on the basis of Latin *leo* 'lion'), or *Orahovica* ~ Καρυαῖς (on the basis of the Greek καρύα 'walnut').

Probably even de Saussure himself could not decide in each case whether to consider it "a langue" or a "parole" phenomenon. Whether we think of the difference between ἐνέργεια and ἔργον, the classical terms of Aristotle and

Humboldt, or of the contraposition of “supralangue” — “infralangue” in J. Dombrowszky’s essay (101), proposed on the basis of the former contrasting pair of concepts, or of Jespersen’s opinion who, in essence, considers Saussure’s terms to correspond to the Aristotelian–Thomistic “actus” and “potentia” (the “langue” is the norm, the “parole” is the individual variation), we must declare in all these cases that both of the calque types mentioned occur in both categories.

In categorizing calques, Eva Martins devotes special attention to the grouping of compounds, too. The basis of her classification is the part of speech of the first component, and she lists her German–Hungarian parallel examples in accordance with this principle.

She also deals with interpreting and qualifying phrases and multiple compounds especially with prefixed and suffixed verbs and generally with derived words in the role of calques.

Her viewpoints concerning the classification of compound words (thus, among them, real structural calques) appear most useful in raising the problem of *relations*. She establishes her grouping on the basis of the works of the Hungarian linguists Zs. Simonyi and, partly, L. Deme. She distinguishes three main groups of relation:

a) *object* relation, e.g. German *Sprachneuerung* ~ Hungarian *nyelvújítás* ‘language reform, neologism’ German *Teilnahme* ~ Hungarian *részvétel* ‘partaking, participation’, etc.;

b) *possessive* relation, e.g. German *Fensterglas* ~ Hungarian *ablaküveg* ‘window-glass’, German *Mondschein* ~ Hungarian *holdfény* ‘moonshine’, German *Weltteil* ~ Hungarian *világrész* ‘part of the world, continent’; etc.;

c) *adverbial* relation, e.g. German *Steinwand* ~ Hungarian *kőfal* ‘stone wall’, German *Goldring* ~ Hungarian *aranygyűrű* ‘golden ring’, German *Lederhandschuhe* ~ Hungarian *bőrkesztyű* ‘leather gloves’, etc.

This third group includes a lot of transitory categories as some types are in contact with the other two groups; or, as E. Martins herself admits an *attributive* relation group can also be separated.

It should be mentioned here that E. Martins usually calls the word created on the basis of a foreign model “Neologismen”, and the translations, created on the basis of a foreign model but not translated part for part, “Nachneologismen” ‘neologisms on the model of an alien model’ (which we designate calque neologisms or pseudocalques).

It would be very instructive to examine calques as models of *speech acts*, too. J. D. Apresjan (14), on the basis of the works of two other Russian linguists (the structuralists A. K. Žolkovskij and J. A. Mel’čuk) mentions “lexicological functions” (LF) among the semantic models of analysis and synthesis. These “lexicological functions” are lexical substitutions and lexical parameters, i.e. operations, performed in translating into the “semantic language” in such a way

that "to a given word *X* another word *Y* is set into correlation so that it stands in connection with word *X* in a way determined by its meaning, on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of the language". One kind of lexicological substitution is the synonym as a lexicological function. The author cites Russian examples, such as: Syn. (организа́тор) = учреди́тель 'organizer'; Syn. (бить) = колоти́ть 'to beat'; Syn. (большо́й) = значи́тельный 'big, important', etc. Here a question arises: if, in the case of calques, we handle the words of the original and adopting languages as the subjects of translating into the "semantic language", we could develop similar formulas for calques, with some necessary modifications. Such a formula, in my opinion, could be as follows:

Syn. *x* language (ad libitum) I = *y* language (ad libitum) II where *x* means the original language and *y* the adopting language. In concrete cases, the formulas could be changed or supplemented by the letter signs of the languages involved. But, if we regard this series as a genetical process (e.g. an Old Slavic calque of Greek origin), we can apply the sign of development instead of equality:

Syn. Greek (ἀχειροποίητος) → Old Slavic (нержкотворенъ), or Syn. (ἀχειροποίητος)<sub>1</sub> → нержкотворенъ.

In my opinion, it is right to treat the calque and its original as "synonyms" because not only their meaning, but also their inner form (the way of composing or deriving) is the same in the two languages, as one of them is the loan translation of the other.

A contribution to the theory of calques was also made by A. M. Rot (366-9) who examines views concerning the causes and forms of bilingualism. He emphasizes that the concept of "language contact" does not only refer to the phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism, or linguistic substratum. In his essay he deals primarily with the linguistic contacts between the Finno-Ugric and Eastern Slav peoples, and those to be found in the Carpathian Basin from several points of view. In another essay (368) he examines the connections between Carpathianisms and Balkanisms, and states that these two groups of linguistic phenomena appeared mostly in the 2nd-9th centuries. He classes loanwords and loan translations as "permanent language contacts" (366, p. 52). Calques may be formed due to "permanent external contacts" (resulting from the contacts of languages belonging to different social-political units), but the tendency to form calques is much stronger in the case of "permanent internal contacts" (when different language groups belong to the same social and political communities). If we consider the formation of calques, we can expect that the calques of a "mot populaire" character may have come into being in the process of "intra-regional" (sometimes only "marginal") interactions. Loan translations of "mot savant" character, however, could have been created in the intercommunication of even such peoples which did not live in contiguous territories, and not only in "permanent" but also in "casual" contacts.

If we examine the creation of calques from the viewpoint of directness of intercourse, it is the natural language contacts that must be first taken into consideration (these are, in general, permanent and intraregional), but sometimes artificial linguistic connections can also be included (e.g. the study of languages at school) which cannot always be regarded as purely casual, because (366, p. 54 f.) as Rot points out, artificial contacts may develop into natural ones by means of regular intercourse (e.g. continuous contact with foreigners, during and after the study of languages at school).

All these conditions may promote, besides other manifestations of language contacts, the creation of calques. If we describe early Greek-Old Slavic language contacts of popular origin (and among them at least some of the calques) in Rot's "contact terminology", we can say that these linguistic contacts were from the second half of the 7th century on intraregional, natural and permanent.

However, the situation is not so unambiguous in the case of Old Slavic translations of the gospels, psalms and liturgy i.e. the very earliest texts: they represent casual, non-marginal, partly artificial language contacts, since their beginning was caused by a historical event that can be related to a fixed date, the well-known request of Rostislav, reigning prince of Moravia. So this first group of written records of the Greek-Slavic language contacts was prepared for a region remote from the contact area of the two language communities, and it was supplied with the linguistic features of this distant country. But at the same time, as it is made plausible by the comparative historical phonetics and morphology of Slavic languages and, partly, by Bulgarian dialectology, in the neighbourhood of Saloniki these language contacts were mostly based on natural, intraregional, permanent and internal language contacts (in Rot's terms).

As far as the calques of these religious texts are concerned, the greater part of them may be supposed to have been the result of the above-mentioned casual, non-marginal and artificial causes. This is proved, besides the historical conditions and the objective semantic aspects of the loan translations, by the difference that appears in the propensity of the Greek and the Slavic languages for producing compound words. However, the fact that it is just in the oldest Old Slavic gospel versions that there is a relatively great number of semantic calques that seems to point to a natural, popular character.

From the viewpoint of the theory of calques and, at the same time of the loan translations of the gospels in particular Edit Hexendorf's (175) essay is especially interesting because the author accentuates here that the calques of Hungarian Bible translations also differ depending on the language from which the interpreter prepared the translation, and the language of some other texts that he may have taken into consideration. While during the Middle Ages most Hungarian Bible translators used only the Vulgata text, the Protestant interpreters of the 16th century used the Hebrew and Greek texts as their chief source; however, they also utilized the Vulgata for their aims, and in several

cases, even the texts of Erasmus, Beza and Tremellius, just like Luther in his German translation. Thus the linguistic sources and the types of the words created are very different (175, p. 103); there are certain calques which appear in isolated cases only, but there are also some recurrent ones, and some generalized in the religious style. A few of them have found their way even into the standard language.

The author examines (175) the interferential calque series, consisting of Hebrew אָפִים אֶרְךָ ~ Greek μακρόθυμος ~ Latin *longanimis* ~ German *langmutig* ~ Hungarian *hosszútűrő*. The Hebrew expression originally meant a person who is 'waiting for a long time', 'patient instead of being angry', 'getting enraged only late'. In addition to a number of loci in the Old Testament, this compound adjective occurs once in the New Testament, too, in Lu 18,7 as a denominal verb: μακροθυμεῖ ~ *patientiam habebit*. The author of the essay deals mainly with the German and the Hungarian parallels, pointing out that in the course of almost five hundred years the solutions *késedelmes a haragra* (word for word: 'dilatatory for rage') and *hosszútűrő* ('long-tolerating', 'having a long patience') proved to be best for Hungarian because in contrast to other solutions, they were neither too ordinary, nor too general in their meaning, nor too unusual or foreign-sounding word groups or compounds. From among the two correlative calques it is the former which exactly reproduces the sense of the Hebrew word group while the latter is more characteristic of the general and the Hungarian biblical language, and it is used outside the Bible translations as well. It is not a calque in the gospel texts, therefore it will not be discussed here in detail. However, it should be noted that recent Slavic and Hungarian translations interpret this passage in different ways; some of them translate it as 'although He delays in punishing those' but others as 'although He delays in protecting them (his faithful)', due to the extreme conciseness of the Greek verbal form μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς and the Latin expression *patientiam habebit in illis*. In the Church Slavic, in other biblical loci we find for μακρόθυμος the corresponding adjective дълготърпеливъ, and for μακροθυμέω the corresponding verb дълготърпѣти; their continuations in Old Russian are: дълготърпѣливъ, дълготерпѣти, and in the Kralice Bible *dlhočekající* i.e. 'long-waiting'.

The Hungarian *hosszútűrő* 'long-tolerating' seems to stand nearest to the Slavic calque, but, taking its mediaeval antecedents and its Protestant origin into consideration, we think it could have developed without Slavic influence. From the viewpoint of comparing loan translations it is very instructive to place side by side words of the same meaning in multilingual dictionaries, in multilingual polytechnical vocabularies or in multicolumnal parallel texts of several languages. (Cf. the earlier polyglottic editions and explanations of the Bible, prepared by Jews, later also by Christians; naturally, the parallels do not mean descentence if the historical facts do not support it.)

Thus, for the texts to be analyzed here the subject of the multicolumnal manuscript work of Imre Timkó–Nándor Molnár is important. In this work the authors compare the Greek original text of St. John Chrysostomos' Liturgy with its translations into recent Church Slavic, Romanian, Hungarian, Latin, English, French, German, Italian and Esperanto, and with the earliest Hungarian translations which came into being at the end of the 18th century, which in spite of their sometimes Romanian, sometimes Church Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian and Slovak) character, contain a number of solutions indicative of the Hungarian way of thinking. (It should be noted here that the Latin and Western European translations were not originally prepared for liturgical aims, but they can be applied for this purpose.)

We should like to mention only two examples from this work, which can be considered phraseological parallels: Greek. θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας ~ Church Slavic сѣмѣрѣнѣж сѣмѣрѣть попраєѣ 'Thou hast trodden death by death'. The Hungarian translation deviates from its liturgic models: *Legyőzted halállal a halált*, not similarly e.g. to the French but to the German versions: *Écrasant la morte par votre mort*, but *den Tod überwindend durch deinen Tod* 'defeating the death by your death'. However, the Greek text is reproduced very precisely (even in its typography) in English: *and by death thou hast trampled Death 'by your [personal] death you have trodden under [defeated] the [universal, menacing all the people] Death'* (421, p. 27).

A similar variation of translations is as follows: μήτις τῶν κατηχομένων ~ ДА НИКѢТО Ѡ ѠГЛАШЕННЪИХЪ ~ Romanian *că nimenca din cei chemati* '[Let] none of the catechumens [remain]'. Hungarian and other languages complete the exclamation with the required verb. The Western languages do not translate the participle κατηχομένος following the Latin translation; the Italian and French texts apply the Greek–Church Slavic way of expression, in contrast to German, English and Hungarian. The essential meaning of the texts, of course, is the same in every version.

With respect to South-East European linguistic interrelations and calques László Hadrovics's observations on Serbo-Croatian calques of Hungarian origin in several versions of the Southern Slavic Troy Novel are very enlightening. Disregarding now the great number of "lapsus calami" and reflections of the Hungarian word order, we only refer to the semantic loan translations (152, p. 137): *Gyűlést tenni* ~ *učiniti zbor* 'to hold a meeting', *búcsút venni* ~ *vazeti (prijeti) proštenje* 'to take leave of', *szerencsére vetni* ~ *založiti na (za) sreću* 'to leave to chance', *szerencsét kísérteni* ~ *kušati (pitati) sreću* 'to try one's fortune'. The parallelisms of verbs are the strongest proof for the loan translation character of these Serbo-Croatian words, indicating a Hungarian model, as L. Hadrovics pointed out.

In this respect, Papahagi's essay (332) is very informative by giving an explanation about the Hungarian compound *napáldozat* 'sunset' that also has its



Balcanic parallels: Greek ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει ~ Albanian *diëlli përrëndon* ~ Romanian *soarele asfințește*, word for word: 'the sun is reigning'.

For the subject of the present study there are very important theoretical considerations in an article by Lajos Kiss (218, pp. 165–770); he dealt with all the Hungarian calques of Slavic origin and classified them into several groups stressing the fact that even in the most studied layer of these calques, i.e. in Hungarian ecclesiastic terminology, some of the problems relating to Slavic origin remain to be solved, although much of the research work of Hungarian Slavists has been directed toward this field in the past hundred years. In addition to the above-mentioned examples, he sets up a parallel between some Hungarian church words and their Serbo-Croatian correlates. Such calque correspondences between Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian may be: *Veliki post* ~ *Nagyböjt* 'Lent'; *Vodokrsće* ~ *Vízkereszt* 'Epiphany'; *Svijęcnica* ~ *Gyertyaszentelő* 'Candlemas'; *Velika Nedelja* ~ *Nagyhét* 'Great Week'; *Cvetna nedelja* ~ *Virágvasárnap* 'Palm Sunday'; *mesopust* ~ *húshagyó* 'Carnival Tuesday'; *[meso-]Vazem* ~ *Húsvét* 'Easter'; *Blažena Góspa* ~ *Boldogasszony* (word for word: 'Blessed Lady') 'Holy Mary'; also the Slovak *zelený štvrtok* ~ Hung. *zöldcsütörtök* 'Holy Thursday'. The Hungarian verb *szerezni* 'to acquire' also had the meaning 'to prescribe, to found' in Old Hungarian, on the basis of Latin and, as L. Kiss points it out, also on the basis of a Slavic (probably Old Czech) language; hence we have the word *szerezet* 'religious order', and from this *szerezetes* 'monk, friar' (cf. Czech *řehole* 'monastic life' and *řeholník* 'monk, regular'). He points out the Slavic pattern in altogether 300 Hungarian words (218).

Besides the calques of church terminology, many words belonging to other categories are proved to be calques of Slavic (often Serbo-Croatian) origin by L. Kiss; these categories are geography, industry, commerce, state administration, jurisdiction, military affairs, meals, parts of body, personal hygiene, maladies, maternity, meteorology, botany, agriculture, superstitious beliefs, architecture and even some often used numbers and adverbs.

In a great number of languages *scientific terms* can also be calques from other languages (from neighbouring languages, or from earlier works of foreign authors in the given domain of science). The complexity of their meaning is many-sided. As W. E. Flood states (114, p. X): "In addition to precision of meaning and freedom from associations, most scientific words have a third quality: by their form and structure they reveal something of their meaning." In my opinion, this "form and structure" can hardly be separated entirely from the original meaning of the components, on the one hand, and from the language of origin, on the other.

The meanings of scientific terms, however, are best represented in "thesauri" as pointed out by B. A. Moškovič (308, p. 18).

As an illustrative example, R. Antilla's Introduction may be mentioned here for the "décalquage" of some scientific terms in other languages (13, pp.

140–141): French *bel esprit* ~ German *Schöngeist*; French *esprit du siècle* ~ German *Geist des Jahrhunderts*; Latin *Scripturae* ~ Old English *Gewritu*; Greek–Latin *astrologus* ~ Old English *tungol-witega*; Greek–Latin *geometria* ~ Old English *eorth-craeft*; Greek–Latin *evangelium* ~ Old English *godspell*.

The formation of scientific (or technical) terms, whether they are calques or not, may affect different fields of speciality and different languages to a greater or smaller extent. As K. Hausenblas states (168, p. 261) "...there may be different degrees of terminologization; some words may be regarded as semiterms, or terminoids." Such semiterms or rather terminoids are used e.g. in St. Luke's Gospel, where the author speaks about *πυρετὸς μέγας* 'big fever' and *πυρετὸς μικρὸς* 'small fever'. Corresponding Latin, Gothic, Old Slavic, etc. epithetical expressions do not count as real calques, only as simple translations. Nevertheless, for scientific terms (either original words, or calques) and for semiterms and terminoids alike it is true what E. A. Nida (317) asserts that the term, as a lexico-semantic variant of the same word has a connection with the other meanings of this word, through a minor or major component of meaning; consequently, the knowledge of basis meaning can make easier the understanding and retaining of the terminus technicus.

In the last analysis, for scientific terms, especially, if they are native words, but many times for the calques as well (first of all, for calque neologisms), it is also appropriate to cite S. Ullmann's opinion (432, p. 307): "Each language is characterized by certain idiosyncratic tendencies, such as the predominance of conventional or motivated words or the ratio of particular and generic terms."

It being thus, it seems natural that several linguists propose to study "monosemes" rather than words in the strict sense, such as A. A. Ufimceva (431), A. L. Pumpjanskij (352), etc. (By the way, "monoseme" is Zvegincev's term (465) meaning a 'minimal semantic unit'). — A. M. Rot (368, pp. 339–457) enumerates a number of Russian–Hungarian calques which have come about as a result of the post-war connections between the two languages, such as Hung. *élharcos* ~ Russ. *передовой боец*, Hung. *békeharc* ~ Russ. *борьба за мир*, Hung. *pártaktíva* ~ Russ. *партийный актив* and similar ones.

As the number of loanwords of Slavic origin is rather high in almost all these categories, the creation of calques in Hungarian can be supposed "a fortiori". The historical circumstances, the manifold connections and blending of the Hungarians and several Slav peoples render the calque character of the 300 Hungarian words, examined in L. Kiss's essay, very probable (218).

J. Vas also dealt with the origin of our feast names (441), pointing out a number of calque connections between Hungarian and other languages (Latin, Greek, Old Slavic, other Slavonic languages, Old Turkic, Iranian, Caucasian, etc.). He especially means the Slavic *mesopustъ* that, according to the well-known Hungarian linguist, Zs. Simonyi, is the calque of Italian *carne-vale* (earlier, maybe, *carne levare*); the Slavic calque was briefly used as *pust* 'leave'

that influenced also the Serbo-Croatian name of *Pascha*: *vuzem* instead of the longer *meso-vuzem*. For *meso-pust*, the Hungarian language has preserved the longer *hús-hagyó*, and for Easter, similarly, the longer *Hús-vét* (*meso-vuzem*). — Besides, the study of J. Vas also points out a great number of connections among the other European languages (441).

Relating to Mediaeval Hungarian, it is J. Harmatta (166) who cites interesting Hungarianisms in our Latin chronicles, thus e.g.: *nomen bonum accipere* ~ *jó nevet venni*, 'to take a good name'; *nasci in mundum* ~ *a világra születni* 'to be born into the world'; *magnum aldumas* (!) *fecerunt* ~ *nagy áldomást tettek* 'they made a great feast' where *aldumas* is the Hungarian name of a heathen festival, sacrifice and banquet, now used in a profane sense: *áldomás* 'drink, toast'.

In other articles L. Kiss (218) provides some other valuable data about Hungarian-Slavic linguistic interference. This work deals, first of all, with Slavic calques in Hungarian, so it draws our attention to some very interesting loan translations as well, thus e.g.: Czech *obchoditi* ~ Hung. *kereskedni* 'to trade, to be in business', but word for word: 'to walk round', though the Hungarian verb was generally considered to be a derivate of the simpler verb *keresni* 'to seek' (and this latter, a derivate of the simple verb *kérni* 'to ask for'). Similarly, Slovenian *glavnik* ~ Hung. *fésű* 'comb' seem to be calques because the Hungarian word may be a derivation from the noun *fő* 'head', resembling the Slovenian derivation from the noun *glava* 'head'. The Old Hungarian *főmeredek* 'headlong, head first' also seems to have been established under the direct influence of Serbo-Croatian *strmoglav*. These calques also show the wide range of South-East European linguistic interference.

Generally speaking, Golovin's assertion (133, p. 21) is true for every language, who points out that a word usually incorporates two or three types of its meanings, but in speech only one is manifested, and the others remain in the background; most frequently the object meanings are manifested. Of course, in the case of loan meanings, it is often the secondary, transferred meaning which is borrowed.

To conclude this chapter, I should like to cite S. Ullmann's brilliant summary of meaning (432, p. 137): "The various semantic factors are indissolubly intermixed: conventionality and motivation, onomatopoeia and popular etymology, emotive meaning, synonymy, polysemy and homonymy form one organic whole, a unique dosage and a precarious equilibrium, found nowhere else—and, transcending the boundaries of language [these semantic factors are also interlinked] with the general atmosphere, cultural aspirations and moral outlook, peculiar to the age."

The terms for calque types I propose are based on a terminology of Neo-Latin and Greek origin which has been used by most authors on the subject, and on which sometimes the non-Neo-Latin languages also drew for their terms, and which appears most usable (applicable or translatable) from an international point of view. Although the very precise German and English technical terms, in my opinion, can be rendered into other languages, by means of "décalquage", instead of the terms "Lehnbildung" or "loan translation" it would be more convenient to see the French term *calque* (and its Italian and Spanish parallel "calco"), English "calque" or "calk" that has found its way into several Slavic languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, etc.) as well, as is used by many other languages as a linguistic term. The original meaning of the Neo-Latin word is 'copy, imitation', and this appears to be a better starting point than the terms formed by means of compounds or phrases from the verbs "to loan" or "to borrow", as evidenced by the fact of the existence of calque neologisms and the "literary loan use" ("literarische Lehngebrauch", the term applied by E. Martins (269). In Hungarian we apply the term "tükörfordítás", word for word: 'mirror translation', because the calque is, in one way or another, a 'reflection', in a 'mirror' of the internal form or of the meaning of the alien word model; sometimes the international term is also used, the Hungarianized form being "kalk".

All the authors reviewed contributed something to the understanding of calque types, and the marking out of the main lines of research and the ascertaining of some problems of detail. In their terminologies, however, there is no perfect agreement in every respect, therefore we find it reasonable to use the term "calque" in the sense used by Betz, Schumann and Martins (although the latter's "literarischer Lehngebrauch" will not be employed in this study). The other authors' terms might be used occasionally to express nuances. (This refers, first of all, to Haugen's and Rot's terminology.) At the same time I wish to state that I do not consider Betz's and Schumann's definitions of the semantic calque that they call "Lehnbedeutung" incorrect; obviously, "loan meaning" for them does not mean that the connection of meaning with that of the foreign model is present exclusively in this type, but that this is the very type of calque which shows the *single* characteristic feature of identity of a special meaning, since the semantic calque in the adopting language takes over a special sense from the model word of the language of origin that had not existed in the corresponding word of the adopting language.

a) The term *calque*, as it is international, could be retained as a collective noun for the designation of all loan translation phenomena, labelled "Lehnprägungen" ('loan stampings', 'loan types') by Betz. This concept excludes simple translations, borrowings, loanwords and alien words, and

popular etymologies (though some types of the latter categories border on the concept of calque).

b) The term *real structural calque* could be applied to denote perhaps the most striking type of calques, named "Lehnübersetzung" by Betz and called "not calque" in French; in English it is often referred to as "loan translation". The term I propose would be convenient because the name would indicate the fact of part for part translation. This type may be either a compound or derived word, e.g. ὀλιγόπιστος ~ МАΛΟΒΕΡЪ 'pusillanimous', γνωστός ~ ЗНАЕМЪ 'known'.

c) From among the terms *semicalques* or *partial translation loanwords*, the first type is already used in Russian (полукáлька) and Romanian (*semicalc*). It may be used to denote not only single words, but also word groups and phrases (e.g. Hungarian *pechje van* 'he is down on his luck' on the basis of German *er hat Pech* 'idem'). A typical Greek-Old Slavic *hémicalque* or *semicalque* (I recommend these terms similarly to полукáлька) is the above-mentioned θεοστυγής ~ БОГОСТИГЪ 'who hates God', 'God-hater'. Betz used the term *Teillehnwort* 'partial loanword' for this category, and later he considered them simple loanwords. In my opinion, they may be regarded rather as calques.

I do not consider correct the term "hybride Bildung" or "calque hybride" proposed by Jagić for this category; these names are rather more suitable for the variations called "Lehnschöpfung" by Betz and "Lehngliedzusatz" by Schumann. In other words, the reference "hybridity" does not seem lucky, because it may be due to widely divergent reasons and may appear in very different ways. The *semicalque*, similarly to the *real structural calque*, may be either a compound or a derived word.

d) The above-mentioned categories, regarded as "Lehnschöpfung" by Schumann (indicating also Bally's words with a "détail surajouté") may be denominated *calque neologisms*, or, eventually, *pseudocalques* (in my opinion, the first term is more usual and more precise). The category called "Lehnübertragung" by Betz and Schumann alike, also belong to calque neologisms. The three groups have it in common that the interpreter had to create a new word by composition or derivation, in order to translate the word of the original language, but the new word in the adopting language does not correspond to its model part for part, although the model is reproduced in a strikingly powerful way. Such calque neologisms are, e.g.: ὁ ὑποκριτής ~ ЛИЦЕМЕРЪ 'hypocrite', τὰ ἄζυμα ~ ОΠΡΕΣΚΗΖΩΝΙΑ 'azymous bread', ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης (ἄνθρωπος) ~ ДОМОВИТЪ (ЧЛОВЕКЪ) 'landlord', etc.

Since these loan translations are, in a strict sense, neither real structural calques nor semantic ones, the term *pseudocalque* could also be applied and in the case of "Lehngliedzusatz" and "détail surajouté" the term *calquoides* also seems to be applicable. (These terms, however, would be serviceable for all calque neologisms and often for popular etymologies as well, therefore they will not be used in this work.)

e) For words, the existence of which in the adopting language, before the connection with the language of origin, may be assumed or proved but which took over a special secondary meaning from foreign word models, a meaning which had been unknown earlier in the adopting language, Betz and Schumann apply the term "Lehnbedeutung"; in my opinion, they may be properly called *semantic calques*.

f) For reproducing foreign word groups and phrases by means of loan translation some word groups and phrases may be established in the adopting language as well. Betz presents them as "Lehnwendungen", the English and French authors know as "phraseological loan translations", "calques phraséologiques". These solutions are well-applicable in English as *phraseological calques*. (In Hungarian: *tükörkifejezés* 'mirror expression').

g) It is natural that there are not only words and phrases to be reproduced part for part, but sometimes entire syntactic structures and, more scarcely, morphological declensions and conjugation) phenomena also appear in a calque-like fashion. These could be designated as *syntactic* or *morphological calques*, respectively.

h) In examining the material I am concerned with the archaic Old Slavic gospel texts, I dealt with strictly lexicological phenomena only, the examination of grammatical or stylistical "décalquage" fell outside the scope of this work. Similarly, I did not deal with parallel compounds, derivatives or phrases which, taking history into account, cannot be considered loan translations. If such a linguistic phenomenon is accidentally touched upon, the term *phenomenological calque* (German "Scheincalque", Hungarian "látszattükörszó" 'apparent loan translation') will be applied.

#### TEXTS AND METHODS APPLIED IN EXAMINING LOAN TRANSLATIONS

Entering now upon the extensive investigation which forms the backbone of this work, something should be said about its method and arrangement, although certain problems were touched upon in earlier chapters, especially the question of the Greek-Latin-Old Slavic critical apparatus and the terminology of calques I intend to use. Here I only wish to make the following additional remarks:

a) As mentioned above, the Old Slavic passages were mostly taken from Jagić's Zographus text and his comparative edition of Marianus. After the Greek and Old Slavic citations, their English translations will be given, not from a traditional Bible edition but on the basis of modern, exegetic explanations. J. Kurz's edition of the Assemani (237) also proved to be a valuable source.

b) The Greek texts were taken from Nestle's (313) edition (considering also Merk's text (283)).

c) As for the other gospel texts, in the case of calques the text of the Kralice Bible also provides a lot of very interesting parallel solutions, in its more recent edition as well. The title page of the latest edition, which has a Modern Czech character, also refers to the 1613 edition; this was used by the British and Foreign Bible Society (44) as well.

d) For the sake of comparison, we sometimes looked up the passages in question in a Lutheran German edition, too (43), as it exerted certain influence on the Czech texts, and the Sorbian ones, even more. This is well-illustrated by Miklawuš Jakubica's (Kubike or Kubke?) Low Sorbian translation (*Das niedersorbische Testament des Miklawuš Jakubica 1548*. Hgb. von Heinz Schuster-Šewc, Berlin, 1967) that was prepared, on the base of an early copy of Luther's German text, in a transitory High Sorbian–Low Sorbian language, full of Czech loanwords. Caused by its place of origin Lubanica (Laubnitz) it may be supposed that Jakubica's Eastern Low Sorbian dialect was influenced by Polish and Polabian elements as well. The Latinisms of the translation date back to the Czech source following truly many loci of the Vulgata. (Op. cit., pp. VII—XXIV and XXXIII—XLIII; K. Horálek: *Úvod do studia slovanských jaziků*. Prague, 1966.)

e) On the basis of Blahoslav's translation (made in 1564) another Czech version with some Western Slovak features appeared in Bratislava (Preßburg, Pozsony), 1786 (320), the Old and New Testament together "in a carefully revised new edition" as the title page says.

f) Much nearer to the Old Slavic (or Church Slavic) texts than the Czech texts is, of course, a recent Russian translation which appeared in Stockholm in 1960 (49). Its orthography follows the pre-1917 norm; its wording, although modernized, corresponds to the "Russko-Slavjanskij" ecclesiastic style. As a Protestant edition, it was influenced, in the last analysis, by the German text of Luther's translation (of course, the occasional mediation of English and Swedish may be possible).

g) The Gothic references have been taken from the Heyne–Stamm edition (176), and from Streitberg's text (394).

h) For the Latin passages Merk's bilingual (Greek–Latin) edition (283) was used, together with the modern Latin version of Colunga and Turrado, published in Madrid, 1965 (48) that renders the Vulgata text, corrected on the basis of the Hebrew and Greek originals.

i) The citations have been translated into English. I took the traditional style of English gospel texts into consideration, nevertheless I chose a somewhat "eclectic" way of translating in order to get as near as possible to the original sense of the Greek and Old Slavic texts.

j) In making references to Romanian, Albanian and Hungarian translations, it was not the question of immediate sources I was examining but linguistic parallelisms. The determination of the relation of cause and effect would require

a long series of studies, therefore I did not follow the methods of Jagić, Vajs or Horálek in these cases but the method of Papahagi and Andriotis. It means that I endeavoured, first of all, to show the parallels appearing in the South-East European linguistic geographical environment, but where it was possible I also touched upon the other texts in certain cases. Generally, in the case of these languages I contented myself with later translations without "lectiones variantes", the main requirement being that these translations should be based, if possible, on the Greek text.

k) One of the Romanian translations used is that of Nicolae, a Romanian Orthodox bishop (319). In the epilogue he relates that he had examined a number of Romanian and other translations, and it was the translation of Nicodim patriarch and Gala Galaction that he primarily followed. Where the text seemed to be ambiguous, he consulted the Greek original. Besides Nicolae's translation the Cyrillic Romanian text of Samuil Micu-Clain (46) was also taken into consideration, which the author dedicated to Joan Bob, bishop and metropolitan of Blaj (Balázsfalva) and Făgărăs (Fogaras). As the author's preface (кътръ четитору "To the Reader") shows, he translated the Bible from Greek because of the exhaustion of the Romanian translation of 1688. As a member of the "Latinistic triad" and a Greek-Uniate priest, he also had to take the Vulgata into consideration and, on the other hand, the established Romanian linguistic traditions. In Romanian, Old Slavic and Middle Bulgarian played the same role as Latin in the Western European languages, and what is more, in Transylvania he had to make allowance for a great number of Hungarian loanwords, too. The double title of its work, БИБЛИА АДЕКЪ ДЪМНЕЗЕАСКЪ СКРЫПТЪРЪ bears the marks of this duality which characterizes the Latinistic direction of Micu-Clain and his spiritual fellows.

In addition to these, sometimes two facsimile editions were also used for comparison, namely those of the *Coreși Gospel* (97) and the *Evangheliar of Sibiu* (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) (339). To the former, the introductory essay was written by Florica Dimitrescu; to the latter Prof. Acad. E. Petrovici wrote the philological introduction, and L. Demény the historical one.

In Petrovici's opinion, the *Evangheliar of Sibiu* is independent of Coreși's translation, and it is much later than the Bible published in Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó). The Sibiu edition, as its language indicates, was probably translated by a Moldavian team of ecclesiastical translators. It should be noted here that Ferenc Hervay's essay (173—4) contain a number of valuable data tables related to both gospel editions and generally, about Transylvanian and Wallachian Cyrillic-letter manuscripts of the 16th century; he also establishes the fact that Coreși and his son, Serban, and the Dyak ('student, cleric') Lawrence pursued their typographic activity in Braşov and Alba Julia (Gyulafehérvár), independently of Magister Fülöp's (Philip) printing work in Sibiu, though both of them manifest a Church Slavic and Romano-Orthodox character.



1) The Albanian text I used was an edition with the title *Dhiata ë Rë* (New Testament) (92). As the French handwritten note on page 399 shows, it must have been published before 1939; its orthography also suggests the period between 1920–1940. It is not a Catholic edition (it presents the text without commentaries, and in Mt 6,13 the Lord's Prayer ends with the ancient marginal doxology, used before the Second Vatican Synod by the Protestants only). The outer typographic form of the booklet also suggests an edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and these publications are often the revisions of earlier translations, by comparison with the original Greek.

m) The Hungarian parallels were taken from the so-called Vizsoly Bible, Gáspár Károli's translation (1590) (204), from this "translation of clear delivery and of true Hungarian style" as Prof. R. Szentiványi, a Catholic exegetist characterized this Protestant translation, without any religious prejudice (405, p. 389). The Hungarian Medieval Catholic codices translated the Holy Scripture from the Vulgata, and the early reformers (before Károli) made more use of Erasmus' Latin text than of his Greek Bible edition (which was also reconstructed in some places on the basis of Latin). Károli also used the Vulgata editions for his Bible translation but he took the Hebrew and Greek texts for his basis. (Lajos Dézsi describes the difficulties Károli faced in translating, namely that he was an old man when he undertook this immense work; the printer did not know Hungarian well; later publishers could not eliminate all the errata, caused by these circumstances, and misprints crept in even at later dates.) Nevertheless, Hungarian Protestants have continued to use this translation with only slight modifications up to the present day; its language, similarly to the works of this near-coeval, Cardinal Pázmány, exerted an enormous influence on the development of Hungarian prosaic style from the polemicists of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation even to Endre Ady and other Hungarian poets and writers of the 20th century. For such reasons I use Károli's translation when quoting Hungarian passages, but its 1912 and 1948 editions, which are easier to read. The latter was revised on the basis of the Greek text.

I also take into consideration the recent Catholic editions, thus, first of all, the Hungarian translation of Gellért Békés and Patrik Dalos (36), and the edition of 1973. As it is read in their Preface, the translation was prepared from the critical Greek text of Merk (6th edition) but it also states the variant readings of the Vulgata in parentheses or as a footnote. The parts with an inherent rhythm were given a poetical form for, and the psalterial concordances were based upon Sándor Sík's translations of the psalms in verse. In certain cases to supplement Károli's text, I also refer to the Hungarian codices from the Middle Ages and to our printed translations from the Early Modern Age, first of all, the Catholic translation of György Káldi S. J. (1626) rewritten by Béla Tárkányi (1862–1865) and later by István Székely and his co-workers (1927–1934), revised on the basis of the Hebrew and Greek original texts (403). (In 1981 a new Catholic edition of

the New Testament appeared in Budapest, translated and explained by Ferenc Gál and István Kosztolányi.)

n) In the analysis we also examine how the Old Slavic ways of expression considered to be loan translations appear in other Slavic languages. Therefore we look at the correspondents or substitutions if they are of interest, of Old Slavic words and phrases in the major living Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Low and High Sorbian).

o) The most reasonable procedure seems to be to enumerate the Old Slavic loan translations in alphabetical order with the aforesaid data (and naturally indicating the loci of occurrence), thus the central part of the work may be used as a dictionary, too.

p) As it is a textual examination, the inductive method is followed, i.e. it is only at the end of the entries, after supplying the above-mentioned data, that we attempt the classification of the Old Slavic calques of Greek origin into groups according to the mode of derivation, the denotative meaning and part of speech, in order to draw the obvious or probably final conclusions.

## PART TWO

THE REFLECTION  
OF THE GREEK VOCABULARY  
IN THE CALQUES  
OF THE OLD SLAVIC GOSPELS

## GLOSSARY ENTRIES

(A—Ѧ)

A

1. явлєніє ~ ἡ ἀνάδειξις, ἡ ὄπτασία

'appearance, apparition'. Lu 1,80: καὶ ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ. ~ ꙗ̑ бѣ въ поустыинѣхъ до днѣ явлєнїѣ своєго къ ѿно. 'and He was in the deserts till the day of his appearance before Israel'. Lu 24,23: καὶ ὄπτασίαν ἀγγέλων ἑωρακέναι, ~ ꙗ̑ явлєнїє дѣла видѣвша. '...and the vision of Angels they saw...'. Its best-known form is: явлєніє. In other Old Slavic texts this word corresponds to the Greek ἐπιφάνεια, ἀπόδειξις, ὄραμα and θέαμα as well. Its calque compositum is богоявлєніє ~ Θεοφάνεια ('Ἐπιφάνεια) (i.e. the feast named 'Twelfthday').

The Latin text, in accordance with the Greek, employs the nouns *ostensio* and *visio*. In the Gothic texts the former citation exists only, with the compound *untaikeina* which is the precise reflection of ἀνάδειξις. Luther's text applies the deverbal *Erscheinung* here.

In the later Church Slavic texts its synonyms also appear as появлєніє, отъкрѣтитиє, видѣнїє, приѣздиє and прихождєніє. In the Kralice Bible *zjevení* and *vidění* can be found, respectively; in the Russian texts the form явлєніє has survived.

The Romanian text uses the deverbal noun *arătare* — originally an infinitive with the meaning 'to ostend', 'appearance', in the former case; in the latter, Bishop Nicolae freely uses a verb instead of the noun again, but S. Micu-Clain applies the word-for-word interpretation *видєрѣ*, similarly to the Coreși Gospel where the noun *ivire* (the original infinitive of a verb meaning 'to show') is used.

As to the Albanian text, a verbal construction *që dotë dëftehej* can be found there in Lu 1,80; in the verse Lu 1,80 the neutral form of the perfective participle is used from the verb *dukem*, 'to seem': *të-dukur* ~ τὸ ἑωραμένον 'the seen (matter)'.

The Hungarian translations also use a verbal construction in Lu 1,80, while in Lu 24,23 we find the verbal noun *jelenés* 'apparition, vision'.

Other Slavic etymological relations of the Old Slavic *авлєнїе* (*явлєнїе*) are: V. *явлєнїе*, *явяване* 'vision, appearance'; Russ. *явлєнїе*; Sr.-Cr. *јављање* 'greeting', also *јављење*; Cz. (*jěv*); Slk. (*jav*, *javo*); P. (*jaw* 'sunshine, daytime', *jawność* 'publicity'); M. (*јавка* 'secret meeting place'); H.So. (*jewišćo* 'stage'), (*zjewjenje* 'phenomenon'), (*widźanje* 'sight'); L.So. (*jawny* 'clear') (*wizenje* 'vision'), Укр. *явлення*.

— Real structural calque.

2. (вѣ) *авлєнїе прїдетъ* ~ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ (ἦλθεν)

'to come to light'. Lu 8,17: ... οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῆι καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ. ~ НИ ОУТАЕНО ЕЖЕ НЕ БЖДЕТЬ ПОЗНАНО І ВѢ АВЛЄНІЕ ПРІДЕТЬ. '... ПОГ а hidden thing that should not be known and come to light'. Similar locus: Mc 4, 22. Its more familiar form was: *вѣ явлєнїе прїдетъ*.

The Latin text applies the locution *in palam veniat*; in the Gothic we can find the phrase *in sve-kun þamma qimait* which — in contrast to the Latin, but somewhat similarly to the Old Slavic—seems to be an independent creation of the translator.

In the later Church Slavic texts we find *знатънѣмъ стати себѣ на явѣность принести* as well.

In the Kralice Bible this is interpreted with a similar expression *na světlo vyjítí*, while in the Russian translation a reflexive verb, *обнаруживаться* 'to get manifest' appears.

The Romanian texts present the idioms *si să nu iasă la arătare* and *сѣ нѣ зѣе ла арѣтарѣ* 'that should not come to ostension'. Both of them show a relation to the Greek text, and, to some extent, to the Old Slavic and Latin texts, too; just as the Albanian solution *e trë dalë përfaqë*. In the Hungarian, the translation of Károli applies the beautiful but now obsolete expression *világra kelni* 'to come to light', but in its later version the negative locution *világra ne jőne* 'that should not come to light' was used.

Expressions similar to Old Slavic can be found in other Slavic languages, too, e.g. Slk. *vyjst' na javo*; L.So. *na swětlo (ne) pšízo*; Cz. *vyjítí na světlo*; P. *wyjść na jaw*; Sr.-Cr. *изійћи на вїдело*; H.So. *jasnić so* 'to come to light'.

It is conspicuous, however, that in all these constructions a prefix expressing withdrawal is involved, while the Old Slavic verb is composed with the prefix expressing approaching *при-*, evidently from the standpoint of the speaker and, at the same time, for a more accurate reproduction of the simple Greek verbal form. In the above-mentioned non-Slavic examples we also find the concept of approaching for the translation of the Greek verb, and not that of withdrawal, or going out, just as in Luther's German text the expression *an Tag kommen* renders the original Greek.

It may also be noted that the Codex Marianus shows the form  $\text{ѢЛЕНІЕ}$  in this phrase, but in the other texts the way of writing  $\text{ΔΕΛΕΝІΕ}$  is found, except the Savvina Kniga which also presents the depalatalized (but in a different way) form  $\text{ѢВЕНЕ}$ . In the later Church Slavic texts the palatalized way of writing  $\text{ѢΔΕΛΕΝІЕ}$  is general.

— Phraseological calque.

## Б

3.  $\text{BE}(3)\text{ZAKONIE} \sim \eta \text{ } \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$

'unlawfulness, crime'. The Old Slavic word serves in other texts for reproducing the Greek nouns  $\text{παρανομία}$ ,  $\text{ἀνόμημα}$ ,  $\text{ἀσεβεία}$ ,  $\text{δυσσεβεία}$  and  $\text{δυσσέβημα}$ , too; later also  $\text{ἀντινομία}$  and  $\text{ἀθεισμός}$  occur. Mt 7,23: . . .  $\text{ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν}$ ;  $\sim \text{οἰτιλεῖτε οὗτ' ἐμεν Δελαδιστιλ βεζακονιε}$ . ' . . . Get ye from me who are doing the unlawfulness'.

This locus, essentially, is a reference to Psalm 6,9 which reads in the Septuaginta as follows:  $\text{ἀπόσπυτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν} \sim \text{ОСПЫПІТЕ О МЕНЕ ВСИ ТВОРАЩІИ БЕЗЗАКОНІЕ}$  (Church Slavic of Russian redaction). 'Go away hence, all of ye, who are doing the unlawfulness'. Similar loci: Mt 23, 28; 24, 12; 13, 41. In the translation of this latter there stands  $\text{BE}(3)\text{ZAKONENIE}$  in the Marianus (see there).

In the Kralice Bible we read the similar noun compositum *nepravost*; in the Russian text the word  $\text{беззаконіе}$  has survived.

(It does not seem to be accidental that all the quoted loci are taken from St. Matthew's Gospel, since the author's apparent purpose was to present Jesus Christ as the accomplisher of the Mosaic Law, the Torah. It is the same gospel where most Hebraisms and Aramaisms can be found. Therefore, a number of scholars, especially Catholic theologians, have thought St. Matthew's present Gospel text to be a Greek translation of an earlier but now lost Aramean text, or a compilation of this "archi-Matthew's" and the Mark's Gospel.)

The Greek word  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  is the reproduction of the Hebrew noun  $\text{צוּלָה}$ , cf. Ps 119,3:  $\text{οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύθησαν} \sim \text{НЕ ΔΕΛΑДІЩІИ БО БЕЗЗАКОНІА, ВЪ ПІСТЕЧЪ ЕГО ХОДІША}$  (Church Slavic)  $\sim$  :  $\text{צוּלָה בְּדַרְכֵי הַלֶּכֶן לֹא-פָצְלָן}$  'because those who are doing the unlawfulness, did not walk in His ways'.

The general interpretation of this Hebrew word, in our days, seems to be: 'a wrong deed, unlawfulness'. The objective equivalent of the Hebrew word, consequently, is a privative noun in Greek, and accordingly, it was reproduced by the Old Slavic interpreter with a privative compound word, consisting of the privative  $\text{BEZ-}$  prefix and the noun  $\text{zakon}$  and provided with the abstract or collective suffix  $\text{-ie}$ .

In the later Church Slavic text БЕЗБОЖИЕ, ПРОТИВОЗАКОНЬНОСТЬ and НЕЗАКОНЬНОСТЬ also occur.

The Latin texts interpret it by means of the compositum *iniquitas* which is also a privative derivation that meant originally 'unfairness, injustice'.

The Gothic interpreter used a similar composition, *un-sibjana*, which, essentially, has the meaning 'unrest, dissension', or 'unfriendliness, unkindliness'. In this case the Latin and Gothic texts applied freer translations than the Old Slavic did.

Among the Balkanic translations, the Romanian *fărădelegea*, ФЪРЪ ДЕ ЛЪЦЕ composition or syntagm resembles both the Greek and the Old Slavic. In Albanian the privative *pa-nomi* corresponding to the Greek ἀνομία alternates with the similarly privative *pa-udhärinë* corresponding to the Latin *iniquitas*. In Hungarian, Gáspár Károli's texts use the word *álnokság* 'perfidy' mostly, but in some cases there are solutions such as *bűn* 'sin', *törvényellenes bűn* 'sin against the law', *gonosztevés* 'wicked deed', and only very seldom the word-for-word privative compositum *törvénytelenég* 'unlawfulness'. This fact indicates that Károli followed the earlier established ways of Hungarian translation, based on the translation of the Vulgata, therefore he was not compelled to face the problem of literal translation of the Greek ἀνομία.

The single з of БЕЗКОНИЕ corresponds to both the Proto-Slavic and Old Slavic phonetic laws, but the later Bulgarian, Russian and Ukrainian redactions of Church Slavic restituted the etymological form with a double зз in БЕЗ-ЗАКОНИЕ.

The word can be found in the Southern and Eastern Slavic languages, as a rule, in this same form or with cognate affixes, while in the Western Slavic languages it was only used in earlier times; the recent forms employ the prefix не-, or other ways of reproduction. In details: В. беззаконие (беззаконство, беззаконщина, незаконност); Sr.-Cr. безáкоње (незáкоње); Russ. беззаконие (беззаконность, беззаконщина, незаконность); Укр. беззаконня (незаконність); М. безáконеи; Cz. (*bezákonnost, nezákonnost*); Slk. (*nezákonnost*); P. (*bezzakonność, bezzakonstwo* (obsolete forms; nowadays mostly: *bezprawie, nieprawność*); L.So. (*njezakonski, njepšawdosć*); H.So. (*bjezakoński, njezakoński*).

It is well-known that in the Southern (and Eastern) Slavic the БЕЗ- compositions are more genuine than the не- compounds, and they are more precise reflections of the Greek original; the не- forms, however, seem to have been of a more popular character. The Western Slavic не- forms go back, supposably, to the Czech-Moravian, and they were probably Moravianisms in the archaic Old Slavic texts, too. Besides, most of the не- composita in the Czech language are not inherited from Old Slavic but, just as the similar High Sorbian and Polish words, they were quasi-restored in the 14th century, patterned after the Moravianisms of Old Slavic. Among similar derivata, the Russian -СТВО- and -ЩИНА-suffixed nouns developed into popular forms from

Old Slavic suffixes. The difference between the *bez-* and *ne-* forms consisted, essentially, in the same distinction that appears e.g. between the German word *Gesetzlosigkeit* 'unlawfulness' and *Widergesetzlichkeit*, 'contrariety to law'; besides, Luther's translation applies the word *Unrecht* 'unlawfulness' in this sense.

— Real structural calque.

4. БЕ(З)ЗАКОНЕНИЕ ~ ἡ ἀνομία, (cf. БЕ(З)ЗАКОНІЕ)

'unlawfulness, sin'. In other Old Slavic texts it is used for translating the Greek ἀνόμημα as well. In the gospel texts it is exclusively in Mt 13, 41, in the text of Codex Marianus: καὶ συλλέξουσιν ἐ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν ~ ꙗ сѣбержтъ отъ цѣрквиѣ его вѣса скандѣлы ꙗ творашаѣа беззаконіе. 'and they will gather all the misdeeds and those who do the unlawfulness from His kingdom'.

In other codices БЕЗАКОНІЕ can be found, as e.g. in the Zographus: ꙗ сѣбержтъ отъ цѣрвиѣ его вѣса скандѣлы ꙗ творашаѣа беззаконіе. This word is mentioned by Jagić as well (187, p. 282), without explaining its causes. It seems plausible that it was the copyist's "lapsus calami". Maybe, it has come into being under the influence of the double *ни* of the noun БЕЗ(З)АКОНЬНИКЪ and the deverbal abstract noun suffix *-ение* added to the pass.part.perf. stem of a supposable verb, \*БЕ(З)ЗАКОНИТИ; cf. БЕ(З)ЗАКОНОВАТИ ~ ἀνομέω. In the Psalterium Sinaiticum we find this noun in the form БЕЗАКОНЬНИКЪ as well, Ps 102,3.

— Real structural calque.

5. БЕЗАКОНЬНИКЪ ~ (ὁ) ἄνομος

'unlawful (person), sinner'. Mc 15,28: καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη. ~ ꙗ сѣ БЕЗАКОНЬНИКОМА ПРИЧЪТЕНЪ БЫ. 'and He was counted among the unlawful men'.

It seems possible that the Greek word also alludes to the heathen semitic god *Belial* that was interpreted by popular etymology, in Hebrew and Aramaic as 'without law'. Originally it meant, probably, 'my Lord is God'.

In Lu 22,37 the translator's exquisiteness reproduced the Greek text, wholly identical with the former, as follows: еже и сѣ БЕЗАКОНЬНИКЪ ВЪМЪНИ СѦ, i.e. with the aoristos form of the synonymic verb ВЪМЪНИТИ СѦ instead of the compound praeteritum perfectum ПРИЧЪТЕНЪ БЫ of the verb ПРИЧЪСТИ.

It is striking that two different verbs are used for interpreting two identical loci, but this fact can hardly be brought into connection with the Latin text which applies *deputatus est* in Lu 22,37, and *reputatus est* in Mc 15,28 (except 12 codices: O, Ep, G, D, Qs, K, V, T, c. FF, L, z); In the Latin texts the adjectives *iniquus* and *iniustus* also alternate, but these variations are not parallel with the variations *reputatus-deputatus*. So the twofold verbal use of the Old Slavic texts seems to be caused by the great exquisiteness of style.

The Old Slavic noun *беззаконьникъ* is applied, in other texts, for interpreting the Greek adjectives *παράνομος*, *ἀχάριστος* as well. In the later Church Slavic texts *грѣшникъ*, *зѣлодѣи* are also applied.

In these loci the Kralice Bible has the adjective *nepřavný*, the Russian Bible text the compositum *злодѣй*, similarly of Church Slavic origin (see there) and corresponding to the German *Übeltäter* in Luther's text (the Stockholmian Russian edition being a Protestant one).

As for the Gothic *un-sibjis*, it meant originally 'discordant, quarrelsome', and the way of compounding corresponds to the calque translation of *ἀνομία*. In the Romanian texts we can find *cei fără-de-lege* resulting from the *ἀνομία*; in the Albanian, similarly, there is a privative compound *të-paudhëtë*.

In Hungarian, Károli applies the plural forms *latrok* 'robbers' (the Hungarian *lator* is, of course, borrowed from the Latin *latro*) and *gonosz emberek* 'wicked people', as variations for the Latin adjectives *iniquus* and *iniustus*.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic noun in other Slavic languages are: B. *беззаконник*; Sr.-Cr. *беззаконѣк*; Russ. *беззаконник* (*беззаконница*); Ukr. 'idem'; Cz., Slk. *bezzákonník* (obsolete); P. *bezzakonnik* (obsolete); M. (*беззаконен*); L.So. *bjezzakonoski* (obsolete), (*grěšnik*); H.So. (*njesprawny* 'unjust, false', *njezakoński* 'unlawful').

— Real structural calque.

6. *БЕЗВОДЪНЪ* ~ *ἄνυδρος*

'waterless, dry'. Lu 11,24: . . . *διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων, ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν* ~ *прѣходитъ сѣквозѣ безводънаа мѣста шита покоѣ*. ' . . . he is walking through waterless places, seeking rest'.

In later Church Slavic texts we find the simple adjective *сухъ* as well.

In the Latin text the adjective *inaquosus* can be found, also reflecting the Greek composition; in the Gothic this locus cannot be found. In Luther's translation we read *dürre Stätten* 'dry places'.

The Romanian translations, using the expression *fără de apă*, *фърѣ де апѣ*, point, first of all, to Old Slavic because of the basic parallelism of *фърѣ де* ~ *без-*. The Albanian *tëthatë* means simply 'dry', so it is not a calque. Károli's Hungarian translation presents the solutions *száraz* 'dry', *víz nélkül való* 'being without water', this latter may be either a Latin or a Greek calque, or a free translation by sense.

The Russian Gospel texts use the Old Slavic word; the Kralice Bible applies the adjective *suchý* 'dry'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *безводен*; Sr.-Cr. *бѣзводан*; Russ. *безводный*; Ukr. *безводний*; M. *безводен*; Cz. *bezvodný*; Slk. *bezvodný*; P. *bezwodny*, H.So. *bjezwodny* (*suchi*); L.So. *suchy* (in the older texts as well).



— It is considered a real structural calque, notwithstanding its highly concrete meaning. In my opinion, this does not seem fully proven, only plausible, as the concrete meaning could also have established a similar form for itself in Old Slavic, independently of Greek. On the other hand, the former corresponding regularly to Greek ἄνυδρος, in the beginning of the Slavic written literature, weighs very much with the scholars who consider it to be a calque as e.g. Jagić and, later, K. Schumann.

7. БЕЗДЪНА ~ ἡ ἄβυσσος

'abyss, depth, hell'. Lu 8,31: ... ἵνα μὴ ἐπιτάξῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν. ~ ДА НЕ ПОВЕЛИТЬ ЇМЪ КЪ БЕЗДЪНѢ ІТИ. '... that He should not send them to go into the depth'.

The Old Slavic translators apply this composition, in other texts, for rendering the Greek βυθός as well, — sometimes in the abstract form БЕЗДЪНИКЪ.

The later Church Slavic texts use the words ГЛЖБИНА, ПРОПАСТЬ as well.

The Latin text adopted the word *abyssus* from Greek; the Gothic *af-grundi* is a good calque neologism for the Greek, reflecting an outlook slightly different from that of Old Slavic in this case. In Luther's translation the denominal *die Tiefe* 'the depth' occurs.

The Romanian translations apply the adverb *adînc* as a noun, or the Middle Bulgarian (Church Slavic) loanword БЕЗДЪНЪ. The Albanian text reflects, with its compositum *pa-fundjät*, either the Greek or Old Slavic forms. Hungarian *mélység* 'depth' is a simple translation, like Luther's translation *in die Tiefe*; the up-to-date Catholic versions use the noun *pokol* 'hell', according to the sense. (This Hungarian word is of Old Croatian-Slovenian origin with the meaning 'pitch, tar'; 'hell'; this latter meaning appears later in Bulgarian and Ukrainian as well.)

In the Russian texts без дна or без дну occur; we can read (*do*) *propast (-i)* in the Kralice Bible.

The other Slavic word: B. (бездѣнен); Sr.-Cr. (безданї); (безданьї); Russ. бездна (бездонный); Cz. *bezdný, bezdenný*; Slk. *bezdný*; P. *bezdeny* (in older texts also *bezedny* and *bezdný* these latter forms were, probably, more original, and they, perhaps, together with the Old Slavic word, suggest a possible Proto-Slavic form, or which seems more probable, Western Slavic words once came into being as Moravianisms in Old Slavic, and they spread starting out from the Czech); Ukr. бездонний; M. бездон; L. So. (*bžez dna*); H. So. (*njedodnity* 'baseless'); *bjezdno* 'depth'.

— Real structural calque, and, on the other hand, a semantic calque as well. Its Greek original seems to be a compound from the α-privativum + βυσσός > βυθός 'depth, whirl'. There exists a tentative suggestion that it goes back, through an Asian Semitic medium, to the Sumerian *apšū* or *abzu* that meant the 'fresh water of rivers', in contrast to the Greek meaning of 'marine

depth'. If it were so, this would be an interesting example for linguistic change, caused by the transformation of some potamic cultures into thalactical ones.

But the Old Slavic word can be a real calque in this case, too, as it came into being on the basis of an etymology believed to be true: for the Slavic interpreters the possible Semitic or even Sumerian origin of the Greek word could hardly come into consideration.

Inasmuch as it means, in this relation, 'the hell', it is a semantic calque as well, this secondary meaning being entirely taken over from the Greek context.

8. ВЕЗЛЪНЪ ~ ἄνυδρος

(See also ВЕЗВОДЪНЪ)

'waterless, dry'. Mt 12,43: διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. ~ ПРѢХОДИТЬ СКВОЗѢ ВЕЗЛЪНАѢ МѢСТА ЦИТА ПОКОѢ. '...he is walking through waterless places, seeking rest', and he does not find it. The same is also in Lu 11,24 (but only in the Zographus), probably, it is a fault of the copyist.

— Real structural calque.

9. ВЕЗЛЪНЪНЪ ~ ἄνυδρος

(See also ВЕЗВОДЪНЪ)

'waterless, dry'. In Lu 11,24 (only in the Nikolja Gospel). The forms ВЕЗЛЪНЪ and ВЕЗЛЪНА are copying faults which, supposably, came into being by contamination, and cannot be found in the other Slavic languages.

— Real structural calque.

10. ВЕЗ(Λ)ΡΑΖΟΥΜΑ ~ ἀσύνητος

'unintelligent'. Mt 15,16: ἀκμήν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνητοί ἐστε; ~ ΕΔΩΝΑЧЕ ЛИ ВЪИ ВЕЗΛΡΑΖΟΥΜΑ ΕΣΤΕ 'are ye also unintelligent (for these)?'

In later Church Slavic terms ВЕΡΑΖΟΥΜЕНЪ, НЕСЪМЪСАЕНЪ, СЪОУМАСЪШЪЛЪШЪ also play role.

The Latin text, similarly to Old Slavic, interprets the Greek verb with *sine intellectu*; it was not translated into Gothic.

The Romanian texts show the negatively prefixed calque forms *nepricept* and *непцлгѣгѣторѣ*, which would correspond to a Middle Bulgarian form *неpазоумѣнъ* rather than to the Greek or Latin words. The Albanian *pament* corresponds to the Latin and Old Slavic alike. The Hungarian solution of Gáspár Károli is *értelem nélküli* i.e. 'without sense', thus it is probably the result of the Latin *sine intellectu*; in the modern Catholic versions we find this locus translated with a finite verbal construction: *Még ti sem értitek?* 'Do ye also not understand it, either?'

In the Kralice Bible we can see the precise equivalent of Old Slavic (and Latin) text: *bez rozumu*. In the Russian text a negatively prefixed participle form:

неразумѣть, corresponding exactly to the Greek ἀσύνετος (and—being a Protestant edition—to the German *unverständlich* of Luther's text, too).

The equivalents (adjectives and nouns) of the Old Slavic word in other Slavic languages: В. (безу́мен, безу́мец, безу́мник); Ср.-Ср. (бѣзуман, бѣзумнѣк); М. (безразумен); Russ. (безу́мник, безу́мница, безу́мец, безу́мок); Укр. (безу́мний, безу́мец); Cz. *bezrozumný*, (*nerozumný*); *bezrozumi*; Slk. (*nerozumný*); L.So. (*njerozymny*); H.So. (*njerozumity*, *njezrozumny*); Р. (*nierozumny*).

— Real structural calque, originating from a prepositional genitive with an epenthetical Δ (a common phonetic phenomenon, in this position, of Germanic and Slavic languages). Its relation to the other Slavic words is similar to that of БЕЗВОДЪНЪ or *bezedný*.

11. БЕЗОЧЬСТВО ~ ἡ ἀναίδεια; (ἀπ' ὀμμάτων)

'impertinence, insolence, impudence'. Lu 11,8: . . . διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερεῖς δώσει αὐτῷ ὅσων ἠρέσει. ~ НЪ ЗА БЕЗОЧЬСТВО ЕГО ВЪСТАВЪ ДАСТЬ ЕМОУ ЕЛИКО ТРЪБОУЕТЪ ' . . . but because of his impudence, after getting up, he will give him what he wants'.

In the later Church Slavic use БЕСТЫДСТВО, БЕЗОБРАЗИЕ also appear.

In the Latin text the word *improbitas* can be found; it does not occur in Gothic. In Luther's translation we find the attributive expression *sein unverschämtes Geilen* 'his insolent impudence'.

The Romanian texts apply the noun *indrăzneală* that originates from the reinforcing prefix *în* and the verb ДЪЗНА 'to dare' of Bulgarian origin, and the noun *obraznicie* from the adjective *obraznic* 'insolent, rude' that is also formed from the Church Slavic loanword ОБРАЗЪ 'face, person'.

In the Albanian the term *të-moqturpëmerët* is composed from the privative prefix *moq* and the participle form *turpëmar* 'ashamed'.

In Hungarian Gáspár Károli uses the obsolete word *szorgalmaztatás* 'intrusion'; in more recent texts *tolakodás* 'importunity' can be found. In the modern Catholic version of 1967 we can read *alkalmatlankodás* 'bothering, obtrusiveness' that corresponds best to the context. The Old Slavic word did not have any immediate influence in these cases, although in general the Old Slavic words seem to have influenced the Hungarian word stock (see later).

In the Kralice Bible there is a form *nezbednost* in the cited locus; in the Russian we see the similar negative composition НЕОТСУПНОСТЬ.

All these translations are not calques of the Greek original in a stricter sense but they are, partly, its simple translations (as the Romanian), or phaenomenologic calques (as the Latin), and partly, they are calque neologisms established or motivated by the Greek (as the Old Slavic and perhaps the Albanian). As for the origin of the Hungarian word, see Lajos Kiss's books (216, pp. 73–78 and 218, pp. 165–166).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. безѡчїе, безѡчливост; безѡк 'blind'; Sr.-Cr. бѣзочност; бѣзочнїк, бѣзочнїак 'insolent man'; бѣзок 'blind'; Russ. безѡчьство 'insolence' (Church Slavic word); безѡкій 'blind', безѡчник 'blind', безѡчнѣ 'precipitately' (Church Slavic word); Cz. *bezoký* 'blind'; Slk. (*bezočivost', bezočnost'*); P. (*bezocność* 'infamy, ignominy'); Ukr. (безѡкій 'blind'); M. (безочен); Beloruss. (бїзѡки 'blind'); Sln. (*bezok* 'blind', *bezočen* 'insolent'), L.So. (*njezbednosť* 'insolence', earlier word); H.So. *njehañbitosć, njehañbićiwosć*.

— Pseudocalque (calque neologism). Inasmuch we consider it a Balkano-Slavic composition, it can be considered as a semantic calque, too. The influence of the compound βεζοβραζїе is conspicuous which has come through a similar change of meaning, although it cannot be found in the earlier gospel texts. The influence shows a "pars pro toto" character: око, dualis очи ~ βραζъ 'face'. Naturally, an original \*βεζ-окъ adjective may also be supposed which can be found in Slavic languages with the meaning 'without eyes blind', and perhaps there was a contamination with the words чьсть, чьстъ as well. Finally, it would also be possible to speak about a "lapsus formae" or a speculative popular etymology, too: the segmentation of the Greek ἀναїδεα as ἀν + εїδεα or ἀν + їдеα instead of the actual ἀν + αїдеα (ἀν + αїδѡς).

The parallelisms with the Hungarian adjectives *szemetlen* 'blind' and *szemtelen* 'insolent', and their derived nouns *szemetlenség* 'blindness' and *szemetelenség* 'insolence' are conspicuous. The Hungarian adjectives can be found as early as in the middle of the 16th century (in the New Testament translations of Johannes Sylvester), but in the meaning 'insolent' it also occurs at the end of the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century.

In Lajos Kiss's opinion (216, 218) the Church Slavic words, as "semantic indicators" or at least, "intensity-reinforcers", could have promoted the change of meaning in these Hungarian words. The Old Slavic—and the Hungarian—word may be related to the Greek ἀπ' ὀμμάτων construction as well, though the *Etymologic Dictionary* of O.N. Trubačev (430) asserts that it was a Proto-Slavic formation.

12. βεζοумїе ~ ἡ ἀφροσύνη, ἡ ἀνοїа  
'folly, madness'. Mc 7,22: ... ὀφθαλμος πονηρѡς, βλασφημία, ὑπερηφανία, ἀφροσύνη ~ око лжкаво човленїе: гръдъини: βεζοумїе: '... wicked eye, curse, arrogance, folly...' Lu 6,11: αὐτοї дѣ ἐπλήσθησαν ἀνοїας, ~ они же испълнїша са βεζοумїѣ: '... but they were filled with madness.'

In other texts the Old Slavic word reproduced the Greek words ἀπόνοїа, παράνοїа, παραφρονїа, ἀγνωμονїа, ἀγνωμοσύνη, μανїа, too.

In later Church Slavic we can also read несъзмъслѣнность, глупость as well.

The Latin text applies the interpretations *stultitia* and *insipientia*; the Gothic *un-viti* and *un-frodei*. The Old Slav translator, it seems, did not find any essential

difference between ἀφοσύνη and ἀνοία so he interpreted them in the same way; he does not seem to have been influenced by the varying ways of translation of either the Latin or the Gothic text. Luther's translation contains the noun *Unvernunft* and the adjective *unsinnig* in these loci.

The Romanian versions use the words *nebumia* and *manie* (Micu-Clain applies *небуниа* in both cases). This original uniformity seems to follow the Old Slavic *безоуміє* (or the later *безоумство*).

In the Albanian the nouns (*marrëzi* and *mërri*, can be found, derived from the adjective *marrë* 'fool, mad', so the Albanian solution induces us to remember the Latin *stultitia*, although the Albanian nouns and adjective are related in their basic meaning to the verb *marr* or *merr* (*móra, marrë*) 'to take away'.

Károli's Hungarian text applied the derived words *bolondság* and *balgatagság* 'folly, madness'; in its later version *esztelenség* 'nonsense' can be found; this word was already used in the Hungarian codices of the 15th century (Jordánszky C., Érdy C.) and later, as the interpretation of the Latin words *imprudentia, insania, insanitas, vesania, dementia, inconsiderantia*. Perhaps the Old Slavic *безоуміє* and *безоумство*, or their other Slavic relations and equivalents could have exerted an influence on the development of the Hungarian words.

In the Russian text we can read the solutions *безумство, бѣшенство*; in the Kralice Bible, however, *bláznovství* and *nemoudrost*. The German equivalent *Unvernunft* may also have exerted a "reinforcing effect" on the Czech and Russian translations.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *безуміє* (*безумство, безумщина*); М. *безуміє*; Sr.-Cr. *бѣзумље* (*бѣзумица, бѣзумност*); Russ. *безуміє* (*безумство, безумщина, безумность*); Ukr. *безумність*; Cz. *bezumí* (*bezumnost*); *nerozum*; Slk. *bezumnosť*; *nerozum, nerozumnost*; P. (*bezumność, bezumstwo, nierozum*); H. So. *njerozum*; L. So. (*njerozum*). The Czech and Polish *bez-* forms are now obsolete, earlier transitory Church Slavic influences.

— Real structural calque; it renders the Greek ἀφοσύνη and ἀνοία alike. Its relation to the other Slavic equivalents appears to be partly similar to the relation of *водѣнь* and *бездѣнь*.

### 13. *безоумьнѣ* ~ ἀφρων

'Senseless, nonsensical'. Lu 11,40: ἀφρονες, οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν; ~ *безоумьнѣ* не же ли естъ сѣтворишь внѣшнѣе і вѣнжтрѣнѣе сѣтворишь 'Senseless! Whether not He who created the extrinsic, also made the intrinsic?' A similar locus: Lu 12, 20.

The Old Slavic adjectives *безоумьнѣ* and *безоумль* were applied in other texts, as translations for the Greek adjectives *παράφρων, ἀγνώμων* and *μάταιος* too.

In later Church Slavic the adjectives *несъмыслѣнъ, съумасъшьдѣшь(ий)* also appear.

In the Latin we find the adjective *stultus*; in the Gothic these loci cannot be found. The Romanian applies the adjective *невънъ*, the Albanian the above-mentioned *márrë*.

The Hungarian text, in Károli's translation, has the adjective *bolond* 'fool, mad' for reproducing the original, which was probably Latin in this case.

In the Kralice Bible the expected form *blázen* is used; in the modern Russian gospels; *нерозумный* and, continuing the Old Slavic, *безумный*.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *безумен* (*слабоумен*); М. *безумен*; Sr.-Cr. *бѣзуман* (*нѣразуман*); Russ. *безумный* (*безумленный*, *безумимый*, *неразумленный*); Ukr. *безумний* (*нерозумний*); Cz. *bezumný* (*nerozumný*); Slk. *bezumný* (*nerozumný*); P. (*nierozumny*); H.So. (*njerozumny*, *njerozumity*); L. So. (*njerozumny*), *blazny*.

— Real structural calque.

14. *безоумьль* ~ *ἄφρων*

(See *безоумьнъ*)

'senseless, nonsensical'. Lu 12,20 (only in the Savvina Kniga).

The Russian *безоумливый* and the Bulgarian *безумлив* were formed from this Old Slavic variation with the suffix \*-во.

As for its Slavic and other equivalents, see in the entry for *безоумьнъ*.

— Real structural calque.

15. *бес-печали* ~ *ἀμεριμνος* (*ἀμεριμνος*)

'care-free, safe'. Mt 28,14: *καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμεριμνοὺς ποιήσομεν*. ~ *і вѣи бес печали сътворимъ*. '...and we make you care-free'.

In later Church Slavic texts we we read *веспечьнъ*, *бескорьвно*, *тоо*.

The Latin text also presents a privative suffixed adjective: *se-curus* for interpreting the Greek original. In the Gothic this locus cannot be found. In Luther's translation we find a paraphrase: *wir wollen . . . schaffen, daß ihr sicher seyd*.

The Romanian *fără de grije* *фърь ле гриже* shows an Old Slavic influence; the Albanian *moskini* is also a privative (or negative) solution. In Hungarian, Gáspár Károli used the old adjective *bátorságos* 'courageous, safe, care-free', but in the modern version we can read a verbal construction: *kimentünk titeket a bajból* 'we shall save you from the danger'.

The Russian text applies a similar solution: *избавити отъ неприятности*; in the Kralice Bible there also stands *bezpečný učiniti* 'to make careless'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word: В. (*беспечен*); Russ. (*беспечный*); Ukr. (*безпечний*, *безтурботний*); Cz. (*bezpečný*), Slk. *bezpečnostný*); P. (*bezpieczny*); L.So., H.So. (*bjezpiecny*, *bjez piecza*) (obsolete); М. *безпечен*; Sr.-Cr. *бѣспечан* (obsolete).

— Real structural calque. The Slavic equivalents cannot be related directly to the Old Slavic form but they are mostly its derivatives with the suffix \*-no.

16. бє(с)печальнѣ ~ ἀμερίμνος (ἀμερίμνως)

(See бес-печали)

'care-free, safe'. In Mt 28,14 (only in the Codex Assemani).

From this variant comes the Russian беспечальный. As for the Slavic and non-Slavic equivalents, see the entry for бес-печали.

In the later Church Slavic texts this adjective often occurs, and it serves for interpreting the Greek adjectives ἀπράγμων, ἄλυπος as well.

— Real structural calque.

17. бє(с)чѣстии ~ ἄτιμος

'despised'. Mt 13,57... οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ~ нѣсть пророкъ бєчѣстии· тѣкмо въ своємь отчѣстви' '... there is no prophet unesteemed, if not in his native country'.

In the Zographus we find the form бєчѣстии, in the Marianus бєицѣстии. Similar loci: Mc 6,4; 12,4.

The Old Slavic composition, and its derivation бєицѣстѣнѣ also reproduce the Greek negative-suffixed participles ἠτιμησαμένος, ἄτιμωθεις.

In later Church Slavic texts нечѣстѣнѣ, непочѣстѣнѣ, непочѣтивѣ also occur.

The expression *sine honore* in Latin is a privative solution resembling the Old Slavic just as the Gothic *un-svers*. In Luther's translation the word *weniger* is used, which sounds somewhat euphemistic.

The Kralice Bible presents the prepositional phrase *beze cti*; in the Russian the Church Slavic бєз-чѣсти occurs (a restituted etymological form).

The Romanian texts apply, on one hand, the Latin-like form *fără trecere* and, on the other, the Greek-like privative participle form *nesocotit*, but in Micu-Clain's translation the interpretation *фѣрь чинсте* and *нечиститѣ* can be found (similar to those of Bishop Nicolae).

The Albanian text renders this expression by using the privative *pa-udërçim*.

Károli translates this expression into Hungarian by a postpositional noun *tisztesség nélkül* ('without honour'), leaning upon the Vulgata. (In the Roman Catholic translation of the Greek text: *sehol nincs kevesebb becsülete* 'nowhere has he less appreciation than...' which is similar to Luther's translation: *gilt nirgend weniger, denn...*)

The Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (бєзчѣстен); Sr.-Cr. (бєшчастан, непòштен); M. (бєсчєс(т)єн); Russ. (бєсчєстнѣй); Ukr. (бєсчєсний); Cz. (*bezectný, bezestný, nepočestný, nepoctivý*); Slk. (*nepočestný*); P. (*bezczesny*) (obsolete), *bezecny*; L. So. (*njecesny*); H. So. (*nječestny*).

— Real structural calque. Its other Slavic equivalents originate from the form supplied with the suffix *\*-no*. The Czech *bezecný*, and from this, the Polish *bezecny*, show an original Western Slavic phonetic change; they were probably derived from Old Slavic, but independently from the calque discussed above.

18. БЕИМЪСТЪНЪ ~ ἡτιμησαμένος, ἡτιμωμένος

(See: БЕ(С)ЧЪСТИ.)

'despised'. Mc. 12,4: . . . κάκεινον λιθοβολησάντες ἐκεφαλαίωσαν ἀπεστεῖλαν αὐτον ἡτιμωμένον ~ ἰ τογο камениемъ бивъше пробиша глаже҃ емоу҃ · ἰ постлаша бештъстѣна · . . . and throwing him with stones, wounded him on his head, and they let him go unesteemed'.

For the Slavic and non-Slavic equivalents, see the entry for БЕСЧЪСТЬ.

It is the *\*-no*-suffixed derivative of the above-mentioned calque, and it stands near to the perf. participle pass. of a verb *\*бешѣстити* (cf. В. безчестя́; Russ. бесчестить; М. бесчести).

Its other Slavic equivalents see above.

— Real structural calque.

19–21. БЕШТАДЪ, БЕШТАДА, БЕШТАДЪНЪ ~ ἄτεκνος

'childless'. Lu 20,30: . . . καὶ οὗτος ἀπέθανεν ἄτεκνος ~ ἰ τὸ οὐμρετѣ бештада · . . . and this also died childless'.

Similar loci: Lu 20,29; 20,30. In the Zographus Lu 20,28 shows the form БЕШТАДЪНЪ, and in the Marianus БЕШТАДЪ; Lu 20,30: БЕШТАДЪНЪ.

In later Church Slavic texts БЕЗДѣТЪНЪ also appears.

In the Latin text the prepositional word groups *sine filiis*, *sine filio*, *sine liberis* can be found; in the Gothic the privative composition *un-barnahs*. All these are reflections of the Greek compositum; among them the Gothic word is a real structural calque. Luther's expression is *erblos* 'without heirs, heirless'.

The recent Romanian text uses the phrase *fără copii*, but Micu-Clain used *фъръ де фечори*; this latter reminds us of the Old Slavic, while the recent translation seems to imitate the Latin version.

The Albanian translation applies a phrase *pa-lënë fëmijë* ~ *filium non relinquens* 'not leaving a son'.

G. Károli renders this concept by the phrase *magzatok nélkül* which seems to follow the Latin version *sine semine*. In recent Hungarian translations we can read *utód(ok) nélkül* i.e. 'without descendant(s)'. Thus the Hungarian solutions remind us of Luther's German translation *erblos* 'without heirs'.

The Kralice Bible shows a form *bez děti*; the Russian translation presents a relatively later adjective, БЕЗДѣТНЫЙ.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. безчѣден; Russ. бесчадный; Sr.-Cr. бѣшчедан (but this word has a meaning 'unchaste' as well);



М. бесчеден; Укр. бездітний, безплідний); Cz. (*bezdětný*); Slk. (*bezdetný, nepłodný*); P. (*bezdzietny, nieplodny*); H.So. (*bjezdžěčny*), L.So. (*bjezdžečy*).

— Real structural calques.

22–23. БЛАГОВОЛИТИ, БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ ~ εὐδοκέω (εὐδόκησα)

‘to take pleasure in’. Mc 1, 11: οὐ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα ~ ТЫ ЕСИ СЫНЪ МОИ ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕНЪЛ · О ТЕБѢ БЛАГОВОЛИХЪ · ‘thou art my Son beloved whom I found pleasure in’. Similar loci: Mt 3, 17; 12, 18; 5; Lu 3, 22. 12, 32.

In later Old Slavic it corresponds to the verb συνευδοκέω, too. In later Church Slavic texts we find the expressions ЗА ДУБРЮ ОУЗНАТИ, ЗА БЛАГО ПРИМАТИ as well.

The Latin uses the verb *complacere*; the Gothic however, applies the locution *vaila ga-leikan* that seems to be a real structural calque of the Grek verb, like the Old Slavic БЛАГО(-ИЗ-)ВОЛИТИ. Luther’s text uses the expression *Wohlgefallen haben* (εὐδοκίαν ἔχειν ~ *complacentiam habere*).

The Romanian *bine am voit* (Nicolae, Micu-Clain: the same) represents a Graeco-Slavic imitation; the Albanian *kam-pelqyërë*, corresponds rather to the Latin *complacui* that it comes from.

Károli’s Hungarian translation aims at achieving elegance of style therefore he varies the solutions *megengeszteltetem* ‘I have got reconciled’, *megnyugodtam* ‘I have taken my repose’, *megörvendezett* ‘he has been delighted’, *kedvem tellett* ‘I have taken pleasure in’ etc., i.e. he translates according to the nuances of the sense. Nowadays the phrase *kedvem tellett* ‘I have taken pleasure in’ is most general in Hungarian, first of all, in the Catholic texts.

The Kralice Bible gives an expression *mi se dobře zalibilo*; the Russian text interprets it as въ которомъ моё благоволеніе, similar to Luther’s translation: *an dem ich Wohlgefallen habe*.

As for Lu 3, 22, the archaic texts present the verb БЛАГОВОЛИТИ, and they do the same in Lu 1, 11 as well, except the Nikolja Gospel where БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ can be read; this latter form is applied in all the codices in the other gospel loci.

Taking into consideration that, from among the deverbals, it is БЛАГОВОЛЕНІЕ that seems to be older since Lu 2, 12 and 10, 21 contain this form in all the archaic codices, and, as Jagić states, the Epistles and the Psalter also render this translation in most of the manuscripts (187, p. 282), I think that the verb БЛАГОВОЛИТИ preceded БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words: В. благоволя; Sr.-Cr. благовољети; Russ. благоволи́ть, благоизволи́ть, благоизволя́ть; Укр. благоволи́ти; М. благоволи; Cz. (*býti blahovolným*), Slk. (*být blahovolným*); P., H.So., L.So. (*byc blogowolnym* obsolete) *miec* (*měč*), (*měš*) *dobře zpodobanje*.

— Real structural calques, strengthened with the prefix благо- which ensures heavier stress in reproducing the Greek εὐ-. K. Schumann (379, p. 14) mentions it as an example for his new term “Lehngliedzusatz” which could be named.

perhaps, in English as a “complemented real structural calque” (cf. also in Bally’s cited work (21) the “détail surajouté”).

24. БЛАГОВОЛЕНІЕ ~ ἡ εὐδοκία

‘benevolence, goodwill’. Lu 2,14: καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνην ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας ~ *і на земи миръ · въ члѣхъ благоволеніе* · ‘and on the Earth: peace to the people of goodwill’. Similar locus: Lu 10,21.

In other Old Slavic texts the Greek compounds *συνευδοκία* and *εὐγνωμοσύνη* ‘goodwill, noble way of thinking’ are also rendered by this Slavic deverbal composition. In later Church Slavic texts *сѣизволеніе*, *задовољство*, *благосклонность* can also be read.

The Vulgata passages show the attributive expression *bona voluntas* ‘goodwill’, here in genitive *bonae voluntatis*, corresponding to the Greek genitive explicative similarly to the Gothic *gods vilja*. But the Old Slavic translation was prepared from such Greek MS where *εὐδοκία* stood in the nominative; a similar text must have served as the original for Tatianos’s Syrian version, and also for some other Syrian, Coptic-Bohairic, Armenian and Georgian interpretations, and for the Old Latin text of the Codex Rehdigeranus from Wrocław (with Merk’s sign: l 1956). Thus the meaning of the second part of the Angelic Doxology sounds as ‘and on the Earth goodwill in (or: *among*) the people’. Another interpretation appears in the Kralice Bible: *a na zemi pokoj, lidem dobrá vůle* ‘and on the Earth peace, to the people goodwill’. But the Russian version follows the Old Slavic: *и на землѣ миръ, въ чловѣкахъ благоволеніе*.

The Romanian texts give a similar nominative construction *întra oameni bunăvoire* (Micu-Clain also: *бвнъ воире*). These translations are near to the German conception where we read: *und Friede auf Erden und den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen*.

The Albanian translation interpreted this locus as *pëlqim ndë njërëzit* ‘approval in the people’ where the deverbal noun *pëlqim* corresponds to the Latin *complacentia* or *approbatio* ‘approval, endorsement’. (Cf. Latin *placere*.)

A similar solution can be found in Károli’s Hungarian text: *és az emberekben jó akarat* ‘and in the people goodwill’. This version is not quite the same as those discussed above; it represents a compromise between the two main variants. The Catholic Hungarian texts, however, follow the solution of the Vulgata: *és a földön békesség a jóakarató embereknek*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. благоволеніе; Sr.-Cr. благо(из)вољење; Russ., Ukr. благо(из)воленія (-іе).

The Western Slavic languages substitute these forms with the words *blahovolnost*, *blahovůle* (*blagowolność*), (*dobře podobanje*) derived from the same root but with other suffixes.

— Real structural calque. In the later manuscripts (Galician and Jurjev Gospels) its complemented (“surajouté”) form, *благвоизволеніе* can be found. Cf.

Jagić, (187, p. 282; see also the preceding entry). It should also be remarked that БЛАГОИЗВОЛИТИ and БЛАГОИЗВОЛЕНИЕ become more elegant and exquisite forms of politeness in the medieval and earlier modern Eastern and Southern Slavic conversational style than the related words without -из-.

25–29. БЛАГОВѢСТИТИ, БЛАГОВѢШАТИ, БЛАГОВѢСОВАТИ, БЛАГОВѢСТЬВОВАТИ, БЛАГОВѢСТЬВОВАТИ ~ εὐαγγελίζομαι, εὐαγγελίσασθαι  
'to preach the Gospel, to tell the good news (message of joy)'. Lu 1,19: λαλήσαι πρὸς σε καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαι σοὶ ταῦτα · ~ ΓΛΑΤΙ ΤΕΒ̄ · Ἰ ΒΛΑΓОВѢСТИТИ ΤΕΒ̄ СЕ ·  
'and I have been sent to speak to these and to tell thee the message of joy'. Similar loci: Lu 2,10; 4,18; 4,43; 8,1; 9,6; 3,18; 16,16; 20,1; Mt 11,5.

From among these Old Slavic compound verbs БЛАГОВѢШАТИ occurs the most frequently (5 times); it is used when the Greek verb is in imperfective form. The Codices Zographus, Ostromir and Savvina Kniga apply the variants БЛАГОВѢСТАТИ and БЛАГОВѢСТЬВОВАТИ instead. However, the Marianus, Assemani and—from among the later gospel texts—the Galician and Jurjev Gospels use БЛАГОВѢСТЬВОВАТИ. These latter forms seem to be relatively later Middle Bulgarian variations (cf. e.g. the South Bulgarian dialectal verbs with the suffixes -ОВАМ, -УВАМ).

In later Russian Church Slavic texts the periphrases, ПРИПОВѢДАТИ РАДОСТЬ, НА ЗНАМОСТЬ ДАВАТИ РАДОСТЫНЖИЖ ВѢСТЬ can also be found.

The Latin texts show the loanword *evangelizare*. Wulfila, however, created calques similar to those of the Slav interpreters: *vaila-merjan*, and in Lu 8,1: *vaila-spillon*, cf. English *go[od]-spel[l]*.

In South-Eastern Europe we can find the Romanian verb *vesti* (a loanword of Slavic origin), and the semicalque *bine vesti* (literally 'well-speak' i.e. 'to preach good news'). The Albanian text uses a calque-like expression (phraseological calque) *t'ap' zërin e-mirë për këto* which means, word for word, 'that I should give thee a good word about these'. As for the Hungarian texts, Károli translated freely, taking account of the nuances of the context with a good sense, thus e.g.: *örvendetes dolgokat jelenteni* 'to announce the gospel' (= 'joyful matters'), *tanítani* 'to teach', *evangéliumot prédikálni* 'to preach the gospel' etc.

(Károli's Hungarian interpretation is in agreement with the original ideological character of Luke's Gospel, which was to announce to the Hellenic world in a more exquisite and refined Greek style that Jesus Christ had been the real σωτήρ, the effective 'soul-healer', therefore his teaching and the information about him are 'good news', εὐαγγέλιον.)

The later and recent Hungarian Catholic texts also use the above-mentioned expressions and render the Vulgata or the Greek passages with such expression as *az üdvösséget hirdetni* 'to announce the salvation', and mostly, *az örömhírt hirdetni*, or *vinni*, or *meghozni* 'to announce (to fetch, to bring) the message of joy'; cf. the German *Freudenbotschaft*, literally 'legacy of joyful message', the

parallel for these Hungarian expressions. (In the Lutheran German text, however, the verb used is simply *verkündigen* 'to announce, to preach'.)

The Greek verbal composition was imitated in the Old Slavic verbs, and the Kralice Bible follows this tradition when it says *věci veselé zvěstovati* 'to announce joyful things' or *velkou radost zvěstovati* 'to announce a great joy'. It is only in the modern Russian text that we cannot find the verb *благовѣстить*, but the expression is similar to the Old Slavic and Czech texts: *возвѣщать великую радость* 'to announce a great joy'.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic *благовѣстити*: age: *В. благовѣстѣ, -явам* (obsolete verbs); Sr.-Cr. (*блѣговѣсти* 'the feast of Annunciation of Blessed Virgin Mary on the 25th March'); Russ. *благовѣстить, -вещать, -вѣствовать*; Ukr. *благовістити*; L.So. (*zapowědaš wilikéo radosć*); H.So. *zapowědać (wulke) radosć*; Cz. *blahověstiti*; Slk. (*blahozvest, -ec* 'Evangelist'). The lack of other Western Slavic equivalents than Czech confirms the fact of loan translation in the Old Slavic language.

— Real structural calques.

30–31. *благодѣть* and *благодать* ~ ἡ χάρις

'grace'. Lu 1,30: *μη φοβοῦ, Μαρίαμ· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ~ НЕ БОИ СА МАРИЕ· ДЕРЪТЕ БО БЛАГОДѢТЬ ДТЬ БА·* 'do not fear, Miriam: Thou hast found grace by God'. Similar loci: Lu 2,40; 2,52; 4,23; Jo 1,14; 1,17. In other Greek texts it is substituted by the deverbal noun τὸ χάρισμα, too.

In these loci we can read *благодѣть* and *благодать* in the Marianus, variatim, for the Greek *χάρις*. (Actually, however, *благодѣть* seems to point back to a compound *εὐεργεσία* in Greek. (But while the Ostromir applies *благодать* consistently, the Assemani, Zographus and Nikolja Gospel only know the form *благодѣть*. On the basis of these facts we must consider the variant *благодѣть* as an older one. This latter occurs in some psalter translations (Psalter of Čudovo and Bologna) as well. In much later Church Slavic texts *милость, благословение, божья ласка* also render this concept.

The corresponding word in the Latin text is *gratia*, a simple translation of the Greek original or rather a semantic calque caused by its special sense in religious terminology. The situation is similar in the case of the Gothic word *ansts*, too. In Luthers's translation the general noun is *Gnade*, for this. From among the Slavic variants, it is *благодать* that survived in Russian ecclesiastical style (although, exceptionally, the cited modern version also renders it in Lu 2,52 as *любовь* (see Russian *любовь* 'love').

In the Kralice Bible the corresponding term is *milost* (originally: 'kindness', but in ecclesiastical sense: 'grace'). This word is well-known in every Slavic language, and occurs as a loanword in the ancient Hungarian gospel translations and other religious texts as well (cf. the earliest written record of appreciable length in Hungarian, the Halotti Beszéd (Funeral Sermon) from the end of the

12th c.); the Hungarian form was earlier *miloszt*, later *malaszt*, now almost entirely obsolete (221).

In the Balkan Peninsula the Romanian *dar* 'gift, grace' is a Church Slavic or Middle Bulgarian loanword, while *har* is a Byzantine Greek borrowing from \**χάρις* (-ις); the Albanian *hir* also took its origin from this Greek word, with an Albanian phonetic change. In the Hungarian language the earlier Catholic version generally used the afore-mentioned *malaszt*, but Károli applies the ancient word *kegyelem* (originally: 'clemency, pardon', though in Lu 2,52 he says *testének állapotában* 'in the state of his body' while the Catholic texts render it as *kedvességben* 'in kindness').

The above-mentioned translations suggest that these words were created independently of both the Old Slavic calques. These nouns are deverbal compounds: *БЛАГОДѢТЬ* seems already to have been in use as early as in the earliest Old Slavic, because later the verb *ДѢТИ* 'to do' was, step by step, supplanted by the secondary formation *ДѢЛАТИ* primarily perhaps because the compound noun *БЛАГОДАТЬ* (that proved to be a more vigorous expression, on the basis of its relation to the verb *ДАТИ* 'to give') also gave the charitologic-dogmatic advantage of designating the *χάρις* as a 'gift from above'; in this way, it was a more serviceable term from the viewpoint of Christian charitology than *БЛАГОДѢТЬ* that could have been interpreted as human action, too. Therefore it was *БЛАГОДАТЬ* that mostly spread into the other Slavic languages, and was later supplanted by other words of a similar basic meaning.

The form *БЛАГОДѢТЬ*, being a Moravianism, soon became isolated in the Balkanic environment.

The other Slavic equivalents are: B. *благодат*; Sr.-Cr. *благодат* 'blessing' (also: *благодет*); M. *благодат*; Russ. *благодать* (*благодѣть*); 'virtuous'; (εὐεργεσία); Ukr. *благодать*; Cz. (*blahodětnost*); Slk. (*blahodarnost*); P. (*dobroczytność*); H.So. (*dobrociwość*); L.So. (*dobroczyństwo, gnada*).

— Calque compounds, but not of the same type. The composition *БЛАГОДѢТЬ* is a semantic calque as it reproduces an alien word in one of its particular specialized meanings; if it was formed at first in Old Slavic because of translation requirements, which is probable, it is also a calque neologism, or a real structural calque after εὐεργεσία. As for the composition *БЛАГОДАТЬ* it seems to be a supplemented semantic calque or calque neologism or, in Schumann's German terminology, a "Lehngliedzusatz" inasmuch the noun *ДАТЬ* in itself could have reproduced the dogmatic meaning 'gift' of the Greek word. Nevertheless, the prothesis *БЛАГО-* was not at all unnecessary: Schumann's remark, that the Slav Apostles translated the Greek εὐ with *БЛАГО-* when the Greek prothesis had a strong attributive meaning, for when it made a considerable contribution to the gospel is, essentially, a reference to the idea of "supernatural order", i.e. an indication, that the terms in question are related to *that* order. This is most

conspicuous in the case of *βλαγοδατῆς*, which corresponds to the Greek *χάρις*, a concept characteristically *supernatural* in Christian terminology.

32–33. *благодѣтнѣ (-а), благодѣтнѣ (-а) ~ κεχαριτωμένος (-η)*  
'full of grace'. Lu 1,28: *χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. ~ βλαδονι σα*  
*благодѣтнѣнѣ ꙗѣ съ тобоѣжъ* 'Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with Thee'.

In later Church Slavic texts: *благословенѣнѣ (-а), благодѣтѣжъ исполнена тоо*.

The Latin text uses the word group *gratia plena*, the Gothic *anstai andschafta*; the Latin, Gothic and Old Slavic versions show three different ways of "décalquage" of the Greek perfect participle. Luther's expression *holdselige* seems to suggest a different dogmatic conception. The Kralice Bible interprets this locus as *milostí obdařená* 'presented (fully) with grace'; in the modern Russian version we can read a predicative adjectival (perfect participle) form: *благословѣнна*.

The Romanian text, with its translation *plîna de dar* resembles the Latin version; the Albanian *o e-mbushurë më hirë* seems to go back to a popular Latin *plena cum gratia* or a κοινή or a popular, Low Greek *πλήρης μετὰ τῆς χάριτος*.

Károli's translation *ingyen vagy kedves* 'Thou art kind gratuitously', and its later variant *kegyelembe fogadott* '(Thou art) taken into grace', seem to reflect the Mariological opinion of the Protestant interpretation, different from the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox theology alike. The Hungarian Catholic translations apply the variations *malasztal teljes, kegyelemmel teljes* 'full of grace'.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *благодѣтен*; Sr.-Cr. *благодатан, благодетан*; Russ. *благодѣтный*; Cz. (*blahodějny*), *blahodětný*; Slk. (*blahodarný*), P. (*blogoslawiona*); Ukr. *благодѣтний (благодѣйний)*; M. *благодатен*; H.So. (*plný gnade*); L.So. (*blahodějny*).

— Real structural calques (but in a stricter sense, supplemented calque neologisms and semantic calques, too); cf. their basic nouns in the former entry.

34–35. *благодѣтель, благодѣтель ~ (ὁ) εὐεργέτης*  
'benefactor, well-doer'. Lu 22,25: *καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται. ~ ѿ обладажнѣи ѣми благодѣтеле нарицажѣтѣ са* 'and their commandants are called benefactors'.

In the Codices Zographus and Nikolija Gospel we can find, of course, the variant *благодѣтель*; in the others, however, *благодѣтель* occurs.

In later Church Slavic the compounds *любодѣтель, люботворѣ* also occur.

The Latin text uses the compound adjective *beneficus* which corresponds exactly to the Greek compositum. In Gothic it cannot be found; the word *ansteigs*, known from Eph. 1,6 may have stood in this passage. In Luther's text we read *gnaedige Herren* 'goodwilling lords' in this sense.

The second Old Slavic word is used in Russian as *благодáтель*, but the Kralice Bible uses the later equivalent *dobročinec*.

The Romanian *făcător de bine* and the Albanian *mirëbërës* alike might go back to either a Greek or a Latin or an Old Slavic original, just as the word *jótevõ* of Károli and the other Hungarian (older and recent) interpreters. The historical conditions, however, make the possibility of Old Slavic (Church Slavic) origin in the case of Albanian and Hungarian improbable.

Both the Old Slavic words have their equivalents in other Slavic languages, too.

B. *благодѣтелъ*; Sr.-Cr. (благодетан; добротвор, добročинац); M. (добротвор); Russ. *благодáтель*, *благодѣтель* (добродѣтель); Cz. (*blahodějny*); Slk. (*blahočinný*); P. (*dobrodziej, dobroczynica*); Ukr. (благодійник); L.So. (*dobrošel, dobrošelnik*); H.So. (*dobročiwu*).

— Real calque compounds. The older *БЛАГОДѢТЕАЪ* interprets the Greek *εὐεργέτης* more exactly, but, as for its content, the later *БЛАГОДАТЕАЪ* also stands near to it. Probably the verb *ДАТИ*, applied very often in everyday life, influenced its development and made it a variant of *БЛАГОДѢТЕАЪ*.

36. *БЛАГОУБРАЗЪНЪ ~ Εὐσχήμων*

'well-shaped; noble'. Mc 15,43: *ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ~ приде Іосифъ ѿтъ ἄριματ'еа · БЛАГОУБРАЗЪНЪ СВѢТЬНИКЪ ·* '...coming Joseph Arimathaeus, the noble councillor'. In other Old Slavic texts this compound adjective is used for rendering the Greek *εὐπρεπής* 'well-behaved, proper, attractive' as well.

The other three concordant passages (Lu 23,50; Mt 27,57 and Jo 19,38) do not contain this epitheton about Joseph Arimathaeus.

In later Church Slavic texts we find the attributes *БЛАГОУБРАЗЪНЪ, ЗНАТЪНЪ, ПОЧЪТЕНЪНЪ* as well.

The Latin text produces a translation "ad intellectum": the simple adjective *nobilis* 'noble' (originally, a derivate of the verb *noscere, novi* with the suffix *-bilis*, meaning together 'that is worthy of being known').

The Gothic version contains the compound *ga-guds* 'pious, unsophisticated', evidently on the basis of a traditional explanation the exegetists knew that the Greek word meant a moral property, and not genealogical origin or external good shape. Similarly, Luther's text also interprets the Greek adjective with *ehrbar* 'worthy of esteem'.

In the Kralice Bible we find *počestná osoba* 'respectful person', which also refers to morality; there is a similar case in the Russian text, too: it applies the epitheton *знаменитый* 'famous', 'well-known'.

The Romanian text reproduced this locus with the adjective (or participial) form *чинститъ* earlier, but with the expression *cu bun chip* later; the former interpretation seems to follow the Latin *nobilis*, while the latter points to the

influence of Old Slavic БЛАГОБРАДЪНЪ. The Albanian *derçim* (or *ndershëm*) 'esteemed' took the origin from the verb *nderoj* 'to esteem', thus it seems to follow the Latin. As for the Hungarian texts, Károli used the adjective *tisztességes* 'honest', 'honourable', but the modern Catholic versions write *előkelő* 'distinguished, high-born'.

The other Slavic equivalents: B. (благороден 'high-born'); M. (благороден); Sr.-Cr. (благородан); Russ. благообразный (благородный); Ukr. благообразний; (благородний); Cz., Sik. (*blahorodý, blahorodný, blahorozený*); P. (*wielmożny*); L.So. (*šlachotny*); H.So. (*šlachotny, šlachtačiny*).

— Real structural calque and, at the same time, a semantic calque. If we observe the different meanings of the Russian благообразный, and also those of Romanian *cu bun chip* (translated from Old Slavic), we can state that the Old Slavic calque took over all the three basic meanings of Greek εὐσχήμων. No doubt, its primary sense was 'well-shaped', but already in ancient times it took on the meanings 'high-born' and 'noble-minded, moral' as well. (It should also be taken into consideration, that the Greek and Church Slavic liturgical texts, such as the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom have preserved the adjectives of St. Mark's Gospel, but Hungarian Eastern Orthodox liturgical passages translate them with *istenfélő* 'god-fearing', which has become a constant epitheton ornans of Joseph Arimathaeus for the Hungarian Greek-Uniated.)

In the noun БЛАГОБРАДЪНСТВО (I Cor 12,13) this polysemantic tendency was evidently even stronger, therefore it was later substituted by or used alternately with the words БЛАГОКОУТАНИЕ, БЛАГОПОУТРЕБСТВО, БЛАГОУКРАПНЕНИЕ, used in the later texts very often.

37-38. БЛАГОСЛОВИТИ, БЛАГОСЛОВЕСТИТИ ~ εὐλογέω, (προσεύχομαι) 'to bless'. It is БЛАГОСЛОВИТИ that occurs predominantly, thus e.g.: Mt 5,44: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς ~ ЛЮБИТЕ ВРАГЫ ВАША · БЛАГОСЛОВИТЕ КЛЪНЖИТѦИЯ КЪИ '...love your enemies, and bless them who call down curses on you'.

Similar passages: Mt 14,19; 21,9; 23,39; 25,34; 26,26. Mc 6,41; 8,7; 10,16; 11,9; 11,10; 14,22; 14,61; Lu 1,28; 1,42 (bis); 1,64; 1,68; 2,28; 2,34; 6,28; 9,16; 13,35; 24,30; 24,50; 24,51; 24,53; Jo 12,13. In Mc 10,16: κατευλόγει.

The verb БЛАГОСЛОВЕСТИТИ which was a derivation from one of the old sigmatic stems of the noun СЛОВО occurs in Mt 26,26 and Mc 14,22 in the Marianus. It is conspicuous that it was applied in the description of the Last Supper; supposedly the established Old Slavic liturgical practice distinguished it from БЛАГОСЛОВИТИ which was often used in other relations.

In later Old Slavic texts we can also read the forms БЛАГОСЛОВѦТИ, БЛАГОСЛОВЕСИТИ, -СЛОВЕСТИТИ, -СЛОВЕСОВАТИ, -СЛОВЕСТВОВАТИ.



It is striking that the Synoptic Gospels apply the verb εὐλογέω in about the same quantity, while it can be read in St. John's Gospel only on one occasion. It seems as if the authors of the synoptical texts used it so often because they were influenced by the corresponding Hebrew verb: as they grew up in the atmosphere of Jewish blessing liturgies. St. John's εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν, however, written after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of Jews, i.e. about the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries (judging from the content of this gospel), takes entirely other conditions and readers into consideration. Therefore, the author of the fourth gospel considers it much more important to emphasize the appearance and activity of the λόγος σεσαρκωμένος, the "Incarnate Verb".

In the much later Church Slavic (Russian Church Slavic) the expressions ПОЖЕГНАНИЕ ЛАТИ [ЖЕЛАТИ, СЪКАЗАТИ] also appear.

The Latin text uses the verb *benedicere* that seems to be a precise structural calque of the Greek verb, although it was also known by the classical authors, thus in Biblical and Christian application it is a semantic calque, if it is a calque at all.

In the Gothic we find the denominal verb *gabiurpan* that is related to the noun *þiup* 'goodness', thus also a semantic calque after Greek (or Latin). Luther's text varies the verbs *segnen*, *danken*, *loben*, according to the sense.

The earlier Romanian texts alternately show БЛАГОСЛОВИИ (a loanword of Church Slavic origin) and БИНЕКВЕНТА (a real structural calque after Greek, Latin or Old Slavic); the later ones mostly use the latter form (*binecuvânta*). The Albanian *bekoj* 'to bless, to consecrate' is a simple translation. The Hungarian texts render the compound word of these passages with the ancient verb *áldani*, *megáldani* 'to bless'.

The Kralice Bible alternates the words *dobrořečiti* (an exact structural calque) and *požehnati* (a loanword from the German verb *segnen* 'to bless'). The Russian text uses the verbs благословить and благословлять (an aspectual pair of verbs).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verbs are: В. благословя, -явам; Sr.-Cr. благословити, благословити (this latter seems to be a popular etymology after the noun сила 'strength', that fully corresponds to the Christian dogmatic sense, too); Russ. благословить, благословлять; Cz. *blagoslaviti* (*dobrořečiti*, *požehnati*); Slk. *blahoslaviti*; P. *blagosławić*; Ukr. благословити; M. благослови, благословува; L.So. (*pożegnowaś*); H.So. (*požehnować*).

— Real structural calque (after the Greek or Latin). The Western Slavic forms are consciously popularized forms, influenced by слава 'fame', or imitation of the Old Slavic verb, according to the medieval Moravian-Czech-Polish ecclesiastical and literary relations. The Bulgarian and Macedonian imperfective forms are popular creations. The Sorb verbs are loanwords of German origin (*segnen* 'to bless', cf. the Czech verb!). The past participle БЛАГОСЛОВЕНЪ 'blessed', and the

related denominal noun *βλαγωγασίαι* 'bless(ing)' are used commonly in Old and later Church Slavic.

39. *βλαγοτворюμι* ~ *ἀγαθοποιέω*

'to do good'. Lu 6,33: *καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀγαθοποιήτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιούντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;* ~ *Ѡ дшѣ благотворите · благотвораштиимъ вамъ · каѣ вамъ хвала естъ* · 'and if ye do good your well-doers, what love is in you?' Similar locus: Lu 6,35.

In other Old Slavic texts the Greek verbs *εὐποιέω*, *εὐεργετέω*, *ἀγαθ(ο)εργέω* are also interpreted by this Slavic compositum.

In later Church Slavic: *благодѣяти*, *добротворити*, *добродѣтельствовати* also occur.

The Latin text renders it with *beneficere* that is a merely phenomenological calque: it often occurs in classical Roman literature, too. The Gothic *þiuh taujan* 'to do goodness', since we do not know older Gothic texts than that of Wulfila's, may be a real structural calque or a phraseological one (calque expression), similar to *βλαγοτворюμι* in its composition. Luther's text uses an exact calque: *wohlthun*.

The Romanian *facea bine*, Albanian *bëj mirë* expressions have the same word order, but inverted as against all the former solutions, and they are related to either an original *ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν* (or *ποιέω εὖ*), or to *творити добро*. It is not impossible, however, that the cause of the inverted word order was the same tendency that established the characteristic Balkanic postpositive articles, i.e. the marking of definiteness at the end of words.

The Hungarian translation of Károli was *jól tenni* (word for word: 'to well-do') with a free order of words; in the later Catholic versions the syntagm *jót tenni*, 'to do good (thing)' is used rather.

The Kralice Bible reproduces the Latin original with *dobře činiti* ('to well-do'); in Russian the inverted word order, *сделать добро* occurs.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*благотворен съм*); Sr.-Cr. (*бл̋готворан сам*); M. (*благотворен сум*); Russ. *благотвори́ть* (*добротвори́ть*); Cz. *blahotvořiti* (obsolete); Slk. (*byť blahočinným*); P. (*być dobroczynnym*); Ukr. *бути благодієвним*); L.So. (*być dobrośiwym*); H.So. (*być dobročelom, dobrociwym*).

— Real structural calque; besides the Slavs of Eastern rite, it has also been preserved in Czech as a Moravianism.

40. *βλαжити* ~ *μακαρίζω*

'to say somebody blessed'. Lu 1,48: *ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί* ~ *се во ѡтъ селѣ блажатъ ма вси роди*. 'Behold, from now on all the generations will call me blessed'.

The Greek verb is reproduced in Latin with the expression *beatam dicere* 'to say her happy' (the passage is taken from the Magnificat which was sung by the Blessed Virgin Mary). In Gothic the verb *adaugjan* is a simple denominal verb formation that corresponds to μακαρίζειν just like блажити. Luther's text applies the expression *selig preisen*.

In later Church Slavic texts: величати, прославаѣти, за съчастливаго почитати.

The Romanian verb *ferici* points to a Greek or Old Slavic model. The version мѣ вѣрѣ фѣричи, this future form, corresponds to the Albanian *do të më lumëro, njëjë* (in the use of both the future tense and the denominal verb formation). The Albanian verb comes from the adjective *lum* 'happy'. In the case of Albanian, however, the influence of Byzantine Greek seems more probable than that of Old Slavic, and the Albano-Romanian similarity is based on some, probably Illyrian morphological features of the two languages which they had perhaps shared even before the formation of the vulgar Balkanic Latin structure and word stock of the Romanian language. Károli follows the Vulgata with his translation *boldognak mondani* 'to say (somebody) happy'; in later Catholic versions *boldognak hirdet* 'to declare somebody happy'. The Kralice Bible uses the verb *blahoslaviti* as well; in the modern Russian version the derived and prefixed *ублажать* (and its aspectual doublet: *ублажить*) occurs.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic word (partly, with a very modified meaning): В. *блѣжа* 'to break the fast', 'to eat sweets'; Sr.-Cr. *блѣжити* 'to calm', 'to appease'; М. *блажи* 'to sweeten, to dulcify'; Russ. *блѣжить* 'to praise' (*ублажать, ублажить* 'to carry favour with somebody, to coddle'); Cz. *blažiti* 'to bless, to praise' (obsolete); Slk. *blažit'* 'to make happy, to say happy'; P. (*uszcześliwić* 'to say happy') Ukr. (*величати* 'to praise'); L.So. (*strowiś* 'to praise'); H.So. (*strowić* 'to praise', *zehnać* 'to bless').

— Real structural calque, formed after the Greek model from the adjective *благъ* 'good, blessed' (μακάριος: μακαρίζω = *благъ: блажити*).

#### 41. БЛАЖЕНЪ ~ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ

'happy, blessed'. Mt 5,3: Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ~ *блжени ништи дхѡмѣ вѣко тѣхъ естъ цѣро нѣское* 'Blessed are the poor in spirit because the Kingdom of Heavens is theirs.'

Similar loci: Mt 5,4–11; 11,6; 13,16; 16,17; 24,46; Lu 1,45; 6,21; 7,23; 10,23; 11,27; 11,28; 12,37; 12,38; 12,43; 14,14; 14,15; 23,29; Jo 13,17; 20,29.

In later Church Slavic texts we find *съчастливъ* and *благословенъ(нъ), тоо*.

The Latin text applies the adjective *beatus* 'happy' (originally, the participle perf. pass. of the verb *beare* 'to make happy, to gladden'). In the Gothic text the already mentioned form *andegs* is used. Luther's translation uses the adjective *selig* here, but its synonyms: *gesegnet glücklich, gebenedeit* are also used in German with this meaning.

In the Romanian the part. perf. pass. *fericit* belongs to the verb *ferici* 'to make happy', just in the same way as *блаженъ* to *блажити*, or the Latin *beatus* to *beare*.

The Albanian version uses the simple adjective *lum* 'happy, lucky'. In Hungarian, Károli also applies the simple, old adjective *boldog* 'happy' (originally, it perhaps meant 'entranced, ecstatic' among the shamanistic Hungarians, and was the attribute of a female deity of old paganism; *Boldogasszony*, literally: 'Happy Lady', later it became a name of the Blessed Mary).

In the Kralice Bible, we find *blahoslavený* in this passage, a part. perf. pass. of the verb *blahoslaviti* 'to bless' (cf. above). In the Russian text the participle *блаженъ* has remained.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *блáжен*; Sr.-Cr. *блáжен(и)*, (*благословèнй*); М. *блажен*; Russ. *блáженный*; Ukr. *блáжений*; Cz. *blažený*; Slk. *blažený*; P. (*blogi, szczęśliwy*); L.So. (*pożegnany, strowy*); H.So. (*žehnaty, strowy*).

— Semantic calque. The lack of real Polish and Serbian equivalents seems to indicate that it is not of Proto-Slavic origin but a regular participial form of the Old Slavic verb *блажити* and, as distinct from the adjective *благъ*, it especially expresses the religious meaning of the Greek adjective *μακάριος* 'one who can be called happy (blessed)'. On the creation of the Old Slavic word, maybe, the Latin *beatus* made its influence, and Cyril evidently felt this perfective participle form to be more solemn and impressive than the simple adjective.

42. БѢ(Г)СТВО ~ ἡ φυγή

'run, escape, flight'. Mt 24,20: *προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγή ὑμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτω* ~ *МОЛИТЕ ЖЕ СА ДА НЕ БИЖДЕТЬ БѢСТВО ВАШЕ · ЗИМЪ НИ ВЪ СЪБОТЖ*. 'Pray that your escape should not be in winter, neither on Saturday'. (An addendum from the later text of the second copyist of Zographus, therefore it was printed in "graždanka".) Similar locus: Mc 13.18.

In the Assemani БѢСТВО occurs, too, which may be an assimilation of the original БѢГСТВО (if it is not a simple "lapsus calami").

Instead of БѢ(Г)СТВО, in other Old Slavic texts we can read БѢЖАНИЕ. In later Church Slavic texts БѢГЪ, БѢГАНІЕ, ПОБѢГЪ also occur.

The noun of the Latin texts, *fuga* and that of Gothic, *þlauhs* (and Luther's *Flucht* and *Lauf*) are also deverbal; but the Romanian *fuga* cannot be considered deverbal in Romanian. The Albanian *të-ikuritei* is formed from the part. perf. stem of the verb *iki* (*ika, ikur*) 'to go away, to escape'. The Hungarian *futás* is also a deverbal derivation in Károli's text from the verb *futni*, 'to run', just like the later *menekülés*, from the stem of the verb *menekülni* 'to fly, to escape'.

A similar derivation appears in the Kralice Bible: *běh, běžení*, earlier *utikání*; in the modern Russian text, where БѢСТВО has been preserved.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic word in other Slavic languages are: B. бѣгство (бѣг, бѣга, бѣгане). Sr.-Cr. бѣгство (бѣг); Russ. бѣгство (побѣг); Cz. (*běh, běžení, běhání*); Slk. (*beh, behanie, bežnosť*); P. (*bieg, bieganina*); Ukr. (бігання); M. бегство; L.So. (*běg, běganje, běžanje*); H.So. (*běh, běhlosć*).

— Real structural calque. It is the lack of exact etymological equivalents in other Slavic languages that suggests that this word was formed in Old Slavic, thus it could not exist before as a Proto-Slavic form. The Byzantine-rite Slavic languages preserved it as an ecclesiastical “mot savant”, or a re-etymologized form.

43a-b. БѢСНОВАТИ СѦ (БѢСИТИ СѦ) ~ δαιμονίζομαι, (σεληνιαζομαι)  
'to be obsessed, to be moonstruck'. Mt 12,22: Τότε προσηέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφὸς · καὶ ἔθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ~ ТОГДА ПРИВЕСА ЕМОУ БѢСНОВАЮЩИТЬ СѦ СЛѢПЪ І НѢМЪ · І ИЦѢАИ І · 'Then an obsessed, blind and dumb man was brought to Him, and He healed him.'

In the Zographus we read ΓΛΟΥΧΉ 'deaf', too, in the continuation. Similar passages: Mt 15,22; 17,15; Mc5,15; 5,16; 5,18; Lu 8,36; Jo 10,21.

In later Church Slavic texts the expressions οὐτράτιτι βάζομεν, βѣса имѣти, съоума съходити also appear.

In the Latin text the expressions *daemonium habere, a demonio vexatus* can be found; the verb σεληνιαζομαι, however, is rendered by the expression *lunaticus esse*. The later *obsessus* (also a theological special term) has got the sample of Luther's *besessen*, too.

The Gothic translation alternates the calque neologisms *unhulþon haban* and *voþs visan* which render δαιμονίζομαι very satisfactorily, but the word-for-word semantic equivalent of σεληνιαζομαι is unknown in Gothic gospels.

The Romanian expressions *fi îndracit* 'to be obsessed by devil' and *fi lunatic (lunatic)* 'to be lunatic' point to the Greek and Latin alike. The Albanian *të-djallosurë* and *mundonëtë prëj dallit* ('obsessed' and 'tormented by the devil', resp.) are the correspondents of δαιμονίζομαι, but *zë lëngat e henëse* is an explicit rendering of σεληνιαζομαι. (It is interesting that the Albanian name of 'epilepsy' is even today *sëmundja ë hënës* 'sickness of moon'.)

In the Hungarian text the words *ördögös* 'devilish', *ördögtől gyötört* 'tormented by devil', *kórságos* 'sick, epileptic' and recently *holdkóros* 'lunatic', *ördögtől megszállt* 'obsessed by the devil' occur, these words and expressions are also known from the medieval manuscripts.

Instead of the Old Slavic БѢСНОВАТИ СѦ, in the later Church Slavic texts the verb БѢСИТИ СѦ also occurs, especially in the Byzantine Southern Slavic and Russian redactions (cf. Jagić, 186, p. 283). In the Kralice Bible we can find the corresponding expressions *dábelstvím posedlý* 'obsessed by devilishness' and *náměsíčník býti* 'to be lunatic', probably influenced by Latin; in the modern Russian version the adjective form бѣсноватый is found but, sometimes, the

verb бѣсноваться and its perf. part. act. бѣсновáвшийся, and the translation of the two Greek verbs united in one expression: въ новолúнии бѣсноваться 'to be obsessed in (by) the New Moon'.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic words in other Slavic languages are: B. беснѹвам, беснѣя; Sr.-Cr. бѣснети (бѣсан бѣти); M. беснее; Russ. бѣсноваться, избѣсить; Cz. *běsniti, běsnovati se*; Slk. *besnet, besnit' sa*; P. *biesić* (obsolete form); Ukr. бѣситися; L.So. (*blazniś*); H.So. (*blaznić*).

— The word БѢСНОВАТИ СѦ is a semantic calque, perhaps a Moravianism, in contrast to the later БѢСИТИ СѦ that seems to be a Bulgarian–Serbo-Croatian variant. The older form goes back to the Proto-Slavic noun БѢСЪ that meant 'evil spirit' among the heathen Slavs, later it became the equivalent of the Christian Greek–Latin religious terms *satanas* and *diabolus*. The immediate base of the verb was an adjective БѢСНЪ that also exists in the Old Slavic texts in the sense of the Greek participle δαιμονιζόμενος (Latin *daemonium habens*: see in Mt. 8,16; 8,28; 8,33, 9,32; Mc 1,32; 5,15). (It is striking that the Old Slavic term was also applied for translating the Greek σεληνιάζομαι, although the other languages surveyed usually interpreted this verb, as we have seen, with a word or expression other than σεληνιάζομαι.)

It seems that in the Old Slavic beliefs the concept of obsession by an evil spirit was known (in this, the Eastern European shamanistic notions also played a role, cf. the Russian волхвъ 'magician'), but maybe, the ancient Slavs did not attribute such a serious disease-causing effect to the moon, as many other peoples did, or, perhaps Cyril did not suppose such an effect.

## Р

44–45. ВЕЛИЧИТИ and ВЕЛИЧАТИ (later also ВЕЛИЧИВАТИ) ~ μεγαλύνω 'to praise highly, to glorify'. Lu 1,46: Καὶ εἶπεν Μαριάμ· Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν κύριον, ~ ἰ рече мариѣ · величитъ дѣла мѡѣ гѣ · 'and Mary said: My soul glorifies the Lord'. Similar passage: Mt 23,5 (with ВЕЛИЧАТИ).

The Latin *magnificare* is a semantic calque on the basis of Greek, because it is applied in the secondary meaning 'to extol, to glorify' in the biblical texts besides its original sense 'to make great, to enlarge'. The Gothic *mikiljan* is a verb of denominal formation, similarly to Greek and Latin. Wulfila, otherwise, also interprets the Greek δοξάζω 'to glorify' with *mikiljan*; for this Greek word we find *honorificare* in Latin, and СЛАВЯТИ in Old Slavic (Mc 2,12). In later Church Slavic texts прославляти, прохвалати, вѣзвѣщати, and вѣздвигати also play a role.

The Russian-type Church Slavic (and modern Russian versions) have preserved the Old Slavic verb, while in the Kralice Bible the verb *velebiti* can be found, i.e. a verb of the same root but with a suffix different from that in Old

Slavic. Luther's German *erheben* 'to raise', 'to extol' seems to have been a strengthening factor in these word uses.

In the Romanian the verb *mari* occurs here (in other cases, the verb *slăvi*, a Church Slavic loanword); its base is the adjective *mare* 'big, great' and the verb is a semantic calque in biblical texts on the basis of Old Slavic or Greek. Similarly, the Albanian *madhó* comes from the adjective *madh* 'big, great', and meant originally 'to increase, to enlarge', just as the Romanian verb. Károli's Hungarian text contains the verb *magasztalni* 'to glorify', originally from a stem related to the adjective *magas* 'high'. The Hungarian verb, on the basis of the Vulgata, was used before Károli in the medieval manuscripts (the Codices of Wespzrém, Vienna, Cornides, etc.) in the older (now obsolete) form *magasztani*, for translating the Latin *exaltare*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. величáя; Sr.-Cr. величати; Russ. величítъ, величать; Cz. (z) *veličiti*, (z) *veličovati*; Slk. *veličit'*; P. *wieliczyć*, *wieliczać* (*wielkoczynić*; *wielbić*; *wychwalać*, *ślawić*, *powiększyć*, *przesadzać*); Ukr. величáти; M. велича; L.So. *wjelicaś*, *wjelicyś*; H.So. (*wulkoscić*).

— Semantic calque. Because of the lack of exact Sorbic equivalents, Proto-Slavic origin cannot be assumed, and there is another reason for supposing a direct Greek motivation: the concept of 'to glorify, extol, praise high' could also have been expressed by means of other verbs (e.g. СЛАВИТИ, ХВАЛИТИ) which are really of Proto-Slavic origin, and other verbs could also have been used for interpreting a Greek (or any other) text. (Cf. the Hungarian equivalent *magasztalni* that was used for interpreting the Latin verb *magnificare* and has been retained in the translations revised on the basis of Greek, although the Hungarian word is related to the adjective *magas* 'high' and not to *nagy* 'big, great').

A very precise Slavic calque interpretation of the Latin *magnificare* is the Polish *wielkoczynić*; the other common forms (ВЕЛИЧИТИ, ВЕЛИЧАТИ and later ВЕЛБИТИ) can be explained on an immediate Greek basis; their presence in Western Slavic languages seems to be a Moravianism.

46. ВЕЛИЧИЕ, ВЕЛИЧЬСТВО ~ τὸ μέγα (τὰ μεγάλα), (τὸ μεγαλειον, ἡ μεγαλειότης) 'greatness, magnitude; great things'. Lu 1,49: ὅτι ἐποίησέν μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός· καὶ ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ~ ꙗко сътвори мнѣ величїе силъны · ѿ сѣго ѡма ѣго · 'because the Powerful hath done to me great things, and holy is His name'. Similar locus: Lu 9,43 (in the Greek text: μεγαλειότης). In other Old Slavic texts the Greek τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ μεγαλωσύνη are also rendered as ВЕЛИЧИЕ.

It must be remarked here that the majority of the Greek codices use the word *μεγαλειον*; Merk's bilingual edition applies, however, the variant (τὰ μεγάλα) (a plural neutral form of the adjective μέγας) because it is given by the most respected manuscripts (B, S, L, W, D or, with Soden's marks δ<sub>1</sub>, δ<sub>2</sub>, ε<sub>36</sub>, ε<sub>014</sub>, α<sub>1026</sub>).

The later Church Slavic texts contain *ВЕЛИЧЕСТВО*, *ВЕЛИКОЛѢПІЕ*, *ВЕЛИКОМОЧНОСТЪ* on one hand and *ВЕЛИКАЯ РѢЧЬ*, *ВЕЛИКОЕ ДѢЛО* on the other.

The Latin texts interpret the original with the substantivized adjective form *magnum* (plural *magna*), or with the denominal noun *magnitudo*. The Gothic text uses in both cases, similarly to Old Slavic, a denominal noun *mikilei*. Only the *Skeireins aivaggaljons þairh Johannen*, this later, probably Gothic, explanation of St. John's Gospel, contains the denominal derivation *mikilþuþs*, corresponding precisely to *μεγαλειότης* and *magnitudo*, resp.

The Romanian texts distinguish the derivatives *mărire* and *mărire* according to the Greek (and Latin) texts. The Albanian *të-mëdha* and *madhëri* reflect the same distinction.

The modern Russian version has preserved the Old Slavic (Church Slavic) *ВЕЛИЧІЕ*; the Kralice Bible, however, makes a distinction between *veliké věci* 'great things' and *velikomocnost* 'greatness, magnitude' similarly to Latin (and Greek), and also to Luther's distinction between *große Dinge* and *Herrlichkeit*. So did Károli, too, in the Vizsoly Bible: he translated the original strongly and expressively, with *nagyságos dolgok* 'powerful things' and *nagyságos erő* 'powerful strength'. The modern Catholic Békés-Dalos version chose the solution *nagy dolog* 'great thing' and *nagyság* 'greatness', according to the context.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic noun are: В. величїе (величинá, величїе (величинá, величánство, величество, величáвость); М. величїе (величина, величество); Укр. величчя (величинá, величїнь, величність); (величина, величество); Укр. величїя (величинá, величїнь, величність); Cz. (*veličina*); Slk. (*veličina, veličenstvo*); P. (*wielebność*); L.So. (*wjelikność, wjelikosć*); H.So. (*wulkosć*).

— Real structural calque. It does not seem to be a Moravianism, because only the Byzantinian-cultured Slavic languages apply it. Its equivalents from the same root, of course, are known in all the Slavic languages.

47. ВЕТЪШАТИ ~ παλαιόμαι

'to grow old, to age, to olden'. Lu 12,33: ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς βαλλάντια μὴ παλαιούμενα, θησαυρὸν ἀνέκλειπτον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ~ ΤΡΟΡΙΤΕ ВЪЛАГАЛИШТЕ НЕ ВЕТЪШАЮШТЕ · СЪКРОВИШТЕ НЕ СЪЖДЪЕМО · НА НѢХЪ · 'make yourselves non-oldening purses and inexhaustible treasure in the Heavens'.

Other Old Slavic texts sometimes use the verb *ТЪЛѢТИ* for interpreting the Greek word.

The Latin inchoative-momentaneous verb *veterascere* accentuates the sense of the Greek text very strongly (the denominal Latin verb comes from the same Indo-European root as the Old Slavic verb: + *vetes-*, \**vetos-*). In the Gothic text this passage cannot be found. In later Church Slavic texts we read *СТАРЕТИ* and *СЪСТАРИТИ* СЯ as well.



The Romanian version uses the reflexive verb *sa învechi*, laying stress on the medial meaning, and strengthening it with the prefix *în-* (Micu-Clain applied the simple *съ веџи* only); in the Albanian the loanword of Latin origin *vjeterohet* can be read.

In Hungarian, Károli uses the archaic verb *megavulni*, also a denominal formation from the adjective *ó- \*av-* 'old'. The Catholic translation of Békés-Dalos, more exactly, speaks about *ki nem merülő erszények* 'non-exhausting purses' (36).

The Kralice Bible renders this expression with a subordinate clause: *pytliky, kteříž nevetšejí* 'purses which do not grow old'. In the Russian text we find a privative participial attribute: *влагáлица неветшáющія*. Consequently, the influence of Luther's German text *machet euch Säckel, die nicht veralten* was not a requisite for these translations.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word: B. (вехтée, véhна); Russ. ветшáть; Cz. *vetšeti*; H. So. (*wjetšić* 'to increase').

— Real structural calque. Its origin is proved by the scarcity of equivalents in other Slavic languages: the word itself can be found in Russian and Czech, and in Bulgarian there is a similar word from the same root. In Russian it is, of course, an Old Slavic feature; in Czech it is perhaps a conscious renewing (although it might have been a Moravianism in Old Slavic, too).

48. ВИДѢНІЕ ~ τό ὄραμα, ἡ ὀπτασία, τὸ εἶδος  
'sight, vision, apparition, ghost'. Mt 17,9: μηδενὶ εἶπτε τὸ ὄραμα ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἕκ νεκρῶν ἔγερθῆ ~ никому же не повѣдѣте видѣнїѣ · дондѣже сѣъ члвчскы изъ мрѣтвѣихъ вѣскрѣснетъ. (Marianus text). 'Don't tell anybody about the vision, until the Son of Man has not arisen from the dead'. Similar passages: Lu 1,22 (ἡ ὀπτασία); Lu 9,29 (τὸ εἶδος); Jo 5,37 (τὸ εἶδος).

Other Old Slavic texts apply this word for rendering the Greek words θέα (θέη) 'look, sight', θέαμα 'idem', ὄψις 'sight, seeing', 'face' as well. In later Church Slavic texts ѡблеченїе, видъ, зрѣнїе also appear.

The Latin text interprets the Greek ὄραμα and ὀπτασία by *visio*, while εἶδος by *species*.

In Gothic the translation of Mt 17,9 cannot be found; ἡ ὀπτασία is rendered with the deverbal noun *siuns*, this same also means ἀνάβλεψις in Lu 4, 18, and βλέπειν in Lu 7,21 (these were translated into Latin as *visus*, into Old Slavic as прѣзрѣнїе); τό εἶδος is also interpreted in Gothic as *siuns*.

The Romanian translation generally uses *ведѣнїе* and *ведѣрѣа*, or *vedenie* and *chip*, respectively, in accordance with the Latin *vision* and *species*, respectively. This division reflects the Latin to some extent; the Albanian text shows similar differentiations by means of the words *të-faniturë* 'ghost', *undërrua* 'looking, sight', *faqë* 'face', reminding us of Latin (and slightly, of Greek) versions.

In the Hungarian version of Károli the words *látás* 'sight', *amit láttatok* 'that you saw' can be read for the Latin *visio*, and *ábrázat* 'face' for the Latin *species*. Recently, in keeping with the context, *jelenés* 'apparition' and *kísértet* 'ghost' also occur.

In the Kralice Bible the word *viděni* is applied as a rule (but in Lu 9,29 and Jo 5,37; *tvář* 'face' (corresponding to the Latin *facies*). In the modern Russian version, it is interpreted similarly with *видѣние*, but in Lu 9,29, very accurately, as *видѣлица*, and in Jo 5,37 simply *лица* (genitive for the negative form of the transitive verb *видѣтъ* 'to see'). The Czech and Russian translations seem here to follow Luther's translation (*Gesicht* for ὄραμα and ὄπτασία, but *Gestalt seines Angesichts* and *Gestalt* for εἶδος).

As it can be seen, the Old Slavic translation shows a parallelism in the passages mentioned with Gothic, first of all (*виꙗѣнїе* ~ *siuns*), but not without exceptions: in other passages *прѣзрѣнїе* corresponds to the Gothic *siuns*. The Romanian, Albanian and Hungarian texts seem to stand nearer to the Latin version than to the Greek, and are more varied (similarly to the modernized Czech and Russian texts) than the Old Slavic translations.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word: В. *видѣние* (*вїждане*); Сг.-Ср. *вїѣнїе* (*прївид*); Russ. *видѣние*; Cz. *viděni*; Slk. *videnie*; P. *widzenie*; Ukr *видіння*; М. (*вид, призор*); Н.Со. (*widmo* 'phantom'); Л.Со. *widzenje*.

— Semantic calque: apparently the word itself was not formed immediately under Greek influence but the different abstract or concrete meanings of the Greek words appear on the basis of such Greek texts at first (like the Latin *visio* and the Gothic *siuns*).

49–50. *винопиѣца* and *винопиѣца* ~ ὁ οἰνοπότης

'wine-bibber'. Mt 11,19: *καὶ λέγουσιν· ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.* ~ *ї гл҃ѣтъ се чкѣ ꙗѣца ї пивѣна · мѣзлѣмїемъ · ѡр҃ѣтъ · ї грѣшнїкомъ · . . .* and they speak: Behold! The man, heavyeater and wine-bibber, the friend of publicans and sinners'. Similar locus: Lu 7,34 (*винопиѣца*).

In the Greek texts *οἰνοβαρής* 'heavy from wine' and *οἰνοβρεχής* 'soaked from wine' also occur. In the Marianus we can find *винопиѣца* in both cases. In later Church Slavic the simple *пиѣнъ* also occurs.

In the Latin translation *potator vini* 'wine-bibber' and *libens vinum* 'wine-lover' can be read; in the Gothic, *af-drugkja* which is a calque neologism.

In Luther's texts the compound *Weinsäufer* 'wine-bibber' appears.

The Romanian text renders it with *băutor de vin* that corresponds to the Latin *potator vini* as a genitive-explicative construction. The Albanian *verë-pirës* composition also means 'wine-bibber', and seems to follow the Greek or the Old Slavic.

Károli's Hungarian translation renders these loci with an adjective of frequentative character *részezes* 'drunkard' although the compound *borivó*, that is an exact equivalent of the Greek, Latin or Old Slavic words, has been known since earlier times (cf. e.g. Bálint Balassi, the first great Hungarian lyric poet, writing in Hungarian in the 16th century); recent translations apply this word.

The Kralice Bible uses a construction similar to Latin *pijan vina*; the Russian version interprets this locus with a relative-subordinate clause: *котóрый любит пить вино* 'who likes drinking wine' in both cases.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. винопийца; Sr.-Cr. винопија; Russ. винопийца (винопительница); Cz., Slk. (*pijak vina, vinodus*); Укр. (п'яниця); М. винопиец; Р. (*pijak, pijanica*); L.So. (*pijañc*); H.So. *winopiwa*.

— Real structural calques which seem to be of Balkanic origin (the High Sorbian word may be a loan translation from German *Weintrinker*, or directly a "décalquage" of the compound *Weinsäufer* in Luther's text.

51–52. ВЛАДЫЧЕСТВО, ВЛАДЫЧЕСТВИЕ ~ ἡ ἡγεμονία, ἡ ἀρχή  
'reigning, power, authority'. Lu 3,1: 'Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας  
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ~ въ пятое же на десате лѣто · владычества · тиверѣв  
кѣсарѣ · . 'In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar's reign'.

Similar passages: Lu 20,20 (ВЛАДЫЧЕСТВО); Lu 12,11 (ВЛАДЫЧЕСТВИЕ); both of them render the noun ἀρχή. In later Church Slavic texts we see *власть, владычествование* too.

The Latin texts use the abstract noun *principatus, imperium, potestas, magistratus* which generally mean 'reigning'. In the Gothic version, two abstract nouns can be found: *þiudanassus* and *reiki*, with a similar meaning.

In Romanian, *impărătie* and *stăpănire* as deverbal abstract nouns may equally suggest Greek, Latin or even Old Slavic origin. The same situation appears in Albanian: the abstract *mbretëri* and *pushtët* may point to any of these three languages.

As for the Slavic versions, the modern Russian text applies the deverbal nouns *правлѣние, власть, начальство* with a similar meaning; the Czech translation, however, alternates the abstract *císařství* and *vrchnost* with the concrete-personal *vladař* 'commander, governor'. The former nomina abstracta seem to translate Luther's *Kaisertum* and *Obrigkeit*, respectively.

Károli's translation alternates the deverbal nouns *birodalom, hatalmasság* and *hatalom*, according to the use of the Vulgata. The Catholic version of the two Oratorians in 1967 made a distinction between the abstract *uralkodás* 'reigning' and the concrete *hatóság* 'authority', according to the sense.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. владычество; Sr.-Cr. владѣчество (old form), владичанство), 'eparchy, episcopate'); Russ.

владычество (владычествование); Укр. (влади́цтво); Cz. (*vladárství*); Slk. (*vladarství*); P., So. (*wladnictwo, wladność*).

— Real structural calques, modelled on the Greek ἡγεμονία. The similar formations of the Western Slavic languages may have been patterned after Latin, German or Hungarian.

53a-b. ВОДЪНЪ ТРЖАЪ ИМЫ ~ ὁ ὑδροψ, ВОДОТРЖАОВИТЬ ~ ὑδροπικός  
'hydropical, dropsical'. Lu 14,2: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος τις ἦν ὑδροπικός  
ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. ~ 1 сє ЧЛѢКЪ ЄДИНЪ ИМЪ ВОДЪНЪ ТРЖАЪ БЪ ПРѢДЪ. (It is not to  
be found in the Zographus.) 'and behold, there was a hydropical man in front of  
Him'.

The compound adjective ВОДОТРЖАОВИТЬ occurs in relatively later texts (Synaxaria in the Zographus and Marianus).

In the later Russian Church Slavic the popular form ВОДЯНОЧЬИЙ also occurs.

In the Latin text we can read the loanword of Greek origin *hydropicus*; in Gothic this locus does not appear.

The Romanian passage shows an hybrid expression (semicalque) *bolnav de idropică* on the basis of Old Slavic usage. In Albanian the loanword *idropikosurë* can be of either Latin or Greek origin.

The Kralice Bible applies the adjective *vodnatelný* referring to *voda* 'water'; in the Russian version the word group страждущий водною болѣзною 'suffering from a watery disease' seems to be an accurate analytical expression for interpreting the original. The Polish *wodnisty* (*wodnistość*) and the High Sorbian *wodnicny* (*wódnica*) seem to be of popular origin.

In Károli's text we can read *vizkórságos*, a compound form used before him (cf. the Bible translation of Tamás Félegyházi in 1586). The adjective means, word for word, 'waterdisease-having'; later its abbreviated form *vizkóros* has become common. Luther's German *wassersüchtig* is a similar compound but its direct influence on the Czech, Romanian or Hungarian translations cannot be evidenced undoubtedly.

The Old Slavic compound word has an immediate continuation in the Russian only: водотрудие 'hydropsy' (but also водяная болѣзнь). The expressions: В. имajúщъ водна болѣзнь; Sr.-Cg. ѿмеѣи вѣднѣ бѣлѣзнь correspond exactly to the Old Slavic expression. — In Western Slavic languages, partly, there are fully other expressions: L.So. *wodnjaty*; H.So. *wodniwy*; P. *wodnisty*; Cz. *vodnatelný*; Slk. *vodnatel'*.

— The earlier word group is a neologistic calque expression (strictly speaking, a phraseological calque) in itself, although it translates a compound word. The later form is a calque neologism, but near the real structural calque. In the Slavic languages the noun ТРЖАЪ and the derivated adjective ТРЖАЪНЪ have taken over the meaning 'work' and 'difficult', respectively, but in Hungarian the Slavic loanword *torony* has retained the medical meaning 'therioma, ulcus'.

54. ΒΟΛΗΝΟΣΖ ~ ἡ ὕδρεια

'water bucket'. Jo 2,6: ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ λίθιναι ὕδρεια ἕξ κατὰ τὸν καθαρισμόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμεναι, ~ БЪ ЖЕ ТОН ΒΟΛΗΝΟΣΖ ШЕСТЬ ПО ОЧИЩЕНИЮ ЮДАЙСКОУ ЛЕЖАШТЬ · '... there were placed six water buckets of stone there, for the washing of the Jews'. Similar locus: Jo 2,7.

The Latin translations adopted the loanword *hydria* from Greek; in Gothic this passage cannot be found.

In later Church Slavic texts ΒΟΛΗΝΟΣΖ(-ΚΑ), ΒΕΛΡΟ can also be found.

The Romanian version contains the noun *vas* 'vessel' of Latin origin, sometimes in the form *vasa*; the Albanian *éné* 'vessel' is also a simple translation of the Greek or Latin text, just as in Károli's Hungarian text the compound *kőveder* 'stone bucket' (on the basis of Latin *hydria lapidea* or Greek λιθάνη ὕδρεια). In the recent Hungarian texts we find *kőkorsó* 'stone jug' as well.

A similar word group can be found in the Králice Bible: *kamenné stoudvé*; in the Russian the Church Slavic каменный водно́сь has been retained.

In Luther's translation we read the plural (*steinerne*) *Wasserkrüge*.

The other, Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (водно́сен and водно́сец 'water-bearer (man)'); Sr.-Cr. (водно́сь old form 'water bucket') водно́шан 'idem'; Russ. водно́с, -ец, -ица 'man-bearer'; 'water bucket'; Ukr. водно́с 'idem'; M. водно́сец 'idem'.

The continuation of the Old Slavic word cannot be found in the Western Slavic languages but there exist similar compounds there: P. *woziwoda* 'water-bearer'; *nosiwoda* 'water-bearing vessel'; Cz. *vodník* 'undine, elf'; Slk. *vodník* 'water-bearer, water-goblin, troll'; *vodník* 'water-snake'; L.So. *wodnik* 'water tank, water tower, water-bearer'; H.So. *wódnik*.

— Calque neologism (pseudocalque) that does not interpret the original word part for part (in Greek we should expect the form ὕδρο-φόρος in this case ('water-bearer'), but it was motivated by the Greek word.

55. ΒΟΕΒΟΛΑ ~ ὁ στρατηγός, ὁ ἡγεμών

'commander, superior leader: Lu 22,4: καὶ ἀπελθὼν συνελάλησεν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτοῖς παραδῶ αὐτόν. ~ І ШЕЛЪ ГЛА ДРХИЕРЕДМЪ · І ΒΟΕΒΟΛΑΜЪ · ΚΑΚΟ ΙΜЪ ΠΡΕΔΑΣΤЪ. 'and going away, he conversed with the high priests and leaders, how to hand Him over to them.' Similar passages: Lu 20,20 and Mc 13,9 (in the Greek original we find ἡγεμών in these verses).

The Church Slavic НАДЪЗВРАТЕЛЪ, ЗАОСЪМОТРИТЕЛЪ are later formations.

The Latin texts interpret στρατηγός with *praeses*, and ἡγεμών with *magistratus*; so they make a distinction between the two Greek words, thus deviating from the later Old Slavic interpretation. In the Gothic we can only find Lu 20,20, with the word *kindins* 'governor-lieutenant, procurator'.

The Romanian version renders this concept with the expression чей май марй, later with the word *capeten* in Lu 22,4, and with *domnu* or *degător* in Mc 13,9 and

Lu 20,20, respectively (i.e. for interpreting the two Greek words we can find three different Romanian interpretations).

The Albanian translation uses the expression *të parët'e ushtetarevet* that corresponds to the content of Greek στρατηγός, but in a reverse order. The Greek ἡγεμών, however, is rendered with the deverbal noun *qivernitar* 'gubernator, governor'.

The Kralice Bible applies *úředník* and *hejtman*, respectively, the modern Russian text the deverbal nouns начальник and правитель, with similar meaning. The corresponding words in Luther's (*Hauptleute, Fürst* and *Landpfleger*) were not directly imitated.

In the Vizsoly Bible Károli translated the Greek στρατηγός with a genitive construction *templomnak Fejedelmi* 'Princes of the church' into Hungarian, and the ἡγεμών with *helytartó* 'governor-lieutenant, vice-regent'. The Catholic Hungarian translation of Rome, 1967, uses the words *elöljáró* 'superior' and *helytartó* 'vice-regent', respectively, the Budapest edition of 1973: *templomőrség vezetői* 'leaders of the church guard' and *helytartó* 'vice-regent', resp.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. воевода, войевода, войвода; Sr.-Cr. вѡјвода; Russ. войвода; Ukr. воевода; M. војвода; Cz. *vojevoda*; Slk. *vojvoda (vojvodca)*; P. *wojewoda*; L.So. *wojwoda*; H.So. *wójwoda*.

— Real structural calque but (in-view of its general presence in the Slavic languages) it is not impossible that it reflects not only the Greek στρατηγός but also the Old High German *heri-zogo* 'the army's leader' (Modern High German: *Herzog*). The Greek ἡγεμών is also rendered by *βοεβολα*, so the Old Slavic word was, perhaps, known by the Old Slav interpreters as a common military and administrative term, on the basis of the Byzantine στρατηγός, and this double meaning was reinforced in Moravia by the neighbouring Old High German usage. Later, owing to the parallel development of meaning in the Slavic languages, the word has come to be applied increasingly as a name of an administrative dignity (as the Modern High German *Herzog*), although not always hereditary as its Hungarian loanword *herceg*.

56. *βεσαυιε ~ ἡ ἀγαλλίασις*

'jubilation, exultation'. Lu 1,14: *καὶ ἔσται χαρὰ σοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται. ~ ѿ бжлетъ тебѣ радостъ ѿ веселье · ѿ мнози о рождествѣ его възлрадоуиштъ са · . . . and there will be joy for Thee and exultation, and many people will rejoice in His birth'.*

In the later Church Slavic use we find *радостъ, ликование, отрада*, as well.

The deverbal Greek noun is rendered by the similarly deverbal *exultatio* in the Latin text, and in the Gothic also by the deverbal *svigniþa* (or *svigniþa*). Luther's word is *Freude*, as a rule.

The Romanian version applies the loanword *veselie* borrowed from Church Slavic; in the Albanian we can read the simple noun *gaz* 'joy, laughter'. In the Hungarian Károli's solution is a denominal noun *vigasság* 'gaiety' from the adjective *víg* 'merry'; this noun can also be read in the modern versions.

The Kralice Bible uses the equivalent word *veselé*; in the modern Russian translation also we can find the Church Slavic *весѣліе*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *весѣліе*; Sr.-Cr. *весѣље*; Russ. *весѣліе* (*весѣлье, весѣльство, веселость*); Cz. *veselí* (*veselice, veselost*); Slk. *veselie* (*veselica, veselost*); P. *wesolość*; Ukr. *весілля* 'nuptials' (*веселість, веселощі* 'gaiety'); M. (*веселба* 'nuptials, banquet'); L.So. *wjasele*; H.So. *wjesolosć*.

— It seems to be a real structural calque, but not with an exclusive application. The later Old Slavic (Church Slavic) texts often use it alternately with the denominal *радость* which we can find in the archaic Old Slavic gospels, for the interpretation of the Greek noun *χαρά* 'joy'. This alternation is intelligible on the basis of the high degree of synonymity between *веселіе* and *радость*, or *ἀγαλλίασις* and *χαρά*, resp. But the general occurrence of the word *веселіе* in all the Slavic languages makes doubtful its having been formed after a Greek pattern, and from the common psychological nature of meaning it can be considered rather as an Indo-European parallelism, thus being in Old Slavic a seeming loan translation ("phaenocalque") only.

57–58. *вѣлворити сѧ, вѣлварити сѧ ~ αὐλιζομαι*  
'to stay, to sojourn, to dwell'. Mt 21,17: *Καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν, καὶ ἠόλισθη ἐκεῖ. ~ И оставъ ѿ изише вѣнъ изъ града вѣ вифаніа · и оуѣвори сѧ тоу ·* (The second copyist's text in the Zographus.)  
'... and leaving them, He went out of the City to Bethania, and He stayed there.'  
Similar locus: Lu 21, 37, but here the form *вѣлварѣти* is used by the interpreter.

In the later Church Slavic texts we find *остати сѧ, вѣзати себѣ вѣрание, тоо*.

In the Latin text the verbs *manere* and *morari* occur. In the Gothic version none of the two passages can be found.

The Romanian text, similarly to the Latin, applies two verbs: *sălăşlui* 'to dwell' and *petrecea* 'to spend the time' (but in Micu-Clain's text, the verb *сѧ зѣбови*, 'to stay, to tarry' is the second variant. The Albanian version uses the expression *shkoj natën* 'to spend the night' in both cases. In the Hungarian, Károli (and his modernizers also) uses the expression *szálláson maradni* 'to stay in the quarters (night shelters)' in praeteritum imperfect (past tense); in the modern Catholic versions, however, we can find the today used expression *tölteni az éjszakát* 'to spend the night' and the verb *maradni* 'to remain, to stay'.

The Kralice Bible renders these passages by means of the verbs *zůstati* 'to remain' and *přebývati* 'to dwell'; the former seems to imitate the Latin *manere* and Luther's *bleiben (über Nacht)*. In the modern Russian version the

expressions провести ночь 'to spend the night', проводить ночь 'to pass the night' play the role of equivalents for the Greek verbs (as the aspectual equivalents of the Old Slavic variations).

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verbs are: Russ. водвориться, водворяются 'settle'; Sr.-Cr. удврати се 'to make court'; M. *dvori* 'idem'. It seems that the Russian language has preserved the Old Slavic verbs under Church Slavic influence. In Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian the corresponding verbs seem to have come into being as phraseological calques of the French *faire la cour* or German *den Hof machen* 'to make court', or perhaps on the basis of Hungarian *udvarolni* 'idem', so they are of later origin than the Old Slavic verbs.

All this seems to point to the creation of both Old Slavic words directly on a Greek base. The Old Slavic perfective verb served for rendering the Greek aoristos, while the imperfective was used by the interpreter for translating the praeteritum imperfectum of ἀλιζομαι.

— Real structural calques. (See also their variant, οὐδωρηατι σα, in another entry of the Glossary).

59. ВЪЗГЛАВЬНИЦА, (ДЪХЪТОРЪ) ~ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον  
'pillow, cushion'. Mc 4,38: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον  
καθεύδων ~ Ё БЪ САМЪ НА КРЪМЪ · НА ДЪХЪТОРЪ СЪПА · (Zographus text.) . . . НА  
ВЪЗГЛАВЬНИЦИ . . . (Marianus text.) 'and He was on the stern of the ship, sleeping  
on the pillow'.

The Cyrillic-letter marginal note in the Zographus applies the translation *крѣма* instead of *дѡхѣторѣ*; other Old Slavic texts use it in its more archaic form *дѡхѣторѣ*; the variants *вѣзглавие*, *вѣзглавїица* can also be read.

In later Church Slavic texts *вѣзглавникъ*, *извглавие*, *заглавкѣ* also occur.

The Latin *cervical* was formed from the Latin *cervix* 'neck, nape of neck'. The Gothic *vaggari* is related to the Old High German *wanga* (Modern High German *Wange*) 'cheek, face'. Consequently, the Old Slavic text followed the Greek original more precisely than the Latin or Gothic did. Luther's *Kopfkissen*, *Kopfpolster* render the content of the word, but they are not calques.

As for its original content, the Romanian *căpătiul* 'pillow' points to the influence of Greek or Old Slavic texts. The Albanian *andënkërëri* (literally 'underheading') shows an inner form similar both to Greek and Old Slavic, but if it had really been a calque, its models would have been *προσκεφάλαιον* (a word actually existing in classical Greek) or *подглавие* that occurs in later Church Slavic. Its meaning stands near to the Latin *cervical* to some extent, and it is interesting that it is similar (although in inverse word order) to Károli's Hungarian compound word *főalj* (in later versions *fejalf*). This compound, however, was later replaced by the common words *párna* and *vánkos* 'cushion, pillow' in the modern Catholic versions.



The Kralice Bible uses the word *poduška* 'cushion', a similar compound word from *pod* 'below' and *ucho* 'ear' (its equivalents exist in Polish and Eastern Slavic as well). In the modern Russian version we read *возглавие*, but *возглавница* has also been preserved (the more popular form is *подголовье*).

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. възглавница; Sr.-Cr. úzglāvница (úzglāvak); Russ. возглавница (возглавие, взголовие); Ukr. (підголівя, підголовач); M. възглавница; P. *weglowie*; Slk. (*podhlavnica*); Cz. (*poduška*); H.So. (*póduš* 'sole, shoesole'); L.So. *podglowk* 'cushion, pillow'.

— Real structural calque. The Ukrainian and Western Slavic (Polish, Low Sorbian) words show a contact with the Moravian and/or the Russian, or perhaps are later formations, just like the later Church Slavic words with *подъ* and *оухо*.

60. вѢЗДАНИЕ ~ τό ἀνταπόδομα

'retribution, return'. Lu 14,12: μήποτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντικαλέσωσίν σε καὶ γένηται ἀνταπόδομά σοι. ~ εἰδα κοιλί τι такожде вѢЗВЕЖТЬ и БЖДЕТЬ ти вѢЗДАНИЕ 'not so that they should also reinvoke thee, and then a retribution will happen to thee...' (In the Zographus there is a later Cyrillic-letter addition).

Its phonetic (and morphologic) variant is *вѢЗДАНИЕ* (twice in Psalterium Sinaiticum), and a similar formation from the aspectual verbal doublet is *вѢЗДАНІЕ* (also twice in Psalterium Sinaiticum). In Old Slavic texts other than the gospels, *вѢЗДАНИЕ* also renders the Greek ἀνταπόδοσις, ἀντάμειψις, ἀμοιβή which have similar meanings as the word ἀνταπόδομα.

In the later Church Slavic the use of *заплата*, (вѢ-) нагрѣженіе also occur.

In the Latin text we can read *retributio*, in the Gothic *usguldan* which are deverbal formations from prefixed verbs similar to the Old Slavic (*retribuere* 'to give back, to recompense', and *us-gildan* 'idem').

The Romanian texts render the Greek (or perhaps the Latin or Old Slavic) word with the deverbal noun *ἑρρῶμα* 'loan' and the verbal form *răsplăteasca* 'it should be returned'. The Albanian *çpagim* points, first of all, to the Latin *retributio*. Károli solves the problem of rendering this concise Greek or Latin passage with a Hungarian word group *a jótétemény megfizettség* 'the good deed should be remunerated'. In the later revisions also: *visszafizettség neked* 'it should be repaid to thee', and in the Catholic translation of Békés and Dalos in 1967: *és visszaadják neked* 'and they return it to thee'; similarly in the Budapest edition of 1973: *és viszonzják neked* 'and they recompense it to you'.

In the Kralice Bible this locus sounds: *a mēl bys odplatu* 'thou shouldest have a retribution'. The similar solution of the Russian text is: *и неполучил ты воздаянія* 'and though didst not receive a return'. All these also remind us of the Latin text and Luther's translation: *und dier vergolten werde*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. въздаііне; Sr.-Cr. (ўзданица, ўздāње); Russ. воздаііне (воздāние, воздавāние); Cz. *vzdání* 'hand-over, capitulation'; Slk. *vzdanie* 'idem'; P. (*oddanie, poddanie* 'idem'); Ukr. (віддāча, подāча 'return'); H.So (*wuzdaće* 'goodwill'); L.So. (*wudaše*).

— Real structural calque. The Western Slavic equivalents seem to be formations later than the Old Slavic word, and their meanings do not show an immediate relationship to that noun.

61. ВЪЗЛАТИ ~ ἀνταποδίδομι (ἀνταποδοῦναι)

'to repay, to return'. Lu 14,14: καὶ μακάριος ἔσῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναί σοι · ἀνταποδοθήσεται γάρ σοι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν δικαίων. ~ ꙗко не имѣтъ ти чего възлати · възластъ бо ти са · възскръснєнє правдѣнъихъ · 'and thou shalt be happy that they cannot return it to thee; because it will be repaid to thee at the time of the resurrection of the true'.

In other Old Slavic texts ВЪЗЛАТИ corresponds to the Greek ἀμείβω, too, with the meaning 'to return, to reply'.

In later Church Slavic texts (кы-) нагрллити, заплаити, възврати also appear.

The Latin *retribuere* and Gothic *usgildan* are prefixed verbs similar to Greek and Old Slavic; between them the difference is that the Gothic verb expresses more clearly that here we have to do not only with the simple meaning 'to give back' but a certain figurative sense: 'to repay'.

The Romanian texts, accordingly, use the verb *răsplăti* 'to pay back' in this locus; in the Albanian, we can find the verb *çpaguej* which is quite similar. Károli applies the Hungarian verbs *fizet, megfizet* 'to pay'. In the modern Hungarian versions we see the verbs *visszafizet* 'to repay' and *viszonoz* 'to return, to recompense'.

The Kralice Bible renders this passage with the verb *odplatiti* 'to repay, to recompense'; the modern Russian version of Stockholm contains the Russian Church Slavic въздāти. These do not seem to have directly been influenced by Luther's text, similarly to Lu 14.12: Luther's verb is *vergeltten* here.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verb are: В. въздāм (въздавам); Sr.-Cr. (ўздати се 'to hope'); Russ. въздāть (вздāть; воздавāть, вздавāть); Ukr. (віддāти, одплāчити); Cz. *vzdāti (vzdávati)* 'to repay, to surrender'; Slk. *vzdat', vzdávat'* 'to give over, to surrender'; H.So. *wuzdac* 'to seem, to mean'; L.So. (*wudas* 'to surrender, to give up'); P. (*odplacać, -ić*).

— Semantic calque. The verb itself can generally be found in the Slavic languages but the Old Slavic meaning cannot be explained on the basis of the other Slavic equivalents; it can be understood from the Greek text only.

62. ВЪЗГЛАГОΛΑΤΙ ~ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΩ

'to accuse' Mc 3,2: καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύσει αὐτόν, ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ. ~ ἰ назираѣхъ ѿ · аиште въ сѣботѣ ѿцѣви тѣ · да на нѣ възглаголатъ · '...and they watched Him whether He healeth on Saturday, so that they should be able to accuse Him'. Similar passages: Lu 11,54, Mt 12,10.

The Old Slavic verb also renders the Greek λαλέω (κατά τινας) 'to defame' in other texts.

In later Church Slavic texts обзвинити, обличити are also used.

The Latin *accusare* and the Gothic *vrohjan* render the content of the Greek verb without its formal structure, thus they can be considered simple translations. Naturally, some common motives cannot be denied among the three formations: the Latin *accusare* corresponds to the Greek αἰτιάω chiefly by its meaning (αἰτία: *causa* ~ αἰτιάω: \**ad-causare* < *accusare*), but the Latin verb involves the public law process (*causa* 'legal action, lawsuit') just like the Greek κατηγορέω ('to stand as an accuser on the ἀγορά'), and the Gothic *vrohjan* first acquired a similar meaning on the basis of κατηγορέω in Wulfila's translation (in the case, it is a semantic calque).

The Romanian texts render the Greek word by the verbs *înviniui* (винувати, \**invinovati*), or by the expression *află vina* 'to find fault in somebody'. The Albanian translation shows the verb *përflos* 'to speak badly of, to accuse'.

Károli uses the Hungarian loanword of Slavic origin, *vádolni* (cf. the Old Slavic валиити 'to excite, to irritate', Church Slavic 'to accuse'). Later, the frequentative form *vádaskodni* also occurs in Hungarian.

The Kralice Bible applies the verb *obžalovati* 'to accuse'; the Russian verb обвинить has the same meaning. All these solutions do not seem to take Luther's expression *auf jemanden eine Sache haben* into consideration. (Similar to the expression in the Apocalypse 2,4: *ich habe wider dich*.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verbs are: Russ. возглаголать, возглаголѣть 'to speak badly of'.

— Real structural calque. Besides Old Slavic, it can be found in Russian only (taken over from Old Slavic but in a "palliated" sense). The other Slavic languages seem to support its origin on an immediate Greek base, by their "argumentum silentii". Its original meaning, maybe, was 'to raise one's voice against somebody' which corresponds to the Bible's style, also known from the Psalms.

63. ВЪЗЛЕЖАТИ ~ (συν)ἀνάκειμαι, κατάκειμαι

'to lay down to table' Mt 9,10: καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνάνεκεντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. ~ ѿ се мѣстои грѣшньници · ѿ мѣстоимѣци пришехъши възлежаахъ съ иѣомъ · ѿ съ оученикъи его · '...and behold, many sinners and publicans, having arrived, lay down beside Jesus and His disciples...'

Similar passages: Mt 14,9; 22,10; 22,11; 26,7; Mc. 2,15 (bis); 6,22; 6,26; 14,3; 14,18; 16,14; Lu 5,29; 7,37; 7,49; 14,15; 22,27 (bis); Jo 12,2; 13,28.

All the three prefixed Greek verbs mean originally: 'to lie down (to table)', and συνανάκειμαι has also the special meaning 'to lie together (with others to table)'. Among them, ἀνάκειμαι is the most frequent. The Old Slavic texts render all the three verbs with възлежати but in the case of συνανάκειμαι they also join it with сънимъ 'with him', according to the sense, or, sometimes, with some other indicator expressing adverbial modifier of accompaniment.

In later Church Slavic we can read възсидити са, възсести (въсести) as well.

In the Latin texts the verbs *recumbere*, *discumbere*, *accumbere* alternate without being parallel to the three Greek verbs but, in the case of συνανάκειμαι, the interpreter made sure to render the prefix συν- by the adverbs *pariter* or *simul*. The Gothic text, similarly to Old Slavic, applies one way of interpreting only, the verb *ana-kumbjan*.

The Romanian texts use the version *sedea la masa cu*, *sedea la masa impreuna cu* 'to sit down to table (together) with somebody'.

In the Albanian we find the verb *rri* (*ndëjta*, *ndënja*, *ndënjur*) 'to stay, to sojourn' in the expressions *rri ndë mësale* 'to be in a feast' and *rri bashké më* 'to be together with', and similar ones.

Károli's Hungarian text exhibits great variety by using the verbs *leülni* 'to sit down', *letelepedni* 'to settle down', *lakodalomhoz ülni* 'to sit down to a banquet', *asztalnál letelepedni* 'to settle down at a table' etc. In recent texts generally the expression *asztalhoz ülni* 'to sit down to a table' occurs, just like Luther's *sitzen zu Tisch* (but also *sich lagern* in Jo 6,10).

The Kralice Bible contains the verb *stoliti s někým* 'to sit down to table with somebody'; in the Russian we can find the preserved Church Slavic words *возлечь*, *возлежать*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. (възлягам се, възлѣгна се 'to lie down on one side'); Sr.-Cr. (узлазити 'to go up'); Russ. *возлежать* (*возлечь*); Ukr. *возлежати* (*возлягати*); M. (*возлага*, *возложува*).

As for the Western Slavic languages, in the L.So. New Testament translation of Miklawuš Jakubica (1548 y., editor: H. Schuster-Šewc, Berlin, 1967) we find *feschal za stolem*. In H.So. the verbs *wuležac*, *wuležeć*, *wulëhać*, *wulëhować*, *wulehnyć* are used in original meanings; in P.: *siąść* (*siadać*) *do stolum*; in Slk., similarly, *sedieť za stolom*. But in Cz.—as it is seen—the denominal verb *stolovati* 'to have a fitch meal' also occurs in the given text.

— Semantic calque. Such a prefixed verb could have become into being without supposing an immediate Greek influence, too, but its meaning in the New Testament can be explained only on the basis of the antique Graeco-Roman repast rules. It is also conspicuous that the Western Slavic languages do not use this prefixed verb.

64. *κἀζεινιτι* ~ *ἀνακλίνομαι, ἀνάκειμαι, ἀναπίπτω, κατακλίνομαι*  
 'to settle down, to sit down' Mt. 8,10—11: *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, παρ' οὐδενὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν* ~ *АМИН ГЛ҃Ж ЖЕ РАМЪ · ЪКО МНОШИ ОΥΤΕ ΚΛΣТОΚЪ · Ё ЗАПАЛЪ · ПРИЛЖТЪ Ё ΚΛΖΛΑΓЖТЪ СЪ АБРАΔМОМЪ І ІСАКОМЪ · Ё ЪКОКОМЪ · ΚΛ ΠΡСІ НБСІ·ЕМЪ · 'Amen, amen, I say to you, in nobody I have found such belief in Israel. But I say to you that many people from East and West will come, and will settle down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heavens. . .'* (Marianus text.)

Similar loci (in the Greek, *ἀνακλίνομαι*) Mt 14,19; Lu 13,29. But the verb *κἀζεινιτι* corresponds to the Greek *ἀναπίπτω* in Mt 15,35: *καὶ παραγγείλας τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀναπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* ~ *Ё ПОВЕЛЪ НАΡΟΛΟΝ ΚΛΖΕΙΝИТИ НА ΖΕΜΛИ* · '... and commanding the crowd to sit down on the ground'.

Similar passages (Greek: *ἀναπίπτω*): Mc 6,40; Lu 11,37; 17,7; 22,14; Jo 6,10 (bis); 13,12; 21,20; 5,10 (bis).

The Latin text applies the verbs *recumbere*, *discumbere* and *accumbere* for rendering the Greek verbs again without differentiating between them, as in the cases when the Old Slavic translation used the related verb stem *κἀζεжати*. The Gothic text—even more monotonously than the Old Slavic—uses the single prefixed verb *ana-kumbjan*.

As for the later Church Slavic and the Lutheran German use, see the entry *κἀζεжати*.

For the Romanian, Albanian and Hungarian texts, we can say the same as in connection with *κἀζεжати* ~ *ἀνάκειμαι*; a similar statement can be made relative to the Kralice Bible and the Stockholm edition of the Russian Bible text as well.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*възл́agam, възл́ожа* 'to lay down'); Sr.-Cr. (*у̀злазити* 'to go up'); Russ. *возл́ечь, възлечь* (*возлеж́ать, възлаѓать*); Cz. (*vzlaziti* 'to go up'); M. (*возлага, възложува*); Ukr. *возляѓті* (*возлеж́ати, возлаѓати*).—The Western Slavic relations see in the entry *κἀζεжати*.

— Semantic calque. (Cf. the former entry for *κἀζεжати*).

65. *κἀλαγαλιшиτε* ~ *τὸ βαλλάντιον*  
 'purse, pouch'. Lu 10,4: *μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πήραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα* ~ *НИ НОСИТЕ ΚΛΛΑΓΑΛИШТА НИ ВРБТИШТА · НИ САΠΟГЪ* · 'Don't bear a purse, neither a bag nor sandals'. Similar loci: Lu 12,33; 22,35; 22,36. The double -λλ- in Greek may be a popular etymology after *βάλλω*. In later Old Slavic texts the Greek *δεσμός* 'shackles' is also rendered with *κἀλαγαλιшиτε* in some cases. In later Church Slavic we also find *мѣшикъ* (*ЛЛІА ДЕНЕГЪ*), *хранилиште*.

The Latin text interprets this locus with *sacculum* 'baglet'; the Gothic applies the compound *mati-balgs* (word for word: 'meal-bag'), very precisely and illustratively.

The noun *punga* 'purse' in the Romanian texts seems to be deverbal and related to the verb *a pune* 'to settle' i.e. it seems to be in the same relation to *a pune* as the Greek and Old Slavic deverbal nouns to the verbs βάλλω or вѣлагати, respectively.

The Albanian *kuléte* 'purse, pouch' seems to have been based on the Latin text. So does Károli, who applies the word *erszény* 'purse' consistently in Hungarian. The Kralice Bible uses the word *pytlík* 'small bag, satchel'; the modern Russian version shows the synonymous мешокъ 'bag' in these loci. It is not necessary in this case to suppose the influence of the corresponding German words, *Beutel* or *Säckel* on the basis of Luther's text.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. вѣлагалище 'store'; Russ. вѣлагалище 'husk' (мешок 'sack, bag'); М. вѣлагалище 'husk, sheat, case'; Slk. (*mešec, mešok* 'bag, purse'); Cz. (*pytlík* 'satchel'; *sak* 'sack, bag'); P. (*teczka, torba* 'purse'); L.So. (*měšek*) 'purse, bag'; H.So. (*sak* 'net, mesh, trawl'). The Czech word is borrowed from the German *Büttel*, furnished with a Czech suffix, and it has got into the Slovak, too, in the sense 'mill sieve, bolting machine'. Sr.-Cr. ула̀гач 'dock-worker', 'mason'; ула̀гати 'to load', 'to put into'.

— Real structural calque. The Greek βαλλάντιον is a deverbal noun formed from the verb βάλλω (with the meaning 'to put into'), and the Old Slavic вѣлагалиште corresponds to this meaning and form precisely on the basis of the verb вѣлагати. The changed meaning (Russian 'husk', Bulgarian 'store', Macedonian 'husk, sheat, case') is secondary. The absence of the word in other Slavic languages also points indirectly to the Greek origin of the Old Slavic formation.

66–67. вѣмѣстити, вѣмѣшитати ~ χωρέω

'to comprehend'. Mt 19.11: ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν τὸν λόγον τοῦτου, ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται. ~ онъ же рече имъ· не вси вѣмѣстятъ словеса сего нъ имъже дано естъ·. 'But He said to them. "It is not all people who comprehend this word but only they to whom it was granted".' (The Zographus citation is from a later copy). Similar passages: Mt 19,12 (bis); 15,17; Mc 2,2; Jo 2,6; 8,37; 21,25.

It should be remarked here that the Greek verb χωρέω and its Old Slavic equivalents, вѣмѣстити and вѣмѣшитати have the meaning of 'comprehending' or 'understanding' in Mt 19,11 and 19,12 only; in the other passages they show the original concrete meaning 'to give place' and consequently 'to go away, to withdraw' or similar (sometimes transitive) meanings. All this can be understood from the denominal formation of these verbs on the basis of the nouns χώρα and мѣсто, resp. It is also characteristic that it is St. Luke's Gospel

alone where we cannot find the verb  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ; it seems that the author, aiming at an imitation of classical Attic style, judged the verb  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  to be too vulgar, therefore he adhered to the older Attic verbs  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  'to know',  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  'to be able' or  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  'to go away'.

In Later Church Slavic texts (по)разумѣти, понаѣти, понимаѣти also appear.

The Latin texts apply the verb *capere* 'to catch, seize, occupy, acquire, understand', in transitive and intransitive, personal and impersonal constructions alike. In the Gothic texts the translations of  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  occur in two passages only: Mc 2,2 and Jo 8,37; in both cases the prefixed verb *ga-motan* occurs.

The Romanian text uses the verbs *căpăta*, 'to receive' *începea* 'to find room in' and *înțelege* 'to understand'. In the Albanian texts mostly the verbs *kuptoj* 'to understand' and *pres* (*prita*, *pritur*) 'to wait, to meet, to reply' occur in the passages mentioned; these verbs seem to have a Low Latin (Vulgar Latin, Popular Roman) origin (*\*captāre* and *\*prēsāre*).

In the Hungarian text of Károli the verbs *bévenni* 'to occupy', *béfogni* 'to seize' can be found but, according to the sense, the verbs *férni* 'to find room in' and *vettetni* 'to be thrown' also occur. This points to the fact that Károli did not adhere to either the Greek or the Latin text at the expense of Hungarian usage. A similar alternation can be seen in the modern Hungarian versions, too; resembling, apparently, the variety of Luther's word usage (*fassen*, *gehen*, *fähen*). In the Kralice Bible the corresponding words are mostly *pochopiti* and *chápati* 'to comprehend, understand', and *směsnati se* 'to find room in'. The modern Russian text applies the Old Slavic verbs in the sense 'to understand' only, although they also have the meanings 'to contain, receive, put in'.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verbs are: B. *вмѣстя, вмѣствам, вмѣстям* 'to put in, to settle, to place; to find room'; Sr.-Cr. *умештати* 'idem'; Russ. *вместить, вмещать* 'to contain, to put in, to receive, to place somewhere'; Cz. *směsnati(se)* (*směsnávati se*) 'to put in, to find room in'; Slk. *vmestiti'(sa)* 'to bring into, to put in, to find room'; P. (*zrozumieć, pojmować* 'to understand'); H.So. (*rozumić* 'to understand'); L.So. (*njepodschwachy*) (in Jakubica's translation); Ukr. *умістити, уміщати* 'idem'; M. *вме(с)тне, вме(с)тнува* 'to place, to make sy get up'.

— Real structural calques, both in their original concrete and in its figurative-abstract sense. In the other Slavic languages, except the Russian which reflects Old Slavic influences, too, it is a new formation, perhaps independent of the influence of the New Testament.

68.  $\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\varsigma \sim \eta \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$

'the inhabited earth, the world'. Mt 24,14:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\chi\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \tau\omicron \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu \tau\eta\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta \tau\eta \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta \epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu, \sim \iota \rho\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\acute{\upsilon} \varsigma\alpha \varsigma\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon \iota\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\tau\rho\iota\tilde{\nu} (по) \kappa\epsilon\iota\iota \kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\eta \epsilon\lambda$

СВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО ВСѢМЪ АЗЫКОМЪ · ‘and this Gospel of the Kingdom will be preached on the whole earth for witness to all peoples’. (The Zographus text here is a second-hand copy). Similar loci: Lu 2,1; 4,5; 21,16.

In other Old Slavic texts it is also written as *вѣселенѧѧа*, but it occurs later mostly as *населенѧѧа* (e.g. Codex Suprasliensis 232.2), both in the literal sense ‘inhabited earth’ and in the more general meaning ‘all over the earth, the world’. In the Psalterium Sinaiticum (126, 127) the form *оуселенѧѧа* also occurs.

In later Church Slavic texts we read *цѣлый свѣтъ, всѣ мѣръ, всѣ створенное, тоо*.

The Latin text renders these passages with the expressions *universus orbis* and *orbis terrarum*. In the Gothic we can read the compound *midjun-gards* which is not a real calque, either, but a calque neologism.

The Romanian *lumea* ‘world’, *toata lumea* ‘the whole world’ show the effect of Latin in these loci. Similarly, the Albanian text applies an attributive word group *gjithë bôtë* ‘all the world’. Károli uses the noun *föld*, ‘earth’ and the attributive expression *egész föld* ‘the whole earth’ in his Hungarian translation; in modern times *az egész világ* ‘the whole world’ is also used, just as Luther’s translation interprets these loci mostly with *die ganze Welt*.

The Kralice Bible, similarly, applies mostly the attributive groups *veš svět, všecken svět* ‘the whole world’. The modern Russian version preserved the Church Slavic *вселенѧѧа*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *вселѧна* ‘universe’; M. *вселѧна* ‘idem’ (вселѧнски ‘cosmic, worldwide’); Sr.-Cr. (уселити се ‘to move into, to colonize, immigrate’ (уселѧна ‘steep mountain, abyss’; уселѧнѧк ‘settled, inhabitant’); вациѧа ‘universe’); Russ. *вселѧнная* ‘world’; L.So. (*cely swēt*) (in Jakubica’s translation: *po zalim Swesche*); H.So. (*wšón swēt*); P. (*na catym świecie*); Cz. (*vesmír*); Slk. (*vesmír*).

— Real structural calque. It is precise interpretation of the Greek *οικουμένη*; it covers the original meanings more exactly than the Latin or Gothic equivalents, and even more exactly, than the Romanian, Albanian or Hungarian translations. The Byzantine Slavic languages have more or less preserved it and its original meaning, too. (The Serbian *вациѧа* shows a popular etymology as influenced by *сильнѧ* ‘strong’).

69. *вѣскрѣснѧвѧе* ~ ἡ ἔγερσις, τὸ ἐγερθῆναι  
‘resurrection’. Mt 27,53: καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς. ~ *ишѣдѣше ѓз гробѣ · по вѣскрѣснѧвѧенѧи его · вѣнидоша вѣ стѣи градѣ · ѓ вѣниша са многомѣ*. ‘and coming out of the graves, after this resurrection they went to the sacred town and appeared to many people’.

In other Old Slavic texts the Greek *ἀνάστασις* is also interpreted with *вѣскрѣснѧвѧе*. Similar gospel passage is: Mt 26,32 (in the Greek text:



ἐγερθῆναι). In the later Church Slavic texts въз(с)станіє is applied as well.

In the Latin text the word *resurrectio* can be read, but in Mt 26,32, similarly to the original Greek, a verbal construction *postquam autem resurrexere* 'but after they rose again from the dead'.

In the Gothic text we can find Mt 27,53 only, with the deverbial *ur-rists* (from the prefixed verb *ur-reisan* 'to rise from the dead').

The Latin, Gothic and Old Slavic nouns are, as it is seen, "nomina deverbalia" alike, but their prefixes suggest that the Greek model of their basic verb was not ἐγείρω but ἀνίσταμαι or ἀνίστημι, resp. As for the suffixed nouns both ἐγερσις and ἀνάστασις could provide a model but ἀνάστασις is more plausible, if we consider its prefixed basic verb.

In the Romanian texts the deverbial nouns *înviarea*, *învia* can be read, although in the modern translation we find a subordinate clause *dar după ce voi învia* 'because after I have risen again from the dead'.

A similar differentiation can be found in the Albanian text as well: in Mt 26,32 we see the subordinate clause *édhe pasi të ngjallet unë* 'and after that I rise from the dead', but in Mt 27,53 we can find the prepositional construction *pas të ngjallurit* 'after the resurrection'.

It seems, consequently, that only Micu-Clain's translation follows the Old Slavic; the modern Romanian and Albanian versions follow the Greek and Latin models, and these latter were also closely followed by Károli's Hungarian text; in Mt 26,32: *minekutána pedig feltámadok* 'but after I have risen again from the dead', but in Mt 27,53: *Jézusnak feltámadása után* 'after Jesus' resurrection'. The modern Hungarian versions apply, with a greater uniformity, the nominal construction.

In the Kralice Bible, there can be found a relative form *vzkříšení* from the same root (cf. възкрѣшѣніє); in the Russian, the Church Slavic *воскресение*; these forms may be related to Latin *resurrectio* and Luther's *Auferstehung* alike.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (възкрѣяване); Sr.-Cr. (васкрсење, васкрснѹће); Russ. (воскресѣние, воскрешѣние); Cz. (*vzkříšení, zmrtvýchvstání*); Slk. (*vzkriesenie*); P. (*zmartwychwstanie*); Ukr. (воскрешѣння); M. (воскресение).

— Real structural calque. The exclusiveness of the Old Slavic form shows that it came into being on the basis of immediate Greek influence.

It is natural that it reflects the noun ἀνάστασις rather than ἐγερσις, which is translated without any décalquage. The cause of this fact might have been that the verb ἀνίσταμαι occurred much more frequently than ἐγείρω in the sense 'to rise again from the dead'. Thus the verbs възкрѣснѹти, възкрѣснѹти and their relations, used for interpreting ἀνίσταμαι, were also used for translating ἐγείρω, and consequently for rendering the derivatives, too.

By the way, regarding the creation of the noun *въскръсновеніе*, since we cannot find a verb *въскръсновенѣти* corresponding to it precisely, we can suppose that the adjective *новъ* 'new' may have played some part: the calque probably meant 'new getting-up', 'arising to a new life' in this form which is like a popular etymology (cf. also *объновление* 'renewal' and similar derivatives as possible influencing factors, serving also as the expressions of the Christian dogma about Christ's resurrection as the proof of redemption and regeneration of mankind).

70. *въскръснѣти* ~ *ἀνίσταμαι*, *ἐγείρομαι*

'to rise again (from the dead)'. Mt 17,9: *μηδενὶ εἶπητε τὸ ὄραμα ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῆ* ~ *никому же не повѣдите видѣнїѣ*. *дондѣже снѣъ члвчскѣи изъ мртвѣхъ въскръснетъ*. (Marianus text.) 'you should tell nobody about the vision until the Son of God rises again from the dead'.

Similar passages: Mt 14,2; 20,19; Mc 8,31; 9,10; 12,23; 12,25; 14,28; 16,9; Lu 8,55; 9,8; 9,19; 9,22; 11,32; 16,31; 18,33; 24,34; 24,46; Jo 11,23; 11,24.

Other Old Slavic texts use this verb for rendering the Greek *ἀναβίωω* (*ἀναβιώσχομαι*) 'to revive, to come to life again' as well.

As for the gospels, the Greek texts apply *ἀνίσταμαι* twice as often as *ἐγείρομαι*, which can be found in Mt 14,2; 20,19; Lu 9,8 only; i.e. the ratio of *ἀνίσταμαι* and *ἐγείρομαι* is 20 : 3.

In later Church Slavic texts *въ(с)стати изъ мртвѣхъ* also appears in this sense.

The Latin texts use primarily the verb *resurgere*, and rarely *surgere*; perhaps it is not a chance event that the prefixed *ἀνίσταμαι* is rendered with the prefixed *resurgere* almost in all cases, while the simple *ἐγείρομαι* is translated with the simple verb *surgere*, almost exclusively.

In the Gothic the prefixed verbs *ur-reisan* and *usstandan* can be found which, as for their composition, correspond to the Greek *ἀν(ά) + ἵσταμαι*.

The Romanian text used the verb *învia* (cf. in Latin: *in + vita, -ae*) and, more seldom, the verb *să scula* 'to get up' in this locus. The Albanian translation consistently applies the denominal verb *ngjallëm* 'to rise again, to recover, to grow stronger'. The two latter meanings are undoubtedly the secondary ones because the underlying form is *gjallë* 'life, alive'; thus the Albanian verb shows the same composition as the Romanian *învia* 'to restore life'.

In Károli's Hungarian texts the prefixed verb *feltámadni* is consistently used that corresponds to *ἀνίσταμαι* and *resurgere* alike; the Hungarian word is of uncertain origin, its relations have been known only since the 14th century only. In the Kralice Bible an expression *stati z mrtvých* 'to rise from the dead' occurs. The modern Russian version has preserved the Old Slavic verb. Thus, these translations of the earlier Modern Age rendered the cited loci without bearing Luther's (*auf*)*erstehen* in mind.

Other equivalents of the Old Slavic word: B. възкръсна; Sr.-Cr. љс[вас-]кренути; Russ. воскреснуть (воскресать); Cz. (*vzkřísiti se, zmrtvýchvstáti*); Slk. *vzkrnúť* (*skrsnúť*) 'to rise, to be established, to be born'; P. *zmartwychwstać*; Ukr. воскреснути (воскресати); M. воскресне (воскреснува).

— Semantic calque. Its original meaning might have been 'to stand up, to rise'; in Proto-Slavic, however, its basic sense had perhaps been 'to turn abruptly' (if we conclude from its Indo-European relatives as Lithuanian *kraipyti* 'to turn over' and Greek κραίπενός 'rapid, strong'). As its derivatives can generally be found in the Slavic languages, but the -нж- momentaneous suffix occurs mostly in Southern Slavic languages (and, probably as a Moravianism, in some Eastern and Western ones as well) I think it got its special Christian meaning on the basis of the Greek New Testament.

71–72. възкрѣсити, възкрѣшити ~ ἀνίστημι (ἀνέστηκα), ἐξανίστημι, ἐγείρω 'to arise again (from the dead)' Jo 6,54: ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. ~ БЛЖ МОЖ ПЛЪТЪ Ї ПИЖИ МОЖ КРЪВЪ ЇМАЕ ЖИВОТА ВЪЧННАГО Ї ДЗЪ ВОЗКРѢШИЖ І ВЪ ПОСЛѢДНИИ ДЕНЬ 'who eats my body and drinks my blood, haveth eternal life, and I shall raise him in the last day'.

Similar passages: Mt 22,24; Mc 12,19; Lu 20,28; Jo 6,39; 6,40; 12,1; 12,9; 12,17; Jo 5,21; Mt 10,8. (In these two latter loci the Old Slavic gospels use the imperfective възкрѣшити, in the other loci, the perfective възкрѣсити.)

In other Old Slavic texts these verb doublets render the prefixed verbs ἐπανίστημι, ἐξεγείρω, συνεγείρω 'to awake' as well.

It is worthwhile observing in the Greek texts that the verbs which express the idea of 'arising from the dead' ἀνίστημι and ἐγείρω, occur more often in St. John's Gospel than in the three synoptic gospels taken together, i.e. the fourth gospel lays even more stress upon this doctrine. It can also be observed that in the Greek original texts the verb ἐξανίστημι (σπέρμα) expresses the idea of *resuscitare semen* and, that St. John's Gospel applies the verb ἐγείρω for rendering the conception of *suscitare e mortuis* 'to raise from the dead', rather than the verb ἀνίστημι.

In later Church Slavic texts оживѣти also appears in a similar sense; but we read възстановити сѣма in Mt 22,24.

The Latin texts use the verb *suscitare* mostly in this sense, but in the synoptic gospels we find the expression *resuscitare semen* for rendering the ἐξανίστημι σπέρμα as it was mentioned above. The Gothic interpretation applies the prefixed verbs *ur-raisan* and *us-satjan* (the former also means ἐξανίστημι σπέρμα).

In the Romanian translations, besides the verbs mentioned earlier, *scula* and *învia*, we can find the verb *ridica* 'to raise' as well, especially in the sense '(re)suscitare semen'. In the Albanian versions the translators apply the

transitive verb *ngjall* with its different meanings ('to revive, to raise from the dead, to hail, to excite'), corresponding to the meaning of the intransitive verb *ngjállëm*, mentioned above.

Gáspár Károli's Hungarian text uses the verb *feltámaszt*, derived from the simple *támad* 'to come into being'. The sense of 'resuscitare semen' is rendered by him with *magot támaszt* (a calque expression after Latin or Greek), later *utódot támaszt* ('to create posterity'). These solutions are similar to those of Luther's translation: *aufferwecken*, but *Samen erwecken*.

The Czech text of the Kralice Bible interprets these passages with the prefixed verb *vzkřísiti*, sometimes with the simple *křísiti*; *semen resuscitare* sounds here as *vzbuditi símě*. Similarly, in the Russian text, this locus (Mt 22,24) contains the expression *восстановить сѣмя*, but the idea of *resurrecting* is rendered by means of *воскресити* and *воскрешати* preserved from Church Slavic.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic verbs in other Slavic languages are: B. *възкресѣ, възкресѣвам*; Sr.-Cr. *ѹс[вѣс]-крнути, ѹс[вѣс]-кршавати*; Ukr. *воскресѣти, воскрешати*; Russ. *воскресѣть, воскрешать*; M. (воскресне); Cz. *vzkřísiti*; Slk. *vzkriesit'*, P. *wskrzesić*; H.So. (*wožiwić, -jowac, -jéc*); L.So. (*wożywiś, -jowaś(se), zwymartwichstaś*).

— Semantic calques. (As for their Indo-European etymology, see above.) Both in the sense 'suscitare e mortuis' and in the sense 'resuscitare semen' it has a special Jewish-Christian religious meaning, on the basis of the Bible.

73. *въскрѣшениѣ ~ ἡ ἀνάστασις*

'resurrection' Jo 5,29: *καὶ ἐκπορεύονται οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως. ~ ꙗзиджтъ сътворѣшии блага · въ възкрѣшениѣ животоу · а сътворѣшии зѣлаа · въ възкрѣшениѣ сѣдоу · 'and they will come who did good, to the resurrection of life, and who did bad, to the resurrection of judgement'.*

Similar passages: Mt 22,23; 22,28; 22,30; 22,31; Mc 12,18; 12,23; Lu 14,14; 20,27; 20,33; 20,35; 20,36; Jo 5,29; 11,24; 11,25.

In the later Old Slavic texts the Greek *ἐξανάστασις, ἔγερσις* are also rendered in this way. In later Church Slavic we read *въ(с)стание*, too.

We can find the nomen deverbale *resurrectio* in the Latin version used consistently. Such consistency is shown by Wulfila as well with the Gothic *usstass* (deverbal noun from the verb *usstandan*; see above).

In the Romanian translations we read the substantivized "longer infinitive" *învia* from the aforesaid verb *învia* 'to raise again, to wake up, to resurrect'. Similarly, the Albanian translation contains the deverbal noun *të-ngjallur* 'raising again, resurrection' from the verb *ngjáll*.

G. Károli and later Hungarian interpreters as well apply the deverbal noun *feltámadás* (in earlier times, also, sometimes *feltámadat*) from the intransitive verb (*fel+támad*) *feltámadni* 'to rise again from the dead', sometimes the

derivate *feltámasztás* from the transitive *feltámasztani* (this latter may refer to other people than Jesus Christ, too).

The Kralice Bible uses the deverbal noun *vzkříšení*; the Russian text воскресение. (Luther's translation also applies the deverbal *Auferstehung*.)

Other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. възкресѣние, възкресѣване; Sr.-Cr. васкрсѣније (васкрсѣње, васкрс, љскрс, ускрсѣње, ускрснѹће, оживљѣње); Russ. воскресение 'resurrection', воскрешение 'raising somebody (actively) from the dead' (воскрѣс and воскрѣс 'resurrection', 'Easter Feast of Jesus', 'Resurrection', воскресѣнье 'Sunday'); Cz. *vzkříšení*; Slk. *vzkriesenie*; P. *wskrzeszenie* (obsolete form; today: *zmartwychwstanie*); Ukr. воскресення; M. воскресение; H.So. *wožiwjenje, zmortwychstanjenje*; L.So. (*wožywjenje, zwumarlychstanje*).

— Semantic calque (and the similar other Slavic equivalents are also of this type). The heathen Slavic religious faith did not know the idea of the resurrection of the dead but the New Testament texts use it consistently; the words could have existed in all the Slavic languages in the sense of 'getting up, standing up' or, perhaps in Proto-Slavic more originally, 'to become strong (again)' or 'to turn over and backwards' and in similar meanings.

74. *всесѣжагаемое, [олокавтомаѣ] ~ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα*  
'holocaust, burnt offering'. Mc 12,33: *καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν περισσότερον ἐστὶν πάντων τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν. ~ ἰ ἐκε ἀρεβιτι · ἰскрѣнѣго ѣко себе · боде естѣ всѣхъ · олокавтомаѣ · ἰ жрѣтѣ.* 'and it is more to love the fellow-man just as oneself than all the burnt offerings and sacrifices'.

In the archaic Old Slavic codices the loanword *олокавтомаѣ* is general, but in the Assemani and the A-variation of the Nikolja Gospel we find the décalquage *всесѣжагаемѣхъ (жрѣтѣ)*. In other Old Slavic texts usually the loanword *олокавтомаѣ* occurs (sometimes as a noun of feminine gender: *олокавтома* or *олокавтима*). The borrowing shows well, on the one hand, the phonetic properties of Byzantine Greek: the extinction of the older aspiration of vowels and the establishing of the new *av, ev* fricatives (*v* or *f*) instead of the old diphthongs, and on the other hand, the simplifying tendency of the Old Slavic stem-based morphological system: the taking-over of the Greek neutral nouns ending in *-ma* into the Old Slavic feminine *a*-declension. Some other Old Slavic texts use the variants *всесежжение, всежегомъ, too*.

In later Church Slavic texts *всесѣжжение, всесѣжигаемѣа* also occur.

The Latin text, like the majority of the Old Slavic versions, leaves the word untranslated: *holocaustoma*. In the Gothic, however, we can see an exact calque: *alabrunsts* composed of *alls* 'whole, all' and *brinnan* 'to burn', just like the Old Slavic *всесѣжагаемое*.

The Romanian versions apply the "longer infinitive" form *ardere* 'burning, destruction by fire', or the Church Slavic loanword *принось* 'offer, gift', but other

Romanian texts render it with the Greek loanword *holocaust* or *olocaust*. In the Albanian, we read a precisely corresponding composition *të-gyithë-djégurate* (from the constituents *gythë* 'wholly, fully' and *djégur* 'burnt, the past participle of the verb *djeg* (*dógja, djégur*) 'to burn').

Károli's Hungarian text renders the passage, περισσοτερόν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν, with a simple and concise (although not quite literal) translation: *többet ér minden áldozatoknál*, 'it is worth more than all immolations'. But in the later texts we find more precise interpretations as *többet ér minden égőáldozatnál és véresáldozatnál* 'it is worth more than the burnt and other offerings' (1967), and *többet ér minden égő vagy bármi más áldozatnál* 'it is worth more than all burnt or other offerings' (1973). That is, Károli did not use a calque, but the later Protestant, Catholic or Oriental Hungarian translations apply consistently such words, although these do not render the content of the Greek word so precisely as the Gothic or Old Slavic calques do: they do not translate the constituent ὄλο- 'wholly'. (Nor does Luther's translation where we find *Brandopfer* 'burnt offering'.)

The Kralice Bible applies the word *zápal* 'burning, inflammation'; the Russian uses the exact calque *всесожжение* 'full burning, wholly burnt offering', in Church Slavic way.

The Old Slavic word has a few exact equivalents in other Slavic languages; besides the Russian equivalent mentioned, in the Ukrainian we find the corresponding *всепалення*. The Old Slavic calque itself is not often applied in the Old Slavic texts, either: it occurs mostly in the Psalterium Sinaiticum (Ps 50,18; 19,4; 49,8). In addition to these, we find it in the Psalterium Paganorum (Ps 19,4) and in Psalterium Bononense (Ps 38,9). Not the same, but a similar wording can be found for Mc 12,33 in the Dobromir Gospel: *съжеженыхъ жрътваъ*, and in the Târnovo Gospel: *жеженыхъ жрътваъ*. As for the Apostolic Epistles, the plural form ὀλοκαυτώματα is rendered by the Old Slavic plural passive participial form *съжежения*.

Other equivalents in the Slavic languages: B. (съвѣм изгаряща жѣртѣ; Russ. *всесожжение*; Ukr. *всичко сожжение*; M. (олокавтомат) (old form); Sr.-Cr. *сверѡрућа жртва*; Cz. (*zápal*) (today's meaning is: 'combustion'). Slk. (*zápalka*) (old form, present meaning is: 'matches'); P. (*zupelnie spalajaca ofiara*); H.So. (*wšitko zapaljony wopor*); L.So. (*zupalony wšitko wopor*) (translation of Jakubica).

— Real structural calque; even in later times it was confined to an exclusive ecclesiastical use (as in the *Psaltyr Blažennago Proroka i Carja Davida*, Lvov, 1893): *всесожженіа* in Ps 50,17, and *всесожжегаемаа* in Ps 50,20 (just like in the *сложбеникъ* edited in Pest, 1857). In the first centuries of Old Slavic literature the loanword *олокавтоматъ* and its variants dominate, but it is just the text of the Assemani that warns us that we have to do with a very early loan translation.

75. въ(с)стание ~ ἡ ἀνάστασις

'rising, uprising'. Lu, 2,34: ἰδοὺ οὗτος κέῖται εἰς πῶσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον. ~ ce лежитъ съ · на паданье і на въстанье многѣмъ · въ ѿмѣ · і въ знаменье прѣрочьно. 'Behold, this will be for decay of many people and for resurrection of many people in Israel, and for a sign that will be contradicted'.

The Old Slavic word, of course, is a regular phonetic development from the prefixed composition \*въз-стание. In other Old Slavic texts it occurs in the form въстаиание as well, and the Greek (ἀν-)ἔγερσις is also interpreted with these variants. In later Church Slavic texts it alternates with въскръсѣние and въскръсѣние, too.

The Latin *resurrectio* and the Gothic *us-stass*, the words of the Vulgata and Wulfila's translation in this locus for ἀνάστασις, are also used for being interpreted by въскръсѣновение, въскръсѣние (see above).

The Romanian deverbial noun ("long infinitive") *sculare* 'rise, resurrection' and the Albanian deverbial noun (from the past participle) *të-ngriturit* 'upswing, uprising' express that here we do not have to do with supernatural resurrection from the dead but 'natural uprising'.

As for Hungarian, Károli uses the word *feltámadás*, as in the case of *resurrection*, and so do the later (also Catholic) translations.

The Kralice Bible, however, uses the word *povstání* that differs from the translation of 'resurrection' (as we have seen, this latter was *vzkříšení*); in the Russian, with another prefix, the noun *восстание* expresses this difference. Luther's translation makes this distinction by means of the suffix: it uses the substantivized infinitive *Auferstehen* for the natural meaning.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. възстание, въстание; Sr.-Cr. (устанак); Russ. восстание 'getting up, uprising' (in Church Slavic sense: 'creation, creature, animal' as well); Ukr. (установляння); M. востание; Cz. (*povstání*), *vstání*, *vstávání*; Slk. (*povstanie*); P. *wstanie*, *wstawanie* (*powstanie*); L.So. (*stawanje*); H.So. (*stanjenje*).

The meanings 'uprising, getting-up, establishing a rebellion' of the Western Slavic *po*-prefixed deverbial nouns are, of course, not directly related to the Old Slavic word, but the corresponding words (without the prefix *po*-) can mean 'rise from among the dead' as well. Apparently, this noun has a secondary but now dominant meaning in the Eastern and Southern Slavic, too; e.g. in Russian in the church usage of words.

It seems that the Old Slavic translators took care that here, instead of the nouns въскръсѣновение, въскръсѣние which referred to the idea of 'resurrection', another word should be applied. The Latin and Gothic texts, as it is seen, did not distinguish the words in this respect. The noun въ(с)стание is, however, an exact equivalent of the original ἀνάστασις in this case, too: not in its secondary figurative, but in the primary figurative sense that is near to the original concrete meaning.

— It seems to be a real structural calque if we consider again the Western analogues of *po-*; but, considering the general and many-sided adaptability of this word for figurative senses, it seems better to include it in the group of semantic calques.

76–77.  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$ , ~  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , very rarely:  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$

‘to get up, to rise (from the dead)’. Mt 17,23:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu, \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\eta \tau\acute{\rho}\iota\tau\eta \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . ~  $\text{I OYBHIKTB I TPETHH AHEH BCTAHETB}$ . (Marianus text.) ‘and they will kill Him, and on the third day He will rise again’.

In the Codex Assemani:  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$  Mc 5,42:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta \tau\omicron \kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota$  ~  $\text{I ABHE BCTA ABHHA I XOXAAHHE}$ . (Zographus text.) ‘... and immediately rose the maid and walked around’.

Similar passages:  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ : Mt 1,24; 2,13; 2,14; 2,20; 2,21; 8,15; 8,26; 9,5; 9,9; 9,19; 10,21; 11,11; 12,41; 12,42; 16,21; 17,7; 24,7; 24,11; 24,24; 25,7; 26,46; 26,62; 27,52; 27,63; 27,64; 28,6; 28,7; Mc 1,35; 2,9; 2,11; 2,12; 2,14; 3,26; 4,39; 5,41; 6,14; 6,16; 7,24; 9,27; 10,49; 10,50; 13,8; 13,22; 14,42; 14,57; 14,60; 16,6; 16,14; Lu 1,39; 4,16; 4,29; 4,38; 4,39; 5,23; 5,24; 5,25; 6,8; 7,14; 7,16; 8,24; 9,7; 9,22; 10,25; 11,7; 11,8 (bis); 11,31; 11,32; 13,25; 15,18; 15,20; 18,19; 21,10; 22,45; 22,46; 23,2; 24,6; 24,7; 24,12; 24,33; 24,34; Jo 2,22; 5,8; 11,29; 11,31; 14,31; 21,14.  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$ : Mt 11,5; Mc 4,27; Lu 7,22; 20,37; Jo 6,18.

The Old Slavic texts render the Greek verbs  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  with  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$  alike (the other Greek verbs are nearly “hapax legomena” in the cited passages). In the Greek text the verb  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  means mostly (although not exclusively) ‘to rise again from the dead’, but the verb  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  much more rarely.

This difference seems to have its origin in a conception of death as if it were slumbering — naturally, without denying the essence of death.

Translation by  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$  occurs very rarely in relation to the use of  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ . This is evidently caused by the fact that all sorts of ‘standing up’ or ‘rising’ (either the common ‘getting up’ or the ‘rising of the foams of sea’ or the ‘rising again from the dead’ are instantaneous, sudden acts which can be expressed perceptively with the perfective verb  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$  better than with anything else.

In later Church Slavic texts we find  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\tau\iota$   $\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\tau\iota$   $\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\tau\omicron\omicron$ .

In the Latin text we can find, as a rule, the verb *resurgere* in the sense of ‘rising from the dead’ while in other cases the verbs *surgere*, *consurgere*, *exsurgere* ‘to get up’; in one case we can even read *exsilire* ‘to jump up’ (Mc 10,50), where the Greek text contains the verb  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  with the same meaning.

The Gothic texts use the verb *ur-raisan* and (in fewer cases) *us-standjan* for translating  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ . The verb *us-standan* is a close calque of



\*ἀνά + ἵσταμαι, but the idea of 'rising again from among the dead' is chiefly expressed, as we have seen before, by means of *us-raisan* (see the entry for *въскръснѣти*).

The Romanian texts apply the verb *învia* here too, which expresses 'returning to life', 'rise from the dead', while the meanings 'getting up, jumping up', etc. are rendered with the verb *să scula*.

This bipartition can be seen in Albanian as well: for ἐγείρομαι we read the already mentioned *ngjällem*, while for ἀνίσταμαι the verb *ngrihem* 'to get up, to rise, to revolt' is applied.

In the Hungarian texts of Gáspár Károli and the later interpreters there is a great variety. 'To rise from the dead' is rendered with the verb *feltámadni* (see also the preceding entries), but the several human movements are interpreted by the verbs *felállni* and *felkelni* ('to get up, to rise'), and in Jo 6,18 *a tenger a nagy szélnek fuvása miatt háborog vala* 'the sea was tossing because of the blowing of the great wind' where the Greek original applies the verb διεγείρομαι. (This latter is rendered by *sich erheben* in Luther's text, and we find a clear distinction between the general *aufstehen* and the specialized *auferstehen*, see above).

The Kralice Bible uses the verbs *vstati*, *povstati*.

The Russian text, however, has preserved the ancient Church Slavic usage (see above). (The verbs applied in Jo 6,18 are *zdvihati se* and *волноваться*, respectively.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *встана, встáвам* 'to rise, to revolt'; Sr.-Cr. *устати, уставати, устajати*; Russ. *во(с)стать, во(с)ставать, встать, вставать*; Ukr. *устáти, уставáти*; M. *востане*; Cz. *vstáti, vstávati (povstáti, povstávati)*; Slk. *vstat', vstávat' (povstat', povstávat')*; P. *wstać, wstawać (zmartwychwstać 'to rise from the dead')*; H.So. *(po-)stanyć, (po)stawać (zwmurłychstanyć)*; L.So. *stawaś, stanus (zwmurėtųchstanus)*.

— In accordance with their different applications, these Old Slavic verbs can be considered as real structural calques or semantic calques, or (sometimes) phenocalques. It depends on whether they correspond to the Greek ἀνίσταμαι ἐκ νεκρῶν or to ἐγείρομαι, or to the not specifically religious ἀνίσταμαι (or, in one case, the verb ἀναπηδέω with a similar meaning).

Old Slavic applies the verb doublets *въстати ~ въстаати* in all these senses; however, as we have seen, the archaic Old Slavic gospels used the verb *въскръснѣти* for the 'rise from the dead' and, instead of *въ(с)стати ~ въ(с)ставати*, this has survived in Church Slavic liturgical and rhetorical usage. Cf. e.g. the Easter salutation of the Byzantine Christian Slavs: *Χριστός ἐβῆκε* (*Χριστός ἀνέστη*) 'Christ is arisen', and the reply to it: *ἐβῆκε ἰστίνῃ ἐβῆκε* (*Ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη*) 'indeed, He is risen'; see the Easter Troparion as well.

A similar development can be observed in the Southern and Eastern Slavic languages (influenced by Church Slavic) while in Western Slavic the "com-

petition" of the two verb groups has led to *εβ(σ)στατι* and its derivatives gaining ground. This is to be seen very markedly in Polish (but also in Czech and Sorbian) where a special verb *zmartwychwstać* (and its exact equivalents in the neighbourhood) can be found as an unmistakable expression for the 'rising again from among the dead'.

Naturally, these circumstances are also true, in general, for the proportion of deverbal nouns, derived from these verb groups.

78. *εβστοκς* ~ ἡ ἀνατολή

'East'. Mt 24,27: ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. ~ *εβкоже во мълнии ѡсходитъ отъ εβстокъ ѡдъ ѡдъ запада. тако бжлетъ ѡ пришествіи сѣна чѣкаго.* (Zographus text.) 'as the lightning comes out of the East and it can be seen unto the West, thus will also be the re-appearance of the Man's Son'.

(In the Savvina Kniga we can read *до запада*; in the Assemani: *сѣна чѣкаго*).

Similar passages: Mt 2,1; 2,2; 2,9; 8,11; Lu, 1,78; 13,29. In later Church Slavic texts *εβχοдаъ*, *εβχοдаъ* (*сѣныца*) can also be read.

In the Latin text *oriens*, the present participle of the verb *oriri* 'to rise, come up' can be found, while in Gothic, the nomen deverbale *ur-runs* from the verb *ur-rinnan* 'to come out, rise, come up'. Thus the Gothic noun is an exact reflection of the Greek original where the noun ἀνατολή is a derivate of the verb ἀνατέλλω 'to bring up, come up, rise, get up'. (A similar deverbal noun is Luther's *Aufgang* but we read *Morgenland* in Mt 2,1).

The Romanian text applies a deverbal noun *răsărit*, the derivate of the verb *răsări* (of the Vulgar Latin \**resalire*) that means 'to drive, sprout, spring up, go up'.

The Albanian expression *lindja ë diellit* originally had the meaning 'the birth of the sun'; hence *Lindje* 'East', from the verb *lind* 'to be born, come into being'.

In Károli's Hungarian text we find a solution which is similar to both the Latin *ortus solis* and to the Albanian expression, the compound *napkelet*, consisting of *nap* 'sun' and *kelet* 'rise, East'. In Lu 1,78, however, he uses another version: the expression ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους is translated by him as *a magasságból való Csemete* 'the Sapling from the altitude', probably an allusion to the infant Jesus. The later version contains, however, an expression *a naptámadat a magasságból* 'the Sun's rise from the altitude'. According to the modern Catholic versions: *a magasságból felkelő* 'who rises from the altitude' (1967) or simply: *a magasságból* 'from the Altitude' (1973).

The Kralice Bible applies the deverbal noun *východ* (word for word: 'going out'), but in Lu 1,78, similarly to the Latin *oriens ex alto*, it is *vyšed z vysosti*. In the modern Russian text we generally find the word *востокъ* of Church Slavic origin (Lu 1,78: *εβστόκъ сѣныце* 'East from above').

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (ѣсток); Sr.-Cr. (ѣсток); Russ. восток; Ukr. (схід); M. (исток); Cz. (východ); Slk. (východ); P. (wschód); H.So. (wuchod); L.So. (wuchod).

— Real structural calque. It seems to have ousted other deverbal expressions from Old Slavic (истокъ, исхѡлъ, вѣхѡлъ, сѣхѡлъ, вѣсхѡлъ) which have survived in other Slavic languages, as already in Proto-Slavic the original Indo-European word meaning 'East' or 'daybreak' had been lost (although, it has survived in the sense 'morning': οὐρῶ ~ ἠῶς ~ *aurora* from the Indo-European stems \*au-, \*au-so-). Similarly to западъ (захѡлъ, закатъ) 'West', apparently, it was not fixed in Proto-Slavic as early as сѣверъ 'North' and югъ 'South' were.

79. вѣторопрѣвъ ~ δευτερόπρωτος

'second-first'; some tentative attempts at interpretation: 'the first (Saturday) of the second year' or 'the first (Saturday) after the second day of the Jews' 'Pascha'; or simply: 'one Saturday' as the Hungarian Catholic translation of 1973 (Budapest) interprets it *egyik szombati napon* 'on one of the Saturday days'.

Lu 6,1: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρότῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ~ БЫСТЬ ЖЕ ВЪ СЪБОТѢ · ВѢТОРОПРѢВЪ · ЁТИ ЕМОУ СКВОЗѢ СѢВАНЬ.

'He happened on the second-first(?) Saturday to go through the sown fields'.

In the Codex Assemani we read сѣкозѣ. It is interesting that the compound δευτερόπρωτος cannot be found in the Washington Codex (ε 014, an uncial manuscript) and in some minuscular codices (ε 178, ε 376, ε 100, ε 1033), furthermore in some Syrian and Old Latin versions. It is conspicuous that these go back mainly to Caesarean variations, consequently, the Old Slavic translation could not set out from such texts (because they contain the compound вѣторопрѣвъ corresponding to the Greek word).

In a later Church Slavic explanation it is прѣваѣа сѣбота по вѣторому дню жидовъ пасхѣ.

In the Latin text we find the expected phrase *secundus primus*; in the Gothic there is a similar *anþar fruma*. All these go back, through the Greek, to some less familiar Aramaism or Hebraism, about the meaning of which opinions are divergent. According to the latest opinions it meant the 'first Saturday after the second day of Easter'.

The Romanian  $\tilde{\text{r}}$  сѣвѣта адоуаѡ  $\tilde{\text{r}}$  таѡу is the direct continuation of the Greek-(Latin)-Old Slavic line while the syntagm *într'o Sambata, a doua dupa cea dintâi a Pastilor* represents a conscious exegetic attempt to interpret the Greek (or Old Slavic) expression.

A similar endeavour is evident in the Albanian translation, too: *ë-dytë pas sëparësë*, with a less satisfactory solution: 'the second after the first'.

In the Hungarian, Károli also tried to guess the meaning of the Greek expression: *az elsőhöz hasonló második szombaton* 'on the second Saturday similar to the first': the Catholic version of 1967 (Rome) translates it as

*másodelsō* 'second-first', i.e. 'the first Saturday after the second day of Easter' (probably).

The solution of the Kralice Bible simply sounds as *v druhou sobotu* 'on the second Saturday' while the modern Russian text gives the solution *въ суббóту пёрвую по вторóмъ днѣ пáсхи* 'on the first Saturday after the second day of Easter'. (Luther's *Aftersabbath* suggests the same explanation.)

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: Russ. and Ukr. второ-пёрвый or второпёрший, respectively, and другопёрвый (другопёрший) 'best of the second ones'; Cz. (*druhoprvi* 'id').

These later meanings do not correspond to the Old Slavic word that has only been preserved in Russian in its original meaning.

— Real structural calque.

80. въ сласть ~ ἡδέως

'willingly, with pleasure'. Mc 12,37: καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ~ ἰ μνοςи народи послушаша ѡ хъ его въ сласть 'and the big mass of people was listening to him willingly'. Similar locus: Mc 6,20.

The later Church Slavic съ удовольствиемъ, съ наслаждениемъ have been presented in Eastern Slavic.

The Latin *libenter* is an exact morphological and semantic rendering of the Greek adverb. The Gothic denominal adverb *ga-baurjaba* is related to the noun *ga-baurjous* 'mood, (good) humour', but directly it is related to the adjective *ga-baurja* which seems to be derived from the noun *ga-baur* 'common repast, banquet'. In the last analysis, the Gothic translation is an adverbial rendering of the similarly adverbial Greek form. As against this, the Old Slavic expression is less precise in form, but more faithful in its content to the Greek word than the Latin and Gothic: the basic sense of the Greek adjective ἡδύς is 'sweet', and the Old Slavic word renders this meaning better than the Gothic and Latin adverbs.

The Romanian translation of Micu-Clain follows the Latin version: *εὐκέρως*, but Bishop Nicolae follows the Old Slavic in his modern version: *cu dulceață*. The Albanian expression *kam enda* seems to reflect a Greek version χάριν ἔχειν or a Latin *gratiam habere*; thus it does not depend on the Greek ἡδέως or its Latin and Old Slavic translations, although it also shows a Biblical origin (cf. e.g. Esther, 5,4; 5,8; 7,3; 8,5).

In Károli's Hungarian text we can read the adverb *örömet* 'with pleasure' that alternates with the adverb *szívesen* 'willingly' (word for word: 'heartily') in the later versions.

In the Kralice Bible we find the adverb *rád* 'with pleasure'; in the Russian text there are several expressions, such as съ удовольствиемъ, съ улаждениемъ. Both of these remind us of Luther's *gern, gerne*, too, because of their basic meanings.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: Russ. *власть* 'according to one's will, as one pleases' (the substantive form of the noun, of course, exists in other Slavic languages, too); B. (дрáго сърцѣ); M. (срце на драго); Sr.-Cr. (рáдносно); P. (*chętnie, zradością*); Cz., Slk. (*rád*); L.So. (*rad, -o*).

— Calque neologism, but near to the real structural calque.

81. вѢЗЛВИГНЖТИ ~ ἐγείρω, ἐπαίρω

'to set upright, raise, resurrect'. Mc 9,27: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέστη. ~ ИС ЖЕ ІМЪ І ЗА РЖКЖ ВѢЗЛВИЖЕ И · І ВЪСТА · 'but Jesus, taking his hand, raised him, and he got up.'

Lu 24,50: ἐπάρας τὰς χειρὰς αὐτοῦ, εὐλόγησεν αὐτοῦς. ~ І ВѢЗЛВИГЪ РЖИ·В СВОІ БЛАГІИ ІА · '...and raising His hands, He blessed them'.

Similar passages: ἐγείρω: Mt 3,9; Mc 1,31; Lu 1,69; 3,8; Jo 20,20; ἐπαίρω: Lu 11,27; 21,28; Jo 2,19; 13,18.—This means that the ratio of the verbs ἐγείρω and ἐπαίρω, when they are interpreted by вѢЗЛВИГНЖТИ in Old Slavic, is 7:4, i.e. the Old Slavic interpreters perceived the idea of 'awaking' and 'resurrecting' very concretely.

In the later Church Slavic texts we can meet the verbs вѢСКРѢСИТИ, ПОЛЪНАТИ, вѢЗВЕСТИ, ПОСТАВИТИ as well.

In the Latin text we find alternatives, the verbs *suscitare* 'to awake', *elevare* 'to raise up', *erigere* 'to erect', *exaltare* 'to exalt', *extollere* 'to extol'.

In the Gothic the verb *ur-raisan* 'to let to get up', 'to resurrect, to awake' can be read.

The Romanian texts apply the verb *ridica* 'to lift, to set upright' as a rule. In the Albanian the verb *ngre* (*ngrita, ngritur*) 'to lift, set upright' occurs.

In Károli's Hungarian translation the verb *felemelni* 'to set upright' is common in these cases; later the expressions *kézenfogva felemelni* 'taking one's hand to set one upright' and *kezét felemelni* 'to lift his hands' are used.

In the modern Catholic version we find in Mc 9,27: *megfogta a kezét, felsegítette* 'Jesus took his hands and helped him to rise'; in Lu 24,50: *kezét fölemelve* 'lifting His hands'.

The Kralice Bible uses the expressions *pozdvihnouti rukou* 'to raise by hand' and *ujati za ruku a pozdvihnouti* 'to seize by the hand and to raise'.

In the modern Russian text, similarly, *взять за руку и поднять, от поднять рѹки* is used, according to the context. (Analogous expressions can also be read in Luther's translation: *ergreifen bei der Hand und aufrichten* and *aufheben die Hände*.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *въздигна*; Sr.-Cr. *ўздигнути* (*ўздизати*); Russ. *в(о)здвѣгнуть* (*в(о)здвѣгать*); Ukr. *воздвѣгнути* (*воздвѣгати*); M. *воздигне* (*воздига*); Cz. *zdvihnouti* (*zdvihati*); Slk. *zdvihnút* (*zdvihat*); P. *zdwignąć*; L.So. *wuzwignuś* (*wuzwigaś*); H.So. *wuzdwignuć* (*wuzdwigać*).

Consequently, the Old Slavic word seems to be of Balkanic origin that has been preserved in Eastern Slavic under Church Slavic influence; in Western Slavic it might have been a Moravianism and it occurred with another prefix, too.

— It is a semantic calque in interpreting the simple Greek verb ἐγείρω inasmuch it concerns 'getting up from the death, rising again from among the dead'. As for the translation of ἐπαίρω, it has a concrete sense 'to lift, to set upright' and it could be considered a real structural calque if it was not so common and concrete generally. Therefore, I consider the determination more exact if it is qualified as a calque of appearance (phenocalque) only. (Cf. the aforesaid statements related to the verbs *въ(с)СТАТИ* and *въ(с)СТАВАТИ*, too.)

82. *въцѣсарити сѧ* ~ βασιλεύω

'to reign, to rule'. Lu 1,33: καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς αἰῶνας ~ *цѣсарити сѧ въ домѣ · ѣвѣкли · въ вѣкы* · 'and He will reign over the house of Jacob for ever' (In the Savvina Kniga *въ вѣкы*, in singular accusative.) In the later Church Slavic texts the non-prefixed *цѣсарити сѧ* also occurs in a similar sense; just as *цѣсарѣствовати (сѧ)* and *пановати (сѧ)* too, in the Church Slavic of Ruthenian redaction.

The Latin versions contain the verb *regulare* in this locus, the Gothic the verb *biudanon*; both of them are denominal formations like the Greek and Old Slavic.

In the Romanian also the denominal verbs *Ἰπὴρβυци* and *domni*, respectively, can be found. The situation is similar in Albanian, too: the base of the verb *mbrëtëroj* is the noun *mbrët* (*mbrëtër-it*) 'king, ruler'. The Hungarian *uralkodni* that can be read in Károli's text, is derived from the ancient *úr* 'reigning prince, chieftain' (nowadays this noun often means simply 'Mr.').

The Kralice Bible uses the denominal verb *kralovati* 'to reign' (from the noun *Král* 'king', originally the name of Charlemagne). The Stockholm Russian edition applies the verb *царствовать* from the Church Slavic *цѣсарѣствовати*, a denominal formation from *цѣсарь* ~ *цѣсарь* < καῖσαρ; the continuation of the Russian verb has an origin common with the Old Slavic. (All these translations are independent of Luther's text that used a phrase for the Greek and Latin denominal verbs, namely *ein König sein über* 'to be a king over...')

The other Slavic languages have no equivalents from the etymological viewpoint; the Russian *воцариться, воцаряться* 'to become a czar', and their Ukrainian correspondents, can be traced back to Church Slavic influence, just like the already mentioned *царствовать* and its Ukrainian equivalent); similarly as Sr.-Cr. *владати*. В., М. *владѣя*, too. The Western Slavic verbs of similar formation from the name of Charlemagne (Cz. *královati*, Slk. *kralovat'*, P. *królować*, H.So. *kralować*, L.So. *kralis se* could have been created from the sixties of the 9th century on (at the earliest, under Charlemagne's rule, or maybe

one or two decades after his death), probably under some foreign influence (cf. e.g. Latin *regnare* or *imperare*).

— Real structural calque. (Cf. the entry for ЦРКАРСТВОВАТИ.)

83. ВЪШНЬНА ~ τὰ ὑψίστα

'height, altitude'. Mt. 21,9: ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. ~ ѡСАНА въ вѢШНЬНИХЪ ·  
'... Hosanna in the altitude (of heaven)!' (A second-hand passage in the Zographus.) Similar passages are also: Mc 11,10; Lu 2,14; 19,38; Jo 8,23.

In later Church Slavic the deadjectival nouns вѣкостъ, вѣсота, вѣшина also appear.

In the Latin text the neutral plural form of the adjective *excelsus* is applied, but instead of *excelsa* we find *superna* in Jo 8,23 (in the Greek original: τὰ ἄνω). The Gothic text presents a neutral noun *hauhisti* formed from the superlative adjectival form *hauhista* 'highest'.

The Romanian interpreters render the Greek, Latin or Old Slavic superlative (or superlative meaning) with *cei de sus* (which corresponds mainly to the Greek τὰ ἄνω or ἐκ τῶν ἄνω).

The Albanian translation presents the expression *të-lártet*, 'the upper ones'. The use of the plural in the Czech *výsosti* is similar to the Old Slavic and modern Russian solutions.

Károli interpreted the Greek (or Latin) word with *magasság*, and *magasságos menny* ('height'; 'high heaven'); later *magasság* became common. But in Jo 8,23 there is *felülről* for the Latin *de supernis* or the Greek ἐκ τῶν ἄνω 'from above'.

Luther's translation also reflects this distinction: we find *in der Höhe* as a rule, but Jo 8,23: *ich bin von oben herab*.

The Old Slavic word, this neutral adjective form in plural, having a substantivized meaning comes from a Common Slavic \**vyšь-ьнѣ* that goes back to an Indo-European root \**ṷpso(ko)-no* (cf. Sanskrit *upari*, Greek ὑπέρ, Latin *super*, Gothic *iup*, Anglo-Saxon *up* 'up', etc.) therefore its etymological relations are known in every Slavic language: B. (висотá, висóчина); Sg.-Сг. вѣшнѣй (вѣсйна, вѣсóст); Russ. вѣшний, висотá, висóкий, висóкость, вѣшина); Ukr. вѣшний (висотá, висóкий, висóкість, вѣшина, etc.; M. вишен, вишина, вишнѣя; Cz. *vyšný, výsost, vysota*; Slk. *vyšný (vysočina, výsost, vysokost)*; P. *wyszni (wysoki, wysoczyzna, wyższość, wysokość)*; L.So. (*wuśy*); H.So. (*wy-soki*).

Thus, the adjective exists not only in Old Slavic (and in Russian); however, the fact that the form вѣшнѣй which can be considered a superlative of вѣкостъ, occurs in plural like the Greek superlative form ὑψίστα, points to the semantic influence of the Greek in the expression of the special religious sense.

— Semantic calque.

84-86. ВѢРЖЪ ИАТИ КОΜΟΥ, ВѢРЖЪ ИΜΑΤΙ ΚΟΜΟΥ, ВѢРЖЪ ИΜѢΤΙ ΚΟΜΟΥ ~ ΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ ΤΙΝΙ, ΠΙΣΤΙΝ ἔχω ΤΙΝΙ (ἐπίστευσα)

'to believe, to trust (to) somebody'. (In negative form: ΝΕ ΙΑΤΙ (ΝΕ ΙΜѢΤΙ, ΝΕ ΙΜΑΤΙ) ВѢРЖИ ~ Οὐ ΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ, Μῆ ΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ. ἀπιστέω ΤΙΝΙ)

Mt 21,32: καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστεύσατε αὐτῷ ~ ἰ ΝΕ ἄστε ἔμον ВѢРЖИ. (The second copyist's text in the Zographus.) '...and ye did not believe him'. (In this verse it occurs altogether 3 times.)

In other Old Slavic texts we can often find the verb ВѢРИТИ (чьто, чькому), with a similar sense, as it renders the Greek πιστεύω (πίστεύομαι) and πείθομαι; the negative ΝΕ ВѢРИТИ, similarly, corresponds to the privative ἀπιστέω.

Similar passages in the gospels: Mt 21,16; 24,23; 24,26; 27,42; Mc 4,40; 11,23; 13,21; 16,11; 16,13; 16,14; 16,16; Lu 1,45; 8,12; 16,11; 16,31; 22,67; 24,11; Jo 1,7; 2,22; 4,21; 4,48; 5,38; 5,46: (bis); 5,47; 8,24; 8,45; 8,46; 9,18; 10,37; 10,38 (bis); 11,15; 11,42; 11,48; 12,38; 13,19; 14,11; 14,29; 17,21; 20,25; 20,31.

In accordance with the Greek-Old Slavic "parallelism of aspect" (see about this Boehme's (57), and Pogorelov's works (343) the Old Slavic interpreters use ВѢРЖЪ ИАΤΙ if they translate the aoristos of the verb πιστεύω, and ВѢРЖЪ ИΜΑΤΙ or ВѢРЖЪ ИΜѢΤΙ if they find this Greek verb in the imperfect action. As for the content of these passages, it is conspicuous that these verbs occur more times in St. John's Gospel than in the three synoptic gospels taken together. This tallies well with the aim of the fourth gospel, which was designed even by the Fathers of the Church, to win over the people to the idea of Christ's divinity, eternal filiation and mission of Messiah, first of all those whom this gospel was apparently written for: the people converted from among the heathens at the end of the 1st century.

In later Church Slavic we can find the expressions ВѢРЖЪ ИАΤΙ, ЗА ПРАВЪЛЖЪ ЛРЪЖАΤΙ, ТОО.

In the Latin text we find the verb *credere* which although it was not created under the influence of the Greek verb, represents quite an expressive reproduction of the conceptual content of the original. It is known that the verb πιστεύω, through the basic noun πίστις goes back to the Indo-European root \**bheidh*, like the Greek πείθω 'to persuade', πείθομαι 'to be convinced of'; cf. also Latin *fidere* 'to trust in'. The Latin *credere*, however, is a fully assimilated compound: \**crēd-* + \**dhē-* 'to put one's heart onto somebody or something'.

The Gothic text applies the expressions *galaubjan* and *ga-laubein haban*. The latter is remarkable from an Old Slavic point of view as it fully agrees with the Old Slavic model of construction, and, supposably, goes back to a popular expression, πίστιν ἔχειν (Latin: *fidem habere*). This Greek expression actually appears in Mc 4,40 in a negative form, and in Mc 9,42 as a "lectio varians" (τῶν πίστιν ἔχόντων) instead of πιστευόντων); this latter occurs even in such authoritative manuscripts as the Codex Ephraimi rescriptus (δ.) and Codex



Cantabrigiensis (δ<sub>ς</sub>), and the corresponding Latin *fidem habere* in the Codex Vercellensis of the 4th century, containing a Vetus Latina version. Curiously the early Old Slavic texts do not give the expected variant *вѣрѣ имати*. But this deviation seems intelligible if we consider that the first Old Slavic translators were much less inclined for literal translating than the later ones were. Generally, the Slav Apostles render the verb πιστεύω rather with *вѣрвати* than with expressions discussed (the ratio is about 7 : 5; for its reasons, see *вѣрвати*).

In the Romanian text we see the verb *credea (întrânsul)* 'to believe in' in the passages mentioned. In the Albanian, similarly, we find a simple verb, *bësôj* 'to believe, to think'. Károli's text, like the later Hungarian versions, too, uses the simple verb *hinni* 'to believe'.

The Kralice Bible applies the simple verb *věřiti* as a rule, just like the modern Russian version: *вѣрить* or *повѣрить*. (In Luther's text also, we read the simple word *glauben* with a dative government.)

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic expressions are: В. *ѣмам вѣра*, 'to trust in sy'; Sr.-Cr. *вѣрмати* 'to esteem, to take into consideration'; Sln. *verjet, verjamem* 'to believe sy' (see Jagić 187, p. 85); Russ. (*давать вѣру кому-либо* 'to believe to sy'); Cz. (*přikládati víru komu* 'to give credence to sy'); Ukr. *ѣняти віру кому* 'to believe sy'; M. (*дава вера*); Slk. (*dat' vieru komu* 'id. '); P. (*dawać wiare komu* 'id. '); L.So. (*měš za wěrno* 'to believe it to be true'); H.So. (*měč za spravneho* 'id. ').

The Old Slavic translators apply consistently the dative government after *вѣрѣ имати (-имати, -имѣти)*, and it is conspicuous that in these cases the Greek πιστεύω also governs the dative (mostly, so do the Latin and Gothic verbs).

Jagić (187) considers that the expression *вѣрѣ имати* existed earlier than *вѣрвати* in the gospels; however, it occurs rarely in the Acts and does not often occur in the Psalms, either. He also demonstrated that it is the older manuscripts that used *вѣрвати* in Isaiah 13,3 while the later ones applied *вѣрѣ имати*.

In my opinion in the case of the translation of the Acts and the Psalms the popular (Pannon Slavic or, maybe, common Southern Slavic) verb *вѣрвати* may have ousted the expression requiring more complicated conjugation forms, and when the Old Testament texts were begun to be translated, the interpreters applied the archaic forms consciously. Of course, the arbitrary choice or lack of accuracy of the transcribers, their inconsistent use of words could also play a role in these deviations. In my opinion, in the beginning there was real consistency in the use of *вѣрѣ имати (-имати, -имѣти)* and *вѣрвати*, namely the difference of the governments of the Greek and, consequently, of the Old Slavic verbs. (See also the entry for *вѣрвати*.)

— Real structural calque (because of the existence of the Greek πίστιν ἔχω and the consistent government of the verb).

87. ΕΒΡΩΑΤΙ ΕΒ ΚΟΓΟ ~ ΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ ΕΙΣ ΤΙΝΑ

'to believe in'. In negative use: ΗΕ ΕΒΡΩΑΤΙ ~ ΟΥ ΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ, ΑΠΙΣΤΕΨΩ, ΟΥ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΑΙ.

Jo 10,42: καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ. ἱ μνησι εβρωασι εβ ηεγο του · 'and many people believed in Him there'.

Similar loci: Mt 8,13; 18,6; 21,22; Mc 5,36; 9,23 (bis); 9,42; 11,24; 16,17; Lu 1,20; 8,50; 20,5; 24,25; 24,41; Jo 1,12; 1,50; 2,11; 2,23; 3,12; 3,15; 3,16; 3,18; 3,36 (bis); 4,39; 4,41; 4,53; 6,29; 6,40; 6,47; 6,64; 6,69; 7,5; 7,31; 7,38; 7,39; 7,48; 8,31; 9,35; 9,38; 10,25; 10,38.

In later Church Slavic texts we can read ВЕРИТИ, ЗА ПРАВЪЛЖ ДРЪЖАТИ as well.

In the Latin text we find *crediderunt in eum*; in the Gothic *ga-laubidedun du imma*, i.e. the government of the verb is the same for all the four languages. But this verbal government is not exclusive, as in Luke's Gospel (1,20; 8,50; 20,5; 24,25; 24,41) this government never occurs but, corresponding to the Greek πιστεύω ἐπί τινι, πιστεύω ἀπό τινος we find ΕΒΡΩΑΤΙ ΚΟΜΟΥ (ЧЕСОМОУ) ΟΓ ΕΒΡΩΑΤΙ Ο ЧЕМЪ, ΟΤЪ ЧЕГО. The reason is evident: the author makes a conscious effort to imitate the Attic style of artistic prose, therefore he avoids the popular forms, incompatible with the Attic principle of the σεμνότης καὶ χάρις, 'dignity and charm'. (As for the content, see ΕΒΡЖ ИАТИ.)

The Romanian text applies the verb *credea intrânsul* also here; in the Albanian the verb, *bësój* 'to believe, to think' is used. In Károli's Hungarian text (and in that of the later authors as well) we find the verb *hinni vkiben* 'to believe in somebody' which naturally came into being under the influence of the Latin *credere in aliquem*. (Luther's text also applied a similar government: *glauben an jemanden*.)

In the Kralice Bible the prefixed verb *uvěřiti* or the simple *věřiti* is used; but in the modern Russian text, we can see again the Church Slavic verbs вѣровать (увѣровать) вѣ кого.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. вярвам (in older times also обвѣрвам); Sr.-Cr. вѣровати у что (вѣрити means 'to trust himself to somebody'); see also the above mentioned вѣрмати); М. верува; Russ. вѣровать в кого-л. (вѣрить, повѣрить кому-либо); Ukr. вірувати (вірити, йняти віру); Cz. věrovati (se) v někoho (věřiti někomu, říkati na věru); Slk. verovat'sa 'to swear repeatedly, to promise solemnly' (verit' niekomu, v niekoho); P. (wierzić w kogo, komu); H.So. wěrować (so) 'to trust (oneself); L.So. (wěrowaś 'id.').

The Old Slavic word might have been a popular formation, and it was consistently applied for translating πιστεύω εἰς τινά, with the same government (except the classicizing texts of St. Luke's Gospel); but later the verb ВЕРИТИ of simpler formation and its compound overshadowed the verb ΕΒΡΩΑΤΙ, which, in part, took on some additional meanings. The verb ВЕРИТИ later supplanted the expressions ΕΒΡЖ ИАТИ (-ИМАТИ, -ИМѢТИ), too, because it could express the governments of these verbs as well. Its equivalents in its original meaning exist

mostly among the Slavic peoples of Byzantine rite; the Western Slavic languages either use it in a secondary sense (Czech, Slovak, Low and High Sorbian), or do not use it at all (Polish).

— Semantic calque.

88–89. ВѢСТЪНИКЪ (АНГЕЛЪ) ~ ὁ ἄγγελος  
'angel, envoy'. Lu 9,52: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἄγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. ~ ἰ  
ПОСЛАА ВѢСТЪНИКЪ ПРѢДЪ ЛИЦЕМЪ СВОИМЪ · 'and He sent his angels before his face'.

Similar loci: Lu 7,27: АНГЕЛЪ; Mt. 4,11; Mc 1,13; Lu 1,11 and in a great number of cases.

Besides, the Greek ἄγγελος occurs in the Old Slavic as a loanword: АНГЕЛЪ; in such cases it renders the Hebrew *malakh Jahvéh* 'Jahve's envoy' i.e. Mt 4,11. The word ВѢСТЪНИКЪ, however, means a common terrestrial envoy. In the later Old Slavic texts this word is the calque of the Greek μνηστῆς, too, but it also has a pejorative connotation: 'denunciator, traitor'.

In later Church Slavic usage the deverbal ПОСЛАА, ПОСЛААНЦЬ also occur.

The Latin version applies the word *nuntius* 'messenger' for expressing an earthly envoy, but in other cases they borrow the Greek word: *angelus*. Similarly, in Gothic the noun *airus* means a terrestrial envoy, against *aggilus* borrowed from Greek.

In the Romanian the deverbal *vestitor* formed from the Church Slavic loanword *vesti* can be read in these loci (although Micu-Clain applies the Church Slavic loanwords СОЛЪ and ОУЧЕНИКЪ). The Albanian texts contain the deverbal nouns *zëdhënës* (word for word: 'voice-giver') and *dërguar* 'envoy'. Gáspár Károli's Hungarian text uses the word *követ* 'envoy', but in the meaning 'heavenly envoy' the loanword *angyal* (in Old Hungarian *angyel*, from Ecclesiastic Latin, perhaps through a Slavic language—Old Czech or Croatian—Glagolitic).

In the Kralice Bible the deverbal noun *posel* means 'worldly (earthly) envoy' while 'heavenly envoy' is *and'el* (borrowed from Latin); in the modern Russian both the Old Slavic words are to be found, and instead of ВѢСТЪНИКЪ we sometimes read ПОСЛАНИКЪ as well (from the same root, of course, as СОЛЪ or ПОСОЛЪ). The difference between heavenly and worldly envoys appears in Luther's text, too: *Engel* (Mt 4,11), and *Boote* (Lu 9,52).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: ВѢСТЪНИКЪ: В. вѣстник 'envoy, newspaper, journal' (вестовѣ 'messenger'); Sr.-Cr. вѣснѣк 'envoy, journal, newspaper'; Russ. вѣстник (вѣстница; вестово́й 'messenger'); Ukr. вісник 'envoy, journal' (вістовий 'messenger'); M. весник 'envoy, journal'; Cz. věstník 'envoy, bulletin, journal'; Slk. vestník 'id.'; P. (wieszcz) 'predictor, diviner'; H.So. wěstnik 'envoy'; L.So. (wěšćar 'soothsayer, oracle; wěšćis 'to divine', zwěšć 'news'). АНГЕЛЪ (in other works also written as АНЪГЕЛЪ and АНГЕАЛЪ); В. ангел; Sr.-Cr. а̀нђел, а̀нђео; Russ. ангел (in some dialects also

áньдел); Ukr. ангел (in older times also áнгол); M. ангел; Cz. *anděl*; Slk. *anjel*; P. *angiol, aniol*; H.So. *jandžel*; L.So. *janžel*.

— The Old Slavic word *вѣстѣникъ* is a calque neologism or semantic calque after the Greek *ἄγγελος* that shows a direct relationship with the Old Persian *angaras* known from Herodotos's works in the sense 'Persian riding post envoy, stational rider' (and, farther, with Sanskrit *angaras* 'the gods' envoy'). The Old Slavic noun goes back to the root *вѣл-* (Indo-European \**void*, cf. Greek (φ)οῖδα 'I have known', i.e. its basic sense was 'informer, promulgator'. In addition to the difference of the basic meanings, a difference can also be found in the descent of the two words: in Greek the word *ἄγγελος* provides the base for the denominal verb \**ἄγγελ- jω < ἄγγέλλω*, while in Old Slavic the suffixed noun *вѣстѣникъ* is a denominal derivation from the deverbal noun *вѣсть* (\**věd-tis*; this comes from the verbal root *вѣл-*. But the contextual roles of the Old Slavic and Greek words are often fully identical. The Old Slavic noun is supposably a Moravianism that might have survived, on the one hand, in Czech (and hence, in the Slovak and Sorbian languages), and could spread into Eastern and Southern Slavic under the Church Slavic influence of the Byzantine Christianity. The word *ἀγγελος*, however, is a Greek loanword borrowed in a special meaning only, and compared to its original, wider sense it is a religious term (and thus it might also be considered a semantic calque.)

Г

90. ΓΛΑΒΑ ΠΓΓΛΟΥ, (-ΠΓΓΛΑ) ~ ἡ κεφαλὴ (τῆς γωνίας)

'cornerstone, headstone'. Mc 12,10: οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας ~ сѣ бѣ въ главахъ пггловъ · . . . this has become the headstone'. Similar loci: Mt 21,42; Lu 20,17.

In later Church Slavic texts we can find *ΠΓΓΛΩΝΗΣΙЙ КАМЪ*, too.

These citations originally occurred in the Psalter, (e.g. Ps 117,22), and this circumstance explains why we find this strongly oriented expression for the idea of 'cornerstone' or 'headstone'. It is a manifest Aramaism in the Greek, which is followed not only by the Old Slavic, but also the Latin: *caput anguli*. A similar solution is presented by Wulfila's Gothic version: *haubiþ vaihstins*. It is interesting to note that these languages have the composition of the 'cornerstone' type, too: in the Ephesian Epistle (2,20), there is a compound (ἀκρογωνίαον) which is translated into Latin as *angularis lapis* (or in an inverse word order, while the Gothic text renders it with the exactly corresponding composition *vaihsta-stains*).

The word group ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς γωνίας was translated into Romanian as *капулъ о́нгиулаѣ* by Micu-Clain (later also *capul unghiului*). In the Albanian we see a similar construction: *krye çipi*, corresponding also exactly to the Latin (and the Greek and Old Slavic) construction.

Károli's Hungarian text also adheres to the original: *a szegletnek fejevé*, but the later translations use the compound *szegletkő*, 'cornerstone', just like the German compound *Eckstein* in Luther's translation.

A similar situation is found in the Kralice Bible: *hlava uhlová* 'caput angulare' but in Russian we meet a genitive, as in Old Slavic: глава угла.

As a Biblical expression it was used in the other Slavic translations, too: cf. in the Church Slavic Psalter of Russian-Ukrainian redaction, where it is (Ps 118,22): камень егѡже небрегѡша зиждѡици, сей бысть во главѣ угла. Its application is not confined to Ecclesiastical style; similar word groups express the idea of 'headstone' in everyday usage. Thus, e.g.: В. (краеѡгълен камѣк); Sr.-Cr. ѡгаонѣ камен; Russ. краеугольный камень; Ukr. (нарижний камен); M. аголен камен; Cz. *úhelný kámen*; Slk. *uholný (rohový) kameň*; P. *kamień węgielny (kamień narożny, narożnik)*; H.So. *nuhelny kamjen*; L.So. *glowa nugla; glowny kamen* (old form).

All these exhibit similarity to the Latin *caput angularis* or *caput anguli* and to a lesser extent, to the German compound *Eckstein* as well, because the Slavic languages prefer attributive and adverbial expressions to the composition of two nouns.

— Calque expression, created to satisfy the requirements of translating biblical and liturgical texts; it is very expressive, but its application is limited. The similar expressions of other Slavic languages might have been created on the basis of other (Latin, German) models.

91. горьница ~ τὸ ἀνώγειον (ἀνάγειον)

'dining room'. Mc 14,15: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δείξει ἀνάγειον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ἑτοιμον ~ і ть кама покажетъ горьницѣжъ высокѣжъ постълаанѣжъ готовѣжъ . . . And he himself will show you a large dining room with laid tables'. (Word for word: 'and that will show you a dining room, high, laid, ready'.) Cf. Lu 22,12.

The Greek word has the variants ἀνωγέων and ἀνάγειον, and seems to be a compositum from ἄνω 'above' and γαῖα 'earth', thus its literal sense being '(a room) above earth'; it generally occurs in the meanings of 'upper room' 'mansard' and 'dining room'. The form ἀνάγειον, found in some manuscripts of the gospels in the meaning 'dining room', as some exegetists think, might have come into being under the influence of the deverbal noun ἀνάκειον, having the same sense, from the prefixed verb ἀνάκειμαι 'to lie to the table' (in an antique way; ἄνω 'above' and κέιμαι 'to lie'). In others' opinion, it is connected with the verb ἀνοίγνυμι 'to unlock, to open' and hence the meaning 'an open room' (*editior domus locus, aedificium editum et ventis pervium*). But this opinion, just like the reference to ἀνάκειον, seems to be a popular etymology (and perhaps there was such secondary influence as well), not a real etymology.

The Old Slavic word, however, is a derivate of the adjective горьнь formed from the noun гора 'mount, height', thus it was based on the true etymology of the Greek word.

In other Old Slavic texts гóрница renders the Greek words of similar meaning τὸ ὑπερῶν, ἡ ὑπερώη (here it is also a calque neologism).

In later Church Slavic texts теремъ, хижа can also be read.

The Latin versions render the original with the word *coenaculum* 'dining room' (much less expressively than the Old Slavic translation). The Gothic *kelikn* was used primarily in the sense of 'tower' (Mc 12,1; Lu 14,28); in these cases we find πύργος in the Greek, *turris* in Latin and стáлпъ in Old Slavic. (In the edition of 1840 of Luther's translation we find *einen großen Saal* for *coenaculum grande* and ἀνώγειον μέγα, respectively.

The Romanian word *foisor* 'balcony, terrace, porticus, tower' is perhaps the derivat of the noun *foaie* (plural: *foi*) 'leaf' cf. its diminutivum *foisoare* 'small leaf' i.e. the original meaning of the Romanian word may have been 'a shed' or 'cottage with (from) foliage', or 'a room decorated with leaves'.

In Albanian the expression *mbë të-lártë një dhomë* means, word for word, 'in excelso unam domum' ('in the height a room') that is more of a description than a real translation.

G. Károli renders the Latin *coenaculum* into Hungarian with an attributive expression *vacsoráló ház* 'dining house' (its contemporary meaning was 'room for supper'). In the later Hungarian versions this locus (like the Greek κατάλυμα 'room', before this verse) is rendered with *terem* 'room, hall' but in the newest Hungarian edition (1973) we find the precise *emeleti helyiség* 'room on an upper floor'. Károli's translation reminds of the text of the Kralice Bible (Mc 14,14 and 15) where we find *večeřadlo* both times while the Russian text of Stockholm applies the nouns комната and гóрница, respectively.

Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. гóрница 'high place' ('surface', 'surplus'); Sr.-Cr. гóрница 'mezzanine, entresol'; М. горница 'wild pear'; горниште 'upgrade, precipice'; Russ. гóрница 'room' (obsolete); 'back room, spare room, flat roof of the Oriental houses'; Ukr. 'id.'; Cz. (*horníca* 'woman miner'); H.So. (*hórnicá* 'id. '); P. (*górnicá* 'id. '); L.So. (*górnicá* 'id. '); Slk. (*horník*; *horníca* 'queen' in playing cards).

The Macedonian and Western Slavic words are not continuations of the Old Slavic one. The Macedonian noun originally meant 'a mountain (therefore, a wild) fruit' and the Western Slavic nouns are the feminine variants of *górnik*, *horník* ('miner') which are calques of the German *Bergmann*. The Slovak word, however, is a real calque of the German *Ober* or Hungarian *felső* 'queen' in playing cards.

— Calque neologism, because of the meaning correspondence of the words ἄνω and γοφα : the idea of 'height' connects the two words (and the Gothic one, too).

92-93. господь домоу, господинъ домоу (-дома) ~ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης  
'master of the house'. Mt 10,25: εἰ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Βεελζεβούλ ἐπεκάλεσαι

πόσω μᾶλλον τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς αὐτοῦ. ~ АШТЕ ГИНА ДОМОУ БЕЛЬЗЕБОЛА НАРЪША ·  
КОЛМИ ПАЧЕ ДОМАШНЬИМА ЕГО · ‘...if they have called the master of the house  
Beelzebub, how much more they did it with the inmates of his house.’

Similar passages: Lu 13,25 (here: ГОСПОДЬ ДОМОУ); Mc 14,14; Lu 14,21; 22,11.

In later Church Slavic use ХОЗЯИНЪ ДОМА, ДОМОВЛАДЕТЕЛЬ can also be found.

In the Latin versions, as a rule, we read *pater familias* ‘father of the family’. It is only in Mc 14,14 that *dominus domus* ‘the lord of the house’ can be found. This deviation corresponds to the sense because here it is not the meaning ‘father of the family’ that is required, as in the parables. The person in question is a historical person, namely the ‘master of the house’ where Jesus and his apostles, as a *haveriah*, in their liturgically prescribed minimal number of persons, wanted to consume the ritual Easter lamb, for celebrating the feast according to the “Sēder lēl pēsach”.

The Gothic *heiva-fryuja*, however, like the Old Slavic variants render the Greek compound without any difference in all the translated loci.

The Romanian texts follow the Greek everywhere: СТЪПЪНЪВЪЙ КАСЕИ and *istăpânul casei*, respectively. In the Albanian, similarly, the expression *zot shtëpie* ‘master of the house’ ‘father of the family’ (secondary meaning) also corresponds to the Greek.

The Hungarian text of Károli uses consistently the word *gazda* ‘master, landlord’. The modern Hungarian translations are more diversified as they vary the compound word *házigazda* (word for word: ‘house master’) with the explicative-possessive construction *a ház gazdája* ‘the lord of the house’, and with the word *családatya* ‘father of the family’ on the basis of the Latin *pater-familias*. Luther’s translation shows much more “official” expressions: *Herr, Hausherr, Hauswirth*.

In the Kralice Bible we read *hospodár* ‘master’, but in the modern Russian version хозяин дома ‘master of the house’ is used.

The continuations and equivalents of the Old Slavic genitive expression occur in the biblical-liturgical language. Besides, we find other expressions in the sense of ‘master of the house’, thus e.g.: Russ. домовладéтель and хозяин; В. домовладéлец, домовладéтел; Sr.-Cr. кућевласнѣк, кўћегáзда, кућеглава; М. владател (владеач), газда (на куќата), куќен власник; Укр. хазяїн, господáр; домовлáсник; Cz. *domáci pan*; Slk. *majitel' domu, domáci pán (domový pán)*; P. *pan domu, właściciel domu*; H.So. *domny pan, wobsedžer domu*; L.So. *pan domu, wobsednik doma*.

The expressions, in part, mean the ‘possessor of the house’ as well.

— Calque expressions, the significance of its use is greater than that of the similarly explicative ГЛАВА ЖЪЛА. Its variants are also ГОСПОДИНЪ ХРАМА and ГОСПОДИНЪ ХРАМИНЪ. (See the following entry).

94-95. *господинъ храма* (-оу), *господинъ храминъ* ~ *ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης*  
 'the master of the house'. Mt. 24,43: 'Εκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ  
 οἰκοδεσπότης ποῖα φυλακῆ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν ~ *нъ сѣ въ  
 знаете · ѣко ѡште би вѣдѣлъ гнъ храма въ кѣжѣ стражѣ татѣ придетъ · вѣдѣлъ  
 оубо би ·* 'if the master of the house knew at which hour the thief came, he would  
 be vigilant'. Similar locus: Lu 12,39 (here we find the variant *господинъ  
 храминъ*).

The two variants represent the most important types in the archaic texts, but  
 they are not the only ones. E.g., in the Ostromir, Mt 24,43 there is an explicative  
 phrase, *господинъ храму*, and *господинъ храминъ* can be read in the Savvina  
 Kniga for the same locus.

In the later Church Slavic use *домовладѣльць*, *хозяинъ дома* also occur.

In the Latin text *pater familias* occurs in these passages; in the Gothic they  
 cannot be found.

As for the Romanian, Albanian, Hungarian, Czech and Russian texts, see  
 above the entry for *господь от господинъ дому*. Similarly for the Slavic  
 equivalents, it should be noted, however, that the noun *храмъ* took on the  
 meaning 'church, cathedral' in most Slavic languages, obviously on the basis of  
 expressions like *господь храмъ*, *господинъ храмъ*, *храминъ господинъ*,  
*храмъ господи*. (Similar developments can be observed in the Neo-Latin and  
 German languages, too, in such words as *basilica*, *duomo*. *κυριακόν* → *kiriba*,  
*kirche*, *church*, etc.) Luther's translation, with its *Hausvater* and *Hausherr* follows  
 the Latin *pater familias* and Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης*, respectively.

— Calque expressions.

96. *гражданинъ* ~ *ὁ πολίτης*

'fellow citizen, compatriot'. Lu 19,14: οἱ δὲ πολῖται αὐτοῦ ἐμίσουν αὐτόν, καὶ  
 ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβείαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ~ *ἰ граждане емоу · ненави дѣхж ѣго · ἰ  
 посълаша молитѣж · въ сѣдѣ его* 'but his fellow citizens hated him, and they sent  
 a legacy after him'.

In later Old Slavic texts the Greek noun is rendered by the calques *градъникъ*  
 and *житѣль(-инъ)* as well.

In later Church Slavic texts *мѣщанинъ*, *сѣобиватеъ* also appear.

The Latin text shows the classical word *civis*, the Gothic *baurgha*. This latter  
 might have been a calque since its relation to the Greek is similar to that of Old  
 Slavic if it is written in the form of a proportion: πόλις: (civitas): baurgs *градъ*  
 ~ *πολίτης*: (con-)civis: *baurgha*: *гражданинъ*.

In Lu 19,15 the Old Slavic word is *житѣль* 'inhabitant' for *πολίτης* in the  
 Marianus, although the Latin interpretation is here also *civis*; the Old Slavic text  
 seems to use a better-chosen word if the general *житѣль* (meaning 'inhabitant') is  
 compared to the juridical term *гражданинъ* '(fellow) citizen'.



In the Romanian texts the plural form *cetațenii* (in singular: *cetațean*) goes back to the noun *cetate* 'town, fortress' (Vulgar Latin: \**civitatem*), just as the Albanian *gytetár* to the noun *gytét* 'town' that the Albanian language borrowed from Vulgar Latin with a similar phonetic development as took place in Romanian.

In Károli's older Hungarian text we can find the word *lakos* 'inhabitant', in its modern edition: *alattvaló* 'subject, dependant' and, if the context requires, *polgártárs* 'fellow citizen' as well. In the modern Catholic texts, it is also *polgártárs* in Lu 19,14, but *polgár* 'citizen' (1967) or *gazda* 'farmer' in Lu 15,15, according to the situation in the parable of the Prodigal Son. (Similarly also in the translation of F. Gál-I. Kosztolányi, 1981.)

The Kralice Bible applies the word *měšťané* 'citizens, town-dwellers' here but *měšťenin* in Lu 15,15; this fine distinction, maybe, renders the difference between 'citizen' and 'inhabitant'. The Russian edition of Stockholm follows the Old Slavic (in Lu 19,14: граждaннѣ, in Lu 15,15: житель). Apparently, Luther's text has not exerted any influence on these modern translations; *Bürger* can be read there in both cases, in accordance with *baurgha* and πολιτης).

Other equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: B. гра́жданин 'citizen'; Sr.-Cr. грађанин; M. граѓанин (граѓанец 'townman'); Russ. граждaнн 'town-dweller'); Ukr. (громадянин; городянин 'townman'); Cz. (*hradčan* 'inhabitant of the fortress'); Slk. (*hradčan* 'id. '); P. (*mieszczanin*); H.So. (*měšćan*); L.So. (*měšćan*).

— Semantic calque (in contrast to градьникъ, Codex Suprasliensis 84,2) that K. Schumann (379, p. 34) called "echte Glied-für-Glied Übersetzung" ('real part-for-part translation'). Following Vasmer and Berneker, he contrasted this word with житель (as mentioned before).

97. грѣшникъ ~ ὁ ἁμαρτωλός

'sinner, transgressor'. Mt 9,10: καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ ~ ἰ се мѣнози грѣшници і мѣтаре · пришедьше възлежаахъ съ иѣмъ. (Marianus text.) 'and behold, many publicans and sinners coming lay down to the table (to eat) together with Jesus'.

Similar loci: Mt 9,11; 9,13; 11,19; 26,45; Mc 2,15; 2,16; 14,41; Lu 5,30; 5,32; 6,32; 6,33; 6,34 (bis); 7,34; 15,1; 15,2; 15,10; 18,13; 24,7; Jo 9,25; 9,31.

It is conspicuous that in St. Luke's Gospel the word ἁμαρτωλός occurs more often than in the other three gospels taken together. The cause of this phenomenon may be the circumstance that apparently the author of this gospel endeavours to present Jesus Christ as the real Σωτήρ to the converted heathens, thus he often refers to His merciful character, His indulgent love for the sinners.

In the later Church Slavic practice the words грѣстѣшникъ, виноватъ, повиненъ also appear.

The Latin text interprets this locus with the deverbal noun *peccator* from the verb *peccare* 'to do wrong, to offend against'. In the Gothic the prefixed deverbal noun is *fra-vaurhts* (from the verb *fra-vaurkjan*); the Gothic verb would probably be \**ver-werken* in Modern High German).—Luther's text also uses a denominal noun, *Sünder*, consistently.

The Romanian adjective *păcătoș* is the continuation of a Vulgar Latin formation \**peccatosus* 'guilty, culpable'. The Albanian *fajtór* 'sinner' is the derivate of the noun *faj* 'sin, crime' that seems to have been derived from the Latin verb *fallare* 'to deceive' or, more precisely, from the substantivized neutral form of its perfect participle, *falsum* 'deception, fraud'. (Balkano-Latinisms!)

The Hungarian language presents the denominal form *bűnös* 'sinner' from the noun *bűn* 'sin', in Károli's text and later also, up to the present.—Besides, the Greek ἀμαρτωλός has become a Hungarian loanword, by a Turkish-Serbo-Croatian mediation: *martalóc* 'a Christian soldier in Turkish service'; later 'brigand, robber, bandit'.

The Kralice Bible applies *hříšník*, a noun from the adjective *hřísný* 'guilty', corresponding to the Old Slavic word which has survived in the modern Russian texts, too (грѣшник).

It should be noted that the Old Slavic translations are much more exquisite than all the other versions studied by us: they are more elegant than even the original Greek, because, instead of ἀμαρτωλός and its translations by corresponding nouns in the Latin, Gothic, Romanian, Albanian, Hungarian, German, Czech and Russian texts, we find the adjective грѣшньнъ in Mc 8,38; Lu 5,9; 13,2; 19,7; Jo 9,16 and 9,24.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic word exist in every Slavic language: B. грѣшник; Sr.-Cr. грѣшнѣк; Russ. грѣшник; Ukr. грішник; M. грешник; Cz. *hříšník*; Slk. *hriešnik*; P. *grzesznik*; L.So. *grěšnik*; H.So. *hrěšnik*.

— Semantic calque. Of necessity, it must have existed in a legal or moral sense much earlier than the adoption of the Christian religion, but its Judeo-Christian principial and casuistic moral sense became exclusive only under the influence of Christian faith. The fact that we have to do with such a special meaning is seen from the established homogeneity of the Greek ἀμαρτωλός, Latin *peccator* and Gothic *fravaurhts*, in contrast to the Old Slavic where usage alternated between грѣшньникъ and грѣшньнъ. From the beginning, however, the relatively simpler noun, probably because of its easier declension is dominant over the less definite and less concrete adjectival form.

98. грѣшньница ~ ἡ ἀμαρτωλός  
'woman sinner'. Lu 7,37: καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή ἦτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλός, ~ ἴσε  
жена въ градѣ · ѣже бѣ грѣшньница · 'and behold, a woman was in the town, a  
sinner'. Similar locus: Lu 7,39.

In later Church Slavic texts feminine forms прѣстѣпница, погрѣшна can also be seen.

For interpreting the feminine Greek word ἡ ἁμαρτωλός 'woman sinner' in the studied texts (except Hungarian) we can find the feminine forms of the corresponding "substantiva mobilia": the Latin *peccatrix*, Gothic *fra-vaurhta*, Luther's German *Sünderin*, Romanian *păcătoasă*, Albanian *fajtore*, Czech *hříšnice*, Russian грѣшница. In the Hungarian, of course, the word *bűnös* is unchanged in these passages, too, but in the Gál-Kosztolányi text (1981) *rosszhírű nő* 'defamed woman' also occurs (Lu 7,39).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are formed on the base of a uniform principle: B. грѣшница; Sr.-Cr. грѣшница; Russ. грѣшница; Ukr. грішница; L.So. *grěšnica*; H.So. *hrěšnica*; P. *grzesznica*; Slk. *hriešnica*; Cz. *hříšnice*; M. грешница.

— Semantic calque. (See also the above-said related to грѣшникъ.)

## Δ

99. ΔΕΣΑΤΙΝΗ ΔΑΝΑΤΙ ~ ἀποδεκατόω

'to decimate, to give the tithe (tenths): Lu 11,42: ἀλλὰ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς φαρισαίοις, ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἥδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πῆγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον καὶ παρέρχεσθε τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ. ~ Нѣ горѣ вамъ · фарисѣѡмъ · вѣко десатинѣ дадѣте отъ матъи · ѿ пиганѣ · ѿ всѣхъ вѣко зельѣ · ѿ мимо ходите сѣдъ ѿ любовѣ бжїиѣ · 'but woe is to you, Pharisees, because ye give the tithe from the mint and from the rue and from all the (garden) vegetables, and ye neglect the just judging and the love of God'. Similar passage: Lu 18,12.

In the later Old Slavic texts the Greek expression δεκατὴν δοῦναι 'to give the tenth' was also translated by the Old Slavic word group on which the Greek expression, maybe a popular form, could have exerted a direct influence.

The Greek verb occurs in the Codex Vaticanus and δ<sub>2</sub>(S) as well but in the form ἀποδεκατεύω. As for the Old Slavic, and later Church Slavic the expression is sometimes replaced by the prefixed denominal verb отъдесатѣствовати (see there) that corresponds exactly to the Greek prefixed verb.

In the Latin texts we find *decimare* and *decimas (partes) dare*, from the ordinal number *decimus*; the Latin expression corresponds to the Old Slavic word group more than the Greek prefixed verb. Similarly, the Gothic expression *af-dailan taihundon dail* 'to divide the tenth part' is near to the Greek, Latin and Old Slavic expressions alike. Luther's German text uses the denominal verb *verzehnten* and the expression *geben den Zehnten*, as it is in Greek and Latin.

The Romanian texts present the verb *zeceai* or the expression *da zeciuală*; the latter may reflect Latin, Greek, Old Slavic or even Hungarian influence.

Similarly, the Albanian *jap/jep, ap; -dháshe, dha, dhënë/të-dhjetërnë* 'to give the tenth' may reflect Greek, Latin or Slavic influence alike. The corresponding

Hungarian expression, *tizedet adni* was not applied by Károli yet; he used the verb *megdézsmálni* (a loanword derived from the Latin *decimare*) which today is a synonym for *lopni* 'to steal', or *dézs máját megadni* 'to give the tithe from something'. Later, both in the Protestant and the Catholic versions, the expression *tizedet adni* 'to give the tenth' has become common.

In the Kralice Bible we find *desátky dávati*; similarly, in the modern Russian text, *дать десяти́ну* occurs.

Phrases identical with or similar to the Old Slavic expression can be found in all the Slavic languages: B. *давам десетина́та*; Sr.-Cr. *дати десетину́*; Russ. *дать десяти́ну*; Ukr. *давати десяти́ну*; M. *дава десетина*; Cz. *dávati desátky*; Slk. *dávati desiatinu*; P. *dawać dziesięcinę*; L.So. *daś desatk*; H.So. *dać dżesatk*. (Besides, these languages have the verbs expressing 'military punitive decimation', too.)

— Calque expression, created to meet biblical and liturgical requirements, perhaps in the living Slavic languages, independently of each other, due to Greek and Latin influence among the Byzantine and "Latinizing" Slav peoples, respectively. Since it was adopted by the language of ecclesiastic and civil law and administration at an early date, it has survived everywhere. For the Old Slavic expression itself, it is not necessary to suppose a Latin origin; the Latin could play a role, at the most, as a stimulating factor in this process.

100. ДАЛЪЖНИКЪ ~ ὁ ὀφειλέτης

'debtor; sinner'. Mt 6,12: ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν · ~ ꙗко ѿ мѣ отъпустиаѣмъ далъжникомъ нашимъ · '... as we also forgive the sinners against us.' Similar loci: Mt 18,24; Lu 7,41; 11,4; 16,5. (See also the following entry for ДАЛЪЖНЪ БЫТИ 'to be indebted', 'to be a sinner'.)

As for Lu 7,41, the Greek original applies the pleonastic compound *χρεοφειλέτης*.

The Old Slavic word renders the Greek present participle *ὀφείλων*, too, in later texts. In later Church Slavic (по)ДАЛЪЖНЪ, ЗАВИНИКЪШЬ also occur.

The Latin *debitor* and the Gothic *skula*—like the Old Slavic—reflect the Greek deverbal noun as images in a mirror. Luther's translation distinguishes the concepts *Schuldiger* 'sinner' and *Schuldner* 'debtor', but its *schuldig sein* means 'to be indebted' too.

The Romanian texts apply the words ДАТОРНИКЪ or *datornic* and *greșit* (this latter is of Slavic origin with the same etymology and sense as грѣшьникъ). In the Albanian we meet the noun *fajtor*, which, as we have seen, belongs to the Albanian synonyms of ἀμαρτωλός; sometimes, the Latin loanword *debitor* or *detor* can also be found in this sense.

In the Hungarian, Károli used the expression *ellenünk vétett* or *vétkező* 'the sinner against us' in some loci, and the noun or adjective *adós* 'debtor' in other ones (this latter meant originally 'giver', 'who must give back', a word

established perhaps on the basis of the Latin *dator* or *retribuens*, or of the Vulgar Latin *tributarius*). In the modern Hungarian version it sounds as *az ellenünk vétkezők* in the Lord's Prayer, and *adós* in the other passages.

The Kralice Bible uses the words *vinnik* 'sinner' and *dlužen* 'debtor', according to the sense. The modern Russian text interprets these loci by means of the Church Slavic должникъ or долженъ (originally: дльжникъ and дльжень, resp.)

The Old Slavic word has equivalents in all the other Slavic languages: B. дльжник; Sr.-Cr. дљжник; Russ. должник; Ukr. должник; M. должник; Cz. *dlužník*; Slk. *dlžník*; Pl. *dłużnik*; L.So. *dlužnik*; H.So. *dožnik*.

— Real structural calque in the sense 'debtor', and semantic calque in the meaning 'sinner'. Its general spreading among the Slav peoples does not diminish the probability of decalquage: it came into being necessarily in the same way among the Byzantine- and Roman-educated Slavs influenced by ὀφειλέτης and debtor—words formed and used in a similar way (as for the Sorbian words, the influence of the German word *Schuldner* of Luther's translation must also be taken into consideration).

101. ДЛЪЖЕНЪ БЪТИ (ДЛЪЖЕНЪ ЕСТЬ) ~ ὀφειλέτης εἶναι, ὀφείλω  
'to be indebted, to be obliged'; 'to be a sinner'. Jo 13,14: οὐν ἐγὼ ἐνιψα ὑμῶν τοὺς πόδας ὁ κύριος καὶ διδάσκαλος, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὀφείλετε ἀλλήλων νίπτειν τοὺς πόδας ~ аште оубо азъ оумывахъ ваши нозѣ ꙗко ѿ учителя · ѿ вы дльжени есте [а роугъ] а роугоу · оумывати нозѣ · 'thus, if I washed your feet, as the master and teacher, ye are also obliged to wash the feet of each other'. Similar loci: Mt 18,28 (bis); 23,16; 23,18; Lu 7,41; 13,9; 16,5; 16,7; 17,10; Jo 19,7.

From among these, it is Lu 13,4 where the expression ὀφειλέτης εἶναι occurs that is the real basis of ДЛЪЖЕНЪ БЪТИ; in the other enumerated passages the Greek author uses the verb ὀφείλω.

Church Slavic uses ДЛЪЖЕНЪ БЪТИ and ВИНОВЕНЪ (ВИНОВАТЬ, ПРѢСТЪПЕНЪ) БЪТИ, respectively.

In the Latin also, the simple (fully assimilated compound) verb *debere* (from \**de-habere*) can usually be read; it is only Lu 13,4, where the version *debitor esse* occurs, that corresponds to the Greek expression exactly. In the Gothic we generally find the word group *skula visan*), also an exact equivalent to the Greek. In Luther's text in Jo 13,14 the auxiliary verb *sollen* appears, but in Lu 13,4 the expression *schuldig sein* can be read.

The Romanian *fi dator* 'to be a debtor' is a similar phrase. The Albanian *kám detyre*, however, points to a Latin syntagm *debitum habere* 'to have debt'.

The Hungarian translation of Károli makes alternate use of the expression *adósnak lenni* 'to be a debtor' and the verb *tartozni* 'to owe, to be indebted', but, according to the sense, the phrase *bűnősek voltak* (Lu 13,4: 'they were[more] culpable') is used just like the Romanian: *au fost mai păcătoși*, and the Albanian

*ishirě fajtóre mē tepěre*, in quite a similar sense. This difference is also shown by the Kralice Bible: *že by oni vinni byli*, and the Russian edition of Stockholm: **виновнѣ были**, although in the other loci they use *dlūžen býti* and **должен быть**, respectively.

The exact equivalents of the Old Slavic expression can be found in every Slavic language, on the basis of Greek, Latin and Old Slavic (in Western Slavic, perhaps German) influence; in the edition of 1786 (Presspurk [Bratislava]) we can find *y wy máte geden druhému nohy omyvati*. In L. So. text of Jakubica: *Tak tefch wie wam meschi soebu derische tef!* [noogy wumywatcz.)

— Partly real structural calque, partly semantic calque; cf. the entry for **длъжьникъ**, too.

102. **добра рода** ~ εὐγενής  
'high-born, noble'. Lu 19,12: **ἀνθρώπος τις εὐγενής ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακρὰν** ~ **чкъ етеръ добра рода љде на странж далече**. 'A high-born man went away to a far country'.

The later Church Slavic texts alternate the adjectives **благороднъ**, **добророднъ** with the expressions **богърського роду**, **б. стару** in Russian Church Slavic.

The basic sense of Latin *nobilis* was originally 'who can be known', 'well-known' cf. the root of Latin *noscere* 'to know' and, the praeterito-praesens *novi* 'I have known'. The Gothic *gōdakunds*, however, is a compound of similar formation and sense as that in the Old Slavic. Luther's translation applies the substantivized form of the adjective *edel* 'noble': *ein Edler*.

The Romanian *de bun neam* or *de neam bun* follows the Old Slavic (and, indirectly, the Greek); the noun *neam* is a Hungarian loanword in Romanian (*nem*), meaning 'kinship, race'. The Albanian *i-fisçim* has a meaning similar to Romanian and, very interestingly, even to Hungarian where the word *nemes* means the given person is of a known kinship (*nem*). In the later Catholic versions the expression *elōkelō ember* 'highborn man' and *fōember* 'chief person' are also used.

In the Kralice Bible we find a genitivus qualitatis, *rodu znamenitého*, similarly to the modern Russian translation: **высокого рода**.

The Old Slavic genitivus qualitatis was later displaced by the compound adjective **добророднъ**. Its correspondents, however, except Russian, are less often used in the other Slavic languages; instead, we can find the equivalents of **благороднъ** (see there).

— Real structural calque (or, considering the juxtapositive situation of the Old Slavic words, it would be called, more correctly, a calque expression).

103. **добротворити** ~ ἀγαθοποιέω  
'to do good to, to benefit sy' Lu 6,35: **πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ**

ἀγαθοποιεῖτε . . . ~ ОБАЧЕ ЛЮБИТЕ ВРАГЫ ВАША І БЛАГОТВОРИТЕ . . . 'Love more your enemies; do good to them'.

Instead of the generally used БЛАГОТВОРИТИ we find ДОБРОТВОРИТИ in the Ostromir. In later Old Slavic (Church Slavic) texts it is used for rendering εὐεργετέω, and can also alternate with ДОБРОДЪЯТИ, БЛАГОДЪЯТИ, БЛАГОДЪЯТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ.

As for the non-Slavic languages, see the entry БЛАГОТВОРИТИ.

In the Kralice Bible we can read the adequate expression *dobře činite*; in the Russian edition of Stockholm, however, the common БЛАГОТВОРИТЬ is used. Luther's text uses *wohl thun* in this passage, too.

As for the other Slavic equivalents, we have already seen in connection with БЛАГОТВОРИТИ that the initial constituents БЛАГО- and ДОБРО- besides the verb ТВОРИТИ, can also be added to the verbs ЧИНИТИ and ДЪЯТИ (ДЪЯТИ, ДЪЯЛАТИ). But, except the Russian ДОБРОТВОРИТЬ and its other Eastern Slavic equivalents of Church Slavic pattern, the Slavic languages prefer the juxtaposition of the related adjective or participle with the auxiliary verb БЫТИ than the compound verbs mentioned.

—Real structural calque; in the archaic Old Slavic gospels it is a hapax legomenon.

104–105. ДОМОВНОЕ ПРИСТАВЛЕНИЕ, ДОМОВНОЕ ПРИСТАВСТВО ~ ἡ οἰκονομία 'management of property, stewardship'. Lu 16,2: ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας σου ~ ВЪЗДАЖДЬ ОТВѢТЬ О ПРИСТАВЛЕНИИ ДОМОВНЪЕМЪ. 'Give account of your management'. (In the Nikolja Gospel: ПРИСТАВСТВА ТВОЕГО.)

As for the word ПРИСТАВЛЕНИЕ it is common in the archaic gospels; ПРИСТАВСТВО only occurs in the Nikolja Gospel. It may be conjectured that its protograph also contained the former, and only a later transcriber substituted it by the form ПРИСТАВСТВО, which must have been more familiar to him. This assumption is also supported by the fact that from among the six codices consulted, it is only the Nikolja Gospel that contains the possessive pronoun ТВОЕГО as the translation of σου. The five other archaic codices seem to have been based on Greek texts where this word was absent. These Greek codices are, in Soden's marks, as follows: ε<sub>56</sub>, ε<sub>5</sub>, ε<sub>1260</sub>, ε<sub>1132</sub>, ε<sub>1443</sub>, ε<sub>377</sub>, ε<sub>33</sub>, ε<sub>22</sub>. They are mostly of Syro-Palestinian origin, there is no K-recension among them.

This phenomenon, like many others discussed in detail in the introduction, warns us again that the archaic Old Slavic manuscripts were translated from a Greek text more archaic than those of the K-recension, and the Old Slavic texts came under Byzantine influence only later. It seems that the Nikolja Gospel, in the form it has come down to us, was more strongly influenced by this unifying tendency than the others. The later Church Slavic texts contain the more precise calques ДОМОУЗАКОНОНИЧЕСТВО от ДОМОСТРОЙ respectively, and we can find the expressions ЗА ОСЪМОТРЕНИЕ от ОУРАЖДЕНИЕ ХОЗЯИСТВА, too.

In the Latin text we read the deverbal noun *villicatio*, the final Latin base of which was the noun *villa* 'farmstead, ranch' but immediately it comes from the verb *villicare* 'to run a farm, to manage an estate'. The Gothic *fauragaggi* composition means, word for word, 'before-going'. Both these words are pseudocalques (calque neologisms) related to the Greek, and they could hardly exert any decisive influence on the formation of the Old Slavic word. (The same can be said about the Old High German *ambaht* 'duty, obligation' of Otfrid). Luther's text applies a compound according to the sense: *Haushalten* 'housekeeping'.

The Old Slavic word is a hapax legomenon in the gospel texts discussed: in Lu 16,3 and 16,4 we can read the expression СТРОЕНИЕ ДОМОУ (but in the Latin, Gothic and Old High German translations the aforementioned *villicatio*, *faura-gaggi* and *ambaht* are consistently used). Luther's translation also uses the word *Amt* (continuation of *ambaht*) in these passages.

The Romanian texts interpreted this concept with the word ΔΕΡΕΓΕΤΩΡΙΕ and *iconomie*, respectively; the phonetical form of this latter shows that it is a New-Greek loanword that has existed in Romanian since the 12th century, and by the end of the 18th century it acquired the pejorative sense of 'ruse, trick', too. In the Albanian the noun *kudës* 'care, attention' can be found here (and also in Lu 16,3 and 16,4).

In the Hungarian text of Károli we find the noun *sáfárság* 'stewardness, management' from the Middle High German loanword *schaffaere* 'id.' (maybe, taken over through Slavic mediation), but the earlier Codex of Munich contains the more archaic Hungarian deverbal *folnagykodat*; this comes from the denominal verb *folnagykodni* of similar meaning, for which the basic word was *folnag* < *falunagy*, word for word 'village major, judge' (in modern Hungarian the word *Fónagy* has remained as a rare surname). The modern Catholic Hungarian versions use the juridical term *vagyongkezelés* 'management of goods' or the more popular *intézőség* 'stewardship, managership'.

In the Kralice Bible we find *vládařství* in the cited locus; in the Russian edition of Stockholm управлѣние (in Lu 16,3 more fully: управлѣние домоу).

In the other Slavic languages the exact etymological equivalent of the Old Slavic expression cannot be found, although its constituents exist. In Russian the word приставство also occurs in the sense 'duty of the farm manager (steward)'. In Jakubica's L.So. translation *saftojanstwo* occurs; in the text of the Bratislava edition of 1786 we read *wládařstwj*.

— Calque expression, or more precisely, a transitional form between the semicalque (partial loan translation) and the pseudocalque (calque neologism). Its first component is the translation of the first constituent of the Greek compound, but the second part is a free formation. As for приставство, it is a nomen abstractum from the deverbal noun приставъ which occurs in the Southern and Eastern Slavic languages and means primarily 'a judiciary clerk of



lower degree, bailiff'. As a loanword, it was adapted by Romanian with similar meaning (but in older times it also meant 'farm manager'), and by Hungarian where it received the form *poroszló* 'bailiff' and also *pörosztó* 'id.' (with an interesting popular etymology: *pör* 'process at law' and *osztó* 'distributor, manager'). In Medieval Latin it often occurs as *pristaldus* 'id.' (Cf. Kniezsa 221, Vol. I/1, p. 439–440).

106–107. ΔΟΜΑΙΝΗΝΑΙΑ, ΔΟΜΑΙΝΤΗΝΑΙΑ ~ οἱ οἰκιακοί  
'household, inmates of the house'. Mt 10,25: εἰ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Βεελζεβούλ ἐπεκάλεσαν, πόσω μᾶλλον τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς αὐτοῦ. ~ ΔΙΠΤΕ ΓΙΝΑ ΔΟΜΟΥ ΚΕΛΕΖΕΒΟΥΛ ΝΑΡΒΙΣΙΑ · ΚΟΛΜΙ ΠΑΧΕ ΔΟΜΑΙΝΗΝΑΙΑ ΕΓΟ · 'if they called the master of the house Beelzebub, so much more the inmates of his house'.

In the Zographus, Assemani and Ostromir we find ΔΟΜΑΙΝΗΝΑΙΑ, in the Marianus ΔΟΜΑΙΝΤΗΝΑΙΑ (instead of this, in the Nikolja Gospel: ΔΟΜΑΙΝΤΗΝΕΕ). In later Church Slavic variations we can read the words ΔΟΜΑΙΝΗΝΙ, ρΟΔΩΣΤΒΕΝΗΝΙΚΙ(!), ЧЕЛВЛАДЬ as well. A similar passage: Mt 10,36.

In the Latin text we see the plural form of the word *domesticus*; in the Gothic, the composition *inna-kunds* (word for word: 'innerborns') 'family, household'. Luther's German text also follows the Greek–Latin model in *Hausgenossen*.

The Romanian *casnic* is a formation from the original Balkano–Latin (and common popular Latin) *casă* 'house' with the Church Slavic suffix of nomen agentis -никъ. In the Albanian, similarly to Romanian, we find the adjective form *shtepiák*, the derivate of the word *shtepi* 'house'. In the Hungarian, Gáspár Károli translated this locus with the expression (*ház*)*a népe* 'the people of (his) house'. This can be found in the later versions as well (but in 10,36 the recent Catholic version, 1973, uses *család* 'family', coming of the Slavic ЧВЛАДЬ 'people of the house').

In the Kralice Bible the plural of the adjective *domáci* occurs; similarly, in the modern Russian we find домашние.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic adjective are: В. домáшен; Sr.-Cr. dòmāñij; Russ. домашний (домовóй); Ukr. домашній (домовíй, домовíт); М. домашен (домороден); Cz. (*domáci, domový*); Slk. (*domáci*); P. *domowy*; H.So. (*domowy*); L.So. *domacny (domski, domny, domowny)*.

As it is seen, the equivalents of the Old Slavic adjectives are present in other Slavic languages, too (except Polish and High Sorbian); in the Serbian the meaning 'household, inmates of the house' can be found even today.

—Semantic calques. It is without doubt that the existence of the Greek word was not necessary for the formation of the Old Slavic adjectives, but the sense 'household' directly renders the Greek οἰκιακός (or the Latin *domesticus*, respectively, among the Catholic Slavs).

108. ΔΟΜΟΒΙΤΉ (ЧЕЛОВѢКЪ), (ΔΟΜΟΒΙΤΗ) ~ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης (ἄνθρωπος)  
 'father of the family'. Mt 13,52: διὰ τοῦτο πᾶς γραμματεὺς μαθητευθεὶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότη, ~ сего ради всѣхъ книжниковъ · научь сѧ цр҃ствию небесномуу · подобенъ естъ чкѡу домовитѡу · 'therefore every scribe who is well versed in teaching about the Kingdom of the Heavens, is similar to the father of the family'. Similar passages: Mt 20,1; 21,33; Lu 14,21 (in part).

In later Church Slavic texts: сѣмьственъ, имѣжштѣи фамилиѣ, тоо.

In the Latin text the appositive syntagm (*homo*) *pater familias* can be read; the Gothic text applies the compound *gardawaldands* which, word for word, means a man 'reigning over his house', so it can be considered as the precise counterpart of the original Greek. As for the Old Slavic, its characteristic exquisiteness and variety of style appears here, too, in comparison to the Gothic; namely, while the latter always renders the original in the same way, some other solutions are also found in the Old Slavic texts. In Mt 10,25 and Lu 14,21 we read господи́нь домоу, and for the latter the text of the Assemani uses господа́ дома.

The Old High German reflects the Latin *pater familias*, but in an inverse order: *hiuiskes fater*. The Romanian (*omul*) *gospodar* shows a solution based on Greek-Old Slavic but without a real loan translation. The Albanian compound *zot-shepie*, word for word, reflects the Greek οἰκοδεσπότης, although the word order is inverse: 'lord of the house', and it means commonly 'head of the family' or 'master of the house'; maybe its model was a Latin expression *dominus domus*.

Károli's Hungarian text applies the words *Gazda* 'host, master', *gazdaember* (word for word 'masterman', later: 'husbandman'). In the later Catholic versions, it is simply *családatya* 'head of the family' on the basis of the Vulgata; recently, it has been interpreted as *gazda* 'host' or *házigazda* 'master of the house', according to the context. In Luther's text the compound *Hausvater* occurs mostly, but in Lu 14,21: *Hausherr* is used, which is nearer to the Greek text (and the parable's tone).

In the Kralice Bible we can find *člověk hospodář* similarly to the Latin *homo pater familias* but, more precisely, with the sense 'husbandman'. The modern Russian version uses the simple хозя́инъ 'husbandman' or хозя́инъ дома 'master of the house'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. домовѣт (домѡвник); Sr.-Cr. (домѡћин); Russ. домовѣтѣй (-ая); Ukr. домовѣтѣй (хазя́йновѣтѣй); М. (домакин, домаќинка); Cz. *domovitý*; Slk. *domovitý* 'commodious, liveable'; P. (*domowy* 'of the house'); L.So. (*domownik* 'caretaker, doorman'); H.So. (*domowny* 'of the house', *domownik* 'concierge, house porter, janitor', *domoródny* 'inborn, aborigine').

— Calque neologism (pseudocalque) which was created on the basis of the Greek text but renders the original Greek, instead of a compound, by a suffixed form.

109. ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΗΝ̨Σ ~ ΚΡ̨ΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ

'strongest, best, respectable, honourable'. Lu 1,3: ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κρᾶτιστε Θεόφιλε, ~ ІЗВОЛИ СА І МЕНѢ ХОЖДЬШЮ · І С ПРЪВА ПО ВСѢХЪ · ВЪ ІСТИНѢ ПО РАДОУ · ПСАТИ ТѢБѢ · СЛАВѢНЪИ Т'ЕОΦИΛΕ · 'it seemed to me also (good) . . . to write unto Thee precisely, one after the other, oh respectable Theophilus'.

The interpretation ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΗΝ̨Σ of the apostrophe κρᾶτιστε can be found in the Zographus only; in the other archaic codices we read СЛАВЕН̨Σ 'glorious'. However, this sense of ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΗΝ̨Σ was detected by K. Schumann in the Psalterium Sinaiticum (15a 19 and 15b 1), too.

In later Church Slavic БЛАГОРОДЪНЪ, ПРЪВЪСХОДЪНЪ, НАИЛУЧШЪ, TOO.

The word in the Latin text, *optime*, shows that the Old Slavic gospel translations apply the adjective ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΗΝ̨Σ in the same sense as the Psalterium Sinaiticum. The basic meaning of the Slavic word points directly to the Greek: τὸ κρᾶτος: κρᾶτιστος ~ ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΑ: ΔΡ̨ΨΑΒΗΝ̨Σ. This parallelism is not found in the Vulgata; the epitheton *optime* is followed by Luther's text, too: *mein guter Theophilus*.

The assumption of Greek–Old Slavic similarity seems to be more correct here than that of identity (considering the difference between the suffixes -ιστος and -ΗΝ̨Σ).

The Gothic text, according to the probably proper sense of the Greek and similarly to the Latin version, uses the word *batista* 'best, most excellent'.

In the Old High German gospel harmony, due to the absence of St. Luke's Prologue, the corresponding superlative *bezisto* 'best' does not occur in the phrase in question.

In the Romanian text, corresponding to the Greek and Old Slavic models, we find the vocative form *puternice* (the basic form *puternic* 'strong, powerful' is a word of Balkano–Latin origin with the Slavic suffix \*-nikъ), though in Micu-Clain's translation the vocative of a prefixed adjective, ПРЪВЕНЕ can be read, which stands much nearer to the Latin in its primary meaning.

The Albanian interpreter—also on the basis of the original Greek—applies the expression *pushtëçim (pushtëtshëm) fort* 'very powerful'.

Károli's Hungarian text uses the simple positive degree of the adjective *jó*, 'good' in the original meaning of the Hungarian word. In the modern Catholic versions (e.g. I. Székely, 1927) we find the apostrophe *kegyelmes* 'Excellency' (word for word 'gracious, merciful') because in the opinion of the interpreter the vocative κρᾶτιστε 'optime' was the official apostrophization of the Roman procurators and other functionaries of higher degree, and István Székely wanted to render this by means of our contemporary usage. In the Roman edition of 1967 we find *nemes* 'noble', and in our most up-to-date Catholic versions (1973 and 1981) *tiszteletreméltó* 'respectable, honourable'.

In the Kralice Bible we can find the epitheton *výborný* 'eminent, excellent'; in the Russian edition of Stockholm the compound *драгопоучѣнный* (word for word: 'highly esteemed') expresses the high appreciation of the person addressed.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. държавен 'stately' (държелів 'vigorous'); Sr.-Cr. државни 'stately' (држѣћ 'strong'); Russ. державный 'powerful, mighty'; Ukr. державний 'stately'; M. државен 'id.'; Cz. *državný* 'stately'; Slk. *državný* 'id.'; P. *dzierżawny* 'tenemental, lease'; H.So. (*dzierżeć* 'to keep, hold'); L.So. (*dzerżeś* 'id.').

— Real structural calque. As seen from the Slavic equivalents, the sense 'optimus, excellent' is the property of the Old Slavic only; the meanings 'strong, good' of the other Slavic languages come from its relation to the verb *дрѣжати*, and the meaning 'stately' has its origin in the immediate relation to *дрѣжава* 'power', later 'state' (in Polish: 'lease, tenure of land'). These Slavic meanings do not seem to be continuations of the occasional Old Slavic sense. The Greek and consequently the Old Slavic word use represents a case of the so-called "sporadic changes of meaning".

110. *δουχοϋνῶν* ~ *πνευματικός, τοῦ πνεύματος* 'spiritual, ghostly, psychical'. Lu 4, 14: *Καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* ~ *и вѣзврати са Ісѣ · въ силѣ дѣховнѣи · въ галилѣѣ* · (Marianus text.) 'and turned back Jesus, in the power of the Spirit, to Galilea'.

The adjective *δουχοϋνῶν* occurs here as the rendering of a concrete possessive construction; as for its abstract meaning *πνευματικός*, an example is cited by K. Schumann from the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (379): *въ пѣснѣхъ доуховнѣахъ* 'in spiritual [= pneumatical] songs'.

In later Church Slavic we also find *доушнѣннѣ, вѣдла доушии сѣштый* and *бесплатнѣ* ·

The Old Slavic text has a more abstract character in this locus of the Gospel than the corresponding Latin, Gothic or Old High German translations where we find the genitive forms *Spiritus*, *ahmins* and *geistes*, respectively. (Of course, the latter ones render the original Greek more precisely; this genitive form occurs in Luther's text, *in des Geistes (Kraft)* 'in the Spirit's strength'.

The Romanian text also uses a genitive construction: *къ патерѣ дѣхѣави*, or later *întru puterea Duhului* 'with (or: in) the power of the Spirit'. A similar solution can be read in Albanian: *më fugin'ë Frymëse*.

In Károli's Hungarian version we can also find the expression *Szent Léleknek erejével* 'with the power of the Holy Spirit'; similarly also in the later Catholic and other versions. The situation is similar in the today Russian: *въ силѣ' духа*, and in the Kralice Bible: *v moci Ducha*.

The Old Slavic translation, consequently, is unparalleled in its attributive form. The cause of this abstraction might have been that there were no sharp limits between the functions of the possessive genitive and the denominal adjective; in this case the abstraction could have been only apparent. On the other hand, the liturgical practice might also have ousted the concrete genitive with the adjective ΛΟΥΧΩΒΗΝЪ (cf. the cited locus of Psalterium Sinaiticum).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. дѹховен; Sr.-Cr. дѹхѡвѧн; Russ. духовный (духовый); Ukr. духовний (духовий); M. духовен; Cz. *duchovný*; Slk. *duchovný*; P. (*duchowy*); L.So. *duchownv*; H.So. *duchowny* (*duchowy*).

— Real structural calque, with the Greek adjective πνευματικός as its model. The Western Slavic words came into being under Latin (perhaps also German) influence as parallel developments; a supposition of a common Proto-Slavic (or Pre-Slavic) origin does not seem to be an indispensable hypothesis.

111. ΛΟΥΨΗΚ ΠΟΛΑΓΑΤΙ ~ τὴν ψυχὴν τίθειναι  
'to give one's life for somebody'.

Jo 10,11: ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθεισιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων ~ ПАСТЫРЬ ДОбРЫ ПОЛАГАЕТЪ ДѢИЖ СВОИЖ ЗА ОВЦА · (Zographus text.) 'the good shepherd gives his life for his lambs'. [Τὴν ψυχὴν τίθεισιν ~ ΛΟΥΨΗΚ ΠΟΛΑΓΑΤΕЪ means, word for word: 'he puts (down) his soul (for somebody).] Similar passages: Mc 3,4; Lu 6,9.

The Old Slavic noun ΛΟΥΨΙΑ occurs nearly fifty times in the archaic gospels, but we can speak about a semantic calque in a few cases only; in other cases the word is only a simple translation of the Greek ψυχή 'soul'. When it is a semantic calque, it means 'man's vigour' or 'human life'. This is the case in the above expression which has, of course, the character of a calque.

In later Church Slavic we also find ОТЪДАТИ ДΟΥΨИЖ, ОТЪДАТИ ЖИЗНЬ ЗА КОГО, ЖЕРТВОВАТИ ЖИЗНЬ, ТОО.

In the Latin, Gothic and Old High German we find synonymous expressions (the noun for 'soul' is feminine everywhere): *animam dare*, *saivala seina lagjan* and *sēlan giban*, the Gothic verb follows the original Greek meaning 'to put' and the Old High German the Latin *dare* 'to give'. Luther's expressions are much more varied: *das Leben lassen*, *das Leben verderben* and *das Leben tödten* i.e. 'to leave (to destroy, to kill) life'.

In the corresponding passages the Romanian text uses the noun *suflet* (a masculine noun, but originally neutral in the Balkano-Latin). In the Albanian the noun *jete* means 'life, being, existence', consequently, the translation was not strictly a "décalquage".

Similarly, in the Hungarian text of Károli *a jó Pásztor életét adja a juhokért* 'the Good Shepherd gives his life for the sheep' is found, i.e. Károli did not follow the Greek ψυχή or the Latin *anima* literally, nor did the later Catholic

versions. The latest Catholic translations (1967, 1973 and 1981) use the same expression: *a jó pásztor életét adja juhaiért*.

In contrast to these, the Kralice Bible contains an expression fully corresponding to the Old Slavic: *duši pokládati*. But the Russian text of Stockholm is different: *полагать жизнь*, word for word: 'to put down (as a pawn) one's life'.

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic expression: B. (давам душа моя за...); Sr.-Cr. (положити живот за...); Russ. положить душу за... Ukr. (відати життя за...); M. полага душа за... Cz. *položiti duši za někoho*; Slk. (*dušu dat' za*); P. (*dać swoje życie za co*); L.Šo. (*daš swoju dušu*); H.Šo. (*dać swoju dušu*).

In the cited expressions the word *duša* has a meaning similar to the Old Slavic semantic calque. This meaning—partly by Latin (or German), partly by Old Slavic mediation—goes back to the New Testament, after all (just like the similar expressions of other Christian peoples, too).

— Real structural calque expression. In the languages of the Byzantinian-cultured peoples it is of Greek origin. As for the Slavic peoples of Latin culture, it was established on the basis of a Latin (perhaps also a German) source.

#### 112. ДЪШТИЦА ~ τὸ πινακίδιον

'writing table, tablet'. Lu 1,63: καὶ αἰτήσας πινακίδιον ἔγραψεν λέγων Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ~ ἱ испрошь дѣштицѣ напса · гла · ѿданъ естъ ѿ маѣмѹ · 'and asking for a writing board, he wrote saying: "John is his name."'

In Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction дощечка also appears.

The Latin noun *pugillaris* is a derivate of *pugnis* 'fist' (more precisely, its diminutive, *\*pugillus*; thus it meant a 'writing board that was held in hand', or was 'the size of a hand'. Thus, its basic meaning strongly differed from the Greek. Similarly, the Gothic *spilda* also seems to be very distant from the Greek basic sense as it is connected with the verb *spillon* 'to announce, to tell'. The Old High German compound *scribsahs* means 'writing thing' word for word, and can be considered as a calque neologism (pseudocalque) related to both Greek and Latin. Luther's *Täfelein* 'tablet' is a precise explanation in German for the Greek (or Latin) original.

In the Romanian texts we find the Greek loanword *πινεκιλλ*, and the Slavic word *tablița* (of Latin origin, with a Slavic diminutive suffix). The Albanian *dërrase tëshkruari* is word for word 'a tablet for writing' i.e. a translation according to the sense.

Károli's Hungarian text gives the simple interpretation *tábla* 'tablet', reflecting partly its Latin (and maybe, Greek) original; the later Hungarian versions use *kis tábla* 'small tablet' (1967) and, more precisely, *írótabla* 'writing tablet' (1973, 1981).

In the Kralice Bible the word *deštička* is a double diminution, just like the Russian дощечка; its basic word, *deska* (*doska*) comes out, in the last analysis, of the Greek δίσκος, just as the German *Tisch*, τόο, and the English *dish*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. дъсчѣца; Sr.-Cr. дашчица; Russ. (дощечка); Ukr. (дощечка, досточка); М. дόскица; Cz. (*deštička*); Slk. (*doštička*); P. (*deszczulka*); H.So. *taflička*; L.So. *tablica*.

The modern Slavic words, however, have the basic meaning 'small board, small tablet, door plate (for the proprietor's name)'; in common usage they have not the sense 'writing table'. So the Old Slavic word seems to have been an occasional formation after the Greek model: πίναξ; πίνακίδιον ~ дъска: дъштица (with adoption of the meaning).

— Real structural calque; but it can be considered as a semantic calque, too.

### 113. ДЪНЕВЪНАГА ЧРЪДА ~ ἡ ἐφημερία

'daily turning', 'priestly class', 'priests' succession one by one'. Lu 1,5: 'Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβιά, ~ БЫСТЬ ВЪ ДЪНИ ІРѠДА ЦРЪ · ІЮДЕІСКА · ІЕРЕІ ЕТЕРЪ ІМЕНЕМЪ ЗАХАРИѢ · ОТЬ ДЪНЕВЪНЪНА ЧРЪДЪ І АВІАНЪ · 'There was in the days of Herod, king of Judea, a priest, named Zacharias, from the daily turning of Abia's priestly class'.

In later Russian Church Slavic we also find ДЪНЕВЪНАГА СЛОУЖБА ОГ ДЪНЕВЪНОЕ СЛОУЖЕНИЕ and, in another sense: РАДЪІ ОГ ОЧЕРЕДЬ СВАЩЕННИЧЕСКИХЪ ЧРЪДЪ ·

This Old Slavic way of interpretation is found in the Zographus only; in the Marianus we read the loanword εφимεριѣ (in the Assemani: εφимεριѣ). Thus, the original creativity can be found in the text of Zographus as in several other cases, too.

A similar locus is Lu 1,8 where the genitive construction ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας is rendered by ВЪ ЧИНОУ ЧРЪДЪІ СВОЕІА ·

The components of the expression can be found in every Slavic language, but in the above-mentioned form (for rendering ἐφημερία) they are characteristic of the Old Slavic only.

In the Latin text we find *de vice, in ordine vicis suae*, according to the sense.

In Gothic the preposition *afar* occurs in a substantivized application, in the sense 'offspring, clan, progeny' in Lu 1,5, while in 1,8 the noun *kunji* can be read (*in vikon kunjis seinis* 'in the order of his clan'). Both of these interpretations are erroneous, because the basic meaning of ἐφημερία is not 'clan, progeny' but 'priestly class, successive priestly service' (cf. Zerwick, 458, p. 127: *ministerium sacerdotum certo dierum numero definitum; classis sacerdotum in singulas hebdomades officio fungens*). The original genealogic relation of these priestly classes, however, cannot be excluded:

In the Old High German gospel harmony Otfrid versifies the above-mentioned loci in this way: *Zit nuard tho gireisot, Thaz er giang furi got* (I, 4,11)

'then the time has come that he should go before God' or, in Latin translation: 'tempus factum est tunc, ut ille iret ante Deum'. That is, Otfrid translates freely and renders the original adverbial expression with a verbal syntagm. Similar solutions can be read in Luther's translation: Lu 1,5 *Ordnung Abia*, but in 1,8: *nach der Gewohnheit des Priestertums*.

In the Romanian texts we find, according to the right sense, the locutions  $\Delta\text{IN } \rho\text{Ж}\Delta\text{B } \Delta\Delta$   $\rho\text{POI}\epsilon\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}$  and *din ceată prestească*. In the Albanian the translation *prej fëmijës's' Aviajt* seems to be inexact, as *fëmijë* means 'family'.

Károli's Hungarian text does not leave any doubt in Lu 1,8: *Lőn pedig mikor a részre osztott papságnak rendi szerint* 'it happened, however, when according to the order of the priesthood, divided into parts . . .', but later: *rendjének sorában* ('in the succession of his order'. In the modern Catholic versions: *osztályának rendjében* 'in the order of his class' (1967) and *osztályának sorrendjében* 'in the sequence of his class' (1973, 1981).

The Kralice Bible interprets Lu 1,8 similarly: *v pořádku třídy své*, just like the modern Stockholm edition of the Russian text: *въ порядкѣ своѣй чреды*.

As it was mentioned above, the words  $\Delta\text{BNEB}\text{B}\text{H}\text{B}\text{H}\text{Z}$  and  $\text{Ч}\text{P}\text{E}\Delta\Delta$  have their equivalents in all the Slavic languages.

—Calque expression; a prefixed compound is translated so that the first component of the Old Slavic expression contains the basic sense of the original Greek, while the other component supplements it according to the concrete meaning. This type of translation is called "Lehnübertragung" by Schumann, although in my opinion, it should be called "Lehngliedzusatz" in his terminology; the parallel  $\epsilon\text{P}\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha \sim \Delta\text{BNEB}\text{B}\text{H}\text{B}\text{H}\text{Z}$   $\text{Ч}\text{P}\text{E}\Delta\Delta$  resembles the parallel  $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \sim \Delta\Delta\text{Z}\text{O}\text{T}\text{P}\text{H}\Delta$  much more than *paeninsula* ~ *Halbinsel*. In our terminology, it could be denominated more precisely as a "semicalque expression", or, translating Schumann's "Lehngliedzusatz": "supplemented real calque expression".

## €

114.  $\epsilon\text{A}\text{B}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{Ъ}$  [ $\text{C}\text{ЖИ}\text{Т}\text{Ь}$ ] ~  $\eta\mu\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  [ $\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ]

'half-dead', word for word: 'hardly alive (living) (being)'; but the Greek word means primarily: 'half-dead']. Lu 10,30:  $\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\delta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\mu\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}$  ~  $\dot{\imath}\text{ЖE } \dot{\imath}\ \text{C}\text{B}\text{E}\text{A}\text{B}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{H}\text{H}\text{E } \dot{\imath} \cdot \dot{\imath}\ \text{B}\text{Z}\text{E}\text{B}\text{I}\ \text{B}\text{Z}\text{A}\text{O}\text{ЖИ}\text{H}\text{H}\text{E}$   $\text{O}\text{T}\text{И}\text{Д}\text{O}\text{Ш}\text{H}\ \dot{\imath}\ \text{O}\text{C}\text{T}\text{A}\text{B}\text{B}\text{H}\text{H}\text{E } \dot{\imath}\ \epsilon\text{A}\text{B}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{Ъ}$   $\text{C}\text{ЖИ}\text{Т}\text{Ь}$  · 'who plundered him, and beating him black and blue, they went out, leaving him half-dead'.

For the last word of the cited locus we find the following variants: Savvina:  $\epsilon\text{A}\text{B}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{O}\text{Г}\text{O}$   $\text{C}\text{ЖИ}\text{T}\text{A}$ , Nikolja Gospel:  $\epsilon\text{A}\text{B}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{Ъ}$   $\text{C}\text{ЖИ}\text{T}\text{Ь}$ , Ostromir:  $\epsilon\text{A}\text{B}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{A}$   $\text{C}\text{ЖИ}\text{T}\text{A}$ . In later Old (Church) Slavic texts of Russian redaction the variant  $\text{K}\text{E}\Delta\text{E}\text{A}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{Ъ}$  can also be found. Similarly the compound  $\text{П}\text{O}\text{A}\text{B}\text{M}\text{P}\text{Ь}\text{T}\text{Ь}$  and the forcibly descriptive expression  $\text{HИ}$   $\text{ЖИВ}\text{Ъ}$ ,  $\text{HИ}$   $\text{M}\text{P}\text{Ь}\text{T}\text{E}\text{B}\text{Ъ}$  occur.



The Greek ἡμιθανής means, word for word, 'half-dead' while the Old Slavic solution means, word for word, 'hardly being alive'. Therefore the Latin translation *semivivus* 'half-alive' is somewhat nearer to the Old Slavic, than the original Greek. In the Gothic this half verse does not occur; the corresponding form must have been something like *halbs-daus*.

The Romanian *abia viu* follows closely the Old Slavic: 'hardly living', the Albanian *për gjysmë të-vdëkurë* is, however, an accurate translation of the Greek.

In Károli's Hungarian text the obsolete *holt-eleven* (word for word: 'dead-alive') can be read that seems to be a quasi equalization of ἡμιθανής and *semivivus*. But in the later Protestant, Catholic and Oriental Christian Hungarian versions we see *félholt* 'half-dead' everywhere, that can be the reflection either of the Latin *semimortuus* or of the German *halbtot* (in Luther's translation, too) or of the surrounding Slavic peoples' words alike.

In the Kralice Bible the expression *odpolu živý* follows the Latin compound; in the Russian the solution едва живóй, however, follows the Old Slavic.

The second and third component of the Old Slavic expression is known in all the Slavic languages but its first constituent survives only in its derivatives and compounds. For the idea of 'half-alive' there are other compounds in modern Slavic languages (except Russian where we can meet it in the form эле живóй with the same sense as in Old Slavic).

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic expression are: B. (полумъртъв); Sr.-Cr. полумртав; Russ. ележивóй (едва живóй, полуживóй, полумёртвый); Ukr. (полумёртвий); M. (полужив); Cz. (*polomrtvý*); Slk. (*polomrtvý*); P. (*pólżywy, pólmarty*); H.So. (*potwumrety*); L.So. (*potwumarty*).

A part of these compounds may be the calques of the Greek ἡμιθανής, Latin *semimortuus*, German *halbtot* (or, perhaps, the French *moitié mort*). The Polish *pólżywy* (and through this the Russian полуживóй) seems to correspond to the Latin *semivivus*. The Old Slavic expression, considering the equivalents of ελε in the Western Slavic languages, is probably a Moravianism or an independent creation of the translator. As for its establishment, the Latin *semivivus* or the Old High German *sami-quec* might have exerted an influence, though this effect was not a necessary condition of its coming into being. (Thus, e.g., English *half-dead* and *half-alive*, Dutch *half dood* or Spanish *mediomuerto*, Italian *mezzo morto* might have begun their existence independently from ἡμιθανής or *semivivus* and *semimortuus*.)

— Calque neologism (pseudocalque).

## Ж

115. жестосрълие ~ ἡ σκληροκαρδία

'hard-heartedness, heartlessness' Mt 19,8: ὅτι Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ὑμῖν ἀπολῦσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν ~ ѣко

МОСИ ПО ЖЕСТОСРЪДНОУ ВАШЕМОУ ПОВЕЛЪ ВАМЪ ПОУСТИТИ ЖЕНЪ ВАША (Second-hand text of the Zographus.) 'because Moses commanded you to dismiss your wives because of your hard-heartedness'. Similar passages: Mc 10,5; 16,14.

In the later Church Slavic жестъкъсръдие varies with немилосръдность.

The Latin translation applies an explicative-genitive construction for interpreting the Greek compound, *duritia cordis*; but the Gothic compound is similar to the Greek: *hardu-hairtei*. The Old High German uses genitive expressions like the Latin: *herti herzen* and *hertida herzen* and so does Luther's translation: *Herzens Härtigkeit* which corresponds to the Latin text (but in German we can find *Hartherzigkeit*, too).

The Romanian *învartosarea inimii* is also a genitive relation, similar to the Latin with the same meaning. The Albanian *zëmë-rashpërrimue* means 'heart-hardness'.

The Hungarian translation, like the Latin, uses a genitive expression: *Szívetek keménysége* 'the hardness of your heart' in all the three passages, but in the later versions we usually find *keményszívűség* 'hard-heartedness'.

In the Kralice Bible the translation of this locus is *tvrdost srdca*, corresponding to the Latin; in the modern Russian it is жестокосёрдие, which is a later variant of the Old Slavic compound (and has Church Slavic antecedents).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (твѣрдост на сѣрце, каменно сѣрце); Sr.-Cr. тврдо срце; Russ. жесто(ко)сёрдие; Ukr. жорстокосёрдість; M. (жестина на срце); Cz. (*tvrdé srdce*); Slk. (*tvrdost srdca*); P. (*twardość serca*); L.So. (*twardość wutšoby*); H.So. (*twardowutrob-nosć*).

Thus, the original Old Slavic word has been preserved only in the Russian, as a Church Slavism.

—Real structural calque.

116. житиє ~ ὁ βίος; ὁ μαμωνᾶς

'sustenance'; 'wealth'. Mc 12,44: αὕτη δέ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, ὄλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς ~ А СИ ОТЪ ЛИШЕНИЕ СВОЕГО · ВЪСЕ ЕЛИКО ИМѢАШЕ ВЪВРЪЖЕ ВЪСЕ ЖИТІЕ СВОЕ · 'she, however, gave everything from her poverty that she possessed, all her sustenance'.

Lu 16.11: εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει; ~ АИТЕ ОУБО ВЪ НЕПРАВЪДНѢМЪ ЖИТИИ · НЕ БЫТЕ ВЪВРНИ · ВЪ ИСТИННѢМЪ КЪТО ВАМЪ · ВЪРЖ ИМЕТЪ · 'so if ye will not be true in the false Mammon, who will trust the real one to ye?'

Similar passages are: Mt 6,24; Lu 16,9; 16,13.

In these passages, however, the codices Zographus, Marianus and Savvina Kniga only apply the deverbal noun житиє for interpreting the Aramaism of the original Greek; the Assemani, Ostromir and Nikolja Gospel take over the Aramaean word (preserved in the Greek and Latin alike) in the form МАМОНЪ

(ΜΑΜΟΝΑ). According to Gesenius its original form was ܩܘܡܩܘܢܐ 'treasure'; in Greek with assimilation, also -μμ- occurs. As the real meaning of the Aramaean word was 'possession, wealth' (not only 'money' and 'gain'), therefore it seems that the above-mentioned first three codices had used the word житиѣ in a wider sense than it had later. As the later texts show, житиѣ was also used for interpreting sometimes βίωσις 'living', τροφή 'nourishing', ἀναστροφή 'way of living' and πολιτεύμα 'government, constitution'. Perhaps it was because of this polysemy that the Aramaean loanword ΜΑΜΟΝΑ was restituted (or left uninterpreted) in the other three manuscripts. The Old Slavic and later Church Slavic texts used also the synonyms живѣтъ and жизнь in similar meanings, but they also used, more precisely, the words ѣдѣніѣ, вѣживленіѣ and имѣніѣ, богатѣство, in the sense 'wealth'.

The Latin gospel texts, as already mentioned, also preserved the Aramaism (except Mc 12,44 where, of course, we read *victus* 'living, victuals'). In the Gothic, however, we find a very expressive compound: *farihu þraihus* (word for word 'wealth-abundance'.) The Old High German compound *lib-wara* is also noteworthy (word for word: 'life-protection'); it may have exerted an influence (together with the Latin *victus*) on the establishment of the Old Slavic word or, at least, its use in this meaning. In Luther's translation the term *Mammon* was retained, but in Mc 12,44: *Nahrung* is used, according to βίος and *victus*.

The Romanian text applies the deverbal noun *avuție* 'wealth, riches' for both of the cited loci. In the Albanian we find *gjë* 'thing, goods, wealth' in the first passages, but the loanword *mamuna* in the other loci.

For purposes of comparison, Károli's translation is very instructive. In Mc 12,44 the poor woman gives 'all her living' (*minden ő élését*); in the modern Protestant and Catholic versions: 'all her wealth' (*egész vagyonát*) or 'all her sustenance' (*egész megélhetését*). But in Lu 6,16 he interpreted the Aramaism as 'by the false riches' (*a hamis gazdaságon*). The later edition of this translation and the Catholic versions return to the word *mammon*. (This is unnecessary, in my opinion: the Hungarian words *vagyon* 'wealth' or *gazdaság* 'riches' are more expressive, and many translations into other languages usually apply their own native words; on the other hand, the Aramaean word has become international in Christian culture and, beyond doubt, it really sounds more solemn in some cases.)

The Kralice Bible uses *živnost* in Mc 12,44, but in Lu 16,11 it preserves *tamona*. In the Russian edition of Stockholm we find пропитание for the one, and богатство for the other.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. житиѣ 'life': 'life and legends of a saint in the hagiography'; Sr.-Cr. жиће 'life'; Russ. житиѣ 'hagiography', житьѣ 'life' (житьѣ-бытьѣ 'everyday life'); Ukr. житиѣ 'hagiography'; життя́ 'life' (життя́-буття́ 'living, subsistence'); М. (жити бога 'on my honour, I swear by God'; живеачка 'life'); Cz. žiti 'life, existence'; Slk. žitie 'id.'

(*žitie-bytie* 'everyday life, existence); P. *życie* 'life, way of life, scenes from everyday life'; H.So. (*žiwjenje* 'life, nourishment'); L.So. (*žywjenje* 'id.').

The etymologically related synonyms of житиє, namely, животъ, жизнь, живлєниє also have their correspondents in the living Slavic languages, and in Southern and Eastern Slavic they have replaced its older common meanings while житиє itself has become the word for the 'biography of saints, hagiography'. But its abbreviated popular form lives in these languages for expressing the idea of 'everyday life' or 'way of life' (sometimes reduplicated by the brief correspondents of вѣтиє): житьє-битьє.

As for the synonyms, the correspondents have acquired some other meanings: животъ has also taken on the meaning 'womb, belly'; жито 'cereals', 'wheat' or 'rye'; живлєниє 'nourishment'. In Western Slavic, the correspondents of житиє have been preserved, though they are obsolete or have the meaning 'way of life' and are also reduplicated with the correspondents of вѣтиє.

— Semantic calque, as it renders, in both cases, a special meaning of the original κοινῆ Greek, and in its later Church Slavic sense ('hagiography' ~ 'βίος'), of Byzantine Greek.

#### 117. житомѣрєниє ~ τὸ σιτομέτριον

'weighed-out wheat, share of victuals'. Lu 12,42: ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δίδουαι ἐν καιρῷ τὸ σιτομέτριον · ~ егѡже поставитъ гнѣхъ налъ домохъ своєхъ · даѣти въ врємѣ житомѣрєниє. '... whom his master superimposed over his servants, to issue them their part of victuals in time'.

The Church Slavic мѣра хлѣба is a genitivus materiae, that also exists in Russian today.

In the Latin text the genitive phrase 'measure of wheat' can be read, as a calque expression: in Gothic this passage cannot be found. The Old High German uses the simple noun *muas* 'meal, appetite' in this role.

Luther's translation uses the deverbal noun *Gebühr* 'allowance, annuity' here.

There Romanian version, following the Latin, applies the syntagm *măsură de grâu* 'measure of wheat'. In the Albanian, however, we find the expression *ushqimin ë-ndrae* which is like a transitional solution compared to Károli's Hungarian text: *rendelt eledel* 'the ordered meal'.

In the modern versions we read *élelmük* 'their victuals', and in the Catholic versions *húza mérték szerint* 'wheat according to the measure', *búzarész* 'wheat share' (1967) or *részük az élelemből* 'their share of victuals' (1973); this latter renders the essence of the Greek and Latin texts.

In the Kralice Bible we find *vyměřený pokrm* 'measured-out victuals', while in the modern Russian version мѣра хлѣба, i.e. neither is an established real structural calque, though the Russian is near to it.

The components of the Old Slavic compound exist in all the Slavic languages (cf. the former entry as well), but this compound is peculiar to the Old Slavic.

(Some other compounds with *жито*, however, are known from other Slavic languages, too, in the sense 'cereals'. Such compounds are, e.g.: Russ. *житопроводитель* (-ница) 'corn-dealer, grain-broker'; Sr.-Cr. *житород* 'corn yield'; M. *житороден* 'corn-growing'; Ukr. *житорódний* 'id.'; L.So. *žytokupc* 'corn-chandler'; H.So. *žitožňjak* 'cornharvester', etc.)

— Real structural calque. A favourable circumstance for its establishment might have been the phonetic similarity of its components to those of the Greek model: *σῖτος* ~ *жито* + *μέτροιον* ~ *мѣрениѣ*.

3

118. (въ) заимъ даѣти ~ *δανείζω, χράω*

'to lend, to loan'. Lu 6,34: *καὶ ἐὰν δανείσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις [ἔστίν]; καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς δανείζουσιν ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα ~ ѿште въ заимъ даѣте · отъ ни хъ же чаѣте въспринати · ка въ вам хвала естъ · ѿбо ѿ грѣшъници грѣшъникомъ въ заимъ даѣтъ · да въспримжтъ равъна. 'And if ye lend to people from whom ye hope to get it back, what gratitude do ye wait for? The sinners also loan to sinners, in order to receive back the same'.*

In later Church Slavic texts we find the verbs *съсѣждити* (*съсѣждати*), *одоужити*, *съдоужати*, too.

Similar passages: Lu 6,35; 11,5. In the latter the aoristos of *χράω* (*κίχρημι*) occurs.

As for the Latin text, we find the expression *mutuum dare* in Lu 6,34 and 35 (but the simple verb *foenerari* in the second part of Lu 6,34), and *commodare* in Lu 11,5.

The Gothic text applies the verb *leikvan*. The Old High German shows the expression *wehsal gēban* that follows the Latin, and both are very similar to the Old Slavic construction. Luther's translation uses the simple verb *leihen*, similarly to the Gothic.

The Romanian *da împrumut* follows the Latin (or, perhaps, the Old Slavic), just like the Albanian *jap hua*.

The Hungarian expression *kölcsönt adni* interprets the Latin *mutuum dare* as a transitive verb + accusative, thus it has a more concrete meaning than its model and many other of its translations. Naturally, the simple verb *kölcsönöz* also occurs later, and the now common compound (primarily) denominal expression of adverb + verb *kölcsönadni*, too.

In the Kralice Bible the simple verb *půjčovati* figures in the translation of these loci; in the new Russian text, however, the Church Slavic expression has survived in the forms *дать взаймы* (plural of *дать взайёмъ*).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic expression are: B. *давам на заём*; Sr.-Cr. *даѣти у зајам*; Russ. *дать взаймы*; Ukr. (*даѣти впо́зички, позича́ти*); M. (*заема*); Cz. (*dávati na úvěr*); Slk. *dávať na úver, požičať*; P.

(*požyczyć*); L.So. (*požycowaś, daś na požyck*); H.So. (*požčować, dać na požčonk*).

— It seems to be a calque expression on the basis of a Latin or German (perhaps Old High German) word group. But it cannot be found in the Western Slavic where we could expect it first of all; instead, we find other expressions, pointing rather to the German *borgen auf Kredit*. Therefore, we might suspect a Moravianism that has already disappeared in its original form in the Moravian region itself. Thus it is possible that the Old Slavic expression was originally invented by the Slav Apostles as a calque neologism.

119. ЗАИМОДАВЕЦЬ ~ ὁ δανειστής

'creditor' Lu 7,41: δύο χρεοφειλέται ἦσαν δανειστῆτι τινι ~ ЛЪВА ЛЛЪЖНИКА БЪАШИТЕ ЗАИМОДАВЕЦЮ ѿтеговъ. 'A creditor had two debtors'. (Word for word: 'There were two debtors [belonging] to a creditor'.)

In later Church Slavic texts *съсѣлѡдатељ* and *оѡложитељ* also occur.

In the Latin text *foenerator* 'usurer' occurs; in the Gothic we find the compound *dulga-haitja* meaning 'debt-caller'; consequently, it could hardly be the model of the Old Slavic word. Luther's text follows the Latin by using the pejorative deverbial noun *Wucherer* 'usurer, extortioner'.

In the Romanian we find the word *къмѣтарникъ* 'usurer' (a New Byzantine Greek loanword with Church Slavic suffix), later only *cămătar*. The Albanian compound *hua-dhënës* corresponds exactly to the Old Slavic.

Károli's Hungarian translation contains 'lending man' (*kölcsönző ember*); later the word *hitelező* 'creditor' has become common.

The Kralice Bible uses the deverbial noun *věřitel*, a calque of the late Latin *creditor* (or German: *Kreditor*); the modern Russian text has preserved the Old Slavic word with vocalisation of the soft "jef" (*б*):

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. заемодавец; Sr.-Cr. зајмодавац; Russ. заимодавец; Ukr. заимодавець; M. зајмодавец, заемодавец; Cz. (*úvěrca*); Slk. ([vy]požičiavatel'); P. (*lichuriaz, paskarz*); H.So. (*požčować*); L.So. (*požycar*).

— It seems to be a calque neologism but its immediate source is not clear. Most probably, it was formed by the influence of a verbal compound (see the preceding entry), perhaps a Vulgar Latin *\*mutuum-dator* or Old High German *\*wehsalgēbari*.

120. ЗАКОНОУЧИТЕЛЪ ~ ὁ νομοδιδάσκαλος, ὁ νομικός

'jurisconsult, legist, teacher of law'. Lu 5,17: καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι ~ Ё БѢАЖ СЕДѢШИТЕ ФАРИСѢИ · Ё ЗАКОНОУЧИТЕЛѢ · '... and there were sitting Pharisees and teachers of law'. Similar locus: Mt 22,35, but νομικός 'legist' is in the Greek text here.

In later Church Slavic texts *законьникъ* and *законѡвѣлъ* also appear.

In the Latin text we can read *legis doctor* in both cases, which is a reflection, even in the word order of the original Greek compound, though it is a genitive explicative in Latin, not a compound. Similar interpretations can be found in Gothic (*witoda-laisareis*) and in Old High German (*ewa-lërari*). Luther's compound *Schriftgelehrte*, though it also resembles the original Greek, reminds us more of the Latin pseudocompositum.

The Romanian *învățător legii* and *învățător de lege* are genitive constructions like the Latin (genitive explicative or objective, resp.). In the Albanian, according to the difference of the citations in the Greek, the compound calque *nomesonjë*s and the denominal noun *nomtar* can be read.

Károli's Hungarian text applied the expressions *a törvények doktorai* 'the teachers of the laws' and *törvénytudó* 'legist' (word for word: 'knower of law'); the latter has become common in Hungarian, though in a number of translations the word *írástudó* 'scribe, exegetist' (literarily: 'writing-knower') replaced it.

In the Kralice Bible the compound *zákonoučitelé* follows the classical languages (and it maybe a preserved Moravianism as well); the Russian text adheres to the use of the Old Slavic here.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. законоучитель (законовед); Russ. законоучитель (obsolete); Sr.-Cr. (познавалац закона); М. (законозналец) 'teacher of religion'; Ukr. (законознавець); Cz. *zákonoučitele (znalý zákonův)*; Slk. (*znalý zákonov*); P. (*znajomek ustaw*); H.So. (*zakonjeznawc*); L.So. (*zakonjznajuci*).

— Real structural calque, preserved in Bulgarian and altered Russian with a partial meaning; similar compounds in other Slavic languages reflect the changed sense of the Latin compounds *legisperitus*, *iurisconsultus* and the German *Gesetzkenner* as well).

121. законьникъ ~ ὁ νομικός

'legist, Scribe'. Lu 7,30: οἱ δὲ φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς, μὴ βαπτισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ~ фарисеѣ же ѿ законьници съветъ бжии отвергъвъ въ себѣ · не крестыше сѧ отъ него. 'But the Pharisees and Scribes ignored God's intention at their own expense, and they did not receive baptism by him.' Similar loci: Lu 10,25; 11,45; 11,52; 14,3 (and twice in the Lu Synaxarion).

In later Church Slavic texts законооучитель, законовецъ can also be read.

The Latin translation applies the construction of genitive explicative or objective *legisperitus*. In the Gothic we find the similar *witoda-fasteis* which means word for word 'the preserver of the law'. The Old High German expression *ewva-gilërter* is a true interpretation of the Latin. Luther's translation applies consistently *der Schriftgelehrte* or *ein Schriftgelehrter*, or the plural *Schriftgelehrten*, following the Latin text.

The Romanian text follows the Old Slavic or the Greek by using the word *legiitor*. In the Albanian, similarly, the above-mentioned *nomtar* occurs here. The Hungarian translation applied the above-mentioned compound *törvényudó*, which later became common. (For all these variations, see the entry *ЗАКОНООУЧИТЕЛЬ*, too).

The Kralice Bible and the Russian text of the Stockholm edition have preserved the Old Slavic word.

The Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. законник 'collection of laws'; Sr.-Cr. законѣк 'legist'; 'collection of laws'; Russ. законник 'legist, jurisconsult'; Ukr. законник 'id.'; М. законик 'code of laws'; Cz. zákonik 'legist'; 'collection of laws'; Slk. zákonik 'id.'; P. zakonik 'monk'; H.So. zakonik 'body of laws'; L.So. zakonik 'id.'

— Real structural calque. The meaning 'code of laws' is secondary in the Slavic languages (the Russian and Old Serbian preserved the original sense here too); the Western Slavic words did not form their similar words in precisely the same manner as Old Slavic did. The Polish word received its sense, probably, after the Latin *regularis* ('monachus'), and *canonicus*.

## 122. ЗАПЕЧАТАТИ ~ ΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΩ

'to seal up, to affirm'. Jo 3,33: ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισε ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν ~ ПРИМЪИ ЕГО СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЬСТВО ЗАПЕЧАТАЛѢ ЪКО ЪЪ ИСТИ[НЪ]НЕНЪ ЕСТЬ (Marianus text.) 'but he who accepts his witness, affirms that God is veracious.'

In the later Church Slavic texts we find *запечатати*, *-овати* many more times, and *печатити* *потвърдити*, *-оукрѣпити* also appear.

In the Latin text the verb *signare* occurs. In the Gothic this locus cannot be found; in other passages where the Greek *σφραγίζω* has to be interpreted in its primary concrete sense, we find *faur-sigljan* 'to seal up'. In the Old High German, for rendering the concrete meaning of *σφραγίζω* (or rather to translate the Latin *munire*) the verb *gizéinon* occurs, as (on the basis of Mt 27.66) in IV, 36,7: *Sie sliunno thes sar zilotun, thas grab gizéinotun* 'they hurried rapidly there at once, they sealed up the grave'. So the Gothic and Old High German texts do not yield data for the figurative application of *σφραγίζω* while the Latin and Old Slavic suggest clearly in Jo 3,33 the meaning 'to affirm' of the Greek verb. Luther's translation does not make any distinction between the primary and secondary meaning: he applies the verb *versiegeln* in Mt 27,66 and Jo 3,33 alike.

The denominal verb *întări* of the Romanian text means 'to affirm', from the adjective *tare* 'strong' which goes back to the Vulgar Latin \**tale* (literary Latin *talis*, *-e*, 'such, this sort'), and the same verb occurs in Mt 27,66; but in Micu-Clain's older redaction the verb *Ѡсѣмна* 'to mark' is used, the popular continuation of Latin *insignare*, and in Mt 27,66 the Slavic loanword *печатати*



appears with the original meaning of σφραγίζω, with the mediation of the Hungarian loanword *pecsételni* 'id.'

The word-for-word sense of the Albanian *vë vülë* is 'he puts a seal (on it)' i.e. the figurative meaning of σφραγίζω, while in Mt 27,66 the verb *siguróje* can be read, according to the sense (from Vulgar Latin \**securare* 'to assure, to affirm').

Károli's Hungarian text, stressing the primary importance of faith, uses the phrase *valóban elhitte* 'he really believed it', but its modern version returned to the perfective verb *megpecsételni* 'to seal up' and *megerősíteni* 'to confirm'. In the modern Hungarian Catholic versions of Jo 3,33 we read *bizonyítani* 'to attest', and the primary meaning is expressed with *lepecsételni* 'to seal up' in Mt 27,66.

The Kralice Bible applies the corresponding verb *zpečetiti*; in the Russian text of Stockholm запечатлѣть is preserved for Jo 3,33, but in the concrete sense of Mt 27,66 we read: и приложили къ камню печать 'and they put a seal on the grave'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verb are: B. запечáтвам; Sr.-Cr. запечáтити; Russ. запечатлѣть, запечáтать, запечáтывать; Ukr. запечáтувати (відзначáти); M. запечати; Cz. *zpečetiti*, *zpečetovati*; Slk. *zpečatiti*; P. *zapieczętować*; H.So. (*pječat* 'seal, stamp'); L.So. 'id.'

The Slavic words have, of course, a concrete meaning in their primary sense.

— Semantic calque in Jo 3,33, but it is a simple translation in Mt 27,66. The origin of the Slavic word itself (more precisely, that of its base, the noun печать 'seal') is uncertain. According to L'vov (262, pp. 221–22) it had a Proto-Bulgarian base in the Old Slavic from where it spread into other Slavic languages, too. L'vov thinks that the existence of this word in a number of Turcic languages, cannot be explained by borrowing from Russian. (In the opinion of other scholars, the word is of Georgian or Aramaean origin.)

123. ЗАСЕДЬНИКЪ ~ ὁ ἐγκάθετος

'denouncer, spy'. Lu 20,20: καὶ παραθηρήσαντες ἀπέστειλαν ἐγκάθετους ~ и съгладавѣши посланиа заседьники. (Marianus text.) 'They kept an eye on Him, and sent out spies'.

In the Zographus we find ДѢЛАТЕЛ(А) here (probably: 'hired spies').

In later Church Slavic texts we find ДОНОСЧИКЪ, ПЛОУШЬНИКЪ.

The Latin *insidiator* shows the same conception as the Greek and Old Slavic; one who 'sits into' or 'behind' an ambush, is a 'spy'. The Latin calque seems to be a more precise translation of the original Greek, but the Old Slavic is more expressive. The Gothic *ferja* 'pursuer' seems to be related to the noun *fera* 'region, side', thus its basic meaning could not have been similar to the Greek.

Luther's translation uses the nomen agentis *Laurer* 'spy' in this verse.

The Romanian *iscoadă* 'spy, secret envoy' is related to the verb *iscodi* 'to explore, spy out' (perhaps a Slavic loanword: исхолити, with the meanings 'to go

out, to go round, to look at everything'). The Albanian *përgjonjës* is related to the verb *përgjoj* 'to spy into, to ferret out'.

Károli uses the participial noun *leselkedő* 'peeping, lurking' in Hungarian; in the later translations we read *cselszövő* 'plotter, intriguer' that corresponds more closely to the original sense of the biblical word.

The Kralice Bible applies the word *speher* 'spy' (a German loanword); in the modern Russian translation we find *лукáвые люди* 'rouse people'.

Another Slavic equivalent of the Old Slavic word is: Sr.-Cr. (заседач). From the stem \**za-sěd-* the Slavic languages formed some words with the meaning 'assessor', but in the Serbo-Croatian we can find a form and meaning similar to the Old Slavic.

— Real structural calque; it is similar to the Latin, but, apparently, it was independent of it.

#### 124. ЗНАЕМЪ ~ (ὁ) γνωστός

'acquainted, acquaintance, friend'. Lu 23,49: εἰστήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ~ СТОВАЖЖ ЖЕ ВСИ ЗНАЕМИ ЕГО ИЗДАЛЕЧЕ. 'all His acquaintance stood there from afar'.

The Old Slavic word, in later texts, renders the Greek adjective γνώριμος, too.

In later Church Slavic texts we see *знакомъ, знакомыи, too*.

In the Latin the genitive construction, *noti eius* corresponds more precisely to the Old Slavic *знаеми его* than the Greek dative possessive of *γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ*. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found, but, if concluding from other loci (Lu 2,44 and Jo 18,15) the interpreting word might have been *kunips*, just like in Old High German where we find *cund*. Luther's translation varies as the sense requires: Lu 23,49: *Verwandten* 'relations', Lu 2,44: *Gefahrten* 'travelling companions', and Jo 18,15: *bekannt* 'known, acquainted'.

In the Romanian we can read *cunoscut*, a passive participle form corresponding to the original Greek or Old Slavic; in the Albanian, the participle *njohur*, from the verb *njoh* 'to know'. Károli's translation was *az ő esmérői* (in the modern versions: *ismerősei*) with a similar form and meaning.

In the Kralice Bible *známi* is found as it is expected; in the Russian a participle construction: *все же, знавшие его* 'all, who have known Him'.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic word can be found in all the Slavic languages, in the sense of 'friend', too.

— Semantic calque, inasmuch it renders this special meaning (related to persons) of the original Greek. The other Slavic formations are intelligible on the basis of Latin and German, too.

#### 125. ЗНАТИ ~ γι(γ)νώσκω

'to know somebody sexually'. Mt. 1,25: καὶ οὐκ ἐγί(γ)νωσκειν αὐτήν ἕως [οὗ] ἔτεκεν υἱὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον ~ И НЕ ЗНАДИТЕ НИКА · ДОНЪЛЕЖЕ РОЛИТЬ СЪНЬ СРОИ

ΠΡΩΓΕΝΕΙΣ . . . (Marianus edition, Dečan Gospel, Supplement). 'and he did not know her until she bore her first-begotten son'.

In the most authoritative Greek texts we cannot find the adjective πρωτότοκον 'first-begotten' (accusative form) after the noun υἱόν 'son' while we can read the corresponding epitheton *primogenitum* after the noun *filium* in Latin, and the apposition ΠΡΩΓΕΝΕΙΣ after СНЪ СВОИ also in the Old Slavic (in our text it was completed from the Dečan Gospel, already in a vocalised form). Similar passage: Lu 1,34.

The Old Slavic ЗНАТИ, in other relations, is also applied in the later Church Slavic texts for translating the Greek verbs ἐπίσταμαι (ἐφίσταμαι). οἶδα, ἐπιγι(γ)νώσκω, προγι(γ)νώσκω and γινώριζω.

Naturally, ги(γ)νώσκω and ЗНАТИ, resp., occur many times in the gospel texts; on these two occasions, however, we cannot speak of a simple translation but the interpretation of a special meaning. The Greek verb is a Hebraism in this case which renders the sense of the Hebrew verb עָרַב 'he has known, understood somebody'; 'copulated with a woman', i.e. it expresses knowledge coming from sexual experience. (In some scholars' opinion, the Hebrew verb itself was a euphemism that supplanted a similar sounding concrete verb referring to sexual meaning as e.g. עָרַב 'he has copulated', רָצָה 'he has desired a woman', אָהַב 'he has loved', etc.).

In the Latin we find the corresponding word *cognoscere* with the same metonymy; similarly in the Gothic, the verb *kunnan* can be read in Lu 1,34 only, as Mt 1,35 has not been translated into Gothic. Luther's German text uses the words *erkennen* 'to get acquainted' and *wissen* 'to know' in these verses.

In the Romanian we find the corresponding verb *cunoaște*, in the Albanian *njoh*, in past tense. According to Károli's Hungarian text, *József nem esméré őtet* (in the more modern versions: *József nem ismerte meg őt* 'Joseph did not know her'.)

The Kralice Bible also uses the prefixed verb *poznati*, in the Russian text of Stockholm the simple verb *знать* can be found.

The Old Slavic verb ЗНАТИ has got its equivalents in all Slavic languages, with this special sense, too.

— Semantic calque.

126. ЗЪЛОДѢИ ~ ὁ κακοῦργος, κακὸν ποιῶν  
'malefactor, evil-doer'. Lu 23,32: Ἦγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναίρεθῆναι ~ ВЕДѢХЖ ЖЕ І · І ЦНА ЗЪЛОДѢЕ ДЪБА · СЪ НИМЪ ОУБИТЬ · 'two other evil-doers were also lead together with him to be executed'. Similar loci: Lu 23,33; 23,39; Jo 18,30.

In the later Old and Church Slavic texts ЗЪЛОТВОРЪ, ЗЪЛОТВОРЫЦЬ, ЗЪЛОЧИНЪ, ЗЪЛОЧИНЪНИКЪ, ЗЪЛОЧИНЬЦЬ also occur (and the vocalized forms of the diminutive derivatives).

As for Latin, we find *nequam, latro, malefactor* in the different texts; from these words *malefactor* is a real calque. The cited passage cannot be found in Gothic, but in Jo 18,30 the corresponding compound *ubil-tojis* occurs, and the similar *ubil-unishto* in Old High German. Luther's text applies the corresponding compound *Übelthäter* 'id.'

In the Romanian we can read a genitive objective phrase: *făcător de rele*. In the Albanian, however, the compound *keq-bërës* corresponds to the Greek, Latin (*malefactor*) and Old Slavic alike. The Hungarian translation has also been a similar compound, *gonosztevő*, up to the present.

The Kralice Bible applies the compound *zločinec*, of similar construction; the modern Russian text has preserved the first Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. злодѣй; Sr.-Cr. (злочинѣц); М. (злочинец); Russ. злодѣй (злотвор, злотворник, злочинец); Ukr. (злочинец, лиходій); Cz. *zloděj* (*zločinec*); Slk. *zlodej*; P. (*zloczynca*); H.So. *złodziej* (*zlóśnik*); L.So. *zlozej* (*zlosnik*).

— Real structural calque which could be explained on the basis of Greek, Latin, Gothic and Old High German alike, since it occurs in the Western Slavic languages, too, though these latter ones can be Moravianisms taken over through the Czech translations, or later calques on a German model.

#### 127. ЗЪЛОСЛОВИТИ ~ ΚΑΚΟΛΟΓΕΩ

'to curse, to revile, to vilify; to blame, to scold'. Mc 9,39: οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃς ποιήσει δύνάμιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ δυνήσεται ταχὺ κακολογῆσαί με · ~ НИКЪТОЖЕ БО ЕСТЬ · ЁЖЕ ТВОРИТЬ СИЛЖ · О МОЕМЪ ІМЕНИ · Ё ВЪЗМОЖЕТЪ ВЪ СКОРЬЪ ЗЪЛОСЛОВИТИ МА · 'because there is nobody who accomplishes a miracle in my name, and then would curse me'. Similar loci: Mc 7,10; Mt 15,4.

In the later Old and Church Slavic texts also occur ЗЪЛОСЛОВЕТИ, ЗЪЛОСЛОВЕСТИТИ, ЗЪЛОСЛОВЕСТЬСТВОВАТИ, ЗЪЛОРЪЧИТИ and ПОНОСИТИ in this sense. (The ЗЪЛО- compounded verbs are analogous to those of БЛАГО- and ДОБРО-.)

In the Latin texts the verbs *maledicere* and *maleloqui* occur, but the latter does not mean 'curse', only 'saying bad things about somebody' and, accordingly, its government is *de* + ablative case (not a dative as in the case of *maledicere*). The Gothic *ubilwardjan* is a precise calque of Greek and Latin, like in Mc 7,10. *ubil giþan* 'id.'

The Romanian text uses the phrase *grăi de rău*, the Albanian *flas keq*, which are the inverse forms of the above-mentioned; word for word: 'to speak bad(ly)'.

Károli's Hungarian translation presents different versions: *gonoszul szólni* 'to talk wickedly', *gonoszt mondani* 'to say evil(words)', *szidalmazni* 'to revile'. This means, that in his Hungarian texts there is no established translation for this Greek (or Latin) compound yet. This variability occurs in later Hungarian gospel translations, too. In the Catholic versions of 1973 *szidalmazni* 'to revile' and *gyalázni* 'to abuse, vilify' are alternately applied.

The Kralice Bible varies the solutions *zlořečiti*, *zle mluviti*; the modern Russian text has preserved the Old Slavic compound. The Czech translations seem to follow the Latin distinction and, perhaps, Luther's word use as well (Mc 9,39: *übel reden*, but Mc 7,10 and Mt 15,4: *fluchen*).

The other equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. злослѡвѣ (-явам); Sr.-Cr. злѡсловити; Russ. злослѡвить (злорѣчить, зла речь, -речѣть; Ukr. злослѡвити (лихослѡвити); M. (биде злогласен 'to use rough words') (word for word: 'to be of wicked parlance'); Cz. (*zlořečiti*); Slk. (*zlorečiti*); P. (*zlorzeczyć*); L.So. (*zlě powědaš*); H.So. (*zle rěčeć*.)

The Serbian злослѡвити and злѡрѣћи, are obsolete (though we find many compounds in the language with зло-, зле-, зли- and злу-).

— Real structural calque; for the explanation of its establishment the fact of Greek influence is quite sufficient. The supposition of Latin, Gothic or Old High German influence is superfluous, although for the Western Slavic equivalents such a supposition may be correct.

128. зѡлѡтворити ~ κακοποιέω

'to do ill'. Mc 3,4: καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι; ~ ἰ γλ̄и ἰмъ · досто́ ли въ сѣботы добро творити ли зѡло творити · 'and He said to them: "Is it allowed on Saturdays to do good or to do ill?"' Similar locus: Lu 6,9. In other Greek texts κακουργεῶ, too.

In the later Old and Church Slavic texts the Greek verb is also translated with зѡлочинити, зѡлодѣѣати, зѡлодѣистовати, зѡлодѣлати, зѡлоробити, зѡлоє принес(и)ти and шкѡдити; this latter is an Ukrainianism or a Polonism.

In the Latin text we find the adverbial construction *male facere*, a precise calque (but, opposed to the verb *benefacere*, the verb *facere* is omitted as it is implied by *male*).

The Gothic text contains the calque expression *unþiup taujan* in a similar sense, and the Old High German the fully identical *ubilo tuon*. Luther's translation uses a corresponding phrase: *Böses thun*.

Just as in the case of κακολογέω ~ зѡлослѡвити, here also the Romanian *facea rău* and the Albanian *të-bëjnë keq* are the inverse reflections of the Latin *male facere*; in Micu-Clain's Romanian text the verb is omitted in the opposition, as in its Latin model.

In Károli's Hungarian text the verb is not repeated, either: *jól vagy gonoszul tenni* 'good or ill to do'; the order of the other components is the same as in Greek and Latin (or Old Slavic).

In the modern Catholic versions we find a similar contraction and word order, but with an accusative + a transitive verb: *jól vagy rosszat tenni* 'to do good or bad'. It seems that the Romanian, Albanian and Hungarian versions are the result of free translation, similar to Latin, but different from each other.

In the Kralice Bible the similar *zle činiti* reminds us of the Old Slavic expression, just like the verb злодѣлать in the modern Russian translation, as opposed to добро дѣлать.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (съм злотворен, злодѣйствувам); Sr.-Cr. (злѣбити); M. (злѣби); Russ. (злодѣлать); Ukr. (злѣдїяти, злочинїти, лиходїяти); Cz. (*zle činiti, působiti zlo*); Slk. (*zle robiti*); P. (*wyrządzić zle*); L.So. (*cyniś zlē*); H.So. (*zle činić*). (The Russian and Ukrainian languages also used the Church Slavic verbs mentioned later.)

The equivalents of the Old Slavic compound nouns злѣтворѣ, злѣчинѣ, злѣдѣи(-ствитель) of their adjectival derivatives + the auxiliary verb бѣти can be found, of course, in every Slavic language (as we could see in Bulgarian; the Church Slavic злѣтворити (-твориати) in Russian is obsolete.

— Real structural calque. The fact that its derivatives are also absent in the Western Slavic languages makes it evident that it is a calque of Greek; this opinion is also supported by the negative proof of the different word order in Latin, too. The Western Slavic words, partly, point to a Latin or German influence, partly to a later indirect Church Slavic effect.

## И (I, I)

129. ИЗБАВЛЕНИЕ ~ ἡ (ἀπο-) λύτρωσις, τὸ λύτρον

'ransom'; 'Redemption'. Mt 20,28: ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. ~ ЪКО ЖЕ СНЪ ЧЛЧЪСКЪ НЕ ПРИДЕ ДА ПОСЛОУЖАТЬ ЕМОУ НЪ ПОСЛОУЖИТИ И ДАТИ ДИИЖ СВОИЖ ИЗБАВЛЕНИЕ ЗА МЪНОГЪИ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'because the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve and to give his soul as a ransom for many people'. Similar loci: Mc 10,45; Lu, 1,68; 2,38; 21,28.

In later Old and Church Slavic texts it was used for rendering the compound noun ἡ ἀντίλυτρα 'id.', too; instead of it in the later Church Slavic texts the synonyms съпасение, освобождение, отъкупление can also be found.

The Latin texts apply the word *redemptio* for interpreting all these Greek words, etymologically related to each other. In the Gothic we find *luns* 'id.' (but in Skeireins I.a. *us-luneins*), and in Old High German: *ar-losnessi*. All these are deverbal nouns (cf. Latin *redimere*, Gothic *lausjan* and *us-lausjan*, Old High German *ar-losen*. Luther's text contains the nomen actiones *Erlegung* in these passages (but *Bezahlung* in Mc 10,45).

In the Romanian the explicative genitive *preț de răscumpărare* 'price of recuperation' is found in Nicolae's translation, but only *рѣскуплѣнїе* in that of Micu-Clain.

In the Albanian the noun *shpërblim* (*çpërblim*) 'reward, compensation, remuneration' occurs in the sense 'ransom'.

G. Károli, like the Romanian, uses the expression *váltságnak ára* 'the price of redemption', or the simple *váltság* 'ransom'; the latter has become common (but in St. Luke's Gospel, according to the context, we find *megváltás* 'Redemption').

The Kralice Bible, similarly to these, uses the alternative solutions *vykoupení* and *mzda na vykoupení*; the new Russian translation has preserved the Old Slavic word in St. Luke's Gospel, but replaced it with *искупление* in the two other synoptical gospels, according to the sense.

All these later versions show the intention of the interpreters to draw a distinction between the concepts of 'Redemption' and 'price of Redemption, ransom'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. избавлѣние; Sr.-Cr. избављење (избавлѣње); Russ. избавление; Ukr. (порятуюнок, вратування, визволення, звільнення); M. (избавиште); Cz. (*výbava*); Slk. *bavenie*; P. (*zbawienie, wybawienie*); L.So. (*wukupjenje*); H.So. (*wukup*).

— Semantic calque. In some Western Slavic languages the corresponding nouns of identical etymology cannot be found, and this also points to the fact that it received its special ecclesiastic sense by the influence of the gospels: partly on the basis of Greek texts, partly on the basis of Latin.

### 130. ИЗБѢРАНЪ(И) ~ (οί) ἑκλεκτοί

'the elect, the chosen: Mt 20,16: πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἑκλεκτοί ~ МНОСИ БО СЖТЪ ЗЪВАНИ · МАЛО ЖЕ ИЗБРАНЪИХЪ · (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) '... because there are many invited, but only few elected'.

In this locus only the following Greek codices contain the cited sentence: T (ε<sub>5</sub>), C (δ<sub>3</sub>), D (α<sub>1026</sub>), Δ (ε<sub>76</sub>), Θ (ε<sub>50</sub>), 7 (ε<sub>287</sub>) and 124 (ε<sub>1211</sub>), i.e. mostly those of H- and C-version; there is no K-recension among them. (Besides, this passage can also be found in some Latin, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian manuscripts.)

Similar loci: Mt 22,14; 24,22; 24,31; Mc 13,20; 13,22; 13,27; Lu 14,24; 18,7; 23,35.

In later Church Slavic texts *КЪЗБЪРАНЪНИ*, *СТЪМЪНЪНИ* also occurs, for rendering *ἐπιλεκτοί*, too. In later Old Slavic texts the Greek *ἐπιλεκτός* 'id.' is also translated with *избѣранъ*.

The Latin translations use the corresponding past participle *electus* from the verb *eligere* 'to choose'; similarly, in Gothic we find the participium praeteriti *gavalips* from the verb *ga-valjan* 'to elect' Luther's text applies the past participle *aus erwählt* (*die Auserwählten*).

In the Romanian we find the past participle *ales* from the verb *alegea* with the same meaning. In the Albanian, the similarly formed participium perfectum *zgjédhur* can be read, from the verb *zgjédh, zgjédha* 'to choose, to seek'. In the Hungarian texts also: *a választottak* 'the elected'.

In the Kralice Bible: *vyvolený* forms a paronomasia with *povolany* 'invited'. In the modern Russian text the Old Slavic word has been retained.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. избрѧн, -ик; Sr.-Cg. избран, избрѧнѣк; Russ. избранные, избрѧнник; Ukr. (обрани, обрѧнец); M. (избраник); Cz. (*vybraný, vyvolený, -ec*); Slk. (*vybraný, vyvolený*); P. (*wybrany, wybraniec*); L.So. (*wubranu*); H.So. (*wubranu*).

The Southern and Eastern Slavic words are, without doubt, the direct equivalents or even continuations of the Old Slavic, with their suffixes; the Western Slavic words, as their prefixes show, were translated from a Latin (and partly German) source.

It would be real structural calque, if it were an occasional formation; but a regular past participle, it is more properly regarded as a semantic calque, on the basis of the special ecclesiastic sense.

131a. ИЗДЪХНѢТИ (ИЗДЪХЪ) ~ ἔκπνέω (ἐξέπνευσα), ἀποψύχω  
 'to breathe one's last, to expire one's ghost'.

131b. исповѣстити доухъ ~ ἀφίημι τὸ πνεῦμα  
 'to emit one's soul', 'to breathe one's last'. Mc 15,37: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀφείς φωνήν μεγάλην ἐξέπνευσεχ. ~ И҃с же повѣститъ гласъ велы · издѣхнѣ · 'but Jesus, emitting a loud voice, breathed his last' (emitted his soul).

Similar passages: Mc 15,39; Lu 21,26; 23,46; исповѣстити доухъ, Mt 27,50; corresponding to the Greek and Latin (see later).

In later Church Slavic texts ИЗДЪХАТИ, ИЗДОХНѢТИ, ОТЪДАТИ БОГОВЪ ДОУХЪ also occur.

In the Latin texts the verb of similar construction *exspirare* occurs (but *emittere spiritum* in Mt 27,50). In the Gothic we find the verb *us-anan* with the same meaning (but *affleton ahman* in Mt 27,50).

In the Old High German, however, in Mt 27,50 we can read: *liaz er sela sina* that corresponds to the Latin *emisit (ille) spiritum suum* 'He emitted his ghost'. In Greek we also find: ἀφῆκε(ν) τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.

Luther's translation contains the verb *verscheiden* (*verschied, verschieden*) here (but *verschmachte werden* in Lu 21,26).

In the Romanian we find *asi-a dat Duhul* 'He has given up his soul' in this place as well as in St. Matthew's Gospel (though in Micu-Clain's text: дѣ рѣпѣвсѧтъ). The Albanian translation is similar to the Romanian: *dha shpirtinë*.

The reason why the Romanian and Albanian translations (and, as we could see, the Old High German gospel harmony (apply the parlance of Matthew's Gospel in Luke's and Mark's Gospel when speaking about Jesus' death is that out of respect they prefer to use an euphemism.

The Hungarian texts also show this euphemism: Jesus *meghala* ('died') in Károli's ancient text, but in its later version *kibocsátá lelkét* 'emitted his soul'; in the Catholic versions *kiadá lelkét* 'gave up his ghost', then *kilehelte lelkét* 'expired his ghost' (1967 and 1973).



In the Kralice Bible, besides the simple *umřěti* 'to die', we can find the expression *duši poustiti* 'to leave his soul' as well; similarly, in the Russian text of Stockholm we read испустить духъ word for word 'to let out (to give out) his breath'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Slavic word are: В. (издѣхвам), (издѣхнувам); (изпýскам дýшата); Sr.-Cr. издѣхнути (издисати); (издахнýће); Russ. издохнуть (издыхать); испустить (перевести) дух; Ukr. здохнути (здохати); М. (издише се); Cz. *zdechnouti* (*zdýchati*); Slk. *zdochnúť*; P. *zdechnąć* (*zdychać*); L.So. *zdychnus* 'to breathe deep'; H.So. *zdychnuc* 'to heave a sigh'.

The Southern and Eastern Slavic words reflect the Greek original, the Western Slavic the Latin (here the Old High German, as we have seen, cannot be taken into consideration); the Sorbian words seem to be related to some Modern High German verbs (*atmen tief, aufseufzen*, etc.) and are not directly related to the Greek-Latin meaning, though similar expressions occur in every Slavic language.

— The verb издѣхнѣти may seem to be a real structural calque but, because of its common occurrence in the Slavic languages, it can rather be considered a semantic calque, the word group испустити духъ, however, is a real calque expression, but its source may be another language (Latin, Gothic, Old High German).

132. измѣна ~ τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα

'exchange, change, ransom' Mt 16,26: ἢ τί δώσει ἄνθρωπος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ; ~ ЛИ ЧТО ДАСТЪ ЧЬСЪ ИЗМѢНЕНА ЗА ДУШѢ СВОЕЖ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) '...or what will a man give as an exchange for his soul?' Similar locus: Mc 8,37.

In other Old Slavic texts this word is also used for interpreting the Greek ἄλλοίωσις and ἀνταλλαγή.

In later Church Slavic texts we read отъмѣна, отъплата, взыковътъ, искоупление as well.

In the Latin we can read *commutatio*, in the Gothic this locus cannot be found, but in the identical text of Mc 8,37 the compound *in-maidens* occurs, a derivate of the verb *in-maidjan* 'to change, to alter, to transform'. (The Gothic noun also occurs in Skeireins 46.) Thus the Old Slavic, Latin and Gothic deverbal nouns correspond to the structure of the Greek, but only the basic words have the same meaning; the prefixes are different. (By way of illustration: ἀλλάττω = мѣнити = *mutare* = *maidjan*, but ἀντί ≠ изъ ≠ *cum* ≠ *in*). Therefore, we may consider that the Old Slavic, Latin and Gothic words are semantic calques, established independently of each other after the Greek model. In Luther's translation we find the solution *wieder lösen* 'to redeem anew' (but in Mc 8,37 only *lösen*).

In the Romanian the preposition word group *in schimb* 'in exchange' occurs in this locus; in the Albanian *për këmbyerje*, which is, similarly to the Romanian, of Vulgar Latin origin (cf. \**cambiare*, \**excambiare* 'to exchange').

The Hungarian texts use the solutions *váltságot adni* 'to give a ransom' and *cserébe adni* 'to give in exchange for'.

In the Kralice Bible we find a similar expression: *dáti odměnu* 'to give a reward'; the modern Russian text renders it with the expression *дать выкупъ* 'to give ransom'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *измѣна, измѣна*; Sr.-Cr. *їзмѣна*; Russ. *измѣна*; Ukr. *зміна*; M. *измена*; Cz. *změna*; Slk. *zmena*; P. *zmiana*; L.So. (*wuměnjjenje, zaměnjjenje*); H.So. *změna (zaměna, wuměnjjenje)*.

The Slavic words generally have the meaning 'mutation', 'exchange' but they do not show the sense 'ransom', thus we find a special reflection of meaning in the Old Slavic. The other Slavic words would correspond to a Greek *ἀνταλλαγή* rather than *ἀντάλλαγμα*.

— Semantic calque, especially with the verb *даѣти*, in this biblical context.

133–134. *изнемошти, изнемогати ~ ἀδυνατέω*

'to be powerless, to be impossible' Lu 1,37: *ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα ~ ѣко не ѣзнеможетъ дѣтъ бѣ всѣкъ глѣ* · 'because all the words are not impossible by God', or rather: 'because all the words are not powerless by God'.

In later Church Slavic texts *βε(с)кильнѡу бѣѣти, ослабѣѣти* also occur.

In the Latin: *impossible erit*; in the Gothic: *(n)-ist unmahteig*. These expressions render the sense of the original Greek, but in another morphological category. The Old Slavic solution, however, interprets the compound Greek verb part by part, with a verb and a prefix as a "détail surajouté" it achieves a more lively expression than the original; 'to come out of strength'. Lu 1,37 in Luther's text contains the following translation: *Denn bei Gott ist kein Ding unmöglich* 'because nothing is impossible by God'.

The Romanian (*nu este cu neputință*) and the Albanian (*nuk jet'e pamundure*) indicate a Latin influence. In the Hungarian Károli's text says *mert az Istennél nincsen semmi lehetetlen dolog* (in the later version: *mert az Istennél semmi sem lehetetlen*) 'because by the God there is no impossible (thing)'. It is strange that the Romanian and Albanian translations, similarly to the original text of Károli, speak about an 'impossible thing' (Romanian: *lucru*, Albanian: *punë*); in Micu-Clain's text, however, we can read *квѣжтъ* 'word', corresponding to the Greek, Old Slavic and Latin wording.)

It seems that the Hungarian, Romanian and Albanian texts, at least in part, go back to a Greek version which contains a dative construction *τῷ Θεῷ* (just like Wulfila's Gothic translation) with the meaning 'to God nothing is impossible', and not the construction *παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ* [*οὐκ ἀδυνατήσῃ*] 'by God nothing is impossible'. Perhaps in this relation the original (*πᾶν*) *ῥῆμα ~ (omne) verbum*

~ (вѣсь) глаголь ~ (all) *vaurd* did not seem expressive enough to render the greatness of God, so it was replaced by the noun  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha$  ~ *res* ~  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron$  ~ *taui*.

The Kralice Bible paraphrases this word with a double negation: *nebude nemožné*. The modern Russian version applies a similar solution: не остаётся бессильнымъ 'does not remain powerless'. The subject of the sentence is, in both languages, the "word": *žádné slovo* and никакое слово 'not a single word', respectively.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *изнемогна, изнемогвам, изнемоцáвам, изнемоцѣя, съм слáбен*); Sr.-Cr. *изнемоћи, изнемагати*; Russ. *изнемочь, изнемогать*; Укр. *знéмогти, знемагати, знемочи́, (знемочи́ти), знемога́ти*; М. *изнемогне, изнемогна*; Cz. *znemožniti, znemožňovati* 'to make impossible'; Slk. *znemožniť, znemožňovať* 'id.'; P. *zaniemóc, zaniemagać, 'to make ill'*; H.So. *zanjemagać, L.So. zanjemagaś*.

The Eastern and Southern Slavic words have preserved the sense of the Old Slavic verb, and are, undoubtedly, its continuations and derivatives, or dialectal variants. The Czech and Slovak words, however, reflect rather a German influence; the Polish verb pair seems to be an independent dialectal development, and its semantic evolution appears to point to the Latin adjective *infirmus*, or which the Old Slavic verbs were formed quite independently.

They seem to be calque neologisms with the "détail surajouté" (without this, they would be real structural calques if we suppose the immediate effect of the Greek privative compound on the Old Slavic.) Because of the use of the privative prefix не-, they seem to be Moravianisms, compared with the  $\beta\epsilon\zeta$ -prefixed compounds.

135.  $\text{имѣти} \text{яко} \sim \text{ἔχειν} \text{ὡς}, \text{ἔχειν} \text{ὅτι}$

'to take for, to regard as' Mt 14,5:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota \epsilon\phi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\eta \tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota \delta\chi\lambda\omicron\nu\alpha\iota, \delta\tau\iota \omega\varsigma \rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\nu\alpha\iota. \sim \acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\tau\alpha \text{и} \text{оубити} \text{оубоѣ} \text{са} \text{народа} \cdot \text{за} \text{не} \text{ѣко} \text{профок} \text{имѣж} \text{и} \cdot$  'and wanting to kill Him, he was afraid of the people because they regarded Him as a prophet'. Similar loci:  $\text{ἔχω} \text{ὡς}$ : Mt 21,46;  $\text{ἔχω} \text{ὅτι}$  Mc 11,32.

In later Church Slavic *почитати за кого, рас(в)сзмотрѣти как* also occur.

In the Latin text there are expressions which correspond exactly to the Greek: *habere sicut* and *habere quia*. In the Gothic it is only Mc 11,32 that contains this expression: *haben þatei*. Luther's solutions resemble the Greek and Latin versions alike: *halten für jemanden* and *halten, daß*...

In the Romanian we read *avea pe el, avea ca el* (in Mc 11,32: *avea credința cu*) Micu-Clain, however, used the versions  $\text{ава} \text{кѣмъ}, \text{ава} \text{ке}$  and  $\text{ава} \text{кѣ} \text{адеврѣрати}$  as well; as we see, some of the Romanian solution render the Greek  $\delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  construction, too.

In the Albanian we also find a loan translation after Latin or Greek: *kám për* ... and *kám se*.

A similar translation can be read in Károli's Hungarian text, too: *tartani valakit, mint* 'to regard somebody as', but in Mc 11,32 Károli gives a completely different translation: *mert mindenek ily értelemben valának János felől, hogy ő igaz próféta volt* 'because all people were in this sense about John that he was a real prophet'. The later texts—Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Christian, too,—use the above-mentioned verb *tartani* with a metonymic dative government: *valakinek*.

In the Kralice Bible we find the similar verbal government *míti za koho*; also in the Russian version of the Stockholm edition: *почитали (его) за кого* 'to take for'.

In the modern Slavic languages this locus is rendered by means of the equivalents of the verbs *мыслити, съмoтpѣти, почитати, почѣсти* etc., but the Bulgarian *има́м за ко́го*; Cz. *míti za koho*; Slk. *mat' za koho*; P. *mieć za kogo* are hardly independent of the Old Slavic (and of such foreign models as German *halten für*, etc.); in Czech (and through it, also in Polish) this expression may be a Moravianism.

— Real structural calque expression.

136. *иноплеменьникъ* ~ (ὁ) *ἀλλογενής*

'foreigner, alien'. Lu 17,18: *οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀλλογενής οὗτος* ~ *не обрѣтъ сѧ · възраштыше сѧ дати славу бг̃ · тѣкъмо иноплеменьникъ сѧ* 'Was there not found another than this foreigner to come back, and to render thanks to God?'

In the Zographus and Nikolja Gospel we read *славу*. In the Assemani the vocalized form *иноплеменьникосъ*, contains the demonstrative pronoun *съ* as a postpositive article, appearing in some Severo-Russkij (Northern Russian) dialects, too.

As for the original Greek compound adjective, it is the Old Slavic *инородъникъ* that corresponds precisely to it; the compound *иноплеменьникъ* renders the Greek *ἀλλόφυλος* which can be seen in the Psalterium Sinaiticum although in the Codex Suprasliensis this latter Greek word is rendered with *иностранникъ*. It is doubtless, however, that with respect to the half-Israelitic origin of the Samaritans, the Old Slavic expression seems even more precise than its Greek model.

In the later Old Slavic texts the Greek *ἀλλογενής* was interpreted by the calques *иноземьць, штоуждєземьць* and *штоуждєплеменьникъ*, too (this latter can be read as early as in the Euchologium Sinaiticum). In later Church Slavic *иностраньць, чтоужестраньць* also occur.

The Latin *alienigena* corresponds exactly to the Greek compound. As for the Gothic *alja-kuns*, it also corresponds etymologically to *ἀλλογενής*, but its meaning covers *ἀλλόφυλος*, too: the Gothic *kuni* may mean 'genus, stem, sort' alike. Luther's text was the word *Fremdling*, a derivate of the adjective *fremd* 'alien'.

The Romanian *de neam străin* as a qualitative genitive construction renders the sense 'alien-born' (in Micu-Clain's text it is simply *στρῆνις*). The Albanian calque compound *tjatërë-kombës*, seems to be similar to the Gothic.

In the Hungarian, Károli applied the expression *idegen nemzet* 'alien nation'; later the Greek (or Latin) word was interpreted simply as *idegen* 'alien, foreigner'.

The Kralice Bible uses *cizozemec* which corresponds to Church Slavic штоужездемец; the modern Russian text has preserved the primary Old Slavic compound.

The Other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. (иноплéменен); Ср.-Ср. иноплемењик; Russ. иноплéменник; Укр. иноплеми́нник (инозéмец); М. (инороден); Cz. *jinoplemenník*; Slk. (*inoplemenný*); Р. (*innoplemienny*); Н.Со. (*cuzozemski, -ródny*); Л.Со. (*cuzokrajny*).

— Real structural calque. As for the Western Slavic languages, it seems to be a Moravianism, spread by Czech mediation, although similar formations are not unusual in these languages either.

137. ИНОЧАДЪ ~ ΜΟΝΟΥΓΕΝΗΣ

'one-born, only-begotten'. Lu 7,12: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο τεθνηκῶς μοχογενής υἱὸς μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, ~ ἰ се ἐзноишадѣх оумьрьшии сѣнѣ · иночадъ матери своєи · 'and behold, there was attended the funeral of a dead, the only-begotten son of his mother'. Similar passages: Lu 8,42; 9,38; Jo 1,14; 1,18; 3,16; 3,18.

In later Old and Church Slavic texts the compounds ИНОРОДЪНЪ, ИЛИНОЧАДЪ, ИЛИНОРОДЪНЪ and ИЛИНОРОЖДЕНЪ render the adjective ΜΟΝΟΥΓΕΝΗΣ (or, sometimes, the simple ΜΟΝΟΣ in this same sense).

In the Latin translations we read the parallel compound *unigenitus* (sometimes the simple *unicus*). The Gothic text also renders the Greek original in a double way: *ainabour* (but only in Skeireins 46, not in the gospels), and *ainaha* (in feminine: *ainaho*). This dual interpretation, in Latin and Gothic depends obviously on the solemnity of the text in question. In the historical narrations of St Luke's Gospel we find *unicus* or *ainaha* 'only, unique', but in the first, solemn chapter of St. John's Gospel the Latin translator used the compound *unigenitus* 'only-begotten', speaking about Christ as the only-begotten son of the Father. (In Gothic the gospels do not contain these passages but we know the compound *aina-bour* from the Skeireins).

The parallelism of these passages in Latin and Gothic seem to confirm the assumption that the Gothic Wulfila, who may have been born in Dacia, knew the early Latin translations and was familiar with the Latin liturgical use of the word, too. (Cf. Streitberg, 394, p. XLI–XL, discussing the relationship between the Codex Argenteus and the Codex Brixianus, this Latin text of the 6th c., he points out the Latin influence on Gothic). Luther's translation uses *ein einiger* in the cited passage, but *eingeboren* in St. John's Gospel, when it refers to Jesus Christ.

In the Romanian, we also find a similar dualism here: *unicus* ~ *singur*, but *unigenitus* ~ *uni(a)ia născut*. Micu-Clain uses the latter as a rule, but he applies another expression for rendering *unicus*, e.g. in Lu 8,42: *къ дѣтъ, нѣмаи ѿ фатъ* 'as he had an only daughter, exclusively'.

The Albanian text also alternates the words *vëtëm* 'single' and *vëtëm-lindur* 'only-begotten', according to *unicus* and *unigenitus*, respectively.

In the Hungarian Károli rendered this difference by *egyetlenegy* and *egyetlen-egyszülött* (but in Jo 3,18 only *egyetlenegy*); the later Hungarian versions vary the epithetons *egyetlen* and *egyszülött*, according to the contextual sense.

From all this it is clear that only the Old Slavic translations used consistently the same word for rendering the Greek original.

The Kralice Bible alternates the adjective *jednorozeny* and *jediný* depending on the sense, like the Russian edition of Stockholm does with *единородный* and *единственный*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (единорóден); Sr.-Cr. *инóчедь* (obsolete), (једнóродан), (једíнац, једíнче); Russ. *иночад*, *иночад(н)ый*, *единочад(н)ый*; Ukr. (інорóдец, однорíдний, єдиночáдний); M. (еднородец); Cz. (*jednorozeny*); Slk. (*jednorodený*, *jedinák*); P. (*jedynak*); L.So. (*jednorodny*); H.So. (*jednoródnik* 'kinsman').

Thus, the original meaning 'one' of the Indo-European stem *\*eino-* can be found only in the Old Slavic, the modern Slavic languages use the pleonastic-demonstrative *\*ed-eino-* or *\*ed-ino* to forming the equivalent compounds. But some fluctuations can be seen already as in the most archaic Old Slavic texts between *ино-чадъ* and *едино-чадъ*. Lu 7,12 in the Assemani: *оумера сына єдиночадъ матери*; Lu 8,42 in the Ostromir and the Assemani: *єдиночадъ матери*; Lu 9,38 in the Ostromir, Zographus and Nikolja Gospel: *єдиночадъ матери*; Jo, 1,18 in the Ostromir: *тѣкмо єдиночадъ снѣ матери*; Jo, 1,18 in the Assemani: *нѣ тѣкмо снѣ матери*; Jo 1,14 in the Ostromir and Nikolja Gospel: *єдиночадъаго снѣ матери*; Jo 3,16 in the Ostromir and Savvina Kniga: similarly, *єдиночадъаго* Jo 3,18 in the Ostromir, Nikolja Gospel, and Assemani: this same *єдиночадъаго*. The compound *иночадъ* can also be found in the earliest translations of the psalms, e.g. in Ps 21,21 and 24,16; similarly, in Hebrews 11,17, in the First Epistle of St. John 4,9 and in the Gospel of Šišman as well. But later the form *єдиночадънъ*, then *єдиноролънъ* became predominant in the biblical and liturgical texts as the common Slavic loanword *чадъ* (of Germanic origin, perhaps Gothic or Old High German) was gradually ousted from the compound, in favour of the more original Slavic stem *рѣ-*; it is also characteristic that the Russian alone has preserved the Old Slavic compound. But as a simple word, and in some other compounds, this loanword from the Proto-Germanic *\*kendam* < Indo-European *\*gentom* (originally, a substantivized participial neutral form) has survived; see B. *чѣдо* 'child'; Sr.-Cr.

чѣдо 'id.'; Russ. and Ukr. чáдо 'id.'; M. чедо 'id.'; чедам 'to bear'; Cz. *čad* 'boy', *čade* 'girl'; P. *czędo* 'child' (obsolete words).

— Real structural calque.

138. искомрениити ~ ἐκριζόω

'to disroot, to eradicate' Mt 15,13: πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται ~ всѣкъ садъ егѡже не насади оубо мои небескы · іскомрениитъ сѧ · 'every plant, that was not planted by my Heavenly Father, will be disrooted'.

In later Church Slavic texts *вырѣвати* (сѧ корѣньмѧ) also occurs.

In the Latin text we also find a calque: *eradicare*. The Gothic Bible does not contain this locus. In Luther's translation the verb *ausreuten* can be found (as a variant of *ausroden* 'exterminate').

In the Romanian we can read a paraphrase: *se va smulge de rădăcină* 'it will be torn off from the root' (however, its meaning is the same: 'it will be disrooted'). But in Micu-Clain's translation we can find an exact calque: *дефрълъчина* 'to disroot'.

In the Albanian the passive future form *do të çkuletë* belongs to the verb *çkul* 'to pluck from'.

In the Hungarian text of Károli, there is also a passive form (present and/or future) *kiszaggattatik* 'it will be plucked out') in the later texts: *kitépetik* 'will be torn up' or *gyökerestől kitépetik* 'it will be eradicated, will be torn up by the roots'. (In the modern Catholic texts: *tövestül kitépnék* 'people will pull out the root [and branch] of it').

The Kralice Bible and the Russian translation of the Stockholm edition use the verbs *vykořeniti se* and *искорениться*, respectively.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. искомрѣнѧ, (искомрѣнѧвам); Sr.-Cr. искомрѣнити (искомрѣнѧвати); Russ. искомрѣнить, (искомрѣнѧть); Ukr. корѣнити; (корѣнѧти); M. искомрѣне (искомрѣнува); Cz. (*vykořeniti, vykořeňovati*); Slk. (*vykoreniť*); P. (*wykorzenić, wykorzeniać*); L.So. (*wukorjenjowaś*); H.So. (*wukorjenjować*).

— Real structural calque which, as witnessed by the comparison to the equivalents in living Slavic languages, was formed directly on the basis of the original Greek in the Slavic dialect of Saloniki. In the Eastern and Southern Slavic, it is a Church Slavic influence; in Western Slavic, we can find the influence of Latin and Lutheran German texts.

139–140. искомрсити, искомршати ~ (ἀπο-)δοκιμάζω, (ἐκ-)πειράζω

'to tempt'. Mt 4,1: Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου. ~ тогда иѣсъ възвеленъ бысть въ поустыни · іскомрсити сѧ отъ неприѣзни · 'then Jesus was brought into the desert by the spirit, to be tempted by the devil.'

(In the texts of the Assemani, Ostromir and Savvina Kniga we can read the supinum form *искоуцитъ*, instead of the infinitive *искоуцити*).

Similar loci: *искоуцити*: Mt 4,7; Lu 4,12; 14,19; *искоушиати*: Mt 16,1; 19,3; 22,35; Mc 1,13; 8,11; Lu 11,16; 12,56; Jo 6,6; 8,6.

In the text of the Marianus we find *окоушиаѣте* in Mt 22,18, and in the Zographus *окоушиаѣте*. Later we find in the Church Slavic the expression *на грѣхъ приводити* 'to lead into the sin' as well.

The Latin translations render the Greek verbs by *temptare* and *probare* 'to tempt, to examine, to try'. In the Gothic, the corresponding verb is mostly *us-fraisan* which corresponds exactly to the Greek (but, rarely, the simple *fraisan* also occurs). In Luther's text we usually find *versuchen*, but *besehen* is applied in the sense 'to try', corresponding to the Latin verb *probare* as in Lu 14,19.

In the Romanian we find the verb *ispiti* 'to search, to entice, to tempt', a Slavic loanword (cf. Old Slavic *испытати* 'to test, to examine'). In the Albanian translation, corresponding to the Latin word, the verbs *ngashnéj* 'to entice, to call' and *provój* 'to prove, to demonstrate' are used.

In the Hungarian we read (*meg*)*kisérteni* 'to tempt, to try' in these passages, but sometimes (e.g. Lu 14,19) *meglátни* 'to catch sight of' as well; this latter changed into *kipróbálni* 'to try out' in the modern versions.

In the Kralice Bible it is the verb *pokousiti* that is generally used; in the Russian edition of Stockholm, however, we can meet the Old Slavic verbs and their derivates. All these solutions are fully independent of Otfrid's verbs *ruaran* 'to touch' and *faran* 'to tempt'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *изкушá* (*изкушáвам*); Sr.-Cr. *изкúсити*, *йскушати*, *искушáвати*; Russ. *искусíть*, *искушáть*; Ukr. *скуси́ти*, *скушáти*; M. *искуси* (*искушава*, *искушува*); Cz. *zkusiti*, *zkoušeti*; Slk. *skúsiť*; *skúsať*; P. *skusić*; L.So. (*spytowaś*); H.So. (*spytować*).

The Slavic words show that *искоуцити* and *искоушиати* were not created due to an immediate Greek influence but their special meaning of 'tempting God' or 'leading into temptation' are due to the Greek biblical texts.

— Semantic calques, in the above-mentioned meanings.

141a-b. *искоушитель*, (*искоушиаѣ*) ~ *ὁ πειράζων* (*ὁ πειραστής*)  
'tempter' ('devil') Mt 4,3: *καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπὲ ἴνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται*. ~ *І прѣстѣпи къ нѣмоу дѣвкоуль · искоушиаѣ и ѣ рече · аште снѣ еси бѣжи · рѣци да камене се хлѣви бѣлѣтъ · 'and coming the tempter said to Him: If thou art God's son, say that these stones change into loaves'.*

In this locus the text of the Zographus chooses the following solution: *дѣвкоуль, искоушиаѣ и ѣ рече · аште снѣ еси* etc.; in other archaic texts we can read the nomen agentis *искоушитель*. This renders, partly, the essential content of the



Greek word by another Greek loanword (from διάβολος 'devil' which meant originally 'accuser, calumniator'). In the later Church Slavic we meet the form *искоуѣникъ* and *испытатель*, too. (The Greek διάβολος is sometimes translated as *неприяѣзнь* 'enemy'.)

In the Latin text the corresponding deverbial noun *tentator* can be read which is a *nomen agentis*, similar to *искоуѣитель* (while in the original Greek we find a substantivized active imperfective participle). In the Gothic this passage does not occur, but in I, Thessal. 3,5 the participial form *sa fraisanda* is found. Luther's translation renders the Greek (and Latin) word by the corresponding *Versucher*.

The Romanian *ispititor* is also a *nomen agentis*, similarly to the Latin, but from the Slavic loanword *ispita* (cf. above *испити*). In the Albanian we also find a deverbial noun, *nget* from the verb *ngas ngét (ój)* 'to touch, to drive, to press, to try'. In the Hungarian also, we meet the substantivized participle present form *kísértő* from the verb *kísérteni* 'to try, to tempt'.

The Kralice Bible uses the deverbial noun *pokušitel* from the verb *pokusiti* (the variant *zkoušitel* also occurs). In the modern Russian edition the Old Slavic word has been preserved. All these do not achieve the variety of Otfrid's gospel harmony: *farari* (basic meaning: 'dangermaker'), *diufal* 'devil', *widarwerto* 'contrary', 'recalcitrant' (the calque of Aramaean *Satana*).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. *искуѣител*; Sr.-Сг. *искѣуѣитель* (obsolete), (*искуѣшач*); Russ. *искуѣитель*; Укр. *скуѣитель*; М. (*искушеник* 'novice, penitent'); Cz. *skoušitel* (*pokušitel*); Slk. (*pokušitel*); P. (*kusiciel*), Н.Со. (*spytowaciel*, *spytowar*); L.Со. (*spytowar*).

The corresponding present participles can be formed from the verbs concerned.

— Semantic calques.

#### 142. *искоуѣнение* ~ *ὁ πειρασμός*

'temptation' Lu 4,13: *καὶ συντελέσας πάντα πειρασμὸν ὁ διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄρχι καιροῦ* · ~ *І съкончычакъ всако искуѣнение · дивволъ · отиде отъ него до времени* · (Marianus text.) 'and finishing all the temptation, the devil went away from Him for a while'.

Similar loci: Lu 11,4 and the Lu Synaxis (in the Marianus). In Lu 11,4 the variant *напастъ* can be found in the Marianus and the Ostromir, as an ancient Moravianism.

In later Church Slavic texts we find *испытание*, *разбрърание*, *истязание*, too.

In the Latin version we can see a *nomen actionis* of similar structure: *tentation*. In the Gothic text the deverbial noun *fraistubni* can be found as a derivate of the verb *fraisan* 'to try, to prove'. Otfrid's gospel harmony applies the word *fāra* (basic meaning: 'danger') for rendering this concept in II, 21,37, in the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer.

The Romanian texts contain the substantivized infinitive *ispitirea* in this passage; in Albanian the corresponding nomen actionis is *ngásje* 'temptation' from the verb *ngas* (*nget, ngáva, ngárë*) 'to touch'. From the noun a denominal verb, *ngashnjëj* 'to call, to allude' is derived.

Hungarian *kísértés* is a similar nomen actionis from the verb *kísért* 'to try, to tempt' (this verb comes from the older verb *kísér* 'to accompany').

The Kralice Bible contains the expected deverbal noun *pokušení*; in the Russian edition we meet the Old Slavic word. All these seem to be independent of the German *Versuchung* in Luther's text that follows the Greek (or Latin) pattern.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. искушение; Sr.-Cr. искушење; Russ. искушение; Ukr. кушення; Cz. (*pokus, pokušení*); Slk. (*pokušenie*); P. (*pokusa, pokuszenie*); H.So. (*spytowanie*); L.So. (*spytowanie*). These Western Slavic words are related to the later Church Slavic words покушение, испытание and скоушение.

— Semantic calque, on the basis of its special Christian religious meaning.

143. испълнити ~ (ἐκ)πληρώω

'to fill, to fulfil'. Mt 3,15: ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἄφεες ἄρτι οὕτως γὰρ πρέπει ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. ~ отъвѣштавъ же иѣс рече къ нѣмому · остана нзынѣ · тако бо подобно намъ есть съкончати всекъж правълаж · 'but Jesus, answering, said to him: "Leave now this, because we need to fill all the justice in this way".'

Similar passages: Mt 2,15; 2,17; 23,32; Mc 1,15; Jo 3,29; 7,8; 15,11; 16,24; 17,13. In addition in a fully concrete meaning, Mt 13,48; Lu 3,5; Jo 16,6.

In the Zographus we find съкончати in Mt 3,15 instead of испълнити; as for Mt 2,15 and 2,17 the verb събъити occurs in the Savvina Kniga, Assemani and Ostromir. In other Old Slavic texts the verbs събъити са, съвршити, довршити can also be read for the Greek ἐκπληρώω.

In later Church Slavic, however, выпълнити, оудовълетворити, произвести, въздѣйствовати occur, too, as synonyms. The Old Slavic испълнити, however, is also used for rendering the Greek verbs πλήθω, πίμπλημι and γεμίζω 'to fill in'. In later Church Slavic they are also translated with съвршити, докончати, произвести къ дѣйствию.

The Latin texts show the translation *impleo*, thus they apply a prefix with the opposite meaning.

In the Gothic this locus cannot be found, but we know from Mc 1,15 that the prefixed verb *us-fulljan* (and the passive-reflexive *us-full-nan*) is applied by the Gothic translator, i.e. a prefixation which corresponds exactly to the original Greek. Otfrid uses the corresponding *gustalih irfullen* (I, 25,12); in Luther's text also we find *Gerechtigkeit|zu erfüllen*.

In the Romanian the verb *implini* is used, in accordance with the Latin; later the simple *plini* as well. In the Albanian the verb *mbush* 'to fill in' and *mbúshem* 'to get filled' occur.

The old Hungarian *betölteni* 'to fill in' and *bétölni* 'to be filled' are modified in the modern texts and appear as *megtölteni* and *megtelni* in concrete meanings, or *teljesíteni* and *(be)teljesedni*, in figurative senses.

The Kralice Bible renders the Greek and Latin prefixed verbs mainly by the simple *plniti*; the modern Russian translation has preserved the Old Slavic verb.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. изпълня (изпълних, изпълнявам); Sr.-Cr. испунити (изпуњавати); Russ. исполнить (исполнять); Ukr. сполнити (сполняти); M. исполни (исполнува); Cz. splněti (*splňati*); Slk. splniť (*splňat', splňovat'*); P. spełnić (*spełniać*); L.So. spolniś (*spolnjowaś*); H.So. (wupjelnić, -pjelnječ, -pjelnjować).

For rendering durative or iterative action, the imperfective forms are used; both the imperfective and the perfective forms are applied with the reflexive pronoun if a passive or immanent sense has to be expressed.

— Semantic calque, in the sense of '(ful)filling', 'accomplishing' of the Old Slavic word. As for the creation of the verb itself, naturally it is not necessary to suppose an original Greek model. Compared to the Greek and its Latin equivalent, it shows a striking parallelism with the Gothic.

144. испълнение ~ τὸ πλήρωμα

'fullness, plenitude, completeness'. Jo, 1,16: ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν, καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος · ~ ѿ отъ испълнѣнїѣ его мзи вси при- ѣххомъ · БЛАГОДѢТЬ ВЪЗ БЛАГОДѢТЬ · 'because we all have received from his fullness, grace (for) after grace'.

The Old Slavic noun and its Greek model occur in Mc 8,20, but in the meaning 'rest, surplus' (in the Latin: *fragmentum*). The later Old and Church Slavic texts render the Greek word with съврѣшениѣ, заврѣшениѣ, съконъчаниѣ which correspond rather more to the Greek τελείωσις or συντελεία than πλήρωμα.

The cited passage contains the denominal abstract *plenitudo* in Latin; in the Gothic it cannot be found. Luther's translation renders this concept with *Fülle* 'fullness'.

In the Romanian we find, similarly to the Latin, the abstract noun *plinătate*, but in Micu-Clain's interpretation we read *плинаръѣ* which is in good agreement with the Greek and Old Slavic nomen actionis by its meaning 'pouring out'. Similarly, the Albanian *të-mbushurit* (from the passive past participial form of the verb *mbush* 'to fill in') seems to be nearer to the Greek and Old Slavic deverbial abstract than to the Latin deadjectival noun.

In Hungarian, the different versions render the Latin model by *teljesség* 'plenitude' but, in older texts, we meet the equivalent of the Greek (and even of the Old Slavic) deverbial abstract noun: a *Szent Lélek kitöltetése* τὸ πλήρωμα

(or ἐκπλήρωσις) τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος 'the pouring out (or plenitude) of the Holy Spirit'.

In the Kralice Bible we mostly find the deadjectival *plnost*; similarly, in the modern Russian text we can meet the abstract noun *полнотá*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. исплънѣние; Sr.-Cr. испунѣње (obsolete), (испуњавање); Russ. исполнѣние; Ukr. сповнѣння; М. (исполнување); Cz. *splněni*; Slk. *splnenie*; P. *spelnienie*; L.So. *spetnjenje*; H.So. (*wupjelnjenje*).

— Semantic calque (cf. what has been said about *исплънити*). The Old Slavic word, corresponding to the Greek precisely, expresses the active origin and nature of divine grace much better than the Latin deadjectival noun. The other equivalents vary between these two senses. The Greek–Old Slavic parallelism in Mc 8,20 is due to the strict adherence of the Slavic interpreters to the original text in that passage rather than the extension of the meaning of *исплънение* (here the "fullness" of baskets is concerned containing the fragments of several loaves).

145–146. *исповѣдати сѧ, исповѣдѣти сѧ* ~ ἔξομολογοῦμαι  
'to glorify, to extol, to confess, to acknowledge'. Lu, 10,21 ἔξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ~ *исповѣдаѣ ти сѧ о҃че · г҃и нѣбсе і землѧ* ·  
'I glorify thee, Father, o Lord of the Heaven and the earth'.

Similar passages: *исповѣдати*: Mt 3,6; 11,25; Mc 1,5; Lu 2,38; Jo 12,42; *исповѣдѣти*: Mt 7,23; 10,32 (bis); Lu 12,8 (bis); 22,6; Jo 1,18; 1,20 (bis); 9,22.

It must be noted that the Old Slavic texts do not repeat the verb in the same verse as the Greek texts do (thus e.g. in Jo 1,20 the verb *исповѣдѣти* is only found once).

In later Old Slavic texts the verbs *исповѣловати*, *исповѣдывати* also appear. The late Church Slavic texts use the verbs *признати сѧ*, *диакovati*, *вѣнчавати*, *вѣличати*, too.

In the Latin text the deponent verb *confiteri* is general; in the Gothic the prefixed *and-haitan* can be read which corresponds mostly to a Greek ἀνομολογέω with respect to its basic meaning and composition. The Greek verb is as a hapax legomenon in the gospels. It seems the Latin translation did not exert any influence on either Old Slavic or Gothic here, and these two were also independent of each other. Luther's translation uses the verb *bekennen* mostly, but *preisen* in Lu 10,21, according to the sense of 'glorifying'.

In the Romanian, if the sense of 'glorifying' is required, the verb *mulțumi* 'to thank, to be grateful' is used; in other cases the verb *mărturisi* 'to confess, to declare, to witness' appears. A similar dualism exists in the Albanian passages: *falnderoj* (*fålem ndërse*) and *rrefëhem* are used alternately according to the sense.

In Károli's text the expression *vallást tenni* (word for word: 'to do confession') and the perfective verb *megvallani* 'to confess' were applied alternately; the

former expression was replaced later by the expression *hálát adni* 'to give thanks' and *áldani* 'to bless' or *dicsőíteni* 'to glorify'.

The Kralice Bible alternates the verbs *chváliti* and *vynávati*, according to the context. In the Russian edition of Stockholm we find *объявить* and *славить* on one hand, and *исповѣдывать* on the other. (This latter also expresses the act of confession in the sacrament of penance.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *исповѣдам* (*исповѣдвам*); Sr.-Cr. *исповѣдати* (*исповѣдити*); Russ. *исповѣдать* (*исповѣдывать*); Ukr. *сповідати*; М. (*исповѣдува*); Cz. *zpovídati se*; Slk. *spovedat'sa*; P. *spowiadać się*; H.So. *spowědać* 'to confess, to enarrate'; L.So. *spowěžeś* 'id.'

— Semantic calque; in the Church Slavic religious sense its general meaning is 'to make a confession', 'to confess to a priest'. Its spreading into the Western Slavic languages perhaps began as a Moravianism.

## К

147–149. *кѡкѡтѡгладшєнїє, кѡурѡгладшєнїє, (пѣтєльгладшєнїє) ~ ἡ ἀλεκτοροφωνία* 'cockcrowing'. Mc 13,35: οὐκ οἶδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται, ἢ ὀψὲ ἢ μεσονύκτιον ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ πρωΐ ~ не вѣсте бо кѡгда гѣ домоу придетъ: вечеръ ли · ли полу нощи · ли кѡ курѡгладшєнїє · ли оутро · 'for ye do not know, whether the lord of the house will come in the evening or at midnight or at the time of cockcrow or in the morning.'

The Greek word is a hapax legomenon in the gospels. As for the archaic Old Slavic texts, it is the Marianus only that uses the calque *кѡкѡтѡгладшєнїє* and this circumstance also supports Jagić's opinion about the origin of this codex in a Serbo-Croatian environment (though in Miletic's opinion, as mentioned earlier, the peculiarities of the Marianus can be explained by North Macedonian origin, too).

The compound *пѣтєльгладшєнїє* occurs only in the Nikolja Gospel among the six archaic manuscripts; Weingart considers that this codex represents a rewriting of an old Glagolitic text. Although Daničić thinks that this codex, in its present form, has a Serbo-Bosnian-Bogumilian character, it is just the calque *пѣтєльгладшєнїє* that warns that the source of this manuscript could be somewhere in the central regions of the Balkan peninsula, since the word *пѣтєль* can be found in both the Serbian and the Bulgarian language (*пѣтао* and *петѣл*, respectively, this latter exists in Macedonian, too) while *кѡкѡт* is the characteristic word of the Serbo-Croatian areas, being an ancient Slavic onomatopoeic word (as *кѡкѡшь* and *кѡкѡтъ*, too).

All the other archaic codices show the calque *кѡурѡгладшєнїє* which is undoubtedly not a Southern Slavic compound but a Moravianism. The word *кѡурѡ* can be found in the Western Slavic languages as an obsolete word. Today the words commonly used for 'cock' are *kohout* and *kokot* in Western Slavic, and

петѹх in Eastern Slavic, but κοκόσι and κογύτ also occur. They are of onomatopoeitic origin (cf. κοκοτάτι 'to crow').

The codices examined show the same alternative distribution and consistency in the use of the basic words, too. (See Mt 26,34; 26,74; 26,75; Mc 14,69; 14,72; Lu 22,34; 22,60; 22,61; Jo 13,38; 18,27). Most of these loci are concerned with the Passions' History or with its prophesying related to St. Peter's denying.

In later Church Slavic: коуѣоукоуликѣ, коуѣоуѣниѣ, ꙗѣниѣ ꙗѣтоуѣха also appear.

The Original Greek is rendered by *galli cantus* (word for word: 'cock's song') in the Latin translation, and in the low Latin the compound *gallicantus* also occurs. The Latin interpretation can be considered a possessive or explicative genitive construction; it has a calquoid character only because of the word order, and, as for its content, it is not such an exact replica of the original Greek as the Old Slavic compound. (The Greek (ἐκ)φωνέω and the Old Slavic (вѣз-)гласити have the same meaning, but the Latin *canere*, *cantare* would correspond rather to an archaic Greek verb ᾄδιδιάω, or an Attic *koinē*, and Byzantine ὕμνέω or μελίζω).

In the Gothic this locus cannot be found but we know from other passages (e.g. Mt 26,75) that similarly to the Latin, a genitive construction *hanino kruk* was used. The word order followed the Greek, and its content was also closer to it. (*Hruk*, from the Indo-European \**qer-*, \**qor-*, meant a 'rancous cry', thus 'crowing of ravens or cocks' as well.)

In the Old High German text of Otfrid this compound word does not appear. Though the author of this poetical work uses the verb *krahan* 'to crow' for the 'cock's crowing, nevertheless we also find the verb *singan* corresponding to the Latin *canere* or *cantare*. In IV, 13,35–36, both of these interpretations occur:

*Thus lougnis min, zi wáre  
er hinaht háno krahe,  
In notlichemo thinge,  
Er thaz húan singe.*

(In IV, 18,34, however, we find the verb *gi-kunden* 'to announce, to declare' as a poetical paraphrase for the crowing of the cock:

*Warum tho thio ziti,  
Thez ther háno kráti,  
Thaz ouh thaz huan gikundti,  
Thes selben dáges kunfti.*

A similar allusion can be read in the Heliand, 4690 . . . *that thu thines thiadnes thriwo farlognis er hanocradi endi qui this, that ik thin herro ni si.*

In the Romanian there is also a genitive possessive or explicative construction like the Latin, but without an inverse word order: *cantatul cocoşului*, or, in Micu-

Clain's text with a plural genitive: КЖТАТЪЛЪ КОКОШИЛОУЪ. The basic sense of the components, however, is in full agreement with the Latin.

The same can be said about the Albanian *këndem të-kokoshit* or, later, *kënga ë-kënderit*.

In the Hungarian text we can read *kakasszó* (word for word: 'cock's word') by Károli, and the cock *megszólal* 'begins to speak' in the other passages too. It cannot be proved that the use of this word comes from Old Slavic КОКОТОГЛАШЕНИЕ, КОУРОПЪНИЕ or their synonyms; nevertheless, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to suppose, considering the early date of Slavic missionary work among our people, that the Slavic effect promoted the spreading of the Hungarian compound and its older variant *tikszó* (where the noun of Turkic origin *tik*, modern Hungarian *tyúk*, was not confined in those times to the new exclusive female reference 'hen'), since the Slavic words are closer to the Hungarian correspondents than the Latin *gallicantus*.

The Kralice Bible uses a subordinate time clause: *když kohouti zpívají* 'when the cocks are singing'. The modern Russian version uses a Latin-like expression, ПЪНИЕ ПЪТУХОВЪ (similar to Micu-Clain's solution): 'the singing of the cocks'. Thus, all these seem to be independent of Luther's *Hahnenschrei* 'cock's crying' which follows the Latin and Greek original.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (кукуригане); Sr.-Cr. (кукүрек(ање)); Russ. (куроклѣк, клик петуха); Ukr. кукурикання (голошення когутá); M. (кукуригане); Cz. (*kuropění*); Slk. (*kikirikanie*); P. (*pianie koguta*); L.So. (*kokotanje*); H.So. (*kokotanje*). The Sorbian languages also use the expression *kokot spěwa* 'the cock sings'.

Thus we find compounds similar to the Old Slavic only in Russian and Czech; in both languages they are obsolete. The Czech compound also implies, like the verbal constructions in the other Slavic languages, that 'the cock sings', which reflects a similar outlook to Latin *gallus cantat*. The primary meaning of German *Hahn* and Slavic ПЪТЕЛЪ, ПЪТОУХЪ was also 'singer' (cf. the Latin *canere* and Slavic ПЪТИ, respectively).

— Real structural calques; the Old Slavic words follow the content of the Greek model much more closely than the Latin compound.

150. крило ~ τὸ πτερόγιον (ἢ πτέρυξ)

'top, roof'; 'wing; by-building' Mt 4,5: Τότε παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερόγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ~ тогда полатъ | дивволаъ · въ сѣти градъ · ѿ постави | на крилѣ црѣк'внѣемѣ · 'then the devil took Him into the holy town, and he set Him on the top of the Temple'. Similar locus: Lu 4,9.

The Savvina Kniga interprets the Greek word in Mt 4,5 as на вратѣ. As for Lu 4,9, we find на крымѣ in the texts of the Marianus and the Nikolja Gospel. In

the later manuscripts the words *κρῆμι* and *στράνα* can also be found; in later Church Slavic *връхъ домоу, покровъ, пристрой(-ка)*, as well.

The word *κρῆμι*, in the meaning 'wing', is the translation of ἡ πτέρυξ (in a primary concrete sense) in Mt 23,37 and Lu 13,34, thus it cannot be considered there as a calque.

The Latin text interprets *πτερόγιον* with *pinnaculum* 'ridge of house, fronton', but *πτέρυξ* — with *ala* 'wing', thus it makes a distinction between the original Greek nouns according to the context.

In the Gothic the quoted passage cannot be found, but in Lu 4,9 the translation of *πτερόγιον* is *gibla* 'gable, pike'. The loci with the noun *πτέρυξ* are not translated into Gothic.

In the Old High German the equivalent of *πτερόγιον* is *oban-anti* 'upper part, pike' (word for word: 'upper end'). Otfrid wrote on the basis of Mt 4,5 and Lu 4,9 in his work (II, 4,53):

*Er inan in thie wenti  
sazta in oban-enti.*

The translation is made according to the sense, maybe as a calque neologism. The parts, containing the word *πτέρυξ*, are not elaborated in Otfrid's work.

In Luther's translation *πτερόγιον* is rendered by *Zinne* and *πτέρυξ*... with *Flügel*.

In the Romanian we find *aripă* 'wing' for *πτερόγιον* and *πτέρυξ* alike. In the Albanian there are two words: *flëtë(zë)* 'wing', and *kneh*; this latter has the basic meaning 'arm, shoulder', but it also means 'wing', 'help', 'sustainment'.

The Hungarian texts used the words *tető* 'roof' and *szárny* 'wing, side of building'; in the modern Hungarian versions *orom* 'gable' or *párkány* 'border, edge' are applied.

The Kralice Bible contains the noun *vrch* 'top, roof' for these loci; in the new Russian translation the Old Slavic word has been preserved, but in the form *крыло*.

As for the other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word *κρῆμι* is universal both in its concrete and metonymic sense; later it even became the calque of German *Flügel* 'fortepiano'. In the Czech language, where it occurs as *křídlo* (thus, with the suffix *\*-dhlom*). Slk. *křídlo* has the concrete meaning 'wing' (though not exclusively); the noun *pero* is also used in the same sense. P. *skrzydło*, L.So. *kšídlo*, H.So. *křídlo* almost always have the concrete meaning, 'wing', H.So. *křídlica*, however, means 'gable of house'. In Russian the word has become *крыло*, probably influenced by the popular etymology in relation to *открыть* 'to open' and *закрыть* 'to shut, to close'.

— It is a semantic calque in the sense *πτερόγιον* 'gable', but it is only a simple translation if it means *πτέρυξ* 'wing'.



151a-b κρῦωτєчениє, κρῦωτєчениє ~ ἡ ῥύσις (τοῦ) αἵματος  
'haemorrhage, flow of blood' Lu 8,43: καὶ γυνὴ οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ἀπὸ  
ἑτῶν δώδεκα, ~ I жена сжити въ точении крѣви · ѿтъ лѣвою на десате лѣтоу ·  
'and a woman, being in haemorrhage since twelve years'. Similar locus: Mc 5,25.

The variant κρῦωτєчениє can be found in the Savvina Kniga only. The other archaic codices apply some possessive or explicative genitive constructions according to the original Greek. Thus, in the Marianus we find въ точении крѣве; in the Ostromir: въ точении крѣви.

The same expression can be read in the concordant locus of Mc 5,25 where in the Ostromir we also meet въ точении крѣви but in the Assemani: въ точении крѣве.

Thus, κρῦωτєчениє is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts. (But the corresponding compounds often occur in the living Slavic languages; see below). In Church Slavic texts κρῦωτοκѣ, κρῦωпролитіє 'bloodshed', болєзнь, нєлжгъ is sense of 'haemophilia also occur, and κρῦωтєчивость is very common.

In the Latin text we find *fluxus sanguinis*, a genitive construction corresponding to the Greek, and in Mc 5,25 there is a similar phrase *profluvium sanguinis*. In the Gothic, perhaps in better agreement with the Latin than the Greek, we read *runs bloþis*. Otfrid's gospel harmony applies a poetical expression (III, 14, 27–28): *innanþe þar brunno thes bluates* 'running of the well of the blood'.

The Romanian *curgere sânelui* and *curgere de sânge* are formed according to the Latin pattern. The Albanian *të-rrjêdhjure gjaku* is similar.

In the Hungarian the terms *vérfolyás* 'blood-flow' or *vérzés* ('bleeding') are most common, but in the old manuscripts (e.g. in the Jókay Codex 68 times) and in the Latin–Hungarian dictionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries (Calepinus, Szenczi Molnár, Pápai Páriz) the genitive construction *vérnek folyása* (word for word: 'blood's flowing') occurs, in accordance with Latin. In addition to the compounds where the second constituent is *folyás* 'flowing', genitive constructions also occur in great numbers during the 16th–17th centuries; consequently, we can suppose that this compound resulted from the contraction of a word group (as in many other cases) and, probably is not a loan translation of the neighbouring Slavic or German (*Blutlauf*) compounds. (Luther's text applies a similar compound, *Blutgang*.)

In the Kralice Bible we find *tok krve* in Mc 5,25, modelled after the Latin, but a paraphrase can be read in Lu 8,43: *kdo nemoc svou trpěla* 'who suffered because of her disease'. In the new Russian text the Old Slavic word is preserved.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. κρῦωтєчениє (κρῦωпролітіє); Сг.-Сг. (крѣвоток, крѣволіптєње, крѣвопроліће); Russ. кровоточєние (кровоточивость, кровотечєние); Укр. кровотєча (кровоточивість); М. (кровоток); (крѣволивање, крѣвопролитіє); Cz. (*krvotok, tok krve*); Slk. (*krvotok, tok krvi*); P. (*tok krwi, krwotok, krwewłaczka*); H.So. (*ćečenje kreje*); L.So. (*šacanje kšwě, kšawjenje*).

It appears from these data that no precise formal equivalent can be found for the Old Slavic word except in Russian, where the Church Slavic liturgy preserved the archaic word. However, there are etymologically related and similar compounds (though they may be, partly, loanwords from each other). In the Western Slavic a later German (and in the Slovak, Hungarian) influence can also be supposed. In the Russian the compound *кровоточѣние* is probably not an equalisation between the popular and the Old Slavic forms but the influence of the simple *точѣние* 'flow'.

— Calque neologisms (pseudocalques), formed, perhaps, on the model of the adjective *крѣвоточивѣ*, occurring also in the archaic texts. The other Old Slavic variants: *точение крѣве* (*крѣви*) and *течение крѣве* (*крѣви*) must be considered, naturally, as simple translations.

152. *крѣвоточивѣ(-а) ~ αἰμοῤῥῶν(-οῦσα)*

'haemorrhageous'. Mt 9,20: *καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ αἰμοῤῥῶσα δώδεκα ἔτη ~ I se žena kрѣвоточива · дѣвѣ на десѣте лѣтъ имѣшти · (Marianus text.)* 'and behold, a woman who was suffering from haemorrhage twelve years'. Similar loci: Mc Synaxarion and Lu Synaxarion in the Codex Marianus.

In the gospel texts, as we have seen, this compound adjective does not occur, but we find a genitive construction in Mc 5,25 and Lu 8,43: *οὔσαν ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος ~ сѣшти вѣ точении ~ (and вѣ течении) крѣве* (*крѣви*) (but in later Church Slavic texts *крѣвоточивѣ* is well-known).

In the Latin no adjective exists that would correspond to the idea of 'haemorrhageous'; the Greek text is interpreted by means of a verbal construction with an explicative genitive: *quae sanguinis fluxum patiebatur* and *quae erat in profluvio sanguinis* (or: *in fluxu sanguinis*), respectively.

The first variant from among these (*sanguinis fluxus*) owing to its inverse word order, reminds us of the compound *крѣвоточение* in the Savvina Kniga.

In the Gothic the participle form *bloþarinands* can be found, which corresponds fully to the Greek present participle. In Luther's translation the compound *Blutgang*, mentioned above, appears with the verb *haben* 'to have'.

In the Romanian we find an adverbial construction: *o femeie cu scurgere de sânge* 'a woman with flow of blood'; later a participle construction, corresponding better to the original Greek: *o femeie, întru curgereea sângelei fiind* 'a woman, being in the flow of blood'.

In the Albanian the verb *rrëdh* 'to flow' served for creating an intransitive verbal construction with the dative: *një grua që i rrithë gjak nga vetëheja* (word for word: 'a woman, to whom blood flew from herself').

In the Hungarian Károli follows the Latin text: *egy asszony a ki . . . vérnek folyását szenvedé vala* 'a woman who was suffering the flowing of the blood'. In the later texts *aki vérzésben* (or: *vérfolyásban*) *szenvedett* 'who suffered in bleeding (flow of blood)'.

The Kralice Bible shows a construction that reminds us of the Hungarian: *Kteráz nemoci svou trápena byla* 'who was tormented by her disease'. The modern Russian text uses a participial solution with the instrumental case of the archaic compound: *страда́вшая кровото́чениемъ* 'suffering (with) blood-flow'.

As for the other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word, the Old Serbian, Russian and Ukrainian have preserved the Church Slavic compound: Old Serbian *крѣвоточивъ*; Russ. *кровоточивый*; Ukr. *кровоточивий*; in the Bulgarian we find a participial compound *крѣвотѣчен* (*тѣчена*) (cf. Russ. *кровотѣчный*). The Czech *krváčivý* and its equivalents in the other Western Slavic languages mean 'haemophilic'.

The Russian and Ukrainian compounds are the heredity of Church Slavic, the Bulgarian adjective is taken over from Russian. Thus, the Old Slavic word can be considered a compound established under direct Greek influence. It seems more expressive than its Greek model, since, in contrast to the Greek participle meaning a temporary state, it suggests a permanent one.

— Real structural calque.

153. *крѣститель* ~ *ὁ βαπτιστής, (ὁ) βαπτίζων*

'Baptist' [originally: 'a person who immerses (plunges) somebody into the water, marking his repentance or rebirth'; later: 'a person who christens (baptizes) somebody']. Mt 11,11: *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐγήγεραται ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν μεῖζων Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ* · ~ *амин · гл҃ж вамъ · не вѣста въ рожденъиъ женами · бо ии ѱаана крѣстительъ* · 'Verily, I say to you: among the born of women no greater man was born than John the Baptist'.

Similar loci: Mt 3,1; 14,2; 14,8; 16,14; 17,13; 21,32; Mc 6,24; 8,28; Lu 7,20, 7,28; 7,33; 9,19.

In the Latin we meet the Greek loanword: *baptista*. In the Gothic, the present participle of the verb *daupjan* 'to immerse, to plunge, to baptize' occurs: *sa daupjands* 'the baptizer', corresponding to the Greek *βαπτιστής* and *βαπτίζων* alike. Similarly, Luther's text applied the word *der Tauffer*, a calque of Greek (or Latin) origin.

In the Romanian we find *botezator* from the verb *boteza*, in the Albanian *pagëzor* from the verb *pagëzój*. Both of these verbs are loanwords, thus they have not the original sense of the Greek or Gothic words.

In the Hungarian the present participle *Keresztelő* can be read, from the verb *keresztelni* 'to baptize'. This verb is surely of Slavic origin in Hungarian, cf. Old Slavic *крѣстити* 'to baptize'.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic verb exist in all the Slavic languages, their basic source is the Greek personal name *Χριστός*. This word got into the Slavic languages by means of two different mediations and with two different meanings. The immediate source of the verb *крѣстити* in the Byzantine-rite

Slavic languages was the Gothic *krist* 'cross' that got into Southern Slavic in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula and then, as an (Old) Church Slavic word, into Old Russian. The derived verb *крѣстити* originally meant, perhaps, 'to cross oneself'. In the Latin-rite Slavic languages, the verb *kr̥stiti* was formed from the noun *kr̥bstь* 'baptism' that may have been taken over from the Old High German *krist* 'Christian'. From the Old High German noun, however, no verb was derived with the meaning 'baptize'. In both groups, the basic sense of the Slavic words was 'the person who converts somebody to Christ's faith', 'who makes somebody Christian' (by preaching the Christian doctrine).

The Slavic word was borrowed by Hungarian perhaps after the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin (A.D. 895–900), due to contacts with a Byzantine-rite Slavic people (though such contacts had existed even before the Hungarian conquest, especially with the Russians and Bulgarians). Cf. the history of the Hungarian words *kereszt* 'cross', *keresztény* 'Christian' e.g. in J. Melich's work (227,1/2, pp. 324–330).

In the Kralice Bible we find by analogy the shorter *křtitel*; in the Russian text of Stockholm the vocalized form *креститель* is applied, which is generally used in Russian Church Slavic texts.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. крѣстител; Sr.-Cr. крѣстител; Russ. креститель; Ukr. хреститель; М. крстител; Cz. *křtitel*; Slk. *krstitel*; P. *chrzciel*; L.So. (*Kšicowař*); H.So. (*křžowar*). The Ukrainian form seems to be influenced by the name *хръстос*. The Sorbian words in the last analysis go back to the Latin *crux* (North Italian *krūž*) 'cross' as the other Catholic Slavs also use this word for 'Cross', and neither the Greek–Gothic–Old Slavic *крѣстъ*, nor the Church Slavic *рѣспатиѣ* 'crucifix' and its Byzantine Slavic variances (cf. Hungarian *feszület* a Southern Slavic calque).

According to what has been said, these nouns can be divided into two groups, and the words of the Latin-rite group do not have a common origin with the words of the Byzantine-rite group. Therefore, we have to consider the Old Slavic *крѣститель* as a *nomen agentis* formed on the basis of a Greek model.

— Real structural calque.

154. крѣщение ~ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὁ βαπτισμός  
 'baptism'. Mt 21,25: τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου πόθεν ἦν; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; ~ Крѣщение иудново отъ крѣдъ вѣ сѣ нѣсе ли или отъ чѣкъ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'from where was John's baptism? from the heaven or from men?'

Similar loci: *βάπτισμα*: Mt 3,7; 20,22; 20,23; Mc 10,38; 10,39; 11,30; Lu 3,3; 7,29; 12,50; 20,4; *βάπτισμός*: Mc 7,4; 7,8; in these passages the 'washing-up of the glasses and crockery' is mentioned.

Concerning Mt 20,22 and 20,23 it should be noted that there are a number of Greek codices where there is no mention of baptism, and where it can be found,

it seems to have been supplemented on the basis of Mt 10,38. It is primarily the minuscular manuscripts of C- and W-recension from the 9th–13th centuries which contain it, besides the citations in Origenes's and Chrysostomus's works, and in some Latin, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian translations. Consequently, the Old Slavic translation here is based on the C- and W-type.

In the Latin texts the loanwords *baptisma* and *baptismus* can be found, but their use does not follow the variations of βάπτισμα and βαπτισμός.

In the Gothic the passage quoted cannot be found, but in other loci (e.g. Mc 11,30) we find the nomen actionis *daupeins* 'baptism', similar to the Old High German *douf*.

Luther's translation uses the word *Taufe* for βάπτισμα, but βαπτισμός in Mc 7,4 and 7,8 is rendered with the prepositional infinitive *zu waschen* 'to wash'.

In the Romanian the loanword *botez*, in the Albanian *pagezim* are nomine actionis related to the corresponding verbs *boteza* and *pagëroj*, respectively.

The Hungarian *keresztség* is derived from the ancient *kereszt* 'baptism' that was a loanword taken over from a Latin-rite Slavic language after the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin (cf. the former entry). In the Kralice Bible we find *křest*, *křtiny*; in the modern Russian, крещёние occurs, taken from later Church Slavic.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. крѣштене; Sr.-Cr. крштѣње; Russ. крещёние; Ukr. хрещёння; M. крштење; Cz. *křest*, *křtění*, *křtiny*; Slk. *krst*, *krstenie*; P. *chrzest*, *chrzczenie*; L.So. (*kšicowanje*); H.So. (*křižowanje*).

The Western Slavic words are probably not related to the Old Slavic (the Sorbian ones surely go back to *křiž* < Latin *crux*, in the last analysis); but as for Byzantine Slavic languages, their common source was the Old Slavic (see above).

— Real structural calque.

155. кѣнигѣчии ~ ὁ γραμματεὺς

'scribe'. Mt 23,13: Οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταὶ ~ Горе вамъ кѣнигѣчиа и фарисеи и оупокрити (A second-hand addition.) 'woe to ye, hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees'.

Similar loci: Mt 23,14; 23,15; 23,23; 23,29. (In this last, however, the Marianus applies кѣнижъникъ which became common in later Church Slavic, too).

In the Latin the word *scriba* is applied, from the stem of the verb *scribere* 'to write'. In the Gothic these loci cannot be found, but from other passages (e.g. Mt 5,20; 8,19; Lu 9,22 etc.) we know that for this concept the Gothic text used the word *bokareis* 'scribe, writer', derived from the word *boka* 'letter' (in plural: 'writing, letter, book').

In the Old High German a similar denominal formation, *buahâri* is found, the noun *buah* 'writing, book'. The Gothic and Old High German basic words, it

seems, are related to Old English *boc*, *bece* 'beech' and Old High German *buohla* 'id.' (cf. Greek φῆγος, Latin *fagus* 'id.'). because the ancient Germanic tribes used pieces of beechen board or beech cortices for writing their runes on. — In Luther's translation *der Schriftgelehrte* is the standard word for this Greek (or Latin) term just for νομοδιδάσκαλος and νομικός (see also the entries on законοучитель and законьникъ).

In the Romanian we meet a similar form: *cărturar*, from the noun *cartă* 'book, letter'; in the Albanian there exists the noun *shkrónjës* from the basic word *shkrónje* 'letter' that is a loanword from the Balkano-Vulgar Latin \**scribania*. Both of these words point to a Greek or Old Slavic influence, notwithstanding the Latin origin of the Albanian primary word.

The Hungarian *írastudó* is an old participial compound containing a noun without the accusative case ending that could be expected (word for word: 'writing-knower'); it was formed probably on the basis of *törvénytudó* 'legisperitus', 'legist'.

The Kralice Bible uses the word *zákonnik*, its meaning corresponding to the Vulgar Latin, \**legista*, i.e. *legisperitus*. The Russian edition of Stockholm uses instead of the word кни́гъчии (in dialectal Russian form: кни́гочей) the common кни́жъникъ, in Russian form: кни́жник.

The Old Slavic word is essentially, as it was formed and applied, the "lectio varians" of кни́жъникъ (see below), and — though it occurs in very ancient codices — its use is much more limited. In some scholars' opinion it is a Proto-Bulgarian formation, and this explains why its role is negligible, in comparison to that of кни́жъникъ, since it was known only for a limited time, and exclusively in the East Bulgarian region where the influence of Turkic Bulgarian popular element was strongest. Since кни́гъчии was created later than кни́жъникъ, it could not compete with the latter. But, as a significant number of Slavists considers, кни́гъчии can be explained from a hypothetic Proto-Slavic form \**kъnig-ъk-jis*, too. Considering, however, the similar Proto-Bulgarian words, the influence of the Turkic (Proto-Bulgarian) suffix, in my opinion, cannot be excluded. (See also the problem of Proto-Bulgarian influence, dealt with in the Introduction).

Real structural calque, but its formation was, maybe, influenced by the Proto-Bulgarian suffix, and its content, by the Gothic *bokareis* (see below кни́жъникъ); therefore it could be considered a calque neologism.

156. кни́жъникъ ~ ὁ γραμματεὺς

'Scribe', 'legist'. Mt 12,38: Τότε ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων λέγοντες ~ Тѣгда отвѣшиташа ѣтери · отъ кни́жъникъ ꙗ́ фарисѣи глѣшита · 'Then some of the Scribes and Pharisees replied to Him saying'.

Similar passages: Mt 2,4; 5,20; 7,29; 8,19; 9,3; 13,52; 15,1; 16,21; 20,18; 21,15; 23,2; 23,25; 23,27; 23,29; 23,34; 26,3; 26,57; 27,41; Mc Synaxarion, bis;

Mc 1,22; 2,6; 2,16; 3,22; 7,1; 7,5; 8,31; 9,11; 9,14; 9,16; 10,33; 11,18; 11,27; 12,28; 12,32; 12,35; 12,38; 14,1; 14,43; 14,53; 15,1; 15,31; Lu 5,21; 5,30; 6,7; 9,22; 11,44; 11,53; 15,2; 19,47; 20,1; 20,19; 20,39; 20,46; 22,2; 22,66; 23,10; Jo 8,3.

In the later Old and Church Slavic texts we meet the translations *кЪНИЖЬВЪНИКЪ*, *законьникъ*, *законоучитель* and *воукъварь* as well. (This latter, maybe, shows an immediate Gothic influence coming from the Gothic loanword *bōka* 'letter'; but the influence of Old High German *buahari* seems more probable.

As for the equivalents in the non-Slavic languages, see above (*кЪНИГЪЧИИ*). In the Church Slavic we can read the adjectives *кЪНИЖЬНЬ МЖЬ*, *оучень(и)* (*человѣкъ*), *тоо*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *кнѣжник*; Sr.-Cr. *кнѣжѣвник*; Russ. *кнѣжник*; Ukr. *кнѣжник*; М. *книжежник* 'writer, literator'; Cz. *knižník* 'literate'; Slk. *knižník* 'id.'; L.So., H.So. 'id.'.

The Western Slavic words, in view of their present meaning may be considered to have come from the Old Slavic word, but it is more probable that they are related to the adjective *knižný* 'belonging to the books' and/or the Old High German *buahâri*. The other Slavic words come from the Old Slavic, with a partial change of form or meaning. The Old Slavic word itself came into being, like the Gothic *bōkareis* and the Old High German *buahâri*, on the basis of the Greek *γραμματεὺς* (in the Low Latin: *grammatista*).

— Real structural calque; however the influence of the Gothic or the Old High German word seems to be certain, since the Greek model could have been rendered by the calque *письменьникъ*, *писарь* от *писатель*, *тоо* (these forms actually came into being later). Therefore it can be considered, similarly to *кЪНИГЪЧИИ*, a calque neologism, *тоо*.

## Λ

157. *лежитъ (сь) ~ κεῖται*

'it is predestined'. Lu 2,34: *ἰδοὺ οὗτος κεῖται εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ~ се лежитъ съ · на паданье ѿ на вѣстанье многомъ · въ ѿми · 'behold, this is predestined for the falling down and standing up of many people in Israel'. (In the Codex Assemani we find *лежитъсь*, a form with the postpositive *-сь*, vocalised regularly but not always; this *-сь* appears instead of *сѧ*, and its vocalisation can be found in Northern Russian dialects, too. The Savvina Kniga renders *πτώσις* 'falling' by *паданье* instead of *паденье*, and the Ostromir interprets *ἀνάστασις* by *вѣстанье* instead of *вѣстание*.*

The verb *лежати* appears in many other passages in the gospels, in its basic meaning 'to lie' as a simple translation, but in the cited locus, it means to be determined for something like the Greek *κεῖται*.

This is a Hebraism in the Greek as e.g. in Isaiah 8,14 where God is symbolized as the “sanctuary and rock of offence for the two houses of Israel. A similar application can be met in St. Paul’s Epistle to the Hebrews 9,27 where *лежитъ* translates the Greek *ἀπόκειται* (later Church Slavic *ω̑прелѣлено естъ*, Latin *statutum est*).

The Latin text renders the Greek verb with *positus est* ‘it has been placed’. In the Gothic we find the verbal form *ligit*, fully corresponding to the Greek *κεῖται*. Otfrid’s Old High German text applies the auxiliary verb *ist* ‘is’, in a concrete sense (I, 15,29):

*This kind is unter mánne  
Zi mengerere fálle.*

(‘This child is, among people, for the fall of many [persons]’). Luther’s text uses the locution *wird gesetzt zum . . .*

The Romanian text uses similarly the simple auxiliary verb *este* ‘is’ (but Micu-Clain’s text shows a Latin reflection: *пасте пис* ‘positus est’ similarly to the Albanian *është vënë*, from the verb *vë* (*vura, vënë*) ‘to lay, to set’.

In the Hungarian translation Károli used a passive past form: *vettetett* ‘it was thrown’, and in Káldi’s Catholic version: *tétegett* ‘it was placed’. In the modern editions, however, we find the simple solution *lesz* ‘it will be’.

The Kralice Bible reflects a Latinism in its text: *položen jest* ‘positus est’; the new Russian edition preserved the form *лежитъ*, in accordance with the Church Slavic.

The equivalents of the Old Slavic *лежати* exist in every Slavic language, but this meaning comes undoubtedly from the Greek; it was rather the influence of one text on another, than the influence of one language on another. Therefore, it does not seem absolutely necessary to think of mediation by Wulfila’s solution with the Gothic *ligit*.

— Semantic calque.

158, 159a–b. *лихоимѣствие, лихоимие, лихоимание* ~ *ἡ πλεονεξία* ‘avidity’. Lu 12,15: *ὁρᾶτε καὶ φυλάσσεσθε ἀπὸ πάσης πλεονεξίας* ~ *влюдыте са · ѣ храните са · отъ всѣкого лихоимѣ ·* ‘Attend and beware of every avidity’.

The variant *лихоимѣствие* can be found in the Marianus while the Zographus applies *лихоимие* here, and the Nikolja Gospel *лихоимание*. All three words are hapax legomena in the gospels.

The later codices show other variations, too: e.g. the Gospel of Târnovo and the Macedonian Acts of the Apostles: *лихоимѣние*, Psalterium Sinaiticum: *лихоимѣство* and *лихоимѣство*. In Church Slavic texts *скорпильность, скръжьничество, корыстолюбие* also occur.

In the Latin we read *avaritia*, from the adjective *avarus*. In the Gothic this passage is absent but in Eph. 5,5 the compound *faihu-frikei* (word for word:



'goods-love') occurs; thus the Gothic compound represents a successful calque neologism. Luther's translation contains the simple noun *Geiz* 'avidity' here.

The Romanian *pornire de înavuțire* 'desire of enrichment', *lacomie* 'avidity, eagerness' (in Micu-Clain's text: *κμμβριε* 'usury') words represent the interpreters' exquisiteness. In the Albanian the deverbal *lakmim* 'yearning, hungering', from the verb *lakmój* 'to covet, to yearn' refers to avidity in a more general sense.

The Hungarian interpreters used the words *telhetetlenség* 'insatiability', later generally the word *kapzsiság* 'avidity' (from the adjective *kapzsi* 'avid' which comes from the verb *kapni* 'to receive').

The Kralice Bible translates this locus with *lakomství* 'avarice, stinginess'; the Russian edition of Stockholm uses the compound calque *любостяжание* (after the Greek *φιλοκέρδεια* 'love of lucre' or *φιλοκτηματία* 'love of acquisition').

The living Slavic languages have not preserved the compounds in question, except the Russian and Bulgarian *лихоѣмство* in the sense 'usury, corruptibility', but this cannot be found, as mentioned above, in the oldest gospel texts.

Thus the Old Slavic forms are much closer to the original Greek (with respect to the basic sense of their constituents) than the Gothic equivalent, although the Gothic is usually more inclined to use literal translations. Nevertheless, the *лиχο-*compounds are not simple literal translations, if we take the basic meaning of *πλεονεξία* into consideration: its precise rendering would have been \**БОЛЕИМИЕ*, \**КАШПЕИМИЕ*, or even \**МЪНОЖЕИМИЕ*, if we consider the etymological relation of *πολύς* to *πλέων*, *πλέον*. The Greek compounds underwent a pejorative change of meaning, and the Old Slavic *лиχο* 'superfluous, excessive, lawless, bad' followed this process, maybe, influenced by the Old Slavic *лихѣра* 'usurious interest' (from the Old High German *lihan* 'to lend' + the Slavic suffix *-ra*).

— Real structural calques.

160–161. *лицемѣриє, лицемѣрствіє* ~ ἡ ὑπόκρισις  
'hypocrisy, dissimulation'. Mt 23,28: ἔσωθεν δὲ ἐστε μεστοὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀνομίας. ~ *кѣ нѣжтрѣжлѣу же есте пълни лицемѣрствіє и бѣзаконіѣ*. (Second-hand addition). . . inside, however, ye are full of hypocrisy and unlawfulness (= wickedness)'.  
In the Zographus we find the genitive form *лицемѣрствіѣ* instead of the genitive *лицемѣрїиѣ*, used generally. The former is a hapax legomenon in the archaic gospel texts.

Other loci for *лицемѣриє* in the gospels: Mc 12,15; Lu 21,1. In later Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction the derivatives and compounds *притворство, поустоятельство, потаємство, фамечьниство* also render the Greek word.

In the later Old Slavic texts *лицемѣрство* also occurs (cf. Jagić's *Entstehungsgeschichte*, 186, p. 310). In the Gospel of Halič we read *лицедѣяніє* that seems to reflect Greek *προσωποποίησις* which actually existed but in the sense

'mask-making' (*fabricatio larvarum*). Its relation to лицепрѣатиѣ see below, in the entry for лицемеръ. The compound лицепрѣатиѣ corresponds to a Greek \*προσωποένδυσις, \*προσωποαντίρσεις 'masking oneself, assuming a mask of something'.

The Latin passages contain the loanword *hypocrisis*, but in Mc 12,15 the deadjectival noun *versutia* 'ruse, trick' can be read.

The Gothic *liutei* 'hypocrisy', alongside with the nomen agentis *liuta* 'hypocrite', is perhaps related to the verb *liuton* 'to cheat, to deceive'. Luther's translation applies a nomen actionis here, *die Heuchelei* 'dissembling, double-dealing' (as the term used for 'hypocrite' is generally *der Heuchler* 'dissembler, doubledealer').

The Romanian nomen actionis *fătărie* comes from the verb *fătări* 'to deceive, to dissemble' (but *fătărnice* was formed from the deverbal noun *fătărnice* 'hypocrite').

As for the Albanian loanword *ipocrisi*, Greek, Latin and Italian borrowing may be equally supposed.

The earlier form of the Hungarian word *képmutatás* was *képmutálás* 'changing of face' (cf. Guary Codex, 66). Its present form (since the 16th century) is a popular etymology: instead of the obsolete Latin loanword *mutálni* (*mutare* 'to change') the original Hungarian *mutatni* 'to show' penetrated the compound, transforming it into a popular etymology.

In the Kralice Bible *pokrystvi* occurs (in a later variant: *pokrytectví*). The modern Russian text has preserved the Church Slavic лицемеріе.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. лицемѣриѣ (лицемѣрство); Sr.-Cr. (притворнѣост); Russ. лицемѣриѣ (лицемѣрство, лицемѣрность, лицемѣрствіе); Ukr. (лицемірство, лицедійство); М. лицемѣрство; Cz. (*licoměrnictví, licoměrnost, pokrytectví*); Slk. (*pokrytectvo, svätušstvo, pokryteckost*); P. (*hipokryzja*); H.So. (*hipokryza, pojatačina*); L.So. (*hypokryza, falšna swětość*).

— Probably a calque neologism, formed from the compound лицемеръ (see below), just as the neutral adjective form лицемерьно and the verbs лицемерити, лицемерствовать which do not occur in the archaic gospel texts. The Western Slavic words related to покрьити meant originally 'self-concealment, clandestinity' (in a pejorative sense). (As for the supposed connection with a possible \*лицемѣнъ, see below лицемеръ).

162. лицемеръ (υποκριτής) ~ ὁ ὑποκριτής  
'dissembler, hypocrite' Mt 6,5: Καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ~ ἰ εгда молиши са не бжди ꙗко ѿ лицемеръ · 'and when ye are praying, don't be as the hypocrites'.

In Old Slavic singulars we can recognize the influence of the 9th century minuscular codices as e.g. that of ε<sub>76</sub> and ε<sub>076</sub> (Soden's marks!).

Similar loci: Mt 7,5; 15,7; 23,14; 23,23; Mc 7,6; Lu 6,42; 11,44; 13,15. In other passages we find the loanword  $\gamma\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  instead, as in Mt 6,2; 22,18; 23,13; 23,15; 23,27; 23,29; 24,51; Lu, 12,56. The archaic codices, apparently for stylistical reasons, varied freely the words  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  and  $\gamma\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ . In the later Old Slavic texts the word  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  was applied for interpreting the compound  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'smeaking, sly, perfidious', too. — The Church Slavic texts contain the words  $\text{пoчтoсвaт\ddot{y}}$ ,  $\text{пoкpыт\ddot{y}}$ ,  $\text{пoтaемн\ddot{y}}$ , too.

In the Gospel of Halič we read  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\iota$  which would correspond to a Greek  $\text{πpoc\omega\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma}$  'mask-maker; a man masking oneself'.

In the later Church Slavic of Russian redaction we can read  $\text{πp\iota\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota\beta\eta\iota\iota\iota\varsigma\alpha}$ , too.

In the Latin we find the loanword *hypocrita*; in the Gothic, the aforesaid nomen agentis *liata* (or *liuts* as an adjective). In Otfrid's gospel harmony, the word *lihizâri* meant 'flatterer' (II, 20,11), but *driagâri* (II, 21,9) probably 'deceiver'. Luther's deverbal noun *Heuchler* has the primary sense of 'double-dealer'.

The Romanian *fătârnîc* and the Albanian *ipokritër* show the expected parallelism with the nomen actionis mentioned above (see  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ ). The old Hungarian *képmutáló* (word for word: 'face-changer') became later, by popular etymology, *képmutató* (word for word: 'face-shower').

In the Kralice Bible we read *pokrytec*; in the Russian edition of Stockholm the Old Slavic  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  has been preserved.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B.  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; Sr.-Cr.  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho$  (Cr. *licimer*); Sln. *licumerec*; Russ.  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; Ukr.  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; M.  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; Cz. *licoměr (nik)*, (*pokrytec*); Slk. (*pokrytec*, *svätuškar*); P. *liciemier-nik (hipokryta, świętoszek)*; H.So. (*swjatula*); L.So. (*swētarski*).

— It is a calque neologism if it was created for the purpose of translating the Greek  $\delta\upsilon\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  which had meant originally 'imitator, actor in the theatre'; in Latin: 'histrio'. But it is much more probable that originally it was used with the double meaning of the Greek  $\text{πpoc\omega\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma}$ : 'actor' and 'hypocrite'. The Greek word in the Acts of the Apostles (10,34)  $\text{πpoc\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\mu\tau\eta\varsigma}$ , means '(unjust) distinguisher of the persons, partial towards somebody', and is translated into Latin as *acceptor personarum*, however, perhaps due to the basic sense of its constituents, it was interpreted by the Slav Apostles also as 'a person taking over the face (of other persons)', thus 'dissimulator, dissembler, hypocrite'. In its original sense, however, the more precise  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\pi\rho\iota\mu\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$  superseded it (in the Kralice Bible we also find the precise *přijmač osob* after the Latin, as in the Hungarian the compound *személyválogató*). In this case it is also in connection with the Greek word  $\text{πpoc\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\eta(\mu)\psi\iota\alpha}$  (in Rom. 2,11; Eph. 6,9; Col. 3,25; James 2,1) rendered in later Old Slavic texts as  $\lambda\iota\kappa\epsilon\pi\rho\iota\mu\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon$  (and much later, in the Kralice Bible, as *přijimání osob*), and by the compound *személyválogatás* in Hungarian (after the Latin *personarum acceptio*). The Old

Slavic *лицемѣрь* could have corresponded to a Greek \*προσωποποιός as well 'face-maker'); this Greek word actually existed in the sense 'mask-maker', and its figurative sense can easily be supposed, which is also proved by the existence of the later Old Slavic *лицелѣви*. As a calque neologism, the word *лицемѣрь* was highly appreciated by Jagić ("wunderbare Übersetzung").

That the Old Slavic word could mean 'hypocrite, dissimulator' indeed, seems also probable from the original polysemantic meaning of *мѣрити* itself as it is seen in other Slavic languages (cf. Jagić's remark about the Low Sorbian reflexive verb *naměraś se* 'to simulate, to play-act, to pretend' and the nomen actionis *naměranje* 'pretence, delusion').

Some scholars (as Matzenauer, 271, e.g.) considered the Old Slavic word a popular etymological variant of an older \**лицемѣнь* with the meaning 'face-changer' (maybe, a Lithuanian parallelism, very similarly to the later Old Hungarian *kép-mutáló*. But this hypothetical Old Slavic form cannot be found anywhere. If it had existed once and exerted an influence on Hungarian, it would also have been preserved, probably at least in one Slavic language or dialect as the source of the Hungarian word. But this is not the case, and borrowing in the other direction is nonsense. The Hungarian compound, however, could perhaps be established on the basis of the actually existing Slavic variants of *лицемѣрь*, due to the polysemy of *мѣрити* 'to measure, to weigh, to try on, to fit on, to scale' etc., by means of the Latin loanword *mutare*, similarly to, but independently of the Lithuanian *veidmainys* 'id.' (both of the Hungarian and the Lithuanian missionaries were mostly Slavs). (See 218, pp. 112–113.)

163. *лъжесъвѣдѣтель* ~ ὁ ψευδομαρτυρ (ὁ ψευδομαρτυρ)  
'false witness'. Mt 26,60: καὶ οὐχ εὗρον πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων. ~ *і не оубрѣтѣ · і многомъ лъжемъ съвѣдѣтелемъ прѣстѣпниемъ* 'and they did not find [any proof], although many false witnesses came there'.

Similar locus: Mt 26,60 (second part of the verse) where we find a genitive objective in the Savvina Kniga: *съвѣдѣтель лъжа* 'the witness of the lie'. (The expression *лъжесъвѣдѣтель быти* see below in another entry.) The њ of prothesis *лъже* instead of њ is a Southern Slavic phonetism in some opinions. In the later Church Slavic it was replaced by the popular etymology *лъжесъвѣдѣтель*.

In the Latin the attributive phrase *falsus testis* can be found. In the Gothic this verse is not included but we know from other passages (e.g. Mc 10,19 and Lu 18,20) that a compound, *galiuga-veitvoda* 'lie-witness, mendacious witness' was applied in this sense. In Otrifrid's work we find the similar expression in plural (*lugge*)*urkundon* (also in Luther's text: *viel falscher Zeugen*).

In the Romanian the adjectival construction *martor mincinos* 'id.' appears in this locus; in the Albanian, the phrase *dëshmi(m)târ të-rrem* 'id.', inversely.

In the Hungarian we also see an attributive phrase: *hamis tanú* 'id.'.

The Kralice Bible uses the plural form *falešni svědkové* (in singular: *falešný svědek*); the modern Russian text has preserved the Old Slavic compound, but in the popular etymologic form (лжесвидѣтель).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. лъжесвидѣтел; Sr.-Cr. (лажљив свѣдок); Russ. лжесвидетель; Ukr. (лжесвідок); M. (лажен-сведок); Cz. (*lžesvědék*); Slk. (*lžisvedok, krivý svedok*); P. (*falszywy świadek*); H.So. (*falšny swědk*); L.So. (*falšny swědc*).

— Real structural calque, but in the Old Slavic it is still a borderline case between the adjectival construction and the compound word: both its parts can be declined separately. The Russian equivalent shows the popular etymological influence of the verb видѣти ('to see') on (свѣдѣтель 'who saw the events'). The Bulgarian word is perhaps borrowed from Russian, the Old Serbian had been an archaism preserved up to the 18th century; however, the Western Slavic compounds may be the calques of a German compound *Falschzeuge*, too. The modern Western Slavic and Serbo-Croatian equivalents have retained the stem \**svěd-*, expressing the idea of 'knowing something about'. The Ukrainian shows the Western Slavic form with the Ukrainian development of ѣ, and the Polish-type adjectival construction, too: фальшівий свідок 'id.'

164a-b and 165. ЛЪЖЕ СЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО, ЛЪЖЕ СЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО, ЛЪЖЕ СЪВѢДѢНИЕ  
~ ἡ ψευδομαρτυρία

'false proof, false evidence, false testimony'. Mt 26,59: Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ~ ἄρ' χιερει же ѿ старци · ѿ снѣмъ всѣх · ѿскаахъ лъжа сѣвѣдѣлѣ на ѿца · 'But the high priests, and all the Sanhedrin there, were looking for a false testimony against Jesus'.

This Old Slavic text variant appears in the Assemani exclusively: in the other archaic manuscripts ЛЪЖЕСЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО can be read, which indicates that the later interpreters were translating from a Greek text where the form ψευδομαρτυρά occurred instead of ψευδομαρτυρία (supposably caused by the influence of the following verse, Mt 26,60). This text, instead of τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον, contained οἱ πρεσβύτεροι; its translation was the Old Slavic старци. Most of the Greek codices share this property, and among the Latin manuscripts the Codex Brixianus (VIc) and Codex Monacensis (VIIc) as well.

Thus ЛЪЖЕСЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО appears in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts as a hapax legomenon; it is, similarly, the identical ЛЪЖЕСЪВѢДѢНИЕ, which occurs in Mt 15,19 'in the enumeration of the sins "coming from the heart"'.  
In the later Church Slavic we can find the popular etymological

ЛЪЖЕСЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО.

As for the translation of the Greek μαρτύριον and μαρτυρία 'evidence, testimony' СЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО is the most frequent of all in the Old Slavic gospels (23 times); СЪВѢДѢНИЕ occurs only 4 times, and СЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО in a single locus (Jo 3,24). The difference between СЪВѢДѢТЕЛСТВО and СЪВѢДѢНИЕ seems to have been

the result of dialectal differences: where both of these variants can be found for one locus in all the archaic texts (Mc 1,44), СЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВО appears in the Codices Zographensis, Assemanianus and Savvina Kniga.

In the Latin text we find *falsum testimonium* in these passages. In the Gothic Mt 26,59 and 15,59 is absent, though we can conclude from similar phrases that the compound *galiugaveitvodi* was used in this sense. The variations *veitvodei*, *veitvodeins* and *veitvopia* do not seem to amount to the use of СЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВО and СЪРЪДЪННІЕ. Luther's mostly applied term is the attributive expression *falsche Zeugnis*.

In the Romanian we find the adjectival construction *mărturie mincinoasă*, in the Albanian *dëshmin të-rrëm*, with the same meaning 'false testimony'.

Károli's Hungarian text interpreted these loci as *hamis bizonyság* 'false proof' or *hamis tanúság* 'false testimony'. In the recent texts, the word used in everyday life and jurisdiction, *hamis bizonyíték* 'false evidence' occurs. All these are attributive constructions.

The Kralice Bible reflects its original Latin with *falešné svědectví*; in the Russian edition of Stockholm we find the popularly Russified Church Slavic word лжесвидѣтельство.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. лъжесвидѣтелство; Sr.-Cr. (лажно сведочанство); Russ. лжесвидѣтельство; Ukr. (лжесвідѣння); M. (лажливо свидетелство); Cz. (*lžisvědectví, křivé svědectví*); Slk. (*lžisvedectvo, krivé svedectvo*); P. (*falszywe świadczenie*); H.So. (*falšne swědčenje*); L.So. (*falšne swědčanje*).

The Bulgarian compound comes from the Russian, and the latter from the Church Slavic, as influenced by ВИДЕТИ (cf. the entry for ЛЪЖЕСЪРЪДЪТЕЛЪ).

— Real structural calques, but only ЛЪЖЕСЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВО has been preserved in the Russian. Hence it has been "repatriated" into Bulgarian. The variant ЛЪЖЕСЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВОНІЕ seems to be an original Moravianism.

166. ЛЪЖЕ СЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВОРАТИ ~ ПСЕУДОΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΩ

'to testify falsely, to bear a false testimony'. Mc 10,19: μή φονεύσης, μή μοιχεύσης μή κλέψης, μή ψευδομαρτυρήσης · ~ НЕ ПРЪДЪЮБИ ДЪТИ · НЕ ОУБИ · НЕ ОУКРАДИ · НЕ ЛЪЖЕ СЪРЪДЪТЕЛСТВОУИ · 'thou knowest the commandments: thou shalt not make adultery, shalt not kill, shalt not steal, shalt not testify falsely'.

As seen, the Old Slavic enumeration is different from the original Greek. The cause is unknown; the translator may have used a different text as a source, or he may have changed the order on purpose, e.g. for the sake of the rhythm, as suggested by the verse punctuation. (If this is the case, the interpreter's aim was perhaps a textual emphasis or lightening from a catechetical point of view.)

Similar loci: Mc 14,56; 14,57. In the later Church Slavic we read ЛЪЖЕСЪРИДЪТЕЛСТВОРАТИ.

As for the variants in the ancient manuscripts, the following distribution can be found: Mc 10,19: ЛЖА СЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ, in the Marianus, ЛЖИ СЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ in the Nikolja Gospel; Mc 14,56: ЛЖИ СЪВЕД-, in the Zographus; Mc 14,57: ЛЖЖ СЪВЕД-, everywhere.

In the Latin text the translation, according to the sense, is *falsum testimonium dicere* 'to say false evidence'; in the Gothic, *visan galiuga-veitvode* 'to be a false witness', and *galiug veitvodjan* 'to testify falsely'. In Luther's text we read the expressions *falsch Gezeugnis reden*, *falsch Zeugnis geben*.

The Romanian *mărturisi mincinos* 'to testify falsely' is close enough to the Old Slavic though it is not its exact reflection; the Albanian *ap dëshmin të-rrëm* 'to give false evidence' is nearer to the Latin popular form *testimonium falsum facere*.

In Károli's Hungarian interpretations the expressions *hamis tanúbizonyságot tenni*, *hamis tanúságot szólni*, *hamis vallást tenni* also followed the Latin *falsam confessionem facere*. In modern texts we mostly read the adverbial construction *hamisan tanúskodni* 'to testify falsely'.

In the Králice Bible we find the expected phrases *vydati falešné svědectví* and *dati křivé svědectví* after the Latin variant *falsum testimonium dare* and the German *falsche Zeugnis geben*. The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Church Slavic form (with the above-mentioned influence of ВИДѢТИ): ЛЖЕСВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВОВАТЬ. The Russian Church Slavic texts contain the expressions НЕ ПО ПРАВИДѢ СВЕДѢЧИТИ, ЛОЖНО СВИДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТИ as well.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. ЛЖЕСВИДѢТЕЛСТВОВАТИ; Sr.-Cr. (peћи лажано сведочанство); Russ. ЛЖЕСВИДѢТЕЛЬСТВОВАТЬ; Ukr. (лжесвідчити); M. (рече лажливо свидетелство); Cz. (*dáti křivé svědectví*); Slk. (*krivo svedčit'*); P. (*świadczyć się fałszywie*); H.So. (*swědčič falšno*); L.So. (*swēdcaš falšne*).

The Russian verb comes from the Old Slavic, and the Bulgarian from the Russian.

— Real (structural) calque expression if it is not a compound; if so, it is a real structural calque.

167. ЛЖЕСЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬ БЪТИ ~ ψευδομαρτυρέω  
'to be a false witness'. Lu 18,20: τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας· μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα ~ ЗАПОВѢДИ ВСИ· НЕ ОУБИ· НЕ ПРЕЛЮБИ СЪТВОРИ· НЕ ОУКРАДИ· НЕ ЛЖЕСЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬ БЪДИ· ЧЪТИ О҃ДА ТВОЕГО ꙗ МАТЕРЬ· 'thou knowest the commandments: thou shalt not kill, shalt not commit adultery, shalt not steal, shalt not be a false witness, esteem thy father and thy mother'.

This variant can be read in the Zographus; but in the Marianus: НИ ЛЖЖ СЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬ БЪДИ, and in the Assemani and Savvina Kniga: НИ ЛЖИ СЪВЕДѢТЕЛЬ. (The order of the commandment also differs in the archaic codices.)

Similar locus: Mt 19,18 (everywhere лъже съвѣдѣтель быти). In other passages the Savvina Kniga contains the phrase ни лъжа послоушшии, and in later texts the compound лъжепослоушнѣствовати also occurs.

In later Church Slavic the popular etymological лъжесъвидѣтель быти occurs.

In the non-Slavic texts the above-mentioned interpretations can be read, except the Gothic where, in Lu 18,20, we find a phrase, corresponding exactly to the Old Slavic: *ni galiuga-veitwods sijais* 'don't be a false witness', which also proves the existence of the above-mentioned expression *galiuga veitvoda visan* 'to be a false witness' (Mc 10,19; but the locus Mt 19,18 cannot be found in the Gothic). As for the other correlations, see above.

— Calque expression, on the basis of a Greek compound word but, perhaps, with a Gothic mediation.

168. лъжь пророкъ ~ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης  
'false prophet'. Mt 7,15: Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, ~ Кънемлѣте  
отъ лъжицѣхъ пророкъ · 'Beware of the false prophets'.

Similar loci: Mt 24,11; 24,24; Mc 13,22, Lu 6,26. Later the compound лъжепророкъ became common in Church Slavic.

The adjectival construction лъживи пророци that can be read in Mc 13,22 in the Nikolja Gospel, suggests a Serbo-Croatian vocalism and way of adjective formation; thus it cannot be considered an archaic passage. In late Church Slavic the attributive expressions ложныъ пророкъ, неправльъвъ пророкъ occur as well.

In the Latin texts the adjectival construction *falsus propheta* and the borrowed compound *pseudopropheta* alternate.

In the Gothic we find two partial compound translations (semicalques) from related stems: *liugna-prophetus* and *galiuga-prophetus*.

Luther uses the attributive expression *die falsche Propheten*.

In the Romanian an attributive construction appears, similarly to the Latin: *prophet mincinos*; in the Albanian also, we find a loanword with the expected epitheton: *profet i-rrëm*.

The Hungarian texts vary, just like the Latin, the adjectival phrase *hamis próféta* 'false prophet' with the compound *álpróféta* 'pseudoprophet'. In the later translations the epithetic construction is more frequent, but the alternation of the two forms does not show an exact parallelism between Latin and Hungarian.

The Kralice Bible generally uses the expression *falešný profet* after the Latin, while the Russian text retains the Old Slavic compound.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. лъжепророкъ; Sr.-Cr. (лажљив пророкъ, лажан пророкъ); Russ. лжепророкъ; Ukr. лжепророкъ; М. (лажен пророкъ); Cz. *lžíprorok*; Slk. *lžíprorok*; P. (*falszywy prorok*); H.So. (*falšny profet*); L.So. (*falšny profet*).



— Real structural calque, though in the archaic Old Slavic texts the fusion of the two words does not appear definitive. The lack of Polish and Sorbian compound calques seem to point to the Moravian character of this Old Slavic expression (in Czech and Slovak, too).

The word *προροκѣ* itself is also a calque (see later).

169. λ̑жи х̑ристи ~ οἱ ψευδόχριστοι  
'false Christ, pseudochrist'. Mt 24,24: ἐγεροθήσονται γάρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφήται ~ встанѣтъ бо л̑жи х̑и · і л̑жи пророци · 'for there will arise false prophets and false Christs'. Similar passage: Mc 13,22.

In later Church Slavic *л̑жех̑ристѣ* is common. In the Nikolja Gospel we find the plural *лаживи х̑ристи* which shows a Serbo-Croatian vocalism, thus it is not an archaic locus. In later Russian Church Slavic *ложень х̑ристосѣ* and *неправдливѣ х̑ристосѣ* also occur.

In the Latin the loanword *pseudochristus* appears. In the Gothic this verse is not translated, but in Mc 13,22 the expected *galiuga-xristjus* appears as a structural calque.

In Luther's text we meet the plural attributive form *falsche Christi* (the Latin plural of the proper name has been preserved).

In the Romanian the adjectival phrase *Xristos mincinos* can be read, just as in the Albanian: *Khrisht i-rrhëm* (both of them with postpositive attributes).

In the Hungarian texts *hamis Krisztus* and *álkrisztus* alternate (even today).

The Kralice Bible contains the attributive phrase *falešní Kristové* (just as in Jakubica's Low Sorbian text), while the Russian text has preserved the compound *л̑жех̑ристи* in the plural. As for the other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word, they—as in the case of *л̑жеπ̑ροροκѣ*—partly corresponding compounds, partly adjectival expressions; in Old Serbian, however, we can find *л̑жех̑ристѣ*, just as in Old Russian and Middle Bulgarian, too.

— Real structural calque, in a terminological development; but inasmuch *Christ* is a non-translated Greek personal name, the compound is a partial translation, i.e. a semicalque.

## M

170. μαλοε̑ρη̑ ~ ὀλιγόπιστος  
'pusillanimous, faint-hearted' Mt 8,26: καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί δειλοί ἐστε, ὀλιγόπιστοι; ~ і г̑ла имъ · чьто страшики есте малоε̑ри · 'And He says to them: Why are ye timid, ye faint-hearted?' (Word for word: 'of little faith'.) Similar loci: Mt 6,30, 14,31; 16,8; Lu 12,28.

In later Church Slavic the derived *μαλοε̑ρη̑νη̑* occurs very often, and its synonym is *μαλολογι̑νη̑* ~ ὀλιγόψυχος (word for word: 'of little spirit'.)

The Latin *modicae fidei* is a genitivus qualitatis, just like the expressions *minimae fidei* and *pusillae fidei* which have a similar meaning, as the adjectives *modicus*, *pusillus* and *minimus* nearly mean the same, 'light, little'.

In the Gothic we find a participial form with an adverb: *leitil galaubjands*. This apostrophe is rendered by Luther by *kleingläubig*, a compound adjective.

The Romanian translations render this passage with a phrase consisting of an adverb and an adjective: *puțin credincios*. In the Albanian, however, *besë-pakë* is a compound (with an inverse word order).

In the Hungarian, the adjectival expression *kicsiny hitű* with the qualitative suffix of the noun corresponds exactly to the Latin. (In recent editions we see the more usual form *kishitű*, a compound of similar construction and of identical meaning.)

In the Kralice Bible the genitivus qualitatis *ó malé víry* occurs, the modern Russian text applies the adjective маловѣрный in the plural vocative.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (маловѣрен); Sr.-Cr. (малодушан, малодушнѣ); Russ. маловѣр (маловѣрный); Ukr. маловѣр (маловірний); M. маловерен); Cz. (*malověrný*); Slk. (*maloverný*); P. (*maloduszny*; *malowarkowie*, 16th c.); L.So. (*malowěrjegy*); H.So. (*malowėriwy*).

— Real structural calque. It may be considered as a Moravianism because the suffixed form is universal in the Slavic languages—though the Western Slavic forms can be explained, partly, by reference to a late German form *kleingläubig*, too.

\*

N. B. Perhaps the Moravianism of similar construction (though here, probably, not the calque) маломощь exerted an influence on the establishment of маломѣръ. Old Serbian маломоћ(ань); B. маломо́щен; Russ. маломо́чный; P. *malomocny*; L.So. *malomocny*; H.So. *malomocny* serve for translating the Greek ἀνάπηρος or κυλλός and the Latin *debilis*, too.

In the Gothic we find the adjectives *hamfs* 'lame' and *gamaifs* 'cripple', respectively. In Luther's text it is mostly *Krüppel* 'cripple'. The Ukrainian form seems to be a Polish loanword. The Church Slavic маломощь and маломощьнъ were changed to the adjectives немощь, немощьнъ, боль, больнъ (больнаръ) and the noun бѣдльникъ. In the Old Slavic gospels we find маломощь in Mc 9,43 and Lu 14,14. The Greek word stock contains a compound ὀλιγοδρανής which corresponds exactly to the Old Slavic маломощь, but the Greek compound does not occur in the well-known archaic Greek gospel codices. Thus the compound маломощь cannot be considered a calque of Greek origin here. It seems to have been a calque neologism in interpreting the Greek ἄσθενής and ἄρρωστος in I, Cor. 11,30, but it is more probably a real structural calque of the Greek ὀλιγοσθενής and ὀλιγοδρανής.

The similar Greek compound adjective, *δλιγοδρανης*, does not occur in the gospels, nor does *δλιγοσθενης* but we can find these and others, e.g. *ἀνάπηρος*, *ἄρρωστος*, *ἄσθενής*, *κυλλός* in other Greek scripture texts.

171–172. *μιμοῖμι*, *μινῆμι* ~ *παρελεύσομαι*, (ἀντι)παρῆλθον  
'to come to an end, to pass away, to vanish'. Lu 21,33: ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ  
*παρελεύσονται*, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ *παρελεύσονται*. ~ *нѣо і землѣ мимо*  
*идѣтъ · а словеса мои не имжтъ прѣйти* 'the heaven and the earth pass away, but my  
words do not pass away'.

Similar loci: Mt 24,34; 24,35 (bis); 26,39, 26,42; Mc 14,35. In these verses the  
verb *παρελεύσομαι* has the sense 'to pass away, to come to an end', but we find  
*μιμοῖμι* 'to go across' in other passages (Lu 10,31; 10,32, 22,59; Jo 9,1),  
expressing a concrete local relation. In Mt 8,28 we read *μινῆμι* in the  
Zographus and the Marianus instead of *μιμοῖμι*, in a concrete sense.

In the later texts the compound verbs *μιμογραсти* and *прѣйти* can also be  
found instead of *μιμοῖμι*; they usually have a concrete sense. In Church Slavic  
texts *прѣйти*, *прѣйти* and *прѣстати* also appear, in concrete and abstract sense  
alike.

In the Latin texts *transire* occurs in the passage in a figurative sense, and the  
verb *praeterire*, too. In the Gothic, the prefixed verb *hairh-gaggan* 'to go  
through' can express a figurative sense and a concrete local relation alike.  
Luther's text uses the verb *vergehen* in a temporal sense (e.g. Lu 21,31), but  
*vorübergehen* in a local sense (e.g. Lu 10,31–32).

Similar is the situation to the Gothic in the non-Slavic languages of the Balkan  
where the Romanian *trecea* and the Albanian *shkóje* verbs occur both in a  
concrete and in a figurative sense in the passages where the Greek text applies  
*παρελεύσομαι* and *ἀντιπαρῆλθον*. But in the Hungarian, Károli drew a  
distinction between the figurative *elmúlni* and the concrete *elkerúlni*. This  
difference has been preserved up to now (but the concrete local meaning is  
expressed by *elmenni mellette* 'to go away beside' as well).

The Kralice Bible has the verb *pominouti* in the cited passage; the Russian text  
of Stockholm renders it by the verb *прѣйти* (cf. Old Slavic *прѣйти*), but in a  
concrete sense (as Lu 10,31; 10,32) we meet *прѣйти мимо*.

As for the living Slavic languages, we do not find the derivatives of the verb  
*прѣйти*, but *μινῆμι* or its aspectual pairs (above *μιμοῖμι*). Such are, e.g.:  
В. *мина*, *минáвам*; М. *минува*; Сг.-Сг. *минути*; Russ. *минúть*, *минáть*,  
*миновáть*, *минáвывáть*; Укр. *минúти*, *минáти*, *миновáти*; Cz. *minouti*,  
*minovati*; Slk. *minut'*; Р. *minác(sie)*; Н.Со. *minyć so*; Л.Со. *minuś se*, *mijaś se*.

The Old Slavic *μιμοῖμι* has been preserved in the Serbo-Croatian *мимоћи*,  
*мимоји* *мимојћем*, but its traces can be found in other Slavic languages, e.g.  
Cz. *mimojdouci* 'passing (by), transitory'; Slk. *mimoidúci* 'passer-by'.

The verb *μινῆτι* seems to be Common Slavic but *μῖμο ἴτι* is a later compound that did not spread into every Slavic language. Thus, in the Marianus and the Zographus we find *μινῆτι* for Mt 8,28, but *μῖμο ἴτι* appears in the Ostromir; although, *μῖμο ἴτι* can be found in each archaic manuscript. The Czech and Slovak seem to point to the fact that it was a Moravianism, applied in each Church Slavic redaction but not preserved fully, except in Russian and Serbo-Croatian. The Cz. *mimochodem* 'besides', P. *mimochodem*, Russ. *мимоходом*, Sr.-Cr. *мѣмогрѣд* 'id' also indicate a similarity in outlook with the Old Slavic.

— On the basis of the Greek *παρελεύσομαι*, *μινῆτι* is a semantic calque. *μῖμο ἴτι*, however, is a real structural calque where it has the sense 'to vanish, to come to an end', and is a simple translation in the concrete meaning 'to go across, to pass by' (Greek *ἀντιπαρῆλθον*).

173. *μῖμο χολῖτι* ~ *παρέρχομαι*

'to disregard'; 'to omit, to pass away'. Lu 11,42: *καὶ παρέρχεσθε τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ. ~ ἰ μῖμο χολῖτε сжль ѿ любви бжннж. '... and ye disregard the justice and the love of God'.*

The compound *μῖμο χολῖτι* occurs in other passages as well (Mt 20,30; 27,39; Mc 2,23; 11,20; 15,21; 15,29; Lu 18,36; 18,37) but not in the meaning 'to disregard, to omit'; it mostly serves here for translating the concrete local sense of the verbs *παράγω* and *παρὰπορεύομαι*. In the Macedonian Acts of the Apostles it renders the verb *διέρχομαι*, too. In later Church Slavic *προχολῖτι*, *προχοжлати* also occurs.

In the Latin we find *praeterire*. In the Gothic, this locus is absent but we can conclude from other verses (e.g. Mc 2,23) that Wulfila translated all these verbs (*παρέρχομαι*, *παράγω*, *παρὰπορεύομαι*) with the prefixed verb *hairh-gaggan* 'to pass through'. Luther's expression in the passage of Lu 11,42 is *übergehen vor* (+ dative), but *vorübergehen*, *durchhingehen* and *wandeln* in a concrete local meaning.

The Romanian texts contain the expression *lasa la o parte*; in the Albanian a similar solution is the phrase *lë mbë nj' anë*, from the verb *lë* (*lashe*, *lëne*) 'to let' and the noun *anë* 'side'.

In Károli's Hungarian text we read the compound verb *hátrahagyni* (word for word: 'to leave back'), that is an interpretation rather similar to those mentioned above. In later texts we read other verbs which exhibit more abstract meanings: *elmulasztani* 'to omit', *elhanyagolni* 'to neglect', *semmibe venni* 'to disregard, to disdain'.

As for the other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verb, see what was said in relation to *μινῆτι*. Except in the Russian, *μῖμο χολῖτι* has not been preserved in living Slavic languages, but the instr. case of *μῖμοходъ* occurs in Russian and Bulgarian, in an abstract adverbial sense, as the Czech *mimochodem*

(where the noun itself means 'amble, pace', perhaps by the influence of *jinochod*). In Serbo-Croatian where the continuation of *мимо ити* has been preserved (*мимоићи, мимоћи*), we find *мимои[з]лазити* as its aspectual doublet; but instead of *мимоход* (*мѣмогрѣд*) lives in an instrumental-adverbial sense: 'besides, en passant'. The word occurs in Czech and Russian as a full paradigm (though it does not belong to the basic vocabulary), and there exist some related adjectival forms, too.

— It is a real structural calque in Lu 11,42; in other passages it is a simple translation. It can also be a Moravianism: the derived nouns have been preserved in Czech and in the Russian through Church Slavic as an entire paradigmatic system.

174. *мѣногоглаголаніе* ~ *ή πολυλογία*

'loquacity, talkativeness: Mt 6,7: *δοκοῦσιν γάρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται* ~ *мѣнатъ сѧ ѣко вѣ мносѣ гл҃ани своѣмь · оуслышани вѣдѣтъ* · 'because they believe that they will be heard for their loquacity'.

The word *πολυλογία* and its Old Slavic correspondent are hapax legomena in the New Testament. The use of locative is an Aramaism here.

In later Church Slavic *мѣногорѣчїе, мѣногослоуїе, мѣногобесѣдovanje* also occur (instead of *мѣного* we find *вече, тоо*).

The Latin *multiloquium* appears to be a calque after the Greek, though it can be met as early as in Plautus (Mercator 31,37).

In the Gothic there exists a similar compound: *filuvaurdei*. But while in Gothic we also read the related verb in this same verse (*filu-vaurdjan*) which is similar to the Latin *multum loqui*, in the Old Slavic, in accordance with the Greek *βαττολογέω*, another verbal compound can be found: *лихоглаголати* (Mt 6,7). The compound *мимоглаголати* appears in the Codex Suprasliensis (70,10) in the meaning 'to chatter, to gabble'. (In this codex other *мѣного*-compounds can also be met with). It is impossible to decide whether the Old Slavic verb was a real compound, but this supposition seems to be supported by the fact that the compound verbs *πολυλογέω* and *πολυαλέω* actually existed in the Greek. The nominal compound was not quite established in Old Slavic (in *вѣ мносѣглаголании* the components were apparently declined separately).

Otfrid uses the expression *managfalton wortō*. In Luther's text a subordinate clause renders the Greek (or Latin) compound: *wenn sie viel Wörter machen*.

In the Romanian an attributive locution, *vorbirea multă* corresponds to *πολυλογία* (but *мѣнатъ ворѣѧ* by Micu-Clain). In the Albanian we also find a postpositive attribute: *fja-lët'e e-shuma*.

The Hungarian texts use the expression *sok beszéd* 'much speaking', and this also appears in the later translations. In the latest Catholic versions (e.g. in 1973) we can find some very elegant solutions with a re-verbalization: *szót szaporítani*

(word for word: 'to multiply the word') and *ömlik belölük a szó* 'words are pouring from them'.

The Kralice Bible and the Bratislava text apply the compound *mnohomlunost* from the adjective *mnohomluný*, in the modern Russian text the synonymous *многословіе* appears that also goes back to the Old Slavic. — In Jakubica's translation we read this Low Sorbian variation: *gdiby wele slow czinili* 'if (when) they made many words'; after Luther's version: *wenn sie viel Worte machen*.

The Old Slavic word has been retained in the Russian only; the related adjective exists in Russian and Serbo-Croatian (*многослаговѣный* and *многослаговѣив*, resp.) Similar adjectives exist in other Slavic languages, too, e.g., the Macedonian *многосборлив*, Czech and High Sorbian *mnohořečný*, etc. In Russian we find a lot of synonyms of the Old Slavic noun, such as *многословіе*, *многослѣвность*, *многослѣвность*, *многослѣвность*, *пустословіе*, *пусторечіе* etc., on the basis of (or, influenced by) Church Slavic. In Ukrainian similar compounds exist, but rather with the popular antecedent parts *багато-* and *веле-*. In Polish we find *wielomówny*, a similar compound.

— Real structural calque, though it was at first rather a calque expression than a compound. The verb *λιχογλωσσати*, which occurs in the same verse, can be considered to have been originally an occasional word group for rendering *βαττο-* (*βαττα-*)*λογέω* and thus this is a simple translation rather than a precise decalquisation: *βαττολογέω* seems to be related to the same root as it appears in *βατταρίζω* 'to stutter, to falter', and thus, it is an onomatopoeic word (like Latin *balbutio* and *barbarus*; cf. *Berber*).

175. *мъногѣннѣньъ* ~ *πολύτιμος*

'of great value, highly valuable'. Mt 13,46: *εὐρών δὲ ἓνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην ἀπελθὼν πέπρακεν πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ ἠγόρασεν αὐτόν.* ~ *і же оуѣрътъ елинь многѣннѣньъ висѣръ · шѣлъ прѣла все імѣннѣ і коупи е ·* '... but having found a highly valuable pearl, going away he sold all that he had, and he bought it'. Similar locus: Jo 12,3.

The Old Slavic compound has the meaning 'highly appreciated, highly esteemed' in the Codex Suprasliensis (105,19), related to the verb *τιμάω* 'to esteem', but in this same codex (492,28) it corresponds to the compound *πολυτελής*, with the meaning found in the gospel: 'expensive, dear'. In Church Slavic we meet the compound *λραγοιѣннѣньъ*, too.

The Latin text applies the adjective *pretiosus* 'valuable, expensive' as a simple translation. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found, but in Jo 12,3 the compound *filugalauhs* is also an exact calque. Luther's translation contains the simple denominal adjective *köstlich* (in the last analysis, from the Low Latin *\*cōstāre* < *constāre* 'to cost').

The Romanian genitivus qualitatis, *margareta de mult preț* reminds us of the Latin, in respect of its word-for-word meaning. The Albanian translation uses postpositive attributes with adverbs: *shumë të-vjejturë* and *shumë të-shtrëjtë*.

In the Hungarian: *drága* 'dear, expensive'; also a compound in Mt 13,46: *drágakő* 'precious stone' (word-for-word sense as in the English), but in the latest Catholic texts, more exactly: *igazgyöngy* 'real pearl'.

The Kralice Bible speaks of a *velmi drahá perla* 'very expensive pearl'. In the Russian edition of Stockholm we read драгоценная жемшужина 'highly valuable pearl'.

The Old Slavic adjective МНОГОЦѢНЕНЪ is common in the Byzantine Slavic culture. The Western Slavic languages apply the compounds with *drago-* (*draho-*, *drogo-*), the prototype of which can also be found in the Old Slavic, and equivalents in Eastern and Southern Slavic languages.

— Real structural calque, corresponding to the basic Slavic meaning of the noun ЦѢНА (which, however, meant 'penalty, ransom' according to its principal Indo-European sense; cf. Greek ποινή, Latin *poena*).

176. МѢДЬ ~ ὁ χαλκός

'(copper-)money'. Mc 12,41: ἐθεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακεῖον ~ ВИДѢВЪ КАКО НАРОДЪ · МЕНШЕТЕТЪ МѢДЬ ВЪ ГАЗАФИЛАКѢИЖ · 'He was watching how the crowd of people were throwing money into the collecting box'.

In the later Russian Church Slavic МѢДИАНЪ ДЕНЬГЪ (plur. acc.) can be read, too.

In the Latin we read *aes* with a similar change of meaning; in the Gothic this locus is absent. Luther's text contains the commonly used noun *Geld* 'money' (originally a variant of the Germanic *Gold* 'gold'; from the same Indo-European base as Slavic желтъ 'yellow').

The Romanian *bani de aramă* means 'copper-coin', a construction of genitivus materiae. The Albanian *tëhola* 'small coins, change' comes from the adjective *holle* 'thin, fine, slight'; cf. *tëholl* 'to roll out (the past)'. The Hungarian texts simply use the noun *pénz* 'money, coin'.

Simple nouns (without adjectives) figure in the Kralice Bible and in the modern Russian text as well: *peníz* and деньги, respectively. The Czech noun has its correspondents in other Slavic idioms, too, e.g. Old Slavic ПѢНАСЬ (cf. English *penny*, German *Pfennig*); maybe the Church Slavic word was the source of the Hungarian noun *pénz* 'money'.

The correspondents of the Old Slavic word exist in every Slavic language, in the meaning 'copper', but the sense 'money' is found in the Old Slavic only, and in this verse it meant only 'small change'; obviously this was made of copper (cf. Latin *aes* for the smaller denominations; the greater money, *dēnarius*, τὸ δηνάριον was rendered into Old Slavic by the word of German origin, ПѢНАСЬ

'farthing, silver shilling' coming from a Common Germanic form \**pennings* (which word is related perhaps to the German *Pfanne*, English *pan*, *penny* meaning primarily 'a round dish of balance').

— Semantic calque. If the Old Slavic translator also used the Latin texts here, the Latin *aes* and *as* could play a role as a secondary indicator for the use of the loan meaning.

## N

177a–b–c.  $\text{HA } \sigma\text{PO}[\gamma]\text{ΛH} \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}[\gamma]\text{ΛH}, \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{BI} \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{BI}, \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}[\gamma]\text{Λ}\text{B}\text{B} \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}[\gamma]\text{Λ}\text{B}\text{B}$   
~  $\sigma\text{M}\text{Π}\text{O}\sigma\text{IA} \sigma\text{M}\text{Π}\text{O}\sigma\text{IA}$

'in succession, each beside another'. (Word for word: 'by table companies (tents), by groups', in the Greek text.) Mc 6,39:  $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\nu \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota \ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \ \sigma\text{M}\text{Π}\text{O}\sigma\text{IA} \ \sigma\text{M}\text{Π}\text{O}\sigma\text{IA} \sim \ \acute{\iota} \ \rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\ \acute{\iota}\mu\zeta \ \rho\omicron\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\iota \ \iota\alpha \ \epsilon\varsigma\alpha \cdot \text{HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{BI} \cdot \text{HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{BI}$ . (The forms  $\sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{B}$  and  $\sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{B}\text{B}$  may be word contaminations.) 'and He ordered to them to make all of them settled, each beside another'.

In the Nikolja Gospel we read  $\text{HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{B}\text{B} \text{ HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{B}\text{B}$  which is a locative form.

Similar locus: Lu 9,14, but here the Greek text shows the syntagm  $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  'so to say by tents', and the Old Slavic renders it with  $\text{HA } \sigma\text{PO}\gamma\text{Λ}\text{B}$ .

Instead of the Latin translation *secundum contubernia* it would have been more precise to render the original Greek with *per convivia* (actually used in Lu 9,14).

In the Gothic translation we find Lu 9,14 only; here we find a plural accusative form *kubitums*, from the Latin loanword *kubitus* (< *cubitus*) 'lying; place at the table'. In Luther's translation the solution is: *bei Tisch vollen*; in Lu 9,14: *bei Schichten*, a translation according to the sense.

The Romanian interpreters translated this Mc 6,39 passage with the reduplication *mese mese* 'by each table', following thus the Greek and Old Slavic; a similar order and meaning appears in Albanian with the Greek–Latin loanword *truveza-truveza* (< Greek  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$  'table').

Károli's Hungarian interpretation presents a free transformation here: *mint szoktak asztalhoz ülni lakodalomban* 'as they used to sit to the table in the nuptials'. In Lu 9,14 he simply says: *minden rendbe* 'in all orders'. In the modern Catholic version (e.g. in 1967, 1973 and 1981) we read *csoportokban* ('in groups').

Similar solutions can be read in the Kralice Bible: *posaditi všechněm po houfich* 'that everybody should sit down, in groups', and in the modern Russian translation:  $\text{HO } \sigma\text{TY}\text{ΔE}\text{ΛE}\text{N}\text{IA}\text{M}\text{B}$  'group by group' and  $\text{P}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{Δ}\text{A}\text{M}\text{I}$  'order by order'.

The Old Slavic expression has been preserved in the Russian only, obviously under the influence of Church Slavic. In Dahl's opinion (81, IV, p. 294) its original meaning was 'down to the earth'. From this viewpoint the locative (prepositive) case in the Nikolja Gospel is noteworthy. It seems possible that its



basic meaning was 'area, field'; in this case the Old Slavic interpreters translated this locus very freely, taking the context wisely into consideration.

— In the cited passages (in a double repetition) it is a syntactic calque, with a solution near to the semantic calque.

178a–b. НАСТАВНИКЪ, (УЧИТЕЛЪ) ~ ὁ ἐπιστάτης, (ὁ καθηγητής), (ὁ διδάσκαλος) 'teacher, master'. Lu 5,5: ἐπιστάτα, δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες οὐδὲν ἔλαβόμεν' ~ НАСТАВНИЧЕ · ОБ НОИТЬ ВЪСЪ ТРОУЖДЛИНЕ СЪ · НЕ ІАХОМЪ НИЧЬСОЖЕ. 'Master, we were working hard all the night, but we caught nothing'. Similar loci: Lu 8,24; 8,45; 9,33; 9,49; 17,13.

The Greek compound ἐπιστάτης is a characteristic word of St. Luke's classicizing Gospel, while in the other three gospels we find the vocatives of the nouns καθηγητής and διδάσκαλος. The Old Slavic texts sometimes use the noun НАСТАВНИКЪ for rendering καθηγητής, too (e.g. Mt 23,10); in other cases, however, the deverbial noun УЧИТЕЛЪ appears for translating not only the expected διδάσκαλος but καθηγητής as well.

In the Macedonian Acts of the Apostles (12th–14th cc.) we find mostly ПЪСТОНЪ which (together with the verb ПЪСТОУАТИ) is a living word in the Eastern and Western Slavic languages. (It goes back to an Indo-European root \**poit-*, identical with the root of the verb ПИТАТИ 'to nourish'). This Slavic word became later, in Hungarian, *pesztonka* 'nurse', with a Hungarian diminutive suffix.

The later Church Slavic texts use the abbreviated forms МАСТЕРЪ, МАСТОУЪ, МАИСТОУЪ as well, coming through the Greek μαίστωρ (later also μάστορας, in a popular form) from the Latin *magister* 'master, teacher'.

In the Latin translations we read *praeceptor* as a rule, corresponding to ἐπιστάτης (in other cases, the translation is *magister*).

In the Gothic, for ἐπιστάτης, the present participle *taljzjands* can be found from the verb *talzjan* 'to teach, to educate'. In other cases we can read the deverbial noun *laisareis* which is related to the verb *laisjan* 'to teach'. Luther applied the word *Meister* throughout.

In the Romanian the deverbial nouns *invătător*, the nomen agentis of the verb *invăța* 'to teach' is used; a similar formation is the Albanian *mësonjes* from the verb *mësój* 'id.' (The primary meaning of the Romanian verb in the Balkanic Low Latin may have been 'to induce somebody to sin': \**in* + *vitiāre*.)

The Hungarian texts, since Károli have used the noun *mester* (in the last analysis, from the Latin *magister*). But in Mt 23,16 where it is not Jesus who is referred to Károli uses the word *doktorok* corresponding to the Latin plural form *magistri* and the Greek καθηγηταί (in the modern Catholic texts it is *vezetők* 'leaders').

The Kralice Bible uses the vocative of the loanword *mistr* (of Middle High German, but eventually of Latin origin: *magister*); so do it the Slovak and Low

Sorbian texts. The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word have the meaning 'teacher, educator': В. наставник; Sr.-Cr. наставник; Russ. наставник; Ukr. наставник; М. наставник, Р. (*nastawnica* 'regulator, adjuster'); Cz. (*nastávající* 'standing ahead, future'); Slk. (*nastávající* 'id. '); L. So. (*nastawajusy* 'coming into being'); H. So. (*nastawacy* 'id.').

— Real structural calque, corresponding to ἐπιστάτης in Greek, part for part. As for the Greek word καθηγητής, the Old Slavic наставникъ is a simple translation; or, in some cases, a semantic calque.

179a-b. НАСЖИТЪНЪ, ((НА)ДЪНЕВЪНЪ) ~ ἐπιούσιος  
'daily, supersubstantial, supernatural' Lu 11,3: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον  
δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ~ ХЛѢБЪ НАШЕЪ НАДЪНЕВЪНЪ: ДАИ НАМЪ НА ВСЕЪХЪ  
Д'НЬ: 'our daily bread [thou] give us every day'.

In the Zographus we find НАДЪНЕВЪНЪ, in the Savvina Kniga ДЪНЕВЪНЪ. In the Nikolja Gospel a later phonetic variance, иносжитънъ can be read which perhaps also indicates that the numeral pronoun инь began to take over the sense 'other' instead of 'one'; thus this compound may have meant: "ordered for the following day".

Similar locus: Mt 6,11 where, from among the archaic codices the Assemani, Ostromir, and Nikolja present the form НАСЖИТЪНЪ while in the Marianus and Savvina Kniga we read НАСТАВИШАГО (genitivus temporis); in the Zographus, however, incompletely, the abridged form НАСТОАШИТ . . .

The compound ПОВСЕДЪНЕВЪНЪ is a later Russian Church Slavic variant just as КЕЖЕДЪНЕВЪНЪ and КАЖДЪДЪНЕВЪНЪ are.

As for the causes of the "lectiones variantes" and their relation to the Latin translations see above, in the 3rd chapter of the Introduction (*The Latinisms of the Old Slavic Gospel Texts*). But the Greek original could also have caused some differences; because in this locus we can find a shorter variant: δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον 'give it to us to-day'.

In the Latin the adjective *quotidianus* 'daily' appears. In the older versions (and even today in the Irish-Gallican and Mosarabic liturgies) we also find the adjective *supersubstantialis* 'oversubstantial' which gives a figurative meaning to the word, referring to the Eucharistia. The Greek word can be explained in this abstract way, too, though its everyday use supports the concrete explanation. Most of the old Latin codices know this form. (The Ambrosian liturgy has retained the word *supersubstantialis*.)

The Old High German text of Otfrid uses the word group *thia dagalichen Zuhti* 'the daily food'. In the Gothic we also find *sinteins* 'daily'. Luther's text also interprets this adjective with *täglich* 'daily'.

The Romanian genitivus qualitatis *de toate zilele* and the Albanian *të-përditëshmën* also mean 'daily'.

The Hungarian word is *mindennapi*, corresponding to the Latin *quotidianus*, though sometimes the shorter form *napi* 'daily' occurs.

In the Kralice Bible the compound *vezdejší* appears in the concrete Latin meaning. The modern Russian translation has preserved the form *насу́щный*, derived from the Old Slavic word.

The meaning 'supersubstantial', consequently, did not exert any influence on these gospel translations.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *насъщен*; М. *насушен*; Sr.-Cr. *насушнї*; Russ. *насу́щный*, *насу́щий* (*настоящий*); Укр. *насу́щний* (*насу́щик* 'daily bread').

The Western Slavic languages apply the forms corresponding to *късь* and *днь*.

— *НАСЖШТЬНЪ* is a real structural calque, in both the supposed original senses. Its external form exerted such an influence on Old Slavic language development that, besides the form *ДНЬЕВЪНЪ*, in the Zographus a form *НАДНЬЕВЪНЪ* also appears. The variant *НАСЖШТЬНЪ* makes possible the explanation *supersubstantial*, too; the form *НАСТОЯШТЬ*, however, has the meaning 'real'. The Latin edition of Madrid (1965) uses the version *quotidianus* in Lu 11,3, but *supersubstantialis* in Mt 6,11, just like Merk's bilingual editions.

The Mosarabic liturgical tradition supports the possibility of this double sense. It must also be noted that the old codices S and D use here: *δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον* which agrees with the Latin *da nobis hodie*, and the usual Church Slavic text of the Chrysostomos' Liturgy: *ДАЖДЬ НАМЪ ДНЬСЬ* · 'give us today' which follows the original Greek text of this liturgy.

180a-b. *НЕВЪЗБЛАГОДѢТНЪ*, *НЕВЪЗБЛАГОДАТНЪ* ~ *ἀχάριστος*  
'ungrateful, unthankful' Lu 6,35: ... ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦς ἀχάριστους καὶ πονηροῦς · ~ *ѢКО ТЪ БЛАГЪ ЕСТЬ · НА НЕ ВЪЗБЛАГОДѢТНЪНА · ІЗЪЛЪНА* · 'because He is also good to the ungrateful and the wicked'.

In the Zographus we find *НЕВЪЗБЛАГОДѢТНЪ* but in the Marianus *НЕВЪЗБЛАГОДАТНЪ* (see also the difference between *БЛАГОДѢТЕЛЬ* and *БЛАГОДАТЕЛЬ*). In later texts the privative compounds *НЕБЛАГОДРЪНЪ*, *НЕБЛАГОПРИАТНЪ* also appear.

In the Latin the corresponding privative adjective is *ingratus*. The Gothic text contains the privative form *unfags* 'improper, inconvenient' (the opposite of the adjective *fags* 'proper, fit' which is used for translating the original Greek *εὐθέτος* 'useful' in Lu 14,35). The corresponding term in Luther's translation is *undankbar* 'ungrateful'.

In the Romanian the privative adjective (originally: a nomen agentis) *nemulțumitor* is formed from the verb *mulțumi* 'to thank'.

The Albanian translator used a paraphrase: *gë nukja njohënë të-mirënë* 'who did not recognise the good deeds'.

The adjective *háládatlan* 'ungrateful' in Károli's translation was later reduced by the shorter form *hálátlan* which is a privative adjective form from the noun *hála* 'gratitude'.

The Kralice Bible applies the adjective *nevďěčný*, which is a privative form, similar to the modern Russian неблагоприятный (but the latter also comes from Church Slavic).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (неблагодáрен); Sr.-Cr. (неблагодáран); Russ. (неблагодáрный, неблагоприятный); Ukr. (невдячний); M. (неблагодарен); Cz. (*nevďěčný*); Slk. (*nevďáčny*); P. (*niewdzięczny*), L.So. (*nježěkowaty*); H.So. (*njedžakowny, njedžakny, nje-džakniwy*).

The precise etymological equivalent of the Old Slavic word has not been preserved in any of the Slavic languages. The Western Slavic languages (and the Ukrainian, through the Polish) took over the base of their equivalent (\**deġ*) from the German since the 14th century (cf. German *Dank* 'thank', borrowed first probably by the Czech). The Eastern and Southern Slavic languages use the privative form of БЛАГОДАРНЪ, only in Russian we find the privation of БЛАГОДАТНЪ preserved by the influence of ВЪБЛАГОДАТНЪ. As for ВЪБЛАГОДАТНЪ, its establishment was probably promoted by the existence of the expression ВЪЗДАТИ ХВАЛА ~ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΩ, *gratias agere*, too.

— Real structural calques.

181a-b-c. НЕВЪЗМОЖНЪ, (НЕМОЖНЪ), (НЕМОЖЛИВЪ) ~ ἄδύνατος 'impossible'; 'unpowerful'. Lu 18,27: ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τὰ ἄδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δύνατὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν. ~ онъ же рече' невъвозмоуа отъ члвкъ, възвозмоуа отъ бѣ сътъ 'but He said: "Things which are impossible for men, are possible for God"'. Similar loci: Mt 19,26; Mc 10,27.

In the Latin we find the similar privative adjective *impossible*; in the Gothic: *unmahteigs*; in Luther's translation the privative adjective: *unmöglich*.

The Romanian texts use the adverbial privative expression *cu neputință*; the Albanian the privative *pamundur* from the adjective *mundur* 'possible, powerful' and the privative prefix *pa-* 'without' (also a preposition).

The Hungarian texts apply the privative *lehetetlen* 'impossible'; in the modern Catholic version *nem képes* 'isn't capable (of doing)'.

In the Kralice Bible we read *což jest nemožného* (genitivus partitivus in negatione) 'what is impossible'. The modern Russian edition has preserved the Church Slavic compound.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. невъвозмоуен; Sr.-Cr. (немогѹћ); Russ. не[воз]моуный; Ukr. (неможливий); M. (неможен); Cz. (*nemožný*); H.So. (*njemóžny*); L.So. (*njemožny*); P. (*niemożliwy*).

— Real structural calque. The Western Slavic equivalents (and the Ukrainian, borrowed from Polish) prove that the Old Slavic word was not a Common Slavic form but was established under Greek influence in the Balkans as privative adjective from the verbal stem *вѣзмок-* (*вѣзмокити*) with the suffix *-ѣнѣ*.

182–184. *невѣрие, невѣрство, невѣрствие* ~ ἡ ἀπιστία  
 ‘incredulity, disbelief’. Mc 9,24: πιστεύω βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ~ *вѣруѣнѣ ги · помози моему невѣрью*. ‘I believe, Lord, but help my incredulity’.

In the Zographus we find *невѣрие*, but in the Marianus *невѣрствие*. If we compare these two oldest codices from this point of view, we find the following:

	<i>Zographus</i>	<i>Marianus</i>
Mt 13,58	<i>невѣрствие</i>	<i>невѣрство</i>
Mt 17,20	<i>невѣрствие</i>	<i>невѣрство</i>
Mc 6,6	<i>невѣрствие</i>	<i>невѣрство</i>
Mc 9,24	<i>невѣрие</i>	<i>невѣрствие</i>
Mc 16,14	<i>невѣрие</i>	<i>невѣрствие</i>

As we can see *невѣрствие* occurs more often than its synonyms, and *невѣрие* appears most infrequently. It is interesting that in the Zographus we read *невѣрие* when the Marianus applies *невѣрство*. Probably, it also depends on the work of the later copiers. The other manuscripts show a solution similar to that of the Marianus, but in the Assemani *невѣрие* can be read for Mc 9,24, resembling the Zographus. It is possible that *невѣрие* had a “mot savant” character while the two others were “mots populaires”, *невѣрствие* being a Moravianism (see e.g. Jagić’s remark about the difference between the Czech suffix *-ství* and the Slovak *-stvo* which is a so-called “Slovak-Bulgarism”); thus *невѣрство* is an original Balkanism in the Old Slavic, too.

In the Euchologium Sinaiticum (44, b. 15.) we find the variant *безвѣрие* which corresponds even more precisely to the original Greek word. In later texts *маловѣрие* also occurs which serves—together with *невѣрие*—for translating ὀλιγοπιστία, too. In the Macedonian Acts of the Apostles *невѣрвание* also appears, and in the later Church Slavic texts of Czech redaction (originating from Croatia) *невѣра* occurs, too.

In general, in the ecclesiastic texts of Northern Slav peoples we find the latin-letter forms of *невѣрность* (cf. the adjective *невѣрнѣнѣ*).

The Latin interpretation was usually *incredulitas*, and a similar negative prefixation can be found in Gothic: *ungalaubeins*, from the verb *galaubjan* ‘to believe’. Similarly, Luther’s text contains the privative noun *der Unglaube*.

Similar negations are also the Romanian *necredință* and the Albanian *pabësi* or *pabësëri* alike.

In the Hungarian a privative suffix is used in the word *hitetlenség* (*hit* 'faith' ~ *hitetlen* 'faithless' ~ *hitetlenség* 'faithlessness', in a religious sense).

The Kralice Bible uses the negative prefixation *nevěra, nedověra*; in the modern Russian translation we mostly find the Church Slavic невѣрие.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. невѣрие; Sr.-Cr. нѣвѣрје, невѣрство 'treachery', 'incredulity'; Russ. невѣрие, невѣрство (невѣрность); Ukr. (невіра, невірність), невірство; М. неверие (неверица, неверба); Cz. (*nevěra, nevěrnost, nevěření, nevěrectví*); Slk. (*nevěra, nevěrnosť*); P. (*niewiara, niewierność*); H.So. (*njewěra, njewěrnosć*); L.So. (*njewěra, njewěrnosć*).

It can be seen from all this that the Old Slavic невѣрие has been preserved by the Byzantine Slavic ecclesiastic terminology only; the Western Slavic languages put the negative prefix *ne-* to the old noun *věra*. The nouns suffixed with *-ostь*, coming from the adjective вѣрнъ are later formations. There are some characteristic national forms also (Macedonian, Western Slavic); the Ukrainian невіра shows Polish influence but the other three Ukrainian nouns seem to be taken over from Russian Church Slavic. In general, the correspondents with *-ostь* and *-ство* can also mean 'treachery', and 'untruth' as well (cf. also the Indo-European relation of the word вѣра 'faith' to the Latin *vērus* 'true, real' and Old High German *wāra* 'reality, truth').

— All the three Old Slavic words (and their later Church Slavic variants as well) are real structural calques; невѣрие seems to be closer to the original Greek ἀπιστία. The other two variants gradually lost ground though originally невѣрие had been the least frequent in the archaic gospel texts.

185. невѣрнъ ~ ἀπιστος

'incredulous, unfaithful': Mc 9,19: ὁ γενεὰ ἀπιστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσομαι; ~ ὃ ῥοῦτε невѣрнъ · до колѣ въ васъ бѣждъ. 'oh, incredulous generation, till when shall I stay among you?' Similar loci: Mt 17,17; Lu 9,41; 12,46; Jo 20,27.

The corresponding Latin adjective is *incredulus*; in the Gothic text we find the adjective *ungalauþjands*, an active present participle with the negative prefix *un*. Similarly, Luther applies the privative denominal adjective *ungläubig*.

In the Romanian the expected *incredencios* occurs, a negatively prefixed adjective; similarly, in Albanian *pa-besë* is the corresponding form.

The Hungarian translations contain the privatively suffixed adjective *hitetlen* (cf. the entry for невѣрие etc.).

The Kralice Bible presents the Common Slavic *nevěrný*, corresponding to the Russian невѣрный in the Stockholm edition.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. невѣрен; Sr.-Cr. нѣвѣран; Russ. невѣрный; Ukr. невірний; М. неверен; Cz. *nevěrný* (*nevěřící*); Slk. *neverný* (*neverecký*); P. *niewierny* (*niewierzący*); L.So. *njewěrnny*; H.So. *njewěrnny*.

It should be noted (as mentioned in connection with неѣриє) that at present the Western Slavic words are primarily used in the meaning 'faithless, treacherous', and for expressing the sense 'incredulous' the negative participle forms are applied. It seems that the Western Slavic words were independent of Old Slavic, though for the Czech forms the possibility of a Moravianism may not be excluded.

— Real structural calque. Its Proto-Slavic origin does not seem plausible, parallel formations and borrowings are more probable (see also неѣриѣнь).

186a-b and 187-188. негасъ, негасимъ(л), негаси, негашаи ~ ἄσβεστος, (οὐ σβεννυμένος)

'inextinguishable'. Lu 3,17: τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακάψει πυρὶ ἄσβεστοῦ. ~ ἃ пль-вы съжежетъ огнемъ не гашимъ: 'and He will burn the chaff with inextinguishable fire'. Similar passages: Mt 3,12; Mc 9,43, 9,45.

The latter forms occur in the Zographus and the Assemani while we find the variant негасимы in the Ostromir. This also occurs in Mt 3,12 and Mc 9,43 in general; but in Mc 9,45 the shorter негасъ is applied. In later Church Slavic the active negative present participle негасашить can also be read.

The Latin *inextinguibilis* corresponds to the Old Slavic негасимъ precisely; the Gothic *un-fapnands* which is a negative present participle from the intransitive *fapman* 'to cease burning' corresponds rather to the Old Slavic негасъ. Luther's interpretation is *ewig* 'eternal' in these cases.

The Romanian *nestîns* is a negatively prefixed past participle form from the verb *sîngea* 'to extinguish', just like the Albanian *pa-shuar* from the verb *shuaj* 'id.'

The Hungarian word in Károli's translation was *megolthatatlan* 'corresponding to the Latin *inextinguibilis* (and Old Slavic негасимъ), which expressed the negation of possibility (in contrast to the others, which correspond to the Greek verbal adjective, thus meaning the negation of the fact itself). In the later Hungarian text we read the simpler *olthatatlan* or *ki nem alvó* 'not ceasing to burn', 'inextinguishable'.

In the Kralice Bible we find a secondary word formation, *neuhasitelný*; the modern Russian неугасимый is nearer to the Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (негасен), негасим; Sr.-Cr. (неугашљив, неугашен, неугасив); Russ. неугасимый (неугасаемый, неугасный, неугашенный); Ukr. (непогасимий, негашенний, неугасимий, неугасний, негашливий); M. (негасен); Cz. (*neuhasitelný*); Slk. (*neuhasitelný*); P. (*nieugaszony*); L.So. (*njegašeny*); H.So. (*njehašany*).

It can be seen that the Old Slavic forms have etymologically related equivalents only in Russian and Ukrainian (where the Old Slavic forms were continued), and in Bulgarian (taken over from Russian). The other Slavic forms are relatively new.

— Real structural calques. The form *негасимъ* renders the Greek *ἄσβεστος* (perhaps there was also some Latin influence, in some nuances different from the later Romanian and Albanian solutions); the variant *негасъ* indicate perhaps Gothic influence (or, at least, similarity).

189a *недостойнъ* ~ *ἄχρηϊός*

'useless'. Lu 17,10: λέγετε ὅτι δοῦλοι ἄχρηϊοὶ ἔσμεν ~ *г҃вите ꙗко раби недостойни есмь*. 'Say that: "We are useless servants"'.  
·

The conjunction *ꙗко* occurs in the Marianus and the Assemani only. In the Nikolja Gospel we find *имъже* after *г҃вите*, and *еже* in the Assemani.

The Old Slavic *недостойнъ* means, word for word, *ἀνάξιος* 'unworthy, indign', but its meaning is close to *ἄχρηϊός* 'useless', too, therefore it was suitable for rendering this latter. In later Old Slavic texts it was actually applied for translating *ἀνάξιος*, too. In Church Slavic we also find *негодънъ*, *беспользѣнъ*, *напрасѣнъ* in this sense.

The Latin *inutilis* and the Gothic *un-brūks* correspond to the Greek, as parallel privately prefixed adjectives. A similar privation is the Romanian *nefoloșitor*, and the Albanian *pavëjuer* (obsolete word; today: *pa-výer*). All these adjectives, and their bases come from verbal stems, cf. the corresponding verbs with the sense 'to use, to apply' (Latin *utor*, Gothic *brūkjan*, Romanian *foloși*, Albanian *vÿen* or *vlen*; this latter meant originally: 'to be worthwhile').

Luther's translation applies the privative *Unnütz(lich)* 'useless'.

The Hungarian version generally uses the privatively suffixed adjective *haszontalan* which comes from the noun *haszon* 'use'; this old Hungarian form has been preserved until our days, but in the latest Catholic translations (1973 and 1981) the more popular and more emphatic compound *mihaszna* (word for word: 'of what use?') can be read.

The Kralice Bible contains the expectable *neužitečný*, a similarly privative adjective; the Russian edition of Stockholm renders this concept with the double negation *ничего нестоющие* i.e. 'who are worth nothing'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *недостоен*; 'unworthy'; Sr.-Cr. *недостојан*; Ru. *недостойный*; Ukr. *недостойний*; M. *недостоен*; Cz. (*nedosti* [adverb] 'not enough', *nedostatečný*, *nedostačitelný* 'defective, incomplete'); Slk. *nedostojný* 'unworthy'; P. (*niedostateczny* 'not enough, defective'); H.So. *njedostojny* 'unworthy, indign' (*nedostatny* 'defective, incomplete'); L.So. *njedostojny* 'unworthy' (*njedostawacy* 'defective').

The meaning 'useless' can only be found in Old Slavic. The Old Slavic *достойнъ* was also applied in order to interpret the Greek *ἵκανός* 'enough'; as this latter also meant 'satisfying, suitable', the Old Slav interpreters use *недостойнъ* for rendering the privative adjective *ἄχρηϊός* as well. In the other Slavic languages it acquired a more expressive meaning: 'unworthy, indign'. In Sorbian and Slovak we can suppose a Moravianism, taken over from Czech. It is not



probable at all that it was an ancient Proto-Slavic composition, but it could also have been a very old dialectal parallelism (cf. also e.g. the names of Slav tribes as *Serb* and *Sorb*, or *Slovene*, *Slovincian* and *Slovak*, *Polish* and *Polyanin*, the three (or four) different tribes of *Croatians*, etc.).

— Real structural calque, if the mode of privative prefixation is taken into consideration; but if we remember the other Slavic etymological or synonymous equivalents, we can rather consider it a semantic calque or, perhaps, a calque neologism.

189b. неключимъ ~ ἀχρεῖος

'useless'. Mt 25,30: καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον ἐκβάλετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον · ~ ꙗко неключимаго раба вѣрѣзѣте и вѣ тѣмъж кромѣшныиѣж · 'and throw out the useless servant into the external darkness'.

The Old Slavic word is applied in other Old Slavic texts for rendering the Greek ἀχρηστος, ἀδόκιμος, too.

The verb ключити, due to its meaning δεῖ μοι ~ *oportet me* 'I need' is suitable, in the forms of the present participle, with the privative common Slavic prefix не, for rendering the meaning 'useless' of the Greek ἀχρεῖος, too.

In later Church Slavic texts негодънъ, бесполъзънъ, непотрѣбънъ can also be found.

As for the non-Slavic texts, cf. the former entry for недостойнъ.

In the Kralice Bible we find *neužitečný* here, too; in the modern Russian text the privative негодный is known from the Church Slavic texts as well, together with бесполезный (беспользънъ).

Except the Russian неключимый which is a Church Slavic borrowing, we do not find any etymological equivalent in living Slavic usage.

— Real structural calque if we consider its privative composition. If, however, we compare its literal meaning to the primary basic word ключь 'key, steer, shepherd's crook, government' and hence to ключити 'to govern', thus неключимъ perhaps meant a person 'who cannot be governed'; 'unsuitable, unfit' and, in this case, it can be considered a semantic calque, or a calque neologism.

190a–b–c. неповинънъ, невинънъ, безвинънъ ~ ἀναίτιος, ἀθῶος

'innocent'. Mt 27,24: ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου · ~ неповинънъ есмь · отъ крѣве сего правѣдъника. 'I am innocent of the blood of this just person'. Similar passages: Mt 12,5; 12,7; 27,4.

In other Old Slavic texts the Greek adjectives δίκαιος, ἀνέγκλητος are also interpreted by this word which, especially in Russian Church Slavic writings, has the variants невинънъ and безвинънъ (or the vocalised forms of these).

In later Church Slavic texts безгрѣшнънъ also occurs in this sense.

In the Latin passages we find *innocens*, but also *iustus*, and the prepositional solution *sine crimine* 'without crime'. In the Gothic this locus cannot be found but Mt 27,4 shows that the Greek original was interpreted with *svikns* 'pure, clean'. Luther's *unschuldig* sometimes alternates with the prepositional noun *ohne Schuld*, similarly to the Latin.

In the Romanian the privative compound of Church Slavic origin, *nevinovat* is applied; in Albanian the similarly prefixed *pa-fajm* (from the noun *faj* 'sin, fault').

In Károli's Hungarian text *ártatlan* 'innocent' and *igaz* 'just' vary, according to the Latin *innocens* and *iustus*. On the basis of these, we could think that the Romanian and Albanian translators leant on Old Slavic, in these passages at least, because they also rendered the Greek ἀνάρτιος and ἄθως with the same word; though this is less probable in the case of Albanian; thus, the "common Balkanic spirit of language" may have produced similar results.

The Kralice Bible, similarly to Latin and Hungarian, draws a distinction between *nevinnyú* and *spravedlivý*. In the new Russian text we find *праведный*, but also *невинóвен* and *невíнен* (*неповíнен*) from the same root.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*невíнен*); Sr.-Cr. (*нѣвин*); M. (*невин*); Russ. *неповíнный* (*невíнный*, *невиновáтый*, *невиновный* [-вен]); Укр. *неповíнный* (*невíнный*, *невиновáтий*); Cz. (*nevinnyú*); Slk. (*nevinnyú*); P. (*niewinny*); L.So. (*njewinowaty*); H.So. (*njewinowaty*).

Apparently, the precise continuation of the Old Slavic compound has been preserved in Eastern Slavic only probably on the basis of Church Slavic, while the Western and Southern Slavic use adjectives corresponding to the later Church Slavic *невинъ*, *невиноватъ*, *непогиноватъ*.

— Real structural calques.

191a-b. *неправдльнъ*, (*не[с]правдльливъ*) ~ ἄδικος, οἱ ἄδικοι 'evil, wicked, unjust'. Mt 5,45: καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἄδικους. ~ *и лъжитъ на правдльныи · и неправдльныи* · 'and He gives rain to the just and to the wicked'.

Similar loci: Lu 16,8; 16,10 (bis); 16,11, 18,6; Lu Synaxarion (bis).

The Old Slavic word serves for the rendering of the word group οὐ δίκαιος, too. In the later Church Slavic texts the vocalised form *неправдливъ* occurs in this sense and *неправосждльнъ* 'unjustly judging', too.

The corresponding Latin adjective is *iniustus* in the cited passage, but *iniquus* also appears many times.

The Gothic *in-vinds* also renders the Greek *διεστραμμένος* 'turned away, inverted, wrong'. Originally, it agreed with this latter Greek passive perfect participle in its basic meaning. Luther's translation contains the substantivized adjective *die Bösen* 'the wicked'.

The Romanian texts show the privative adjective of similar sense and composition *недиректъ*. The Romanian form goes back to a Low Latin \**nedirectus* 'not straight, not right, unjust'. In the Albanian, however, we find a simple adjective: *sthrëmbër* 'curved, winding, oblique'.

The Hungarian text of Károli contained the adjective *hamis* 'false, perfidious', but later (and at present, too) we generally meet the adjectives *gonosz* 'wicked', and *bűnös* 'sinful'.

The Kralice Bible uses the adjective *nespravedlivý* of the same root; the modern Russian text has preserved the Old Slavic in a vocalised form: *неправедный*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *неправеден*; Sr.-Ct. *неправедан*; Russ. *неправедный*; Ukr. *неправедний*; М. *неправеден*; Cz. *nepravdivý*; Slk. (*nespravedlivý*); P. (*niesprawiedliwy*); H.So. (*njesprawny*); L.So. (*njepšawdosćiwu*).

Apparently, the Old Slavic compound *неправьдльнъ* might have been established immediately on the basis of the Greek *ἄδικος* which spread among the Byzantine-rite Slav peoples by Church Slavic influence; into Czech, however, it got with the other ecclesiastic Moravianisms of this language. The Western Slavic words came into being independently of the Old Slavic word, though some of them have their exact etymological equivalents in Old and Church Slavic, too (cf. *справьдльнъ*).

— Real structural calque (first of all from the viewpoint of privative formation.)

192. *неправьдльникъ* ~ *ὁ ἄδικος*

'wicked man'. Lu 18,11: ὅσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄρπαγες, ἄδικοι, ~ τὸ ἐ πρῶτιν χίτι· χυιτήνιци· неправьдльници· 'as most people, rapacious, wicked'.

As for the Latin, Gothic, Romanian and Hungarian, see *неправьдльнъ*, but there is a difference in Albanian where we find the privative adjective *pa-udhë* 'unjust, unlawful' which we have already met as the translation of *ἄνομος* (see *без[з]аконьнъ*). Luther's text uses here the substantivized noun *Ungerechte* 'unjust man'.

In the Kralice Bible the adjective *nespravedlivý* appears here, too. In the modern Russian text we find *обидчикъ*, but *хищник* also occurs, which is known from the Ostromir as well (*хыицьникъ*).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *неправедник*; Sr.-Ct. *неправедник*; Russ. *неправедник*; Ukr. *неправедник*; М. *неправедник*; Western Slavic: cf. the entry for *неправьдльнъ*.

— Real structural calque (in the archaic Old Slavic gospel translations a *hapax legomenon*) which spread in the Byzantine-rite Slavic languages under Old Slavic influence.

193a-b and 194. *неразумивѣ, неразумливѣ* ~ *ἀσύνετος, неразумьнѣ* ~ *ἀνόητος*

'imprudent, unreasonable, unwise'. Mc 7,18: οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοὶ ἐστε: ~ тако ли вы не разумьливи есте: 'thus are ye also imprudent?'

The form *неразумьливи* occurs in the Marianus; in the Zographus we find *неразумьливи* but in Lu 24,25: *несъмъслаьнѣ*.

Both words are "hapax legomena" in the earliest gospel texts. In the Assemani we find *неразумьни* in the text of Lu 24,25. The Old Slavic words, however, were used in the later texts, for translating the privative compound *ἀνόητος*, too.—In later Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction we find *безумьнѣ* and *съ оума шьдъши* as well in this sense.

The Latin *imprudens* is similarly a privative adjective in the corresponding passage, while the Gothic *unvita* is a privative noun, from the stem of verb *vitan* 'to know'. Luther's translation was *unverständlich* when speaking in a milder sense (Mc 7,18), but it applies the noun *Tor* (in plural) in the stronger, condemnatory sense of Lu 24,25.

The Romanian word group *nu pricepete* renders the Greek adjective (originally: negative of verbale adjective) with a finite verb, but Micu-Clain translates it more precisely: *ас шій кой сжтеѣи неѣцелегетѣри* (word for word: 'are you also unintelligent?').

The Albanian *juna të-pamarrë vësh* means 'you are of non-taking with ears', as the expression *marr vësh* is word for word: 'to take into (or: 'with') ears'.

The Hungarian translations use the synonymic privative adjectives *tudatlan, oktalan, értelmetlen*, but recently (1973) a construction with a finite verb as well: *Hát még ti sem értitek?* (literally: 'Even ye understand it not?').

The Kralice Bible applies the attribute *nerozumný*; in the Russian text of Stockholm we read *непонятливый*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *неразүмен*; Sr.-Cr. *нѣразүман, неразүмлив* 'unintelligible' (без *рăзүма*); Russ. *неразүмливый, неразүмный* (нерассудительный); Ukr. *нерозүмний, нерозумлівий*; M. *неразүмен*; Cz. *nerozumný*; Slk. *nerozumný*; P. *nierozumny*; L.So. *njerozumny*; H.So. *njerozumny* (*njerozumity* 'unintelligible').

Apparently, from among the Old Slavic words *не-разумивѣ* has not survived because it was ousted by the palatalized *неразумьливѣ* which agreed better with the phonetic laws. This latter was promoted by Church Slavic in Russian; in Serbo-Croatian, however, it did not preserve the original meaning, though it goes back to the Zographus. In the Slavic languages the third form, *неразумьнѣ* has become common.

— Real structural calques.

195. *нержкотворенѣ* ~ *ἀχειροποίητος*  
'made not with hands'. Mc 14,58: καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον

οἰκοδομήσω ~ ἰ τρѣми лѣтѣ · ἴно нєржкотворєнж сѣзижлж · '...and in three days I shall build up another [church], made not with hands'.

It is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts (Zographus and Marianus). In later Old Slavic it renders the word group οὐ χειροποίητος, too.

In later Church Slavic text нєржкосьлѣванъ also appears.

In the Latin the literal translation is *non manufactum*. In the Gothic there exists a privative compound, similar to its original: *unhanduvourhts*.

The Romanian word group follows the Latin with its adverbial construction: *ne facut de mâni*. Similarly, the Albanian *të-pabërët më dorë* contains a negative participle with an adverbial construction.

The Old High German expression *ni mit stéinon gidánaz* (Otfrid IV, 19,36) means 'not with stones made'. Luther's text contains the precise calque expression *nicht mit Händen gemacht*.

In Károli's Hungarian text we find an attributive clause: *mely kéz nélkül csináltatott* 'that was made without hands'. In the modern Catholic version the passive voice is replaced by a nominal predicate (1967): *amely nem emberi kéz műve* 'that is not the work of a human hand', or more solemnly: *amely már nem emberi kéznek lesz alkotása* 'that will already be not the creation of a human hand' (1973, 1981).

The solution of the Kralice Bible is similar to the Latin, with its instrumental construction: *ne rukou udělaný*. The modern Russian text has preserved the Old Slavic word.

The Old Slavic word has its precise etymological equivalents in: В. нєржкотвѣрєн; Russ. *нерукотворенный* and *нерукотворный*; Ukr. *нерукотворний* which is a Church Slavic influence; in Bulgarian, it may be a Russian influence, too. The accessory form is created from a Church Slavic нєржкоткѣрѣнъ. Here the lack of this compound in modern Serbo-Croatian and Western Slavic shows its occasional formation on the basis of Greek.

— Real structural calque.

196a–b–c. несланъ, (несоленъ, прѣсьнъ) ~ ἀναλος, (ἀναλμος)

'unsalted, insipid'. Mc 9,50: ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας ἀναλον γένηται ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ~ дѣште ли же соль неслана вжлетъ · ѿ чємь ѡсолите · 'but if the salt will become insipid, what do ye salt it with?'

In the ancient Old Slavic gospel texts the word несланъ is a hapax legomenon. In later Church Slavic texts the denominal несоленъ has the same meaning.

We find a privative compound in the Latin, *insulsus*, just like in the Gothic: *unsaltans*. Luther's translation shows the adjective *dumm* 'today: stupid, silly').

Similar privative compounds can be found in the Romanian: *nesărător*, and in the Albanian *ë-pashëllirshimë* (this latter from the noun *shëllire* 'salty water'). Both the basic words come, in the last analysis, from the Balkano-Latin forms of Latin *sal*.

In Károli's Hungarian translation the privatively suffixed form *éretlen* 'unripe' occurs, but in other similar texts: *sótlan* 'unsalted'; this latter has become general, but in the latest Catholic versions we read, according to the sense, a transitive word group: *ha a só elveszti ízét* 'if the salt loses its taste'.

The Kralice Bible uses the corresponding *neslaný*, and the modern Russian has also preserved the Old Slavic construction: *но ёжели соль не солонá б́удет*. Here the participle form can be found, naturally, with the expected Old Russian *polnoglasię* (pleophony, 'completion' of vowels).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *несóлен*; Sr.-Cr. *нѣслāн*; Russ. *несóльный*, *несолённый*, *несолóный*; Ukr. *несолóний*; M. *несолен*; Cz. *neslaný*; Slk. *neslaný*; P. *niesolony*; H. So. *njesólny*; L. So. *njesolony*.

— Semantic calque, in the sense 'insipid, tasteless'. It is probably a Moravianism which has got into the Czech and Slovak as well; in Polish and Eastern Slavic the corresponding forms of *polnoglasię* can be found. In the Low Sorbian a German influence (of the privatively prefixed past participle *ungesalzen*) must also be reckoned with. The transitive sense may generally be borrowed; the concrete meaning and the way of formation naturally preceded the translation.

197. *нестроение* ~ ἡ ἀκαταστασία

'rebellion, revolt'. Lu 21,9: ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσητε πολέμους καὶ ἀκαταστασίας, μὴ πτοηθῆτε ~ Сгдѣ же оуслышите врани ѣ нестроеньѣ · не оубоѣте сѧ · 'when ye will hear about wars and revolts, do not get frightened'.

It is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts; later, in the Russian Church Slavic, the Greek compound was rendered with *веспокойство* and *веспорядкъ* (vocalized: *веспорядокъ*), too. We can also meet other synonyms; thus we see e.g. *раздоръ*, *непокой* and *несъгласіе*.

The Latin translation applies *seditio*; in the Gothic this locus cannot be found.

Luther's word is *Empörung* 'rebellion', corresponding to the Latin and Greek alike, as a simple translation.

The Romanian long infinitive is *turburare*; this and the Albanian *trazire* mean 'confusion, disorder'; neither is a compound.

The Hungarian *pártütés* meant originally 'faction-making'; in later texts it is replaced by *lázasdás* 'revolt'.

The Old Slavic word has been preserved in Middle Bulgarian and Old Russian; in the latter we read even today *нестроение* (but in Ukrainian: *нестроїність*). A similar compound exists in Czech: *nestrojenost*. The Bulgarian adjective *нестроен* 'untidy, disorderly' has also been preserved.

— Calque neologism, which might have been a Moravianism (hence its correspondent in the Czech).

198. несмъисльнъ ~ ἀνόητος

'foolish, unreasonable, stupid'. Lu 24,25: καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ ~ ἰ тзы рече къ нѣма w несмъисльнаѧ ѧ мжлзнаѧ срѣдльцеѧ · 'and He said to them: "O, ye foolish, and slow in your hearts"'.  
срѣдльцеѧ ·

In other Old Slavic texts (e.g. the Psalterium Sinaiticum) it corresponds to ἄνοος, too. In Church Slavic texts безоумьнъ, неразоумьнъ and their variations also occur for translating the Greek word.

The Latin *stultus* corresponds to the Greek in its content as a simple translation; in Gothic this locus cannot be found.

The Romanian seems to follow the Greek or the Old Slavic with its negatively prefixed passive past participle: *nepriceput*.

The Albanian *të-marrë* is a simple translation on the basis of the Latin.

The Hungarian texts vary the synonyms *balgatag* 'foolish' (now obsolete), *oktalan* 'unreasonable', *esztelen* 'senseless'. These are similar not only to the Greek and Old Slavic but also to the Latin *insipiens*.

The Kralice Bible applies the precise etymological parallel *nesmyslný*; the modern Russian text has also preserved the Old Slavic word in несмысленный. All these solutions seem to have been independent of Luther's apostrophe: *O, ihr Thoren*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. несмъслен; Sr.-Cr. нѣсмислен(ѧ); Russ. несмысленный; Ukr. (нерозумний, нетяма); М. (бесмыслен); Cz. *nesmyslný*; Slk. *nesmyselný*; P. (*nierozumny*); L.So. (*njeromezjucy*); H.So. (*njeromezumny, njeromezumity*).

— Real structural calque. It might have been a Moravianism, taken over into Czech and Slovak as well.

199. неоумъвенъ ~ ἀνίπτος

'unwashed'. Mt 15,20: τὸ δὲ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ~ ѧ же не оумъвенами рѣками ѣсти · не сквернатиъ чѣка · 'but to eat with unwashed hands, it does not befoul the man'.

Similar passages: Mc 7,2 and 7,5 (we find κοινός 'common' in the Greek text). In later Church Slavic it occurs rather as не(оу)мытъ.

In the Latin the literal translation is *non lotus*, but in Mc 7,5, according to the original, more precisely: *communis*.

In the Gothic Mt 15,20 cannot be found but in Mc 7,2 and 7,5 we read the privative past participle passive *un-þwahan*s from the verb *þwahan* 'to wash'. Luther's text generally applies *ungewaschen* 'unwashed'.

The Romanian *nespălat* is a similarly prefixed past participle from the verb *spăla* 'to wash' and the Albanian *pa-larë* also comes from the verb *lâhem* 'to wash (oneself), to take a bath'.

The Hungarian *mosatlan* (from the verb *mosni* 'to wash') is their privatively suffixed parallel; often another privative adjective occurs: *tisztátlan* (from the

adjective *tiszta* 'pure, clean' (borrowed from Slavic чиста or чисто, with an old Hungarian substitution of the consonant *č* by *t*).

The Kralice Bible (*neumytý*) and the modern Russian text (неумѣтый) use the common Slavic forms.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word: B. (неміт); Sr.-Cr. неумвен; Russ. (неумѣтый); Ukr. (немітий); M. (немиен); Cz. (*neumytý*); Slk. (*neumytý*); P. (*nieumyty*); H.So. (*njemty*); L.So. (*njemty*).

Apparently, a form similar to the ancient Old Slavic can be found only in the Serbo-Croatian, in the other Slavic languages the *-\*tь* participle is general. Taking the Serbo-Croatian form into consideration, we must consider неумѣвенъ to be of Middle Balkanian origin.

— It seems to be a real structural calque (but, as a translation of the Greek κοινός in Mc 7,2; 7,5, it is a semantic calque). It is remarkable that the Old Slavic interpreter chose a solution similar to the Gothic in Mc 7,5 by rendering the Greek κοινός (Latin *communis*) with неумѣвенъ instead of ѡбшѣть or something similar. But this does not necessarily imply Gothic influence, because some Greek codices of the 8th–9th centuries show a parallel ἀνιπτος instead of κοινός (in ε<sub>46</sub>, ε<sub>76</sub>, δ<sub>30</sub>).

Whether Wulfila's translation exerted or not an immediate influence on the archaic Old Slavic gospel texts, could only be decided if all the Greek and Latin codex sources of the Gothic and Old Slavic Bible translations were known. Since this is not the case we must concentrate primarily on the Greek manuscripts of the 7th–9th centuries, which may have been at Cyril's disposal; however, some characteristic features of the earlier texts may have been preserved in these later texts.

If this likeness is not accidental, the source of the Old Slavic text may have been a Greek manuscript which is as yet unknown

200. нешѣвенъ ~ ἄρρητος

'unsewn'. Jo 19,23: ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄρρητος, ~ БѢ ЖЕ ХИТОНЪ НЕШѢВЕНЪ. 'but the gown was unsewn'.

It is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts. In later Church Slavic texts не(сѣ)шитъ is more common.

The Latin *inconsutilis* is also a privative formation but not a passive past participle like the Greek; in the Gothic this locus is absent. Luther's text shows a privatively prefixed participle perfect *umgenahet* similarly to the original Greek.

The Romanian privatively prefixed passive past participle is *necusut*; in the Albanian a similar formation can be read, *pa-qëpurë* (from the verb *qëp* 'to sew').

In the Hungarian we find *varrás nélkül való* 'being without sewing' in Károli's text, but later the simpler privative *varratlan* 'unsewn' becomes common.

In the Kralice Bible the analogous form *nessívaný* is used; the modern Russian text contains нешѣтый, as separate words.



The living Slavic languages use the *-\*tъ* forms of the passive past participle of the verb *шити* as a rule, thus the Old Slavic word has no precise etymologic parallels.

— It seems to be a real structural calque, since it may be presumed that the establishment of this compound (notwithstanding its fully concrete meaning) was conditioned by the requirements of translation. However, the word is a sort of composition that might have been established fully independently, too.

201. *нѣждѣникъ* ~ *ὁ βιαστής*  
'insistent, violent'. Mt 11,12: *καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάξουσιν αὐτήν.* ~ *ἰ нѣждѣници вѣсхытаѣтъ е*. '... and the violent take it away'.

In the Ostromir we find *вѣсхыстаѣтъ* which presents a later development.

In later Church Slavic texts *насилѣникъ* and *насилѣственъ* also appear.

In the archaic Old Slavic gospel texts it is a hapax legomenon. It was formed from the verb *нѣждѣити*, occurring at the beginning of the verse, just as *βιαστής* from the verb *βιάζω*. In the later Church Slavic, especially in Old Russian and, usually, Middle Bulgarian there is a more common form *насил[ъ]никъ*. Luther's translation uses a subject clause: *und die Gewalt thun*.

In the Latin we see *violentus*; in the Gothic the participle *anamahtjandans* appears, from the verb *ana-mahtjan* 'to be violent, to be robberish, to be unjust'.

The Romanian texts use an attributive clause: *cei care întrebuinteară staurință* 'who apply a force' (but Micu-Clain used an adverbial expression: *чеи че къ силескъ*); in the Albanian we see the form *sthrëngimtar*, from the verb *sthrëngoj* 'to enforce', i.e. the solution is similar to the Greek and Old Slavic.

The Hungarian *erős* 'strong' was later replaced by the more expressive *erőszakos* 'violent'.

The Kralice Bible uses a clause: *a ti, kteříž násili čini*; in the modern Russian we find the participle construction *употребляющие усилie*.

As for the living Slavic languages, the corresponding Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian words have the meaning 'back house, lavatory'.

The Russian *нудник* 'enforcing, tedious' cannot have come from the Old Slavic word, either (its origin was *\*nqđbnikъ*, and not *\*nqđ-jьnikъ*, i.e. the base of *нѣждѣникъ*).

— Real structural calque.

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202a-b. *оѣрѣзати* ~ *περιτέμνω*  
'to circumcise'. Lu 1,59: *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἦλθον περιτεμεῖν τὸ παιδίον,* ~ *ἰ вѣсть къ осмы льнь*. *прилж ѡѣрѣзатъ ѡтрочате*. 'and it happened on the eighth day that they went away to circumcise the child'.

Similar loci: Lu 2,21; Jo. 7,22 (in the latter passage it has an imperfective sense and conjugation). In later Church Slavic texts the derived *обрѣзвати* and *обрѣзывати* also occur.

The Latin parallel is *circumcidere* (it means, literally, 'to cut around' like the Greek verb).

The Gothic *bimaitan* has nearly the same original meaning; in Luther's translations the similar *beschneiden* appears. (Its equivalent to Gothic, etymologically, would be *bemessen*.)

The Romanian *taia împrejur* represents an adverbial construction instead of prefixation, but in the Albanian we can find the prefix in the word *rrhëth-presë* (*-prëva, -prërë*) 'to cut around'.

The Hungarian *körülmetélni* 'to circumcise' is used today in this special sense (religious and ethnographic) only, but its older form, *környülmetélni* was applied in a wider sense. (Today the Hungarian verb for non-ritual 'cutting around' is *körülvágni*).

The Kralice Bible uses the form *obřezovati* (not only in the religious sense); the Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Church Slavic verb.

The Old Slavic words and their derivatives can be found in most Slavic languages: B. обрѣзвам, обрѣжа; Sr.-Cr. обрѣзати, обрѣзивати; Russ. обрѣзать, обрѣзать, обрѣзывать; Ukr. обрѣзувати; M. обрѣзва; Cz. *obřezati, obřezávati*; Slk. *obrezat, obrezávat*; P. *obrzezać, obrzezyć, obrezać, obrzezywać*; L.So. *wobręzać, wobręznuś, wobręzowaś*; H.So. *wobręzać, wobręzować*.

— Semantic calque, for rendering the ritual concept. In the case of the Western Slavic languages, naturally, a direct Latin influence must be supposed. The living Slavic verbs may also express non-ritual 'cutting round' (the Polish secondary derivation also means 'to emborder, to trim, to hem').

### 203. обрѣзание ~ ή περιτομή

'circumcision'. Jo 7,22: διὰ τοῦτο Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν περιτομήν ~ *сего ради дастъ вамъ мози обрѣзание*. 'therefore Moses has given you the circumcision'. Similar locus: Jo 7,23.

The Greek *περιτομή* has come from the root of the verb *περιτέμνω* by means of *ἀποφωνία* 'gradation', 'apophony').

The Latin *circumcisio* comes from the above-mentioned verb *circumcidere*; similarly, the Gothic *bimait* comes from the verb *bimaitan*, and Luther's Modern High German *Beschneidung* from *beschneiden*.

A similar derivation occurs in the Romanian *taierea împrejur*, from the verb *taia împrejur* and the Albanian nomen actionis *rrhet-presjenë*.

Instead of the Old Hungarian *körülmetékedés* (or *környülmetékedés*) which was a nomen actionis from the reflexive passive verb *körülmetékedni* 'to be circumcised' today we generally read *körülmetelés*, from the above-mentioned active verb *körülmetélni*.

The noun *obřízka* in the Kralice Bible is a popular Czech formation (with a diminutive suffix); the Russian edition of Stockholm uses the Church Slavic word.

The Old Slavic noun has its etymological equivalents in the other Slavic languages: B. обрѣзване; Sr.-Cr. обрѣзавање; Russ. обрѣзание, обрѣзание, обрѣзывание; Ukr. обрїзання, обрїзування; M. обрѣзване; Cz. *obřezování* (*obřezka*); Slk. *obrezanie*; P. *obrzezanie*; L.So. (*wobrězk*); H.So. (*wobrězk*, *wobrěz*).

As for the meaning of the Slavic words, cf. what has been said concerning their base word (especially in the case of the Western Slavic nouns).

— Semantic calque, because of its ritual sense. In Western Slavic, it was probably formed under Latin influence (not excluding, of course, the reinforcing impact of the German *Beschneidung*, especially through the Lutheran translations into Sorbian and Czech).

#### 204. ΟΒΟΥΤΑΤΙ ~ ΜΩΡΑΙΝΟΜΑΙ

'to deteriorate'. Mt 5,13: ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται ~ ἀπὸ τίτου же соль обовѣтъ. чимъ осолитъ са. '... if the salt, however, deteriorates, with what will it be salted?' Similar locus: Lu 14,34.

In the later Church Slavic texts ОБОУТИ, ОБОУВАТИ, ИСПРАХИЖТИ, ИСПОУТИТИ СА and ОБОУРОДИТИ also appear. The Greek and Old Slavic verbs originally meant 'to become silly'.

The Latin *evanescere* means, properly speaking 'to expire, to vanish'. In the Gothic text this passage cannot be found, but in Lu 14,34 we read *hauþs vairþan*, 'to become tasteless' (originally: 'deaf'), 'to lose its strength'.

Luther's text follows the original Greek *dumm werden* 'to become silly'.

The Romanian *își va fi pierdut puterea* (literally 'to it the strength will be lost') was translated according to the sense (in Micu-Clain's text more simply: сѣ ва ꙗꙗщѣ 'it will be enfeebled').

The Albanian *uprîshet* is the past tense form of the passive reflexive verb *prîshet* 'to deteriorate, to be destroyed'.

In the Hungarian we read *megizetlenül* 'to become tasteless' in Károli's translation, which corresponds precisely to the Greek mediopassive form; but in the later (especially, Catholic) versions we see the active construction *ízét veszti* 'loses its taste'; in some versions *megromlik* 'it deteriorates' also appears.

The Kralice Bible uses a passive future form: *bude zmařena* from the verb *zmařiti* 'to destroy'; the Russian edition of Stockholm renders it with the expression потеряет силу 'it loses its strength'.

The Greek μωραίνομαι has the basic meaning 'to become silly', 'to get mad' (from the adjective μωρός 'stupid, silly'); the Old Slavic ОБОУЪТИ (ОБОУТАТИ, ꙗꙗвати) had the same meaning (on the basis of the adjective (БОУЪИ), as apparent from the Church Slavic (preserved in the Russian обують, обуювать 'to become a fool').

The other Slavic languages formed their homonymical verbs by the ob-prefixation of ѡти and оу-ти (cf. e.g. Serbo-Croatian обѡјмити, 'to grasp, to have somebody in one's power'; Russ. обѡуть, обѡувать 'to put on one's shoes'). In Russian there exists also a verb обѡуять 'to take hold of somebody'. All these, of course, have nothing to do with the Old Slavic verb. Thus it can be stated that the Old Slavic and Greek words show the same change of meaning in the gospel texts, i.e. the sense 'to deteriorate' is a secondary one.

— Semantic calque, on the basis of the Greek gospel text.

205. ОБѢТОВАНИЕ ~ ἡ ἐπαγγελία

'promise'. Lu 24,49: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς · ~ ѡ се ѡзъ послѡжъ обѡтѡвание отъ оцѡ моего на вы 'and behold, I will send [-pass] the promise of my Father on you'.

In the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts this is a hapax legomenon. In the later Church Slavic text we can find the words обѡтъ, обѡщание, приобѡщание as well.

In the Latin text we find *promissum* and later *promissio*. Into the Gothic this verse was not translated, but we find *ga-hait* in Epistle to the Ephesians 2,12 and in Paul's other letters. Luther's word *Verheißung*, follows the original Greek.

The Romanian text applies the deverbal noun *făgăduință* 'promise' from the verb *făgădui* (this verb is borrowed from Hungarian *fogadni* 'to promise').

The Albanian *të-zotuarat'e* is the substantivization of the passive past participle of the verb *zotóhem* 'to give a promise, to offer'; the formation follows the Latin model.

The Hungarian *ígéret* is a deverbal noun from the verb *ígérni* 'to promise' and may refer to the fact, process and result of the action alike. (The Rome edition of 1967 rendered the Vulgata text with the precise *megígért ajándék* 'the promised gift' but the Budapest editions of 1973 and 1981 returned to the simpler *ígéret*.)

The Kralice Bible applies the deverbal noun *zaslibení* 'promise', as expected. The modern Russian edition has preserved the Church Slavic form.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (обѡт, обѡщаване); Sr.-Cr. (обећање); Russ. обѡтование; Ukr. обітовання, обіт, обітница; M. (обекаване); Cz. *obětování* 'offer, sacrifice'; Slk. *obetovanie* 'offer, sacrifice'; P. (*obicuwanie, obietnica, obiecanie, obiecanka*); L.So. (*wobwěsćenje* 'assurement, statement, explanation'); H.So. (*wobwěsćenje* 'id.').

The Old Slavic word, apparently, is a Moravianism which was later substituted by обѡтъ, another deverbal noun from the same verb, in the Commentaries of Psalms.

The Old Slavic compound, made up of the elements обѡъ and \*(ѡ)бѡт-об-ан-иѡ is parallel to the Greek ἐπ(ι)-αγγελ-ια. There are of course differences between the ways of compounding and the shades of meaning as well, and the relation of the verb to the noun also differs in the two languages. The Slavic root is living in other Slavic compounds, too. (Cf. the entry for обѡщати.).

— Real structural calque, though the correlation of the details reminds us a little of calque neologisms. (Cf. also the entry for the parallelism of ВѢСТНИКЪ and ΑΝΓΕΛΩ.)

206. ОБѢЩАТИ ~ ἐπαγγέλλομαι

'to promise'. Mc 14,11: καὶ ἐπηγγείλαντο αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι. ~ ἰ ΟΒѢЩАТИ СЯ СЯ ЕМОУ СЪРБЕРНИКЪ ДАТИ · 'and they promised to give him silver (money)'.

The reflexive form appears in the Zographus only. In the ancient Old Slavic gospel texts it is a hapax legomenon. In other texts it serves for rendering the Greek συντίθεμαι 'to note, to observe, to state', too, and it alternates with ОБѢТОВАТИ (cf. e.g. ЗЕМЛЯ ОБѢТОВАНЫЯ) 'the promised Land, the Land of Promise'. In later Church Slavic texts we can read the verb ОБѢТОВАТИ, ОБѢЩАТИ and ПРИОБѢЩАТИ, too.

In the Latin text we find the expected verb *promittere*; in the Gothic: *gahaitan*; Luther's term is *verheissen*, which seems to correspond exactly to the Greek ἐπ(ι)αγγέλλομαι.

In the Latin text we find, instead of the expected verb *promittere*, the verb *constituere* in Mt 26,15, and *paciscor* in Lu 22,5; in the original Greek: ἵστημι (ἔστησαν) and συντίθεμαι, resp.

In the Romanian the above-mentioned *făgădui* appears (borrowed from Hungarian) *fogadni* 'to promise', 'to pledge to do (or not to do) something'. The Albanian translation applies the verb *zotóhem* 'to promise, to make an offer'.

The earlier Hungarian interpreters used the above-mentioned verb *fogadni* and *igérni*; this latter has become common (used also in its perfective aspect *megigérni*, especially in the modern Catholic translations as that of Rome in 1967; but the latest version of Budapest, 1973, returned to the imperfective *igérni*).

In the Kralice Bible we find the expected verb *slibiti* (cf. Polish *ślubować*, High-Sorbian *slubić*, *slubjeć*, *slubjować*, Slk. *slúbiť*, *slubovať*); the Western Slavic words came about by borrowing the Middle High German of Early Modern High German stem *geloben* 'to promise', *Gelübde* 'promise, vote'. The modern Russian text has preserved the Church Slavic обѣщать.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word and of its derivatives are: В. обещая, обещавам; Sr.-Cr. обещати, обетовати, обетивати; Russ. обеща́ть, обетова́ть; Ukr. обіща́ти(ся), обіця́ти(ся); M. обека, обекава; Cz. (*obětovati* 'to offer, to sacrifice'); Slk. *obecati*; P. *obiecaci*, *obiecować* 'to promise'; L.So. (*wobwěścis*, *-owaś* 'to state, to assure'); H.So. (*wobwěśeć*, *wobwěśić*, *wobwěśować* 'id.').

In the Old Slavic the verb was a Moravianism which, surely through a Czech medium, spread into the Slovak and Polish as well. In the Czech and Slovak it has developed into special religious terms ('to offer in the mass', or 'to take a religious vote'), as the related noun ОБѢТОВАНИЕ also did.

— Real structural calque (but cf. what has been said about ОБѢТОВАНИЕ).

207. οκρῆστῶ ζῆβζῆστει ~ οἱ περιόικοι

'the living round about, the neighbours'. Lu 1,58: καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ περιόικοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῆς ~ ἰ салышашна ѿкрῆстῶ ζῆвζῆстѣи · ἰ рождение еѣа · 'and her neighbours and relatives heard it'.

Similar locus: Lu 1,65 (in the Greek text: οἱ περιτοικοῦντες, the active present participle of the verb περιτοικέω 'to live round about, to live nearby').

In the Latin text we find *vicinus* in both passages. In the Gothic *bisitands*, the present participle of *bi-sitan* 'to sit around, to live in the neighbourhood', i.e. nearly the same usage as in the Greek, and the later Old Slavic *сѣ-сѣль* (literally 'sitting together'; from this word comes the Hungarian *szomszéd* 'neighbour').

In the Romanian we read an expression corresponding to the Old Slavic or Greek, *locuitor dimprejur*, while the Albanian interpreters use the simple word *fqui* 'neighbour'.

The Hungarian uses the loanword *szomszéd*, borrowed from a (precisely not determined) Slavic language; its early occurrences (1322: *szomszéd* and 1345: *szumszéd*) indicate that Church Slavic origin or double borrowing is possible.

The Kralice Bible uses *soused*; in the modern Russian the corresponding *сосѣдъ* alternates with the paraphrase *живущіе вокругъ нихъ* 'who live around them'. (But the Russian language can express this concept by the nearly identical, obsolete word group *окрѣстные жѣтели*, too).

— Real structural calque (or, perhaps more precisely: a calque expression). Judging from the evidence of the Czech *okres* 'district', Slk. *okres* 'id.', P. *okres* 'period', L.So. *wokrejs* 'circle', H.So. *wokrjes* 'circle, district', in the Old Slavic it might have been a Moravianism, but it was common in the Western Slavic; the Sorbian words were probably influenced by the German *Kreis* 'circle'. The Old Slavic word exerted its influence on the Russian even later and in indirect ways, too (*окрѣстный* 'surrounding, neighbouring, environmental', *окрѣстность* 'surroundings, neighbourhood, environment').

208. окушати ~ πειράζω

'to tempt'. Mt 22.18: ... τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί; ~ чѣто ма окушадате, ὑпóкpити. '...why do ye tempt me, hypocrites?' Similar passages: Mc 10,2; 12,15; Lu 20,23.

In the Church Slavic texts *искоушити*, *испытати*, на грѣхъ приводити also occur.

As for the non-Slavic languages, cf. the entry for *искоушити*, *искушати*. These latter characterize the Codex Assemani, while *окушати* occurs in the Zographus and the Marianus. In the Kralice Bible *pokoušeti* appears; in the modern Russian text we find *искушáть*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*покушáвам*); Sr.-Cr. *окушати* (*окушáвати*); Russ. *окушáться* 'to taste'; M. *окушава*; Ukr. (*покушáться*) 'to tempt'; Cz. (*okoušeti* 'to suffer'); Slk. *okúsiť* 'to taste';

P. (*pokusić* 'to tent'); L.So. (*pokusas̄, pokusys̄, pokusowas̄* 'to bite a little', *pokusis̄* 'to suffer, to expiate, to repent'); H.So. (*pokućec̄* 'to repent').

— Semantic calque, in its special religious sense; according to the evidence of the Western Slavic words, it was probably a Moravianism; although its spreading into the Serbo-Macedonian territory may give rise to some doubts in this respect. The verb may have been spread there by the Old Slavic texts.

209–210. *оправѣдати* (сѧ), *оправѣлити* (сѧ) ~ *δικαιῶν*, (*ἐδικαιώθη*)  
'to be found veritable'; 'to justify oneself, to be justified'. Mt 11,19: *καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς* · ~ *ꙗ оправѣди сѧ* · *Прѣмѣдростъ отъ дѣлъ чадъ своихъ* · 'and the wisdom was justified by her own children [deeds]'.  
The citation reminds us of some loci in the Wisdom Books (*Libri Sapientiales*) and of the Psalms.

Similar loci: *оправѣлити*: Lu 7,29; 7,35; 10,29; *оправѣдати*: Lu 16,15; 18,14.

In the codices B, S, W (in Soden's notations:  $\delta_1$ ,  $\delta_2$ ,  $\epsilon$  014) and in some minusculars we find *ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς* 'by her deeds', instead of *ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς* 'by her children'. Merk's edition also uses this lectio varians, supposedly because of the authority of Codex B (Vaticanus). But in the majority of Greek codices we can read *τέκνων* which was also the basis of the Old Slavic translation. The other Slavic, Latin and Gothic texts are also based on the same variant as 'by her children' or 'sons' of the wisdom: *filiis* and *barnam*, respectively. Luther's translation uses the calque-like *rechtfertigen* (*sich*) in these passages, with the addition *von ihren Kindern* 'by her children'.

The Latin text contains the compound verb *iustificare* 'to make just, to prove'. The Gothic phrase *usvaurhts gadomida var* literally means 'as just it was presented'.

The Romanian *s'a conoșcut de dreaptă* corresponds to the English 'it turned out to be right', just as the Albanian *dólli e-drej-të dituria*, similarly to the later Russian Church Slavic *быти вънавленъ правѣньнымъ*, *быти почитанъ за правѣдиваго*, or to the transitive verbs *отъповѣдати* and *освѣдчити* as well.

In Károli's Hungarian text we read the almost intelligible *a bölcsesség megigazított az ő fiaitól* 'the wisdom has been set right by her sons' which must have been an archaism, or a misunderstanding. In the recent Protestant edition we read the verb in the form *igazoltatott* 'was justified'. In the modern Catholic versions the Greek variants with *ἀπὸ ἔργων* serve as a basis: *A Bölcsességet azonban saját művei igazolták* (1967) 'Her own works were justified by the Wisdom' and: *A Bölcsesség azonban igazolta magát saját tetteivel* 'But, the Wisdom justified itself with her own deeds.' In the Budapest edition of 1973 the translation of *ἀπὸ ἔργων* and *τέκνων* alternates, according to the probable original sense.

The Kralice Bible contains the verb *ospravedlniti*; but the modern Russian edition has preserved the Church Slavic *оправѣдати*(сѧ) and *быти*

оправдана, respectively. Both the Czech and the Russian use the phrase 'by her children'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. оправд́ая (оправд́авам); Sr.-Cr. оправдити (оправд́авати); Russ. оправ́дять, оправ́д́ать (оправ́дывать); Ukr. (виправдати, виправ́дувати); М. оправ́да; Cz. (*ospravedlniti, ospravedlňovati*); Slk. (*ospravedlniti, ospravedlňovat*); P. (*sprawdzić się*); L.So. (*wopśawdowaś se*); H.So. (*wosprawniti so*).

In the Czech, Slovak and Sorbian languages there exist some adjectival and substantival relations of the Old Slavic verb (*opravdivý, opravdový* 'real, true', *wopśawda* 'reality', *wopśawdny* 'real, punctual', etc.)

— Real structural calques, though no prefix can be found in the Greek words; the Old Slavic verbs were probably Moravianisms.

### 211. оправдание ~ τὸ δικάϊωμα

'righteousness, justification, law, disposal'. Lu 1,6: πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαίωμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτοι. ~ ХОДАШТА ВЪ ЗАПОВѢДЬХЪ ВСѢХЪ · ꙗ оправданіихъ гнѣихъ · бес порока · . .going [= living] in all the commandments and disposals of the Lord, above [= without] reproach'.

In the Latin text we find the deverbal noun *iustificatio* which meant both 'verification, proving' and 'right action'. The Gothic *ga-raihtei* corresponds to the Greek δικάϊωμα and δικαιοσύνη alike.

In later Church Slavic of Russian redaction its (partly, of another meaning) синонимы are: истина; защита, ограда; избавление, освобождение; обр́адъ, оуставъ; обзичновение, обзичай, оучреждение. A part of these meanings can only be attributed to the Greek original δικάϊωμα, the others are later developments.

Luther's word is *Satzung* 'commandment, order, disposal' for the Greek (and Latin) nouns.

The Romanian *hotărire* 'decision, resolution' is the long infinitive of the verb *hotări* 'to decide', borrowed from Hungarian *határ* 'boundary', but originally: 'possession, power' or the derived verb *határozni* 'to decide, to command'. Micu-Clain, however, applied the noun ДРПТЪЦЕ 'righteousness, justification' which is nearer to the Greek, Latin or Old Slavic models, just like the Albanian *të-drejtë*. (Similarly to the Romanian, it comes from Latin *directus*.)

The obsolete Hungarian *rendelés* 'order, commandment' in Károli's text might have exerted some influence on the Romanian solutions, too. In the modern Catholic versions we read *törvény* (1967) or *rendelkezés* (1973, 1981), both having the sense 'law; commandment, order'.

In later Church Slavic the word can often be the synonym of обр́адъ and чиноправление 'ritual, ceremonial order' as well.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. оправд́ание; Sr.-Cr. оправ́дање; Russ. оправ́дание; Ukr. (виправданн́я, виправ́диванн́я); М. оправдане; Cz. (*opravdivost* 'reality', *spravedlnost* 'righteousness', *opravdu*



'really, seriously'); Slk. (*opravdivost' id., opravdu id., spravodlivost' 'uprightness, honesty'*); P. (*sprawiedliwość 'justness, righteousness'*); H.So. (*wosprawnośćenje 'justification, verification'*); L.So. (*wopšawdowanje 'id., wopšawdosć 'reality, verity', wopšawnjony 'justified in religious sense'*).

— Real structural calque (cf. the entry for *оправьдлити and оправьдати*).

212. *опрьсьньци ~ τὰ ἄζυμα*

'[The Feast of] Unleavened Loaves (Azymous Bread)'. Mc 14,1: Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας · ~ Бѣ же пасха і опрьсьньци · по двѣю дьню · 'because it was Easter and the Feast of Azymous Bread after two days'. Similar passages: Mt 26,17; Mc 14,12; Lu 22,1; 22,7.

The singular form is *опрьсьнькъ ~ τὸ ἄζυμον*, but *опрьсьньы*, too, occurs.

The Latin *azyma* is a plural neutral adjective form, borrowed from Greek; in the Gothic the citation cannot be found but in Mc 14,12 there is a loanword *dage azyme* (plural genitive form) ~ ἡμέρα τῶν ἄζύμων 'on the day of the azymous bread'. Luther also applies a plural genitive: *Tage der süßen Brote*.

In later Church Slavic of Russian redaction we can find the word group *не крашєньнь*, too. (This is the precise calque of the Greek ἄζυμον.)

In the Romanian we also read the non-translated *azima*; in Albanian, however, we find the calque *pa-brumjetë* (from the privative prefix *pa* and the noun *brume* 'kneaded dough, leaven'), according to the parts of the Greek word.

In the Hungarian translation of Károli we find the popular, but now obsolete and arbitrary *Pogácsás Innep* (word for word: 'Small-Cake Feast'), but later the expression *kovásztalan kenyér ünnepe* 'the fast of unleavened bread' or *kovásztalanok ünnepe* 'Feast of the Unleavened' became common.

The Old Slavic word has come from the adjective *прьсьнь* 'fresh, new, unsalted, sweetish' and in the Kralice Bible we find the corresponding *prěsnice*.

The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the related variant *опресноки* (regular analogous plural to the singular vocalized form *опрьснокъ*) but we find the word groups *опрьсночные дни* and *дни неkváшеннаго хлѣба* in the Russian, too.

Other Slavic equivalents of the singular form of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*преснікъ*); Sr.-Cr. (*преснац, пресница*); Russ. (*опресноки; просфорá*); Ukr. (*проскурá, прóскурка*); M. (*преснек*); Cz. (*prěsnice*); Slk. (*priesný chlieb*); H.So. (*njekisaty chleb*); L.So. (*njekisany chleb*).

The Old Slavic word, in singular, has some etymologically related words in the Byzantine Slavic languages and in the Czech. However, in general, the Greek loanword *προσφορά*: in Ukrainian *проскурá*, in Romanian: *prescurá*; as a liturgical concept, with its original meaning 'the brought-afore bread, the offering' it has ousted *опрьсьньци* to some extent from official ecclesiastic use. It seems to have been used in plural for the expression of the name of the feast; in later Church Slavic it was often replaced by *опрьсьньчньы дьни*.

— Its singular form is a calque neologism (pseudocalque); but in plural it is also a semantic calque, in connection with the name of the Jewish feast, which exerted an important influence on the Christian liturgy, too (the azymous Eucharistical Sacrifice of the Roman Catholics and the United Armenians).

213–214. ΟΣΤΑΒΙΤΙ, ΟΣΤΑΒΛΑΤΙ ~ ἄφῆκα (ἀφίημι)

'to pardon, to forgive'. Lu 11,4: καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν ~ ἰ ΟΣΤΑΒИ НАМЪ ГРѢХЪИ НАША · ЫБО ἰ САМИ ὈСТАВΛѢМЪ · ВСѢКОМУ ΔΑΛΖЖНИКОУ НАШЕМОУ · 'and pardon us our sins, just as we also pardon to all the sinners against us'.

Similar locus: Mt 6,12 in the Codices Assemani, Savvina and Ostromir, but in the Zographus and the Marianus we find ὀτᾶποустити(!). In a number of cases this pair of verbs has a concrete meaning 'to let off' or 'to send away' i.e. they are simple translations. The later Russian Church Slavic texts contain the verbs прѣстити (прѣстати), извинити (са) and прѣбачити, too.

The Latin text renders these verbs with *dimittere*; the Gothic with *afletan*; both these verbs meant originally 'to let off'. The Romanian language applies the verb *ierta* (it comes from the Balkanian Latin \**libertare* 'to set free'); the Albanian *fal* means 'to pardon' and is connected with *fâlem* 'to pray', *fala* 'salutation'; all the three words come from the Old Slavic *χβαλα* 'praise, glory' and *χβαλιτι* 'to praise'.

From the Hungarian verbs *megengedni* and *megbocsájtani* (earlier: *megbulcsátani*), the second one has become general. The old *megbulcsátani* form indicates the relation to the noun *búcsú* 'parish feast, farewell' of Old Turkic origin (borrowed before the Hungarians' settlement in their present country); the Turkic word also meant originally 'letting off', so it could express the idea of 'taking adieu', too. All these are independent of Luther's German *vergeben* which seems to have followed originally a Low Latin \**perdonare* (see the Neo-Latin languages and the English *pardon*).

The Kralice Bible applies the common Slavic *odpustiti*, the modern Russian edition uses the verbs прѣстѣть and прѣщάть.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. оствáвя, оствáвам; Ср.-Ср. ђставити, ђстављати; Russ. оствáвить, остављать; Укр. оствáвити, оставля́ти; М. остави, остава; Cz. *ostaviti, ostavovati*; Slk. *ostavit'*; *odstaviti* 'to put aside' (Czechism); P. *odstawić* 'to put aside'; L.So. *wostajis', wostajas'* 'to put aside, to delay'; H.So. *wostajać* 'id.'.

The primary meaning of the Slavic verbs is 'to let away' or 'to put aside'. For expressing the idea of 'pardoning' mainly the equivalents of ὀτᾶποустити are used.

— Semantic calques, in their special religious sense.

215–216. осѣнити, осѣнѣти ~ ἐπισκιάσω, (ἐπισκιάζω)

‘to overshadow’. Lu 1,35: καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοί ~ ἰ сила  
взышнѣѣго ѡсѣнитъ та · ‘and the power of the Highest will overshadow thee’.

Similar passages: осѣнити: Lu 9,34; осѣнѣти Mc 9,7 (this latter form is, essentially, a graphic variant of осѣнѣти). In later Church Slavonic we find затѣнити, обзѣнити and, in a secondary sense, подати as well.

The Latin text uses the corresponding *obumbrare*; the Gothic, similarly, *ufar-skadvjan*. (As we see, the four languages use prefixes with different basic meanings: the Greek ἐπί means ‘on’, the Latin *ob* ‘in front of, over, against’, the Gothic *ufar* ‘over, above’ and the Old Slavonic [о] [‘around’]. Without any doubt, the Old Slavonic solution is the most plastic, testifying to the good stylistic sense of the Slav Apostles). Luther’s *überschatten* corresponds etymologically to the Gothic, although there is no evidence that Luther knew Gothic.

In the Romanian we find a verb without prefix, *umbri*; in the Albanian the denominal verb *hiesoj* has no prefix either (from the noun *hie* ‘shadow’, which seems to be etymologically related to the Greek σκιά ‘id.’).

The Hungarian translations used the denominal, prefixed perfective verb *megárnyékozni* from the noun *árnyék* ‘shadow’. In the modern versions we mostly find the phrase *elborít* or *beborít árnyékával* ‘will cover thee with His shadow’.

The Kralice Bible uses a denominal verb, following the instantaneity of Latin: *zastíniti* (from the noun *stin* ‘shadow’), while the modern Russian text has preserved the Church Slavonic verb осѣнить.

The other Slavonic equivalents of the Old Slavonic words are: B. осені (осенява); Sr.-Cr. осенити; Russ. о(б)сенить, о(б)сенять; Ukr. осинити, осеняти; M. (осенува); Cz. (*zastíniti, zastiňovati*); Slk. (*zatienit'*); P. (*zacienić, zacieniać*); L.So. *wobseniš, wobsenjaš (wobsenjowaš)*; H.So. *wobsčënić, wobsčënjeć (wobsčënjować)*.

— Real structural calques in the special sense of Lu 1,35 (it is difficult to state the difference here between the influence of one language on another and the impact of one text on another). But as the Sorbian forms show, the Old Slavonic words might have been formed independently of any translation requirements, too; in this case they are semantic calques, which, as originally “parole phenomena” (in Saussure’s terminology), occupy a special place in Christian ecclesiastical terminology, too.

217. отрокъ ~ ὁ παῖς

‘servant’. Mt 8,6: κύριε, ὁ παῖς μου βέβληται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραλυτικός. ~ гѣ ·  
отрокъ мои лежитъ въ домоу ослабленъ · ‘... O Lord, my servant is lying in my house, paralysed’.

In later Church Slavonic [ъ]логга and рлѣз also appear.

Similar passages: Mt 8,8; 8,13; 14,2; Lu 7,7. Only those verses are included in this list, where  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \sim \sigma\tau\rho\kappa\tilde{\alpha}$  has the meaning 'servant'; the primary sense, 'son' is naturally not a calque in Old Slavic, but a simple translation.

The Latin *puer* is not a biblical gospel term: the oldest names of Roman slaves already contain this element, e.g. *Marcipor* [= Marci puer] 'Mark's slave', *Lucipor* [= Luci(i) puer] 'Lucius's slave', etc. The Gothic *þiu-magus* is an explicative, tautological compound from *þius* 'slave' and *magus* 'son'; both of the components appear separately, too, in the sense 'servant, slave'. (The use of *magus* in this sense may be either a Latin or Greek influence). Luther's text uses the common word *Knecht* in these passages.

The Romanian *slugă* is a Church Slavic borrowing. The Slavic  $\text{c[ъ]луга}$ , in some scholars' opinion, was formed as a nomen agentis from the stem of the verb  $\text{слух-ти}$  'to hear, to listen, to obey' (like the Latin *cliens* or *cluens*, from the same Indo-European root \**klou*); but according to recent opinions it was directly related to some Celtic word (Irish *sluag* 'mass', Welsh *llu* 'army', etc.) and, therefore, meant originally 'common soldiers, army' in a collective sense; it happened only later that people began to use it as a masculine singular noun.

The Albanian *shërbëtor* 'serf, servant' is a nomen agentis from the verb *shërbój* 'to serve', coming from Latin *servire*.

The Hungarian *szolga* is the same Slavic loanword as Romanian *slugă*.

The Kralice Bible uses the word *služebnik* which is the result of a multiple word formation (*sluha* → *služiti* → *služba* → *služebný*), this word in Church Slavic means 'ritual book'. The Russian text has preserved the Church Slavic  $\text{слуга}$ . Neither of these translations apply *otrok*, though both languages have this word, with the meaning 'slave' in Czech, and 'adolescent, teen-ager' in Russian.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B.  $\text{отрѡк}$  'adolescent'; Sr.-Cr.  $\text{слуга}$ ; Russ.  $\text{отрѡк}$  'adolescent'; Ukr.  $\text{ѡтрок}$  'id.'; M.  $\text{слуга}$ ; Cz. *otrok* 'slave'; Slk. *otrok* 'id.'; L.So. *wotrošk* 'servant'; H.So. *wotročk* 'id.' P. (*sluga*).

In the Old Slavic it was, without any doubt, a Moravianism; the word used commonly for the idea of 'slave' or 'servant' was  $\text{рѡбѣ}$  (and later  $\text{слуха}$ ). The Czech and Slovak words have preserved the secondary meaning of the Greek word (which might have been the original meaning of the Old Slavic word, as the etymology of \* $\text{отрѡкѣ}$  allows this conclusion), but the Sorbian words can be Bohemianisms, too.

As the Greek  $\text{παῖς}$  was translated into Old Slavic with  $\text{отрѡкѣ}$  also when it meant 'son' or 'boy', the meaning 'slave, servant' may be regarded as a semantic imitation.

— Semantic calque.

218.  $\text{отдѣсатистворати} \sim \text{ἀποδεκατῶ}$

'to decimate, to give the tithe'. Mt 23,23:  $\text{ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἥδουσμον καὶ τὸ}$

ἀνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον, καὶ ἀφήκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν πίστιν' ~ ЪКО ОТЪДЕСАТЪСТВОУЕТЕ МАТЪЖ И КОПРЪ И КИМИНЪ І ОСТАВИТЕ ТАЖЪШАЪ ЗАКОНА · СЪЖДЪ І МИЛОСТЪ І ВЪРЪЖ · (Second-hand text of the Zographus.) 'because ye give the tithe of the mint, dill and fennel, but ye omitted what is more important in the law: the righteousness, the charity and the truth'.

The same Greek verb is translated more freely as ΔΕΣΑΤΗΝЖ ДАТИ (ΔΑΑΤИ) 'to give the tithe' (see that entry) in Lu 11,42 and 18,12.

In the Latin text *decimare* is the most common translation, but in Lu 18,12: *decimas dare*. Only this passage can be found in the Gothic translation, translated by the calque expression *afdailjan taihundon* 'to deal the tenth'. This passage is rendered in Luther's translation by the expression *geben den Zehnten*, but the common verb is *verzehnten*.

The Romanian *da zeciuală* follows the Latin *decimas dare* or the Old Slavic ДАТИ ДЕСАТИНЖ, but Micu-Clain's *зечи* follows the Latin *decimare* in Mt 23,23 and Lu 11,42. The Albanian text, however, contains the expression *jap të-dhjetën'e* from the suppletive verb *jam* [*dháshë, dha, dhënë*] 'to give' and *dhjetë* 'tithe'.

As for the Hungarian and Slavic translations, see ДЕСАТИНЖ ДАТИ.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (дам десетината); Sr.-Cr. (десетковати); Russ. (дать десяти́ну); Ukr. (да́ти десяти́ну); M. (дава десетина); Cz. (*dáti desetinu*); Slk. (*dat' desatinu*); P. (*dziesiątkować, dać dziesięć*); L.So. (*daś żasetk*); H.So. (*dać dżesatk*).

Thus the Old Slavic word has no directly related equivalent in the living Slavic languages. Therefore, taking also the parallelism of the prefixes into consideration, we must assume that the Old Slavic word came into being under Greek influence.

— Real structural calque.

219. отъкрыти ~ ἀποκαλύψαι (ἀποκαλύπτω)

'to disclose'. Mt 11,27: καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. ~ ἰ εμοу же воли́тъ сн̄ъ отъкрыти · '... and to whom the Son wants to disclose it'. Similar loci: Mt 10,26; Lu 2,35; 10,21; 12,2; Jo 12,38.

In Mt 13,35 the verb ἐρεῶμαι appears in the Greek text with the same meaning. In Mc 2,4 the verb στεγάσω has a completely concrete sense ('to open the roof'), so отъкрыти is a simple translation here. In later Church Slavic texts *възнавити*, *отворити* and *прине́сти на свѣтасть* (на зна́мость) also occur.

In the Latin text we find *revelare*, a privative prefixation of *velare* 'to hide'. In Gothic the cited verse cannot be found but we read *and-huljan* 'to discover, to detect, to reveal' a privative prefixation of the verb *huljan* 'to cover'. Luther's corresponding term is *offenbaren* 'to make manifest'.

Similar negative prefixation appears in the Romanian: *descopera* (cf. *coperi, acoperi* 'to cover'). In the Albanian: *zbuloj*.

In the Hungarian we can read *megjelenteni, felfedni, kijelenteni* 'to reveal, to discover', but in the recent translations we see *hirdet* 'to announce, to preach' and, in a passive reflexive sense, *megnyilvánul* 'to appear, to manifest itself', or *nyilvánosságra kerül* 'to become known', 'to become public'. In the Kralice Bible the verb *zjeviti* is general, in the passive voice (*jest zjeveno*). The Russian translation has preserved the Church Slavic usage (открѣтъ and открѣтъся).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. открѣя (открѣвам); Sr.-Cr. открити (открѣвати); Russ. открѣтъ (открѣвѣтъ); Ukr. відкрити (відкрѣвати); M. открие (открѣва); Cz. *odkrýti (okrývati)*; Slk. *odkryť (odkryvat)*; P. *odkryć (odkrywać)*; L.So. *wotkšýs (wotkšywaś)*; H.So. *wotkryć (wotkrywać)*.

The Old Slavic word, consequently, seems to be of Common Slavic origin, but in its figurative sense it can be considered to have followed the Greek model.

— Semantic calque.

220–221. открьвение, окръвение ~ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις  
 'revelation, interpretation'; 'enlightening'. Lu 2,32: φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἔθνῶν καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ. ~ СВѢТЪ КЪ ОКРЪВЕНЬЕ НЪЗЫКЪ · Ї СЛАВЖ ЛЮДИ ТВОЇХЪ ИЛЪ · 'light for the enlightening of the heathens, and glory for Thy people, Israel'.

The variant окръвение appears in the Zographus and the Marianus, in the form best corresponding to the Proto-Slavic phonetic laws. In the Assemani and Savvina Kniga we find открьвение. Both variants are hapax legomena in the archaic Old Slavic gospel texts. In other Old Slavic texts we find объявление, too. In later Church Slavic texts открьтие, въявление, просвѣщтение and наставление also occur.

The Latin *revelatio* and the Gothic *and- huleins* are nomina actionis from the above-mentioned verbs. Luther's text uses an infinitive construction: *zu erleuchten die Heiden* 'to enlighten the heathens'.

In the Romanian we find a verbal construction '*ce să descopera*, but in Micu-Clains' text *лминаръ* 'illustration, declaration' can be read. Similarly in the Albanian there is a nomen actionis, *të-ndrituri* from the verb *ndrit* 'to be bright, to glisten'.

In the Hungarian the old variant was *megvilágosítottás* 'being enlightened' (today *megvilágítás* 'enlightening'), sometimes even shorter: *megvilágosítás* 'lightening'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. (открѣвание, открьтие); Sr.-Cr. (открѣће); Russ. (открѣвание, открьтие); Ukr. (відкриття); M. (открытие); Cz. (*odkrývání, odkrytí*); Slk. (*odkryt*); P. (*okrycie, odkrywka*); L.So. (*wotkšywanje*); H.So. (*wotkryće*).

The living Slavic languages have not developed an \**en* suffixation from the original reduced *y*-stem of the verb *крьти (крьк-)*, only the suffix \*-*t* has survived.

Besides, the Western Slavic languages apply the etymological equivalents of *изъавлєнїє* and *о[гъ]тѣорєнїє* as well, from the stems of the verb corresponding to *изъавити* and *о[гъ]тѣорити*. Therefore, *отъкрѣвєнїє* cannot be considered a Common Slavic word but much rather a Balkano-Slavic one (just like *не(оу)мъврєнъ* and *нєшъврєнъ*). It was formed under the direct influence of the Greek *ἀποκάλυψις* or at least, it has acquired its figurative sense due to Greek influence. The living Slavic languages show similarly (\*-n-) suffixed deverbals of the derived imperfective \*-va- verbs as a rule, with the sense of process).

— Semantic calque.

222–223a–b. *отъпоустити, отъпоустати, (отъпоускати) ~ ἀφήκα (ἀφίημι)*  
 ‘to forgive, to pardon’. Mt 6,12: *καὶ ἄφεσις ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν* · ~ *отъпоустити намъ длыгы наши(а) · ꙗко ѿмы отъпоустаемъ длъжьникомъ нашимъ*. ‘and forgive us our trespasses just as we also forgive our trespassers’ (‘those who trespass against us’).

In the *Assemani*, *Savvina Kniga* and *Ostromir* we find *оставити* and *оставляти*. In later Church Slavonic texts we also find *отъпоускати* an erroneously reimpersonated form (from *отъпоустати*); These verbs were used (with the prefixes *по-*, *из-* and *сѣ-*), in other Old Slavonic texts, for rendering the Greek *ἀπολύω* ‘to solve, to pardon’, too. In this sense we can also read the verbs *простити* and *[о]свобоудити* in other Old Slavonic texts; in Ukrainian-Slavonic type of later Church Slavonic use we also find *прѣбачити* and *охабити*.

As for the non-Slavic translations, the *Kralice Bible* and the Russian edition of Stockholm, cf. the entry for *оставити* and *оставляти*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavonic words are: B. *отпущам* (*отпущам, отпуща*); Sr.-Cr. *отпустити, отпустати*; Russ. *отпустить, отпущать* (*отпущать*); Ukr. *відпустити, відпущати*; M. *отпушти, отпушта*; Cz. *odpouštěti*; Slk. *odpustiť, odpúšťať*; P. *odpuścić, odpuszczać*; L.So. *wotpušćić, wotpušćowaś*; H.So. *wotpušćić, wotpušćować*.

Consequently, the Old Slavonic verb pair is Common Slavic, but its ecclesiastical meaning ‘to forgive, to pardon’ may have been due to some ecclesiastical texts (Greek or Latin, according to their rite); first of all, the Lord’s Prayer.

— Semantic calques.

224–225. *отъпоустѣнїє, оставлєнїє ~ ἡ ἄφεσις [τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν]*  
 ‘pardon, forgiving, remission’. Mc 1,4: *καὶ κηρῦσσω βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* · ~ *ѿ проповѣданъ крѣштєнїє покаѣнїю · къ отъпоустѣнїє грѣхомъ* · ‘and preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins’.

Similar loci: Mc 3,29; Lu 1,77; 3,3; 4,18. Usually we find *отъпоустѣнїє* in the archaic gospel, but the Zographus applies *оставлєнїє* in Lu 1,77, and the *Assemani* in Lu 3,3.

Both words are also used in other Old Slavic texts for rendering συγγνώμη and ἄνεσις. (Both Greek words have the sense 'remission, pardon' as well). In later Old Slavic and Church Slavic texts we can read the words отърада, прощєнїє, обле҃гчєнїє and освобожде́нїє, too, for rendering ἄφεσις, συγγνώμη or ἄνεσις.

The Latin *remissio* (from the verb *remittere* 'to let away' and the Gothic *af-lageins* (from the verb *af-lagjan* 'to put down') express different juridical and psychological moments of the 'pardoning'. But in the Gothic gospel translation (Lu 1,77 and 4,19), and Skeireins 42 we find the deverbals *af-lets* and *fra-lets* which, derived from the verb *af-letan* and *fra-letan*, correspond to the Greek and Latin terms as calques. Luther's *Vergebung* probably follows the Low Latin \**perdonatio* (see the entries for отъпоустити and оставити).

Though these Gothic deverbals (and their basic verbs) show a similarity of meaning and structure with the Old Slavic отъпоустѣнїє and the Gothic *af-lageins* with the Old Slavic оставленїє, it is not too probable that they, or the Latin *remissio*, were the models for the Old Slavic words or their loan meaning: their formation, supposably, is older than the contacts of the Slavs with the Greek, Latin or Gothic biblical texts, and for the semantic borrowing of the internal form of the Greek gospel texts offer a satisfactory explanation, without any other mediation, if we think of the necessity of establishing a Christian terminology.

The Romanian nomen actionis *iertare*, a "longer infinitive", comes from the verb *iertă* (Vulgar Latin \**libertare* 'to make free, to absolve'). In the Albanian we find the deverbals *ndjesë* (originally, a substantivized infinitive of the verb *ndjej* 'to forgive, to pardon').

The Hungarian words of Károli are *megbocsájtás* 'forgiving', *bocsánat* 'pardon' and *elengedés* 'remission'; in the modern texts *bocsánat* is common but occasionally we also meet the noun *kegyelem* which has a double religious meaning: 'grace' and 'pardon' (corresponding to Greek χάρις and ἄφεσις, or Latin *gratia* and *remissio*, respectively.)

While the Kralice Bible applies the more recent phonetic variant *odpuštění*, the Russian edition of Stockholm contains another Church Slavic word: прощєнїє.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: B. отпушчанє, отпушчвана; Sr.-Cr. (отпуштање, пуштење); Russ. отпушчєнїє, оставленїє (отпушчанье, отпусканье, прощєнїє); Ukr. відпушчєння (зоставлення, зоставлення, відпускання); M. (отпусканє); Cz. *odpuštění*; Slk. *odpustenie*; P. *odpuszczenie*; L.So. *wotpušćenje*; H.So. (*wotpusk*).

Church Slavic adopted the deverbals оставленїє formed from the verb оставити in liturgical use, instead of отъпоустѣнїє. Thus e.g. in the anaphora text of the Chrysostomos' Liturgy, celebrated in every Slav country of Byzantine rite, the act of transubstantiation of the bread ends with the following words: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ~ ꙗже за вѣл ломимое вѣ оставленїє грѣховъ 'which is broken for you for the remission of sins'. Similarly, the act of



substantiation of the wine ends with the following words: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐγχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ~ ꙗже за вы и за мнози изъидаемѣѣ въ оубавленіе грѣхѣвъ · 'which is shed for you and for many people, for the remission of sins'. Perhaps, this probable Moravianism means more in liturgical use than the *remission* of sins for the people; in the holy mass, which, according to the sacramentological dogma, is the mysterious renewal of Jesus Christ's sacrifice made on the cross, these words mean the 'setting aside' of the sins by the act of redemption, completed by Christ's passion and death, and this is expressed by the word ἄφεσις ~ оубавленіе.

— Semantic calques.

## Π

226. παλιγγενεσία ~ ἡ παλιγγενεσία

'rebirth, regeneration'. Mt 19,28: ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, καθήσεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους. . . ~ АМИНЪ ꙗже вамъ ѣко вы и ꙗже за мнози по мѣнѣ · въ пакибъзѣтїи . . . сѣдѣте и вы на двѣю на десѣте прѣстоу . . . (Second-hand text of the Zographus.) ' . . . Verily I say unto you that ye who were following me, . . . in the rebirth . . . will sit on twelve thrones . . . '

In the Ostromir we see въ пакибъзѣтїе i.e. an accusative form with the meaning of the former directive case; in the Savvina Kniga, however, we find a verbal construction паки бѣдѣте 'ye will exist anew'. The Greek editions differ in the variations παλιγγενεσία and παλιγενεσία (the first one is more etymological, but the two forms are graphic variants only).

The word is a hapax legomenon in the Greek and Old Slavic gospel texts; as for the New Testament, it occurs in the Epistle to Titus, 3,5 as well. In the later medieval Church Slavic texts (especially in the Russian redactions) пакирождение, възрождение and во(ъ)с(с)тание also appear in this meaning; the second form has become later the calque of the *Rinascimento*, *Rinascita*, 'Renaissance'.

The Latin *regeneratio* corresponds precisely to the original Greek. In the Gothic translation this locus is absent (in the Epistle to Titus, too); maybe, the word *us-stoss*, corresponding to Greek ἀνάστασις 'resurrection' was applied here if it was translated into Gothic at all, but this is uncertain. Luther's word, *Wiedergeburt* reflects the Greek and the Latin alike.

The Romanian *nașterea din nou* 'birth anew, rebirth' combines the meaning of Latin *renovatio* and *regeneratio* in it (Micu-Clain applies the expression *наимѣре ле дѣлю* 'the birth at a second time', 'the second birth'). In the Albanian we read *krijeset të-rë* 'new creation' (cf. Latin *creatio nova*; the noun seems to be a loanword of Latin origin and to refer to the eschatological idea of ἀποκατάστασις).

The Hungarian version was *újjonnan való születés* 'a birth anew' by Károli but the modern (especially, Catholic) versions use the word *megújulás* 'renovation' and *újraszületés* 'rebirth'.

The Kralice Bible contains a version similar to the Romanian: *druhé narození* 'second birth'. The Russian edition of Stockholm preserved the Church Slavic пакибы́тие here, but in the Epistle to Titus 3,5 we read возрожде́ние 'rebirth'.

The living Slavic languages use some compounds with the words родъ or рождение, such as В. (възрождение); Sr.-Cr. (препорођење, ѝзноварођење); Russ. (пакирожде́ние, новорождение, возрожде́ние); пакибытие; Ukr. (відродже́ння); M. (пéродва); Cz. (*přerod*); Slk. (*preporod, znovuzrodenie*); P. (*odrodzenie*); H.So. (*znowanarodzenje*); L.So. (*znowanarozenje*).

— The Old Slavic word, apparently, was established under Greek influence and, as for its basic sense, it is perhaps more successful than the original Greek, inasmuch it refers not to the process of 'rebirth' but the result or fact of 'being anew, existing anew'. In this sense it is one of the most successful word creations of the Old Slavic translations. The living Slavic words were motivated by the Greek or Latin original and, apparently, by the later meaning, 'Renaissance' as well. The effect of a Greek παλινουσία is also not excluded in Old Slavic; the Macedonian form is, maybe, a Moravianism, taken over from the gospels.

— Real structural calque.

227. ПОДЪНОЖИЕ ~ τὸ ὑποπόδιον

'footstool, tabouret'. Mt 5,34–35: μή ὀμόσαι ὅλως . . . μήτε ἐν τῇ γῆ ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ . . . ~ НЕ КЛАТИ СЯ ОТЪНЖЛЪ . . . НИ ЗЕМЛИЖЪ КО ПОДЪНОЖИЕ ЕСТЬ НОГАМА ЕГО . . . 'don't swear at all neither by the earth because it is the footstool of His feet'. Similar loci: Mt 22,44; Mc 12,36; Lu 20,43.

In later Church Slavic скамья and столыць подножы also occur.

The Latin *scabellum* is a diminutive formation from *scamnum* 'bench'. The meaning of the Gothic *fotu-bourd* was originally: 'footboard'. Luther's text uses the loanword *Schemel*, related to the Latin *scamnum* and *scabellum*; it comes from Later Latin *scamillus*, a secondary form of *scabellum* (diminutive of *scamnum*).

In the Romanian we find *așternut* 'bedding, couch, resting-place' from the verb *așterne* 'to lay out' in the cited verse, but *scaun* 'tabouret' in other passages. In the Albanian text we read the Byzantinian, or New Greek loanword *fron*, from θρόνος.

The Hungarian *zsámoly* 'footstool, tabouret' is a German loanword (*Schemel*).

The Kralice Bible applies *podnož* in this locus. This new formation is similar to the Old Slavic. In the modern Russian text the Old Slavic word has been preserved.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. подно́жие (подно́жка); Sr.-Cr. по̀дно̀жје (по̀дно̀жѧк); Russ. подно́жие (подно́жка, подно́га); Ukr. підні́жжа; M. подно́жие (подно́жје); Cz. (*podnořka, podnuřka*); Slk. (*podnořika*); P. *podnoże, podnożek*); H.So. (*podnoha, podnoža, podnořka*); L.So. (*podnořk, podnoga*).

— Real structural calque. Taking the evidence of Western Slavic words into consideration, it was perhaps a Moravianism in the Old Slavic (though in Western Slavic there are no forms corresponding exactly to подно́жие).

228. πριτβχα ~ ή παραβολή

'parable'. Mt 13,18: Ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπειραντοῦ. ~ Вѣ же оуслышите притвчѧ съвѣщяего. 'Ye, then, hear now the parable of the sower'.

Similar loci: Mt 13,3; 13,10, 13,13; 13,24; 13,31; 13,33; 13,34-bis; 13,35; 13,36; 13,53; 15,15; 21,33; 21,45; 22,1; 24,32; Mc 3,23; 4,2; 4,10, 4,11; 4,13 (bis), 4,30; 4,33, 4,34; 7,17; 12,1; 12,12; 13,28; Lu 4,23; 5,36; 6,39; 8,4; 8,9; 8,10; 8,11; 12,16; 12,41; 13,6; 14,7; 15,3; 18,1; 18,9; 19,11; 20,9; 20,19; 21,29; Jo 10,6; 16,25 (bis), 16,29. Furthermore, it occurs in the Marianus Synaxaria (Mc Syn.: once, and Lu Syn.: 4 times).

The later Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction use the synonymes подоби́нство, сравне́ние, изрече́ние and пословица as well.

The occurrence of the word [and concept] *parable* (παραβολή ~ πριτβχα) gives us a characteristic cross-section about some peculiarities of the gospels. While this word appears in the synoptic gospels in equally high numbers (if we also consider the relative brevity of St. Mark's Gospel), we hardly meet it in St. John's Gospel. This correlates with the difference which distinguishes the popular parable style of the synoptic evangelists from the speculative-metaphysical manner of narration in the fourth gospel.

In the Latin text the loanword *parabola* appears (sometimes: *similitudo* 'comparison, analogy', e.g. Lu 21,29). The cited locus cannot be found in Gothic, but in Lu 4,23 and in other passages *ga-juko* 'confrontation, parallel' occurs. Thus the Gothic word comes from another (totally different) usage than the Old Slavic and Greek words: these latter mean, literally, 'throwing beside, by-casting', while the Gothic word has the sense 'joining together'. Luther's words, *das Gleichnis*, follows the Latin *similitudo* (Greek: ή ὁμοίότης, τὸ ὁμοίωμα).

The Romanian *pildă* is a Hungarian loanword (*pélđa*, see below) while the Albanian *paravoli* is a Greek (Byzantine or New-Greek) one.

The Hungarian *példabeszéd* and *példázat* 'parable' also appeared in the original shorter form (see Jordánszky Codex, 393, 394). This word is of Middle High German origin in the Hungarian (*bilde* 'face, visage, picture', cf. Modern High German *Bild* 'picture'). On the basis of the Latin *similitudo* the older

Hungarian gospel texts applied the word *hasonlatosság*, too (from the adjective *hasonlatos* 'similar'); and the simple word *példa* was also common (today it means 'example, instance').

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. прѣтча; Sr.-Cr. прѣтча; Russ. прѣтча (прѣтка); Ukr. прѣтча; M. при́ка (при́ке); Cz. (*přisloví*); Svk. (*prislovie*); P. (*przysłowie*); H.So. (*přislowo, příklad*); L.So. (*psislowo, psiklad*).

Thus, the Old Slavic word came into being supposedly under direct Greek influence. Its structure consisting of the prefix при- (expressing approach) and the stem of the verb тꙑк-нꙑ-ти 'to push' with the suffix \*-ia corresponds, component by component, to the Greek compound παρὰ-βολ-ή (cf. παρὰ 'beside', βάλλω < \*βάλ-ῃ 'to throw, to cast'). This Old Slavic word again testifies to a remarkable ability for word creation, and it renders the original content of the Greek noun much better than many other solutions do (e.g. Gothic *ga-juko*, Hungarian *példabeszéd*, Western Slavic *pri-slovie*, etc.).

— Real structural calque which has been preserved in the Slavic languages of the Byzantine cultural zone. As for the Catholic Slavic translations, it is the word *priklad* that approaches best the basic meaning of the Old Slavic (and Greek) compound.

229. прише́льць ~ ὁ προσήλυτος

'proselyte, neophyte'; 'foreigner'; 'newcomer'. Mt. 23,15: ὅτι περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἓνα προσήλυτον, ~ ꙗко прѣходите море и сушыи · створити единого прише́льца · (Second-hand text in the Zographus) 'because ye walk around the sea and the mainland, in order to get even *one* proselyte'.

In the Old Slavic texts прише́льць бꙑти also occurs for interpreting the Greek παροικεω ~ *peregrinus sum* 'to be alien, to be a newcomer' (Lu 24,18). The later Church Slavic texts contain the words обрѣщенъ and чтоуж(а)ньць, respectively.

In the Latin text we find the Greek loanword *proselytus* in the quoted verse, but *peregrinus* in Lu 24,18. In the Gothic, it cannot be found. Luther's text uses *Judengenosse* 'associated to the Jews' in Mt 23,15, but *Fremdling* 'foreigner' in Lu 24,18.

The Romanian translation also uses the loanword *proselit*, but Micu-Clain applied a calque: винитникъ which may have been the imitation of Hungarian *jövevény* 'newcomer', from the Balkano-Latin stem *veni* (past participle *vinit*) and the Slavic suffix \*-никъ. The Albanian *të-khtyërë* derived from the verb *khtëj* 'to turn' or *ktëhem* 'to return, to change faith'.

The Kralice Bible and the Russian edition of Stockholm use the vocalized forms of the Old Slavic noun, in the sense 'proselyte', but in the meaning 'foreigner' they use *přichoží* and прише́дший, respectively.

In the Hungarian translation of Gáspár Károli we read a transformed construction: *hogy pogányból Zsidót tégyetek* 'that ye make a Jew from a heathen'. Similar interpretations can be found in the later Hungarian texts (e.g. in the Catholic edition of 1967: *hogy csak egy embert is zsidóvá tegyetek* 'that ye make, at least, one man into a Jew') but the latest Hungarian Catholic version (1973) uses the word *áttérő* 'converted' for this concept, and Hungarian theological literature uses the Latin loanword *prozelita* and *konvertita*, but also *áttérő* 'converted' (1981). As for Lu 24,18, it is rendered with *jövevény* 'newcomer' and (in the Catholic versions): *idegen* 'foreigner', as a rule.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: V. пришелец; Sr.-Cr. (дошљаќ); Russ. пришелец (пришлый), пришлец; Ukr. пришелец (прихідец); M. (прозелит, туѓинец 'foreigner'); Cz. *příšlec*; Slk. *príšlec*; P. *przyszlysz*; H.So. (*konvertit, wobroćený*); L.So. (*prozelit, wobroćený*).

Thus, the Old Slavic word can be considered to be a Moravianism which got into the Bulgarian and Eastern Slavic languages, too, as a Church Slavic word and, at the same time, it has been preserved in Czech and Slovak (and imitated in Polish).

— Real structural calque, which corresponds, component for component, to the original Greek model (προς ~ при; ἤλυτ- ~ шьлѣ (шьлѣ); -ος ~ Proto-Slavic *\*-ikos*). The Old Slavic language uses a perfect participle active stem here with the nomen agentis suffix -иць < Proto-Slavic *\*-ikos*; the prefix при- < Proto-Slavic *\*prei-* corresponds to the sense of Greek προς (and it is also etymologically related to it).

230–231. приѡтъ, приѡтънѣ ~ δεκτός

'beloved, favourite'. Lu 4,19: κηρῶσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν. ~ προповѣдати лѣто гнѣ приѡто. '...and to preach the Lord's beloved year'. This New Testament locus is taken over, almost word for word, from Isaiah 61,2.

Similar loci: Mt 13,57; Mc 6,4; Jo 4,44. But in Lu 4,24: ...ὅτι οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ~ ѣко никѣторѣже пророкѣ приѡтънѣ въ отечествии своемѣ. 'because no prophet is beloved in his fatherland'.

Apparently приѡтъ, the past participle of the verb приѡти corresponds closely to the Greek δεκτός, adjectivum verbale of the verb δέχομαι 'to receive, to accept'. The adjective приѡтънѣ is a derivate of the verbal adjective with the suffix -иѣ (*\*-in*). In later Church Slavic texts приѡтъ also occurs, the passive past participle of приѡти.

In the Latin text we meet the corresponding *acceptus*, perfect participle of the verb *accipere*. In the Gothic the adjective *anda-nems* 'pleasant, convenient' is formed from the compound verb *and-niman* 'to accept, to receive'. Luther's word *angenehm* originally meant 'accepted'.

The Romanian *placut* 'pleasing, agreeable' is the past participle passive of the verb *plăcea* 'to please, to like', but Micu-Clain's version uses the past participle passive *примитъ* from the verb *прими* 'to receive, to accept'; which is, in some scholars' opinion, a Church Slavic loanword (cf. *примж*, the 1st person of the verb *примати*). However, according to other opinions, it comes from the Latin verb *prehendere* 'to grasp, to hold'. (The first opinion seems to me more acceptable, but the Latin verb may have been a supplementary and reinforcing factor.)

The Albanian *te-pëlgyërë* 'fit, proper' comes from the verb *pëlgëj* 'to please' (a Latin loanword from *placere*).

The older Hungarian versions use the adjective *kedves*, 'dear, favourable' but the recent ones, especially the Catholic translations, employ other solutions. Thus e.g. the Rome edition of 1967 mentions *az Úr Kegyelmének esztendejét* 'the years of the Lord's grace', and the Budapest edition of 1973 says: *elérkezett az Úr esztendeje* 'the Lord's year has come', in Lu 4,19.

As for the second citation, the Rome edition uses a periphrastic interpretation in Lu 4,24: *sehol sincs a prófétának kevesebb becsülete, mint saját hazájában* 'the prophet has less honour nowhere than in his own native country', while in the Budapest edition we see the close and simple translation *egy próféta sem kedves hazájában* 'no prophet is beloved in his native land'. (This Biblical passage is used as a proverb in Hungarian: *Senki sem próféta a saját hazájában* 'Nobody is a prophet in his own motherland', just as in a number of other European languages, after the abbreviated Latin version: *Nemo est propheta in patria sua.*)

The Kralice Bible uses the adjective *vzáčný* 'precious, valuable, rare'. The modern Russian edition, however, applies the compound adjective *благоприятный* (~ *εὐδεκτός*), 'agreeable, convenient, advantageous' in the first citation, and the verbal form *не принимается* (~ *εἰς ἑὸν не принимают*) 'he is not accepted' in the second one.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic adjective participle *примѣтънъ* and its derivatives are: B. *приятен*; Sr.-Cr. *пријатан*; Russ. *приятный*; M. *пријатен*; Ukr. (*сприятливий, приємний*); Cz. (*příjemný*); Slk. (*prijemný*); P. (*przyjemny*); L.So. (*psijmaný*); H.So. (*prijomny*).

The functional equivalents of the Old Slavic past participle passive can be found, naturally, in all the Slavic languages.

— The participial form *примѣтънъ* is a semantic calque in its sense 'beloved' 'favourite', but the derived *примѣтънъ* may be considered to be a real structural calque in view of its creation under direct Greek influence (which is very probable because of its general use in the Byzantine Slavic languages).

232. *προφητεῖν* ~ *προφητεύω*

'to prophesy, to foretell'. Mt 11,13: πάντες γὰρ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφήτευσαν · ~ *все бо пророци и законъ · до іоѧна прорѣшахъ* · 'because

all the prophets and the Law till John the Baptist were foretelling this'. (In the Ostromir the verbal form is: *προρεκοισα*).

Similar passages: Mt 26,68; Mc 7,6; 14,65; Lu 22,64; Jo 11,54.

The Slavic verb corresponds to the Greek *προλέγω* (*προεἶπον, προεἶρηκα*), too. In later Church Slavic we find *προριцати, прѣдъсѣказати, вѣнавити* and *пророчѣствовати, too*.

In the Latin text we find the loanword *prophetare*. Wulfila translated the Greek compound verb with the calque *fauraqiban* 'to foretell'. (In other passages, however, we find the Greek loanword *praufetjan*, e.g. in Mc 7,6 and 14,65.) Luther's *weissagen* seems to be a calque neologism after Greek *προλέγω* or Latin *prophetare*, but it dates back to the Old High German *wizzago* 'Schauer, Seher'.

The corresponding Romanian word is generally *profeti*, but in some loci (in Mt 11,13, too) we meet *profetira*. The Albanian *profitepsi* is a New-Greek loanword from (ἐ)προφήτεψα (*koinē: ἐπροφήτευσα*). (Cf. also the entry for *пророчѣствовати*.)

In Károli's Hungarian text the verb (*meg*)*prófétálni* 'to prophesy, to have prophesied' had been common, but later *elve megmondani* 'to foretell' and (*meg*)*jövendölni* 'to tell the future' became general in Catholic versions, too.

The Kralice Bible uses the verbal calque *prorokovati* and, when the context requires, the verb *hádati* 'to guess'. In the modern Russian text the *прорешити* equivalent *проречь* appears, sometimes (e.g. Jo 11,51) we also meet the verb *предъсказати* (similar formation and meaning).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*прорекá, прорѣчам*); Sr.-Cr. *прорѣћи* (*прорѣцати*); Russ. *прорѣчь* (*прорѣцáть, прорекáть*); Ukr. *проректі* (*прорѣкати, прорѣцати*); M. (*пророкува*); Cz. *prořici* (*prořeknouti*) 'to declare, to divulge'; Slk. (*prorokovať*); P. (*prorokować*); L.So. (*profecíis*); H.So. (*profecíic*).

Apparently, the verb is unknown in Western Slavic (the Czech *prořeknouti* seems to be a later formation, and *prořici* [se] a Moravianism).

— Real structural calque.

233. *пророкъ ~ ὁ προφήτης*

'prophet'. Lu 1,76: *Καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ* · ~ *і тѣ строча пророкъ вѣшныиѣво наречеши сá* · 'and thou, Child, wilt be called the Prophet of the Highest'.

Similar passages: Mt 1,22; 2,5; 2,15; 2,23; 3,3; 4,14; 5,12; 5,17; 7,12; 7,15; 8,17; 10,41; 11,9(bis); 11,13; 12,17; 12,39; 13,17; 13,35; 13,57; 14,5; 16,4; 16,14; 21,4; 21,11; 21,26; 21,46; 22,40; 23,30; 23,31; 23,34; 23,37; 24,11; 24,15; 24,24; 27,9; Mc 6,4; 6,15; 8,28; 11,32; 13,14; 13,22; Lu 1,70; 3,4; 4,17; 4,24; 6,23; 6,26; 7,26(bis); 7,28; 7,39; 9,8; 9,19; 10,24; 11,29; 11,47; 11,49; 11,50; 13,28; 13,33; 16,29; 16,31; 18,31; 24,19; 24,25; 24,27; Jo 1,21; 1,23; 1,25; 1,46; 4,19; 4,44; 6,14; 6,45; 7,40; 7,52; 8,52; 8,53; 9,17; 12,38.

From the frequency of the word *προφῆτης* ~ *προφῆτης* — naturally taking into consideration the direct circumstances of usage and other linguistic peculiarities — we can draw characteristic conclusions about the first “reading public” (i.e. the first audience) of each gospel. This word appears most frequently in St. Matthew’s Gospel and, together with the many other Aramaisms occurring in the text, supports the opinion that this gospel made use of the earlier Jesus-biograph (the Aramaic source-material of the St Mark’s and St. Luke’s Gospels) and was written originally for the Jews of the 1st century in Palestine, who also knew Greek (at least some of them), but were loyal to their Aramaic mother tongue; alternatively, it may have been translated into Greek from an original Aramaic text. It came into being, in its present form, probably about 65 A.D., i.e. before the destruction of Jerusalem. From the viewpoint of Christian missionary work, it was important to justify Jesus’ deeds, referring to the prophets, for a Jew audience, and to indicate the fact that many of Jesus’ contemporaries had regarded him as a prophet. The occurrence of the word is perceptibly less frequent in St. Luke’s and St. John’s Gospel; the former written probably between 65–70 A.D. for the information and use of an audience of Hellenized Jewry of non-Aramaic mother tongue, and the latter for the “heathen-Christians” of Hellenistic culture (probably written after 90 A.D.). The least is spoken about prophets in St. Mark’s Gospel (written before 65 A.D.?) according to some opinions not only because of its brevity, but also because this gospel, as its many Latinisms also show, was prepared for Italian listeners and readers for whom references to the prophets of the Old Testament would hardly have meant anything important.

In later Russian Church Slavic texts *прѣдѣсказатель*, *вѣдѣдатель* also occur but the latter — mostly with a profane meaning — ‘diviner’, ‘who finds out something’.

In the Latin the loanword *propheta* appears; in the Gothic also *praufetus*.

Similarly, we find loanwords in Romanian (*profeta*), in Albanian (*profit*) and in Hungarian (*próféta*). Luther’s text also uses the loanword *Prophet*.

The Kralice Bible and the Russian edition of Stockholm apply the Old Slavic word in their phonetic development.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic noun are: B. *пропѣкъ*; Sr.-Cr. *пропѣкъ*; Russ. *пропѣкъ*; Ukr. *пропѣкъ*; Cz. *prorok*; Slk. *prorok*; P. *prorok*; L.So. (*profet*); H.So. (*profet*).

It seems that the Old Slavic word is a Moravianism which spread among the Slavs of Byzantine rite under Church Slavic influence, and among the Latin-rite Slavs, maybe, it spread from Czech into Slovak and Polish.

— Real structural calque.

234. *пророчица* ~ *ἡ προφῆτις*

‘woman prophet’. Lu 2,36: *Καὶ ἦν Ἄννα προφῆτις, ἡ ἑστὴ ἀννα пророчица* · ‘and there was Anna, the woman prophet’.



In the Codex Marianus we also find this word in the Lu Synaxarion.

In later Church Slavic texts *прѣдъсказательница* also appears.

In the Latin text we read *prophetissa*; in the Gothic we also find a similar formation: *praupheteis*. Luther uses the word *Prophetin*, also a regular formation from the masculine noun.

Similar solutions appear in the Romanian: *profeta*, and in the Albanian: *profitëshë*.

In the Hungarian we see a nominal compound *profétaasszony* 'prophet woman', but later less solemnly: *profétanő* 'id.'; the newest Catholic texts, partly, returned to the former.

In the Kralice Bible the calque *prorokyně* of similar formation appears, but the modern Russian text adheres to the Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. пророчица; Sr.-Cr. пророчица; Russ. пророчица; Ukr. пророчица; М. пророчица; Cz. (*prorokyně*); Slk. (*prorokynä*); P. (*prorokini*); L.So. (*profetka*); H.So. (*profetka*).

— Real structural calque.

235. пророчество ~ ἡ προφητεία

'prophecy'. Mt 13,14: καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα· ἀκοῆ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτε. ~ ꙗко ꙗкоушете са ѿмъ · пророчество ꙗсаино ꙗвѣште ꙗ · слоухъмъ оуслъшите · ꙗ не ѡмате разумѣти · зрѣшите оузрѣите · ꙗ не ѡмате видѣти. 'that the prophecy of Isaiah should be accomplished on them that says:

"Hearing ye hear, but ye do not understand, Seeing ye see, but ye do not see."'

A similar locus can be found in the Codex Marianus, in the Synaxarion of St. Mark's Gospel.

In later Church Slavic we find the deverbals проречение, прѣдъсказание, прѣдъповѣсть and выгадание as well (but partly in a profane sense).

In the Latin we find the loanword *prophetia*. In the Gothic this verse is not translated but in other passages there appear equivalent loanwords: *profeti* (I, Cor. 13,8) and *profetja* (I, Cor. 14,22). Luther's translation contains the noun *Weissagung*, a nomen actionis from the verb *weissagen* (see the former entry).

The Romanian *profetie* is used in the locus mentioned; the Church Slavic loanword *prorecie* and the Romanized long infinitive: *prorecire* also occur in other biblical passages. The Albanian *profeti* is a Byzantine-Modern Greek loanword while the later *profeci* seems to be a Western European one. The earlier Hungarian *profétálás* was replaced later by the word *jövendölés* 'foretelling', originally meaning 'future telling'.

The Kralice Bible uses the related form *prorocví*; the modern Russian translation has preserved the Old Slavic word in a vocalized form as пророчество.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. proróčestvo; Sr.-Cr. proróčanstvo; Russ. proróčestvo; Ukr. proróctvo; M. prorostvo; Cz. *prorocví*; Slk. *prorocstvo*; P. *prorocstwo*; L.So. (*profecenje*); H.So. (*profecenje*).

— Real structural calque. The Western Slavic words seem to be Moravianisms which got through the Czech into the Polish and Slovak (and, perhaps, from Polish into Ukrainian). As for the Sorbian forms, the Latin-German loanword *Prophet* was the starting-point for the Sorbian verbs and the deverbal nouns, formed from them.

236. пророчествовати ~ προφητεύω [προφητάζω]

'to prophesy, to predict, to foretell'. Mt 7,22: οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν; ~ НЕ ВЪ ТВОЕ ЛИ ІМѦ ПРОРОЧЕСТВОУАХОМЪ: 'not in thy name were we prophesying?' Similar loci: Mt 15,7; Lu, 1,67.

In later Church Slavic we read прорѣкати, прорицати and прѣдъповѣсти, too.

As for the non-Slavic equivalents, see the entry прорешти, with the complementary remark that in the Hungarian text of Károli we find the verb *tanítani* 'to teach' in the citation (though in other passages *prófétálni*, derived with a Hungarian suffix from the Latin loanword *prófeta*). In Catholic versions *prófétálni* and *jövendölni* or *jósolni* 'to prophesy, to foretell'.

As for the Kralice Bible and the Russian edition of Stockholm see прорешти.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. пророчýствувам (пророкýвам); Sr.-Cr. (прòрокувати); Russ. пророчествовать (прорóчить, прорекáть, пророковáть); Ukr. (пророкýвати); M. (пророкува); Cz. (*prorokovati*); Slk. (*prorokovat'*); P. (*prorokować*); L.So. (*profecís*); H.So. (*profecíć*).

— Real structural calque. The Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Ukrainian and Western Slavic words are later formations. In the Russian it is a Church Slavism, in the Bulgarian it may be a Russism.

237. прѣвовъзлежение ~ ἡ πρωτοκλισία

238. прѣвовъзлагание ~ ἡ πρωτοκαθεδρία

'first seat, place of honour, head of table'. Mc 12,39: καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις ~ І прѣвовъзлаганіѣ на сънъмиштитихъ · І прѣвовъзлеженіѣ на вечерѣхъ: '[They willingly take] the places of honour in the synagogues and feasts'.

The variant прѣвовъзлагание in the Lu Synaxarion (Codex Marianus) is evidently a later form.

In later Church Slavic прѣвжлевлъзлѣданіе, прѣвоѣ (= главлъноѣ) мѣсто also appear.

In the Latin we find an attributive expression, *primus decubitus*; in Gothic this locus cannot be found. Luther's version is a free verbal construction: *Und sitzen*

gerne den an in der Schulen und über Tisch im Abendmahl 'and they sit willingly above in the schools, and by the head of table in the feasts'.

The Romanian text contains a plural form *cele dintău locuri* (in Micu-Clain's version: *λοκρηι μαι ἡνᾶιντε*). In the Albanian we see *vëndë tëparë* (plural form).

Károli's Hungarian text contains the phrase *az elöl való ülés* 'the sitting (seat) before'; later it was replaced by *az első székek* 'the first chairs' or *főhelyek* 'the first seats, heads of tables'.

The Kralice Bible uses *přední stolice* (word for word: '(be)fore-chair'); in the modern Russian text *первое место* 'first place' can be found.

The living Slavic languages apply attributive expressions for interpreting this locus.

— Real structural calques.

239–240. ПРѢДАТИ, ПРѢДАТИ ~ παρῆδοκα (παραδίδομι)

'to betray'; 'to bequest'. Jo 13,21: ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. ~ ѿмин ѿмин · гѣжъ вамъ ѣко единъ отъ васъ прѣдастъ ма. 'Verily, I say unto you indeed, that one of you will betray me'. Lu 1,2: καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἄπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου ~ ѣкоже прѣдалиа намъ · бзвѣстие ѿкони самовидьци · ѿ словгъи словеси 'as they bequeathed it to us who were eyewitnesses and interpreters of the divine word'.

Similar passages: ПРѢДАТИ: Mt 4,12, 10,4; 10,17; 10,21; 17,22; 24,10; 24,14; 26,16; 26,21; 26,23; 26,24; 27,3; 27,4; Mc 3,19; 7,13; 9,31; 13,12; 14,10; 14,11; 14,18; Lu 1,2; 4,6(bis); 10,22; 12,48; 21,16; 22,4; 22,6; 22,21; 22,22; 24,7; Jo 6,64; 6,71; 12,4; 13,2; 13,21; 19,30; ПРѢДАТИ: Mt 26,25; 26,46; 26,48; Mc 14,42; 14,44; Lu 22,21; 22,48; 23,46; Jo 13,11; 18,2; 18,5; 21,20.

Naturally, the above list contains only the passages where this verb pair has a transferred meaning and not the concrete meaning 'to hand over', the meaning 'to betray, to treason' is found in most of the loci quoted, and 'to bequest', 'to bequeath' is found especially in the Prologue to St. Luke's Gospel.

The Old Slavic verbs with the basic meaning 'to hand over, to surrender' are only apparent calques (phenocalques) in relation to *παραδίδομι* since similar prefixed verbs also appear in a number of other (even non-Indo-European) languages. In later Church Slavic texts we can read the verbs *измѣнити*, *вѣдати* for 'betraying', and *отѣдати* and *вѣржчити* for 'handing over', too.

In the Latin translation, we find a verb of similar structure and meaning *tradere*, in Gothic *ga-levjan*, both in the original sense 'to hand over' and the two figurative senses 'to betray' and 'to bequest'. Luther's translation distinguishes the verbs *verrathen* 'to betray' and (*über-*)*geben* 'to hand over, to bequest.'

In the Romanian we mostly find the verb *da* 'to give' (in the cited locus: *da prins*), but Micu-Clain uses the verb *винде* 'to sell' in the sense 'to betray'.

The Albanian interpreters also apply different verbs for rendering these

concepts: the Latin loanword *trahtój* only means 'to betray', and the verb *jap* (*dháshē, dhéně*) can be used in the concrete and figurative senses alike.

In the Hungarian we find *elárulni* for the sense 'betray' (originally, the Hungarian word meant 'to sell, to offer for retail'), and *reánk hagyni* 'to bequeath to us' or *előnkbe adni* 'to put before us' (at present, in an intransitive form: *ahogy ránk maradt* 'as it passed to us'). Generally, the verb is *adni* 'to give' and *átadni* 'to hand over' in the concrete meaning.

In the Kralice Bible we find *zraditi* 'to betray' and *vydati* 'to bequest'. In the modern Russian text we can find *прѣдѣтъ* for 'to betray', but *передѣтъ* for 'to bequest' and 'to hand over'.

The etymologic equivalents of the Old Slavic verb pair can be found in every Slavic language, but the meanings 'to betray' and 'to bequest' are characteristic for the Byzantine Slavic (Southern and Eastern Slavic) languages only; the Western Slavic equivalents mostly have the meaning 'to sell, to offer for retail'.

— Semantic calques. As this verb pair exists in every Slavic language, it is evident that these words were not established by Greek influence, but the already existing verbs took on two special meanings in the Old Slavic and transmitted them to the Eastern and Southern Slavic languages. Besides, in the meaning 'to betray', the Byzantine Slavic languages also apply the etymological equivalents of *измѣнити* (original meaning: 'to [ex-] change'), and *отъ-, въ- and из-дати* 'to give out somebody to others'. In the Western Slavic languages, the concept of 'to betray' is expressed by the equivalents of *из-рѣдѣти* (Cz. *zraditi, zradivati*; Slk. *prezradit', prezradzat'*, P. *zradzić, zdradzać*; L.So. *zradziš*; H.So. *zradzić*).

The concrete basic meaning of the verb ('to surrender') and one of its figurative senses ('to betray') occur together in the Anaphora of Chrysostomos' Liturgy, thus resulting in a play on words in the Greek and Church Slavic texts (in Latin, too).

...τῆ νυκτί ἢ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς ~ въ нощи, въ нюже предааша, самъ себе предааше за мѣрскій животъ ~ *illa nocte, qua traditus est, aut magis seipsum tradidit pro vita mundi* . . . Its translation into German (by D. Plazidus De Meester) tries to render this play on words as . . . *in der Nacht, in der er [den Feinden] übergeben wurde, oder sich vielmehr selbst zum Heile der Welt überlieferte*.

Similarly, in the earlier Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical language, the verb *átadni* was used (though this verb generally has the meanings 'to hand over' and 'to bequest' but is not used in the sense of 'betray'); *azon az éjszakán, melyen átadatott, vagy inkább önmagát adta át a világ életéért* . . . ' . . . on the night when He was betrayed, or rather, when He surrendered Himself for the life of the world . . .'

This play on words shows that the first composer of St. John's Liturgy and some of its foreign interpreters were acquainted with the affinity of the words which meant both 'to betray' and 'to surrender'.

241. πρѣдданіе ~ ἡ παράδοσις

'tradition'. Mt 15,2: διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. ~ по чѣто оученици твои прѣстѣпаѣтъ прѣдданіе отцы. 'why do thy disciples trespass the tradition of the ancestors?' Similar loci: Mt 15,3; 15,6; Mc 7,3; 7,5; 7,8; 7,13.

The later Church Slavic texts also use the words обзичай, оуставъ and обрѣдъ.

In the Latin we find *traditio*. In the Gothic this locus cannot be found but in Mc 7,3 we find *ama-filth* 'tradition, prescription', from the verb *ama-filhan* 'to hand over, to bequest'. Luther's expression, *Aufsatz*, corresponds to the Greek and Latin in its structure and basic meaning.

The Romanian interpretation uses the word *rânduiälă* 'order' (but in Micu-Clain's text we find the Church Slavic loanword обзичай 'use'). The Albanian text uses the Latin loanword *fjatë* 'word, speech, command, order, tradition' (from the Latin *fata* 'the said words').

In the Hungarian we find *rendelés* 'order, commandment' in Károli's text, but today the word *hagyomány* 'tradition' is common.

The Kralice Bible uses *ustanoveni* here; in the modern Russian text we find прѣдданіе, which is also a Church Slavism.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (преданіе); Sr.-Cr. (преданье); Russ. (преданіе); Ukr. (передача, переказвичай); M. (преданіе); Cz. (*předávání*); Slk. (*predávanie*); P. (*przedawanie*); L.So. (*pšedanje*); H.So. (*předanje*).

— The Byzantine Slavic words have the meaning 'tradition'; the Western Slavic ones mean 'handing over', 'selling' or 'offering for retail'. The precise etymological equivalent is lacking in every Slavic language mentioned. The meaning 'tradition' of the Southern and Eastern Slavic words is a Church Slavic influence (the form of the words is also Church Slavic).

— Semantic calque.

242. прѣдатель ~ ὁ προδότης

'traitor, betrayer'. Lu 6,16: καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. ~ іюдж іскаріотьскаѣго · ѣже бѣ і прѣдатель · 'and Judas Is-Karioth (= the man from Karioth) who became later a traitor'.

The word is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts.

Later Church Slavic also uses the deverbal nouns запрѣдатель and измѣнитель.

The Latin version also has a similar compound, *proditor* (perhaps due to Greek influence); in the Gothic the present participle active *ga-levjands* comes from the verb *ga-levjan* 'to betray'; the present participle preserved its verbal government (accusative): *ina* 'him'. Luther uses the nomen agentis *Verräther*.

The Romanian *rădător* is an imitative formation after the Latin *traditor*; similarly, the Albanian *trathëtuer*, is a nomen agentis from the verb *tratheó*, a Latin loanword.

In the Hungarian we find a noun which was originally a participle present active from the verb *árul* 'to offer for retail', 'to betray'. In later texts the noun was sometimes replaced by the corresponding verbal expression *aki később elárulta őt* 'who betrayed Him later'.

The Kralice Bible applies the noun *zrádce* (cf. Church Slavic *изрѣдѣти*); the Russian edition of Stockholm, however, has preserved the Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *предѣтелъ*; Sr.-Cr. (*прѣдѣвнѣикъ, издѣјнѣикъ*); Russ. *предѣтель*; Ukr. (*зрѣдникъ, запродавецъ*); M. *предателъ*; Cz. (*zrádce*); Slk. (*zradca*); P. (*zrada*); L.So. (*pšedawaś*); H.So. (*prédawaś*).

The Western Slavic words derived from the equivalents of *прѣдѣлати, прѣдѣлавати* mean primarily 'seller, shop assistant'. The words meaning 'traitor' are formed from the equivalents of Church Slavic (see the entry for *прѣдѣлати*).

— Semantic calque.

243. *прѣдѣдворіе* ~ τὸ προαύλιον

'forecourt, porch'. Mc 14,68: καὶ ἔξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον ~ *і изиде вѣнѣ на прѣдѣдворіе*. 'and he went out into the forecourt'.

The Greek word is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament. Though we can find it in most Greek manuscripts, its use is not exclusive: in Codex W (in Soden's notation, εῦ 14) we find the expression *εἰς τὴν ἔξω αὐλήν* 'into the outer court', and corresponding translations in some Georgian and Syrian codices. However, in the codices B (α 1026), Θ (ε 050), 13 (ε 638), 69 (δ 505), 230 (ε 173) and accordingly, in the Syrian translation of Eusebius Theophrastus we read the phrase *εἰς τὴν προσαυλήν* (and its Syrian equivalents, resp.) The Old Slavic translation followed the majority here, as the compound *прѣдѣдворіе* points to the original *προαύλιον*.

The Old Slavic word is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts. In the later Church Slavic texts we meet the synonyms *прѣдѣдвѣрїе, приткорѣ* and *паперѣ* as well.

In the Latin translation we see a prepositional expression, *ante atrium*. A similar, but simpler solution was applied by Wulfila: *faur gard* 'to the front of the house' (*faur* means 'to the front of', and *gard* 'house'). In Luther's text we can find the calque *Vorhof* corresponding to the Greek original.

The Romanian translation corresponds partly to the Vulgata as it uses a prepositional construction, *înaintea curtu*. A similar solution can be read in the Albanian, *përpëra hoborrit* 'forecourt', 'in front of the court'.

In the Hungarian Bible translation of Károli we find the translation *és kiméne a tornácba* 'and he went out into the porch', but in the modern versions we read *ezzel kiment az előcsarnokba* 'after this he went out into the vestibule'. The later word is closer to the Greek and Latin as a structural calque.

In the word group of the Kralice Bible, *před sín*, the noun meant 'hell', but later also 'porch'. The modern Russian text uses the expression на передний двор 'into the front court'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (преддвѣрие); Sr.-Cr. (предворје); Russ. преддворіе (преддвѣрие, предвѣрие); Ukr. (передвірок); M. (предверие); Cz. *předdvoří* (*předdveří*), Slk. (*preddomie*); P. (*przedzionek*); L.So. (*pšeddomje*); H.So. (*předomje*).

Thus the Old Slavic word seems to be a Moravianism, preserved in Czech and spread by Church Slavic in Serbian and Russian, creating also the phonetically and semantically similar compound *пѣдлѣвѣрїе* (literally 'in front of the door'). In Western Slavic a similar compound has been established by means of the noun *dom* 'house' (Slovak *predomie* literally means 'in front of the house'). The changing or substitution of *пѣдлѣ* into *пѣ* could have been caused by the ancient Proto-Slavic phonetic law of open syllables (or the tendency for the haplology of the double consonants *dd*).

— Real structural calque.

244. *пѣждѣрѣшти* ~ *προείρηκα* [*προλέγω*]

'to foretell' Mt 24,25: *ἰδοὺ προείρηκα ὑμῖν*. ~ *Се пѣждѣрѣхъ вамъ* · 'behold, I foretold it to you'.

In later Church Slavic text *пѣждѣсѣказати* and *пѣждѣповѣстити* also appear.

The Latin *praedixi* (*praedicere*) is parallel to the Greek. In the Gothic the citation is absent but in Mc 13,23 we find the corresponding *foura-gateihan* 'to foretell, to preach'. Luther's (*zu*) *vorsagen* is a precise calque of the Greek and Latin verb alike.

Similar meanings but with a postpositive adverb can be found in the case of the Romanian: *spune dinainte*, and in the Albanian *thom* (*tháshë, thënë*) *përpara*.

The Hungarian translation was *elēve megmondani* (word for word: 'before to say') in Károli's text, but in the modern editions we find *előre megmondani* (the adverb has a more modern form).

The Kralice Bible applies a compound *předpověděti*. The Russian edition of Stockholm uses a phrase: *напередъ сказать*, with the same meaning.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (предрѣцам, предрѣка, предска́жа, предска́звам); Sr.-Cr. (прорѣћи, прорѣцати); Russ. (предрѣчь, предрѣкать but: *пѣждѣрѣченный* 'afore-mentioned', *предска́зати, предска́зывать, сказа́тъ напередъ, сказа́ывать н.*); Ukr. (предрѣкті, предрѣкати); M. (предрече, предрекува); Cz. (*přeřící, přeřeknouti se, ořeřikati*); Slk. (*preríecť, preríeknuť, prehovoríť*); P. (*przemówić, przemawiać*); L.So. (*pšedšeš*); H.So. (*předřeč*).

The Western Slavic verbs have the sense 'to permit, to engage, to intervene', i.e. they differ from the Old Slavic compound (or verbal expression) more than the Southern and Eastern Slavic verbs do. The Sorbian words may be the calques of German *Vorrede* 'preface' as well. The Old Slavic word has no absolutely exact parallels (its prefix was a comparative adverbial form).

— Real structural calque.

245. *прѣждевъзвѣгание* ~ ἡ πρωτοκλισία

'head of table, first seat, place of honour'. Mt 23,6: φιλοῦσιν δὲ τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις ~ любаѣтъ же прѣждевъзвѣганиѣ на вечерѣхъ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'they like the first seats at the banquets'.

The word *πρωτοκλισία*, occurring in Mc 13,39, was translated with the similar compounds *прѣвовъзвѣжение* and *прѣвовъзвѣгание* into Old Slavic, as mentioned above. These latter correspond to the original Greek more precisely, but *прѣждевъзвѣгание*, a freer formation, maybe, corresponds better to the original sense.

As for the equivalents of the word, see the entry for *прѣвовъзвѣгание*.

— Real structural calque.

246–247. *прѣждесѣдание* ~ ἡ πρωτοκαθεδρία, *прѣдъсѣдание* ~ ἡ πρωτοκλισία

'place of honour, first seat'. Mt 23,6: καὶ τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ~ ἰ прѣждесѣданиѣ на снъзмицихъ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'and [they like] the places of honour in the synagogues'.

Similar passages: *прѣждесѣдание*: Mc 12,39; *прѣдъсѣдание*: Lu 11,43; 14,7; 20,46.

In later Church Slavic texts *прѣждевъзвѣсѣдание* and *прѣвое мѣсто* also occur. This later corresponds to *πρωτοκλισία* in Lu 14,7 and 20,46.

In the Latin text we find *prima cathedra*. In Wulfila's Gothic text all these loci are absent. Luther's text contains a verbal construction in these loci: *Sie sitzen gern oben an in den Schulen* 'they like over-sitting in schools'. (See *прѣждевъзвѣгание*.)

The Romanian *dîntăiu scăun* and the Albanian *vendot' e-parë* (postpositive attribute) seem to follow the Greek and the Latin alike.

The older Hungarian *előülés* ('fore-seat') corresponds most to the Old Slavic *прѣдъсѣдание* and so does the Albanian expression, if we consider the meaning of its etymological relationship: *vendósem* 'to settle down'). But in Hungarian the word *előülés* was later replaced by *első helyek* 'first places' or *első székek* 'first chairs'; in Catholic versions also *főhelyek* (word for word 'chief places').

In the Kralice Bible we find a translation, semantically similar to the Hungarian, *přední stolice* 'first chairs'. The modern Russian text has preserved the Church Slavic *предсѣданіе*.



The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (председáтельство 'chairmanship, presidency'); Sr.-Cr. пресѣдање 'id.'; Russ. председáние (предсидѣние, председáтельство, -ствие) 'before-sitting, presidency'; Ukr. (місце головí, головувáння 'id.');

M. (прво седало); Cz. (*přesedání* 'taking another chair', *předsednictvo* 'presidency'); Slk. (*presedanie*, 'chairmanship', *predsednictvo* 'id.');

P. (*przewodnictwo* 'id.');

L.So. (*pśedsedstwo* 'first seat, place of honour');

H.So. (*předsedžec* 'to sit before').

Thus the Western Slavic words have no direct relationship to the Old Slavic, they have other concrete meanings, or they are collective nouns formed from *predsednik* which seems to be the calque of German *Vorsitzer* or French *président*.

— Real structural calques.

248. прѣити ~ παρελεύσομαι (παρέρχομαι)

'to pass away'. Mc 13,31: ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ παρελεύσονται. ~ НЕБО Ї ЗЕМЛѢ ПРѢЙДЕТЬ · А МОѢ СЛОВЕСА НЕ ПРѢЙДУТЪ · 'The heaven and the earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away'. Similar loci: Mt 5,18(bis); Lu 16,17; 21,32.

In later Church Slavic texts минжти and прѣити also appear.

When прѣити corresponds concretely to μεταλεύσομαι (μετέρχομαι) 'to go through (from one place to another)', it cannot be considered a real calque, but a formation similar to that in Greek and other Indo-European languages).

As for its equivalents, see the entry for мимѣити, минжти.

— Real structural calque.

249a-b. прѣизлиха, прѣизлише ~ ὑπερπερισσῶς

'beyond measure, very much'. Mc 7,37: καὶ ὑπερπερισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες · καλῶς πάντα πεποίηκεν, ~ ἡ прѣиз лиха · ДИВЛѢДХЖ СЯ ГЛѢЖИТЕ · ДОБРѢ ВСЕ ТВОРИТЪ · 'And they were wondering very much, saying: "He did everything well".'

Both the Greek and the Old Slavic word exist as a hapax legomenon in the gospel texts. The Old Slavic adverb occurs in the absolute comparative degree прѣизлише in the Ostromir, and in the Savvina Kniga without the "détail surajouté" as лихо.

In later Church Slavic texts вѣсьма (вѣсьма), вѣсьми and прѣизобильно can also be read.

In the Latin we see an augmentative expression, *eō amplius* which cannot compete, however, with the Greek and Old Slavic absolute superlative sense. The Gothic *ufar-assau* is the dative of the noun *ufar-assus* 'surplus, overflow', and corresponds to the Greek words of similar sense ὑπερπερισσῶς and καθ' ὑπερβολήν (ἐπι μέγιστα) occurring later in other

biblical and theoretical passages. Luther's text contains a similarly strong augmentative expression *über die Maße*.

The Romanian expression *peste măsură* 'out of measure' is a good equivalent of the Greek and Old Slavic word. The Albanian *fort tépere* means 'very much'.

The Old Slavic word has been preserved in the Russian only. The Kralice Bible, however, shows a similar compound *převel'mí*. The modern Russian edition applies the adverb *чрезвычайно* 'extraordinarily' (word for word: 'beyond the custom').

Károli's Hungarian text used the now obsolete expression *felette igen* 'exceedingly very'; the modern Catholic versions apply the now common adverbial expressions *magukon kívül* 'besides themselves (with wondering)' in the Rome edition (1967), and *szertőlött* 'beyond measure, overmuch' in the Budapest editions (1973, 1981).

— Real structural calques; in the Russian, it occurred as a Church Slavic word.

250. *прѣобразити сѧ ~ μεταμορφοῦμαι*

'to be transformed, to alter, to be transfigured'. Mt 17,2: *καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, ~ ἰ прѣобрази сѧ прѣдъ ними*. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'He was transformed before them'. Similar loci: Mc 9,2; Lu 9,29.

In later Church Slavic texts we also read *прѣмѣнити сѧ* and *прѣславити сѧ*.

The Latin deponent verb *transfigurari* corresponds precisely to the Greek medial form *μεταμορφόμηναι*. In the Gothic the cited passage is missing, but in Mc 9,2 we read the reflexive verb *in-maidjan sik*; the reflexive formation is similar to the Old Slavic, but the prefix *prѣ-* corresponds better to the Greek *μετὰ* than the Gothic *in*. Luther's *sich verklären* means originally 'to brighten up, to become clear, to enlighten oneself'; but in Lu 9,29: *ward die Gestalt seines Angesichts anders* 'the form of His face became different (another)'.

In the Romanian we meet a similar reflexive formation: *se schimbă* (from the Balkano-Latin \**excambiare*). The Albanian *ndërrój fytyrënë* 'to change one's face' is a description of the original sense.

The Hungarian translation *elváltozni* meant originally 'to be changed', corresponding to Latin *mutāri*.

The Kralice Bible applies a reflexive formation similar to the Old Slavic, *proměnití se*, while the Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Old Slavic word.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic verb are: B. *прѣобразя се, прѣобразях се (прѣобразувам се)*; Sr.-Cr. *прѣобразити се (прѣобразивати се, прѣображавати се)*, Russ. *прѣобразиться (прѣобразоваться, прѣображаться)*; Ukr. *прѣобразитися, прѣображатися*; M. *прѣобрази се*; Cz. (*přeformovati se*); Slk. *preobrazit' sa*; P. *przeobrazić się (přeobrażać się)*; H.So. (*přeměnič so, přeměňowač so*); L.So. (*přeměniš se, přeměnjaš se, přeměňowaš se*).

The Polish and Slovak words seem to be Moravianisms; but it is more probable that they are Latin calques. Their eventual Russian or Ukrainian origin is not probable.

— Real structural calque.

251.  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\pi\alpha\tau\iota$  ~  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ( $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega$   
'to trespass'. Mt 15,3:  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   
 $\tau\eta\nu$   $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$   $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\nu$ ; ~ по чьто вы  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  заповѣдь бжииж · за прѣданіе  
ваше · 'and ye, why do ye trespass the commandment of God?'

Similar locus: Mt 15,2. As for Mc 7,13, the verb  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\pi\alpha\tau\iota$  renders the meaning of the verb  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega$  which has a similar meaning 'to invalidate', but is an entirely different composition. In  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega$  there is an  $\acute{\alpha}$  privativum, and  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega$  'to make valid'.

In later Russian Church Slavic texts  $\mu\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  and  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\pi\iota\gamma\iota\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota$  can also be found.

The Latin *transgredior* is an exact parallel to the Greek (but in Mc 7,13 *rescindere* is the free translation of  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega$ ). In the Gothic this locus is missing (just as Mt 15,2), and we find *blaujan* 'to terminate, to put an end'. Luther's calque is *übertreten* (but in Mc 7,13: *aufheben*).

The Romanian interpreter rendered this concept with the verb *calcă* 'to tread down' (but in Mc 7,13 *desființă* 'to put an end, to annul; (Balkano-Latin \**des-* [de-ex] + \**fientiare* 'to take out of the being, of the existing')).

The Albanian translation applies the verb *skhel* 'to tread down', in all the three passages.

In the Hungarian Károli used the verb *megrontani* 'to destroy, to corrupt', but in Mc 7,13 *eltörölni* 'to wipe out, to abrogate'. In the modern Protestant and Catholic versions we read *eltérni* 'to deviate, to prevaricate', *áthágni* 'to trespass', *kijátszani* 'to outwit', *megszegni* 'to break', and similar synonyms.

In the Kralice Bible we find the verb *přestupovati*, corresponding to the Old Slavic (but Mc 7,13 contains the verb *rušiti* 'to disturb, to put an end'). The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Church Slavic word (but in Mc 7,13: *устранять* 'to eliminate, to remove').

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *престѣпям* (*престѣпвам*); Sr.-Cr. *преступати*; Russ. *преступать*; Ukr. *преступати*; М. (*преступва*); Cz. *přestoupiti* (*přestupovati*); Slk. *prestupovať*; P. (*przestępować*); L.So. *pšestupaś* (*pšestupowaś*); H.So. *přestupać* (*přestupować*).

— Semantic calque. As for the Western Slavic, the supposition of a Moravianism or a formation after Latin or German seems to be equally justified. But the sense 'to trespass the law' is peculiar to Old Slavic; the similar meanings in Western Slavic may have been Latinisms or Germanisms, too.

252. ПРѢСТЖПИТИ ~ παρῆλθον (παρέρχομαι)

'to trespass'. Lu 15,29: καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον, ~ ἰ निकолиже заповѣди твоѣа не прѣстжпихъ · (In Old Slavic with a double negation!) 'and I never trespassed any of thy orders'.

The Old Slavic word is a hapax legomenon in the earliest Old Slavic gospels. As for its non-Slavic equivalents see the entries for ПРѢСТЖПАТИ and МИМОИТИ (МИНЖТИ).

The modern Hungarian translation is *megszegni* 'to break, to commit a breach of (law)'.

In later Russian Church Slavic texts the verbs наругаши, прѣшагнажти also occur. The Kralice Bible uses *přestoupiti*; similarly, the Russian edition of Stockholm uses прѣступить.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. прѣстѣпя, -ѣх; Sr.-Ct. прѣстѹпити; Russ. преступить; Ukr. преступіти; М. прѣстапи; Cz. *přestoupiti*; Slk. *prestupit'*; P. *przestąpić*; L.So. *pšestupis*; H.So. *přestupić*.

— Semantic calque; in more details, see the entry for ПРѢСТЖПАТИ.

253. ПѢНАЖНИКЪ ~ ὁ κερματιστής

'money-changer'. Jo 2,14: καὶ εὗρεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοὺς πωλοῦντας βόας καὶ πρόβατα καὶ περιστερὰς καὶ τοὺς κερματιστὰς καθημένους ~ ἰ обрѣте въ цркви е продаишитаѣ. овца ѣ волы · ѣ голзби · ѣ пѣнажники сѣлашита. 'and in the Temple He found them who were selling oxen and lambs and doves, and the money-changers sitting there'.

The Old Slavic text uses this free translation in Lu 19,23, too. In this respect it is parallel to the Gothic: deviating from the Latin, in the Gothic text we find *du skattjam* here (*skattja* means 'money-changer').

In later Church Slavic the analogously formed variant ПѢНАСЪНИКЪ also appears.

In the Vulgata we find the word *nummularius*, formed from *nummus* in a way as ПѢНАЖНИКЪ from ПѢНАСЪ. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found, but the noun *skattja* in Lu 19,33 was similarly formed from the noun *skatts* 'money, coin' as the Latin and Old Slavic parallels, while the Greek κερματιστής as a nomen agentis may be derived from the verb κερματίζω that means 'to mint', and only secondarily from the noun κέρμα 'coin, change'. Luther's text uses the nomen agentis *Wechsler*.

The Romanian uses the expression *schîmbător de bani* 'money-changer' (but in Lu 19,23 simply: *schîmbător*); in Micu-Clain's text we read неговѣторъ 'merchant, sensal, from the Balkano-Latin \**negotiatorem*. The Albanian *truvezar* is formed from the Greek loanword *truveza* 'table, bank' (Greek: ἡ τράπεζα), but in Lu 19,23 the Albanian interpreter follows the Greek (and the Latin).

The Hungarian texts use *pénzváltó* and this word has been preserved in the modern versions (in Lu 19,23 we find an addition according to the context: *a pénzváltók asztalára* 'onto the table of the money-changers').

The Kralice Bible uses the compound *peněžoměnc*, imitating the German *Geldwechsler* 'money-changer'. In the Russian there is a genitive objective: мѣновщикъ денегъ (similar to the Romanian expression).

The Old Slavic word has been preserved in the Russian, Czech and Slovak only, therefore we must consider it to be a Moravianism; the word рѣнасъ 'money' itself was an Old High German loanword in Old Slavic i.e. a Moravianism (for the equivalents of the Old High German word, see e.g. Modern High German *Pfennig*, English *penny*). The Russian word is a Church Slavism.

— Real structural calque.

P

254. ρα[з]сѣяние ~ ἡ διασπορά

'diaspora, dispersion'. Jo 7,35: μὴ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέλλει πορεύεσθαι ~ еда въ расѣяние еллинско хощетъ ити. (Cyrillic-letter marginal remark in the Zographus.) 'perhaps He wants to go to the diaspora of the Hellens'.

Both the Greek and the Old Slavic words are hapax legomena in the gospel texts.

In later Church Slavic the sense *dispersion* is also rendered with ραзсыпаніе and ρазсѣяніе.

The Latin *dispersio* and the Gothic *distaeins* equally mean 'dispersion' (nomina actionis from the verb *disperdere* and *dis-tahjan*, respectively). Luther's translation applies an attributive subordinate clause: *um die Griechen . . . die hin und her zerstreut liegen* 'among the Greeks, who live dispersed here and there'.

The Romanian *cei împrăștiati între Eleni* is an expression from the verb *împrăștia* 'to disperse'. In the Albanian we find a relative clause: *që janë përndarë ndër Grekërit* 'who were dispersed among the Greeks', from the verb *përndoj* 'to disperse'.

Similarly, Károli's Hungarian interpretation is also a subordinate clause: *kik a görögök közt eloszlottak* 'who were distributed among the Greeks'. In the modern versions we find *a pogányok közt élő telepések* 'the settlers living among the heathens' (Rome, 1967) and *a szórványban élő görögök* 'the Greeks living in a diaspora' (Budapest, 1973).

The Kralice Bible uses the verbal noun *rozptýlení* 'dispersion, distribution'. In the modern Russian version we see the etymological form of the Old Slavic word: еллинское расѣяніе.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (разсѣивание 'dispersion', разсѣиване 'absence of mind'); Sr.-Cr. расејанѡст 'absence of mind'); Russ. (рассѣянность 'absence of mind), рассѣяние 'dispersion'; M. (расејуване 'id.');

Ukr. розсїяннїя (розсїюваннїя) 'id.');

P. *rozsięwanie się* 'id.');

L.So. (*rozsewanje* 'dispersion, sowing');

H.So. (*rozsymjonawanje* 'id.');

Cz. (*rozševanї* 'id.')

Slk. (*rozševanie* 'id.').

— Real structural calque and, at the same time, a semantic calque as well; this latter meaning is more important from the viewpoint of the Greek influence on Old Slavic. The Western Slavic words come from a verb, formed independently of Old Slavic. The special sense of the Greek original has been preserved in the Old Slavic only and in Russian, influenced by Church Slavic. (In scientific style the word *diaspora*, in all European languages, is common.)

255. ρηκοτворенъ ~ χειροποίητος

'made with hands, man-made'. Mc 14,58: ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον ~ ѣко мы слышашомъ и гл҃҃шѣтъ. ѣко азъ рѣхорѣхъ цр҃ковь сн҃хъ рѣкотворенѣхъ. '[that] we heard that He said [that] "I shall demolish this church made with hands".'

This word is a hapax legomenon in the Greek and Old Slavic gospels.

In later Church Slavic the compound ρηκοςѣтворенъ and ρηκοςѣдѣланъ also appear.

In the Latin text we find the compound *manu factus*, and in the Gothic: *handu-vaurhita*, of the same structure, and meaning. In Luther's version this is rendered by an attributive subordinate clause: ... *den Tempel, der mit Händen gemacht ist*.

In the Romanian the prepositional expression *făcut de mâni* can be read, just as in the Albanian: *të-bërë më dorë*. In the earlier Hungarian version, following the Vulgata text, the phrase *kézzele csinált ~ manufactus*, 'hand-made', 'made with hands' is used; but in the modern versions we read *kézzele épített* 'built with hands' or *emberi kéz építette* (word for word: 'human-hand-built'). In the Catholic version of 1973 and 1981: *amely [már] nem emberi kéznek lesz alkotása* 'that will not be a creation of human hands'.

The Kralice Bible uses, according to the sense, the expression *rukou udělaný* 'made with hand.' In the modern Russian text the Church Slavic word has been preserved; its shorter negative form, *нерукотворный* is known from classical Russian literature, too. (Cf. Žukovskij's and Puškin's selfobituary poems entitled *Pamjatnik* 'Memorial'; see the entry for *нерукотворенъ*.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. рѣкотворен; Sr.-Cr. (рукотворац 'handworker, craftsman'); Russ. рукотворенный (рукотворный); Ukr. (рукотворний); M. (рукотворба 'hand-made article');

Cz. (*rukou udělaný*); Slk. (*rukou udělaný*); P. (*reka tworzeny*); L.So. (*rukou wučinjeny*); H.So. (*rukou wudželany*).

— Real structural calque. The Balkano-Slavic words are obsolete in the biblical sense. The secondary Russian and Ukrainian adjectives originate from a shorter *ρῥκοτβορῆνῃ* form. (The Western Slavic parallels seem to go back to a Latin or German model).

С

256. *самоуидѣць* ~ *ὁ αὐτόπτης*

'eyewitness'. Lu 1,2: *καθώς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου* ~ *ѣкоже прѣдаша намъ. бзѣвѣшеи ѣскони самоуидѣци ѣ слогѣгы словеси*. 'as they, who were eyewitnesses and servants of the word since the beginning bequeathed to us'.

The word is a hapax legomenon both in the Greek and in the Old Slavic gospels.

In later Church Slavic there occur *очевидѣць*, *очевидѣнъ* and *сѣвѣдѣкъ* as well, showing a well-discernible Western influence.

In the Latin this locus is translated with a subordinate clause: *qui ipsi viderint* 'who saw it themselves'.

The Gothic *silba-siuneis* corresponds precisely to the Greek (and Old Slavic) as it means, word for word, 'self-seer'. In its sense, Luther's version follows the original Greek: *die es von Anfang selbst gesehen*.

The Romanian interprets this locus with a relative-attributive clause, similar to Latin: *care au fost mărturi cu ochi* 'who were witnesses with eyes'. A similar clause is used by the Albanian interpreter: *që i panë me sy* 'who saw it with eyes' [*sy* = 'eye', *shoh* (*pushë, parë*) = 'to see', *më* = 'with, by'].

In the Hungarian we can read the expression *szemmel látói* 'the seers of these with their eyes', but in the modern texts we see *szemtanú* 'eyewitness' as a rule.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*очевѣдец*); Sr.-Cr. (*очевѣдац*); Russ. *самовѣдец* (*самовѣдник, очевѣдец*); Ukr. *самовѣдец*; M. (*очевидец*); Cz. (*očitý svědek*); Slk. (*očitý svedok*); P. (*świadek naoczny*); H.So. (*wočity swědk*); L.So. (*wočny swědk*).

— Real structural calque. Except Russian and Ukrainian, we see everywhere calques of later Western European origin. (In the Eastern Slavic languages the word has been preserved by Church Slavic influence.)

257. *строение домоу* ~ *ἡ οἰκονομία*

'management of estate'. Lu 16,3: *ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀφ' ἐμοῦ* ~ *ѣко гѣ моѣ отъемлетъ строение домоу отъ мене*. 'because my lord takes off the management of the estate from me'. Similar passage: Lu 16,4.

As for the non-Slavic equivalents, see the entry for *домовѣное приставање* ~ *οἰκονομία*.

In later Russian Church Slavic texts *провождение, оураждение* and *надъзирательство (имѣний)* appear, too.

In the Kralice Bible we see *vládařství*; the Russian text of the Stockholm edition uses the regular Russian government of the “*verba directionis*” and the related deverbal nouns: *управление дóмомъ*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic expression are: B. (домоуправлѣние), домостройство, домостройтельство ‘tenement, maintenance’; Sr.-Cg. (домаћинство, домáрство); Russ. домострой, домостройство, домостроение, домостройтельство (домоправительство, домовóдство); Ukr. домострой (доморядництво, домоуправлѣння, домобудівництво); M. (господаруване); Cz. (*vladařství, domovníctví*); Slk. (*domovníctvo, majetkovú dvor*), P. (*domovy dozor, dozor nad majątkiem*); H.So. (*domownictwo, wuprawa [nad] mѣtkom*); L.So. (*domownictwo, wježenje domu*).

— Calque expression, a freer and more concrete translation of *οἰκονομία* than *домовное приставление*. In the Byzantine Slavic languages we find some compounds of a later type instead of the above, which are more exact equivalents of the Greek.

258. строити къ дому ~ *οἰκονομέω*

‘to be the manager (bailiff) of a house (estate)’. Lu 16,2: *ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας σου· οὐ γὰρ δύνη ἐτι οἰκονομεῖν*. ~ *кѣздаждь отвѣтъ ѿ приставлении домовнѣемъ. не оубо можеши строити къ дому*. ‘... Give account of thy management because thou canst not be the manager of my estate any more’.

In the Greek text the atonic pronominal genitive σου ‘of thou, thy’ cannot be found in the oldest manuscripts, but we find it in the Codex Cantabrigiensis (6th c.) and in certain 6th–9th-century codices; the Latin and Gothic texts contain its equivalents (*tuae* and *þeinis*, respectively).

In later Russian Church Slavic texts we read *надъзиратель, засъмотритель, оуправитель хозяйства(-омъ)*, too.

The Latin text renders the Greek verb with the denominal verb *villicare*, from *villicus* (just as the Greek *οἰκονομέω* comes from *οἰκονόμος*). The Gothic *faura-gaggja visan* means, word for word, ‘to be a fore-going’ i.e. ‘manager, steward’. Luther’s translation contains the expression *Haushalter sein*.

In the Romanian we find a similar expression *fi econom* ‘to be a manager’ (but in Micu-Clain’s text: *фи исправникъ* with a Church Slavic loanword for the concept of ‘manager, bailiff’).

The Albanian expression *të-jesh kujdestár* means the same (*jes, jéta, jétur* ‘to remain, to exist’, and *kujdestár* ‘manager, supervisor’, a nomen agentis from the verb *kujdésem* ‘to take care of, to provide’).

In the Hungarian text we find a similar solution with the verb *lenni* ‘to be’ in Károli’s translation: *mert nem lehetsz sáfár* ‘because thou mayst not be a



manager any more'. But in the earlier medieval codices we find the obsolete denominal verb *fónagykodni* from the contracted compound *fónagy* (from *salunagy* 'village mayor') that exists as a family name only in present-day Hungarian. In the later Catholic versions we read another denominal verb, *sáfárkodni*, from the Middle High German loanword *sáfár* (schaffäere), and this passage sounds as *mert tovább nem sáfárkodhatol* 'as thou mayst not manage any more'. The latest Catholic versions (1967, 1973) returned to the nominal expressions: *mert nem lehetsz tovább az [én] intéző[-m]* 'because thou mayst not be [my] bailiff any more'.

In the Kralice Bible the momentaneous verb *vládnouti* 'to reign, to manage' occurs in this locus. The Russian edition of Stockholm uses the verb *управлять* 'to direct, to manage'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic expression are: B. (управя дómът, глѣдам си домакинство); Sr.-Cr. (управљати, гáздовати); Russ. стрóить дом (домострóйничать); Ukr. (домовлáсничати, домобúдницати); M. (гóсподарува); Cz. (*šafariti, spravovati*); Slk. (*šafárit', hospodárit', gazdovat', spravovat'*); P. (*sprawować, zaradnąć*); L.So. (*gospodariš*); H.So. (*hospodarić*).

As we can see, it is the Russian language alone where an expression corresponding etymologically to the Old Slavic can be found, due to Church Slavic influence.

— Calque neologism expression.

259. СЪКОНЪЧАНІЕ ~ ἡ συντελεία

'finishing, consummation, end'. Mt 13,49: οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ~ ТАКО БУДЕТЬ КЪ СЪКОНЪЧАНІЕ ВЪКА. 'Thus it will be at the end of the world as well'. Similar loci: Mt 13,40; 28,20.

In later Church Slavic use we can find ОКОНЪЧАНІЕ, СЪВЕРШЕНІЕ and НАПОЛНЕНІЕ, too.

The Latin deverbal noun *consummatio* is related to the more abstract verb *consummare* 'to sum up, to accomplish'. In Wulfila's translation it cannot be found, but in Lu 1,45 the noun *us-tauhts* is applied for interpreting the Greek τελείωσις 'consummation, completion, fulfilment' from the verb *us-tiuhan* 'to sum up, to finish, to realize'; probably, this noun was used for Mt 13,49 as well if it was translated into Gothic by Wulfila at all. Luther's word is *am Ende der Welt* 'at the end of the world', 'in the last days'.

The Romanian *sfârșit* 'and, finish, exit' comes from the verb *sfârși* 'to finish, to accomplish' (originally, the neutral form of the past participle). In the Albanian, we find the word *të-mbarúaret*, also a past participle from the verb *mbaróje* 'to finish, to end'. In the Vizsoly Bible (Károli) we find the deverbal noun *végzet* (from the denominal verb *végezni* 'to end'; its starting noun was *vég* 'end', and this root word has replaced the earlier and longer derived noun in the modern

Hungarian versions. (The variant *végzet* corresponds to Latin *fatum* and Greek μοῖρα, εἰμαρμένα and νέμεσις).

As it is seen, a compound corresponding precisely to the Greek can be found in the Old Slavic only; the Latin semantic and the Gothic structural calque are formed on the basis of a different spirit of language, and in the Romanian, Albanian and Hungarian texts, which are younger than the Old Slavic, yet other internal linguistic forms appear.

In the Kralice Bible we read *skonání*, from the same root \**kon-*, but of a different formation (*skonáti* 'to finish, to accomplish'). The Russian edition of Stockholm applies the word кончина, from the same root which also occurs in the sense συντελεία in other Old Slavic texts (in the form коньчина).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (кончина 'end, death'); Sr.-Cr. (скончина 'id. '); Russ. скончание (кончина); Ukr. скінчання (скін, сконання); M. скончание 'death'; Cz. (*skonání*); Slk. *skončanie* (*skonanie*); P. (*ukonczanie*); L.So. (*skońcowanje*) 'annihilation'; H.So. (*skónčenje* 'finishing, accomplishing, end').

Consequently, the Old Slavic word has been preserved by Russian and Ukrainian only, due to Church Slavic influence.

— Real structural calque. Since the Greek συντελεία is often translated into Old Slavic as коньчина and коньчание, too, it is just the relative rarity of съконьчание which indicates that the Slav Apostles applied this derivate as a calque in the sense 'the finishing of all things', 'the end of the world'.

260–261. съньмиште, събориште ~ ή συναγωγή

'synagogue'. Mt 6,2: ὡπερ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀμαῖς, ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων · ~ ꙗко ѳокрити творятъ въ съньмиштихъ · ꙗ въ стъгнахъ · да прославятъ са отъ чкъ · '... as the hypocrites do it in the synagogues and in the streets that they be praised by men'.

Similar loci: съньмиште: Mt 4,23; 5,22; 6,5; 9,35; 10,17; 12,9; 13,54; 23,6; 23,34; Mc 1,21; 1,23; 1,39; 3,1; 6,2; 12,39; 13,9; Lu 4,15; 4,16; 4,20; 4,28; 4,33; 4,38; 4,44; 6,6; 7,5; 8,41; 11,43; 12,11; 13,10; 20,46; 21,12; Jo 6,59; 9,22; 12,42; 16,2; 18,20; събориште: Lu 6,6; 12,11; Jo 9,22; this variant appears instead of съньмиште in all the passages, but only in the Ostromir.

In Mt 5,22, съньмиште is not applied for interpreting συναγωγή but for its synonym συνέδριον. In several passages (in the supplemented or later re-copied texts) we find the beginning vocalization of ъ in съньмиште in the form соньмиште: Mt 6,5; 9,35; 12,9; 23,6; 23,34; Mc 1,21; 1,23; 12,39; Lu 12,11; 13,10; Jo 6,59; 9,22.

With respect to the frequency of the Greek word in the gospels it is striking that the three synoptic gospels highly surpass St. John's Gospel from this viewpoint. This divergence supports the opinion that the fourth gospel was written in a non-Jewish environment; it was intended for the "heathen-

Christians", i.e. probably for an audience who were acquainted with the Hellenistic syncretism, perhaps in Ephesus itself, as it is referred to in several statements of Irenaeus and Eusebius and in no case earlier than towards the end of the 1st century, just as his First Epistle. (His Second and Third ones are earlier.)

The later Church Slavic texts use the loanword *сѣнагога* and the synonyms *сѣбрање*, *школа*, *рада*, and *молилна* as well, with different nuances.

In the Latin texts the loanword *synagoga* appears. The Gothic equivalent of the Codex Argenteus is the deverbal noun *ga-qumþs* 'convening, meeting' (from the verb *gaqiman* 'to convene'), which also renders the Greek *συνέδριον* in the gospels, and *ἐπισυναγωγή* 'reunion' in Thess 2,1. Luther's translation uses the noun *Schule* 'school', laying the stress on the 'teaching' function of this institution.

The Romanian *sinagog*, Albanian *sinagoge* and Hungarian *zsinagóga* are also loanwords. The Kralice Bible, however, uses the words *škola* 'school' and *shromážděni* 'convening, gathering' (from the verb *shromážditi* 'to call together, to assemble'), which seems to imitate the Latin *concilium* and *convocatio* as well.

In the modern Russian text the loanword *синагога* is common, though the vocalized *сборище* (< *сѣбориште*) and *сонмище* are known in Russian. The word *škola* in the Kralice Bible seems to have been the imitation of Luther's *Schule*.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: B. (сѣбор); Sr.-Cr. (сáбор); Russ. сѣорище, соборище 'group, crowd', сѣонмиште (сонм) 'throng, crowd'; Ukr. зѣорище (сонм) 'id.'; M. (збор); Cz. (*snem, sbor*); Slk. (*snem, sbor*); P. (*sejm, sbór*); L.So. (*sejm*); H.So. (*sejm*).

The living Slavic equivalents of *сѣборъ* show the meanings 'meeting' (national, political or informal), 'grouping', and those of *сѣнъмъ* 'national assembly, parliament'. The ecclesiastic meaning is overshadowed (but Russian *соборище* has the meanings 'cathedral' and 'synod').

As we can see the Slavic languages (except the Church Slavic-influenced Russian) have preserved only the forms without the diminutive suffix. The word *сѣнмиште* goes back, undoubtedly, to a Moravianism as the Western Slavic words indicate; this suggestion is proved—negatively—by the fact also that *сѣбориште* which is a diminution of the Southern and Eastern Slavic *сѣборъ*, occurs in the Ostromir.

The cause of applying the local suffix *-иште* must have been that the interpreters wanted to distinguish the conception of permanent, but of less importance *συναγωγή* from an ad-hoc *συνέδριον*, and especially, from the public body of the Great Sanhedrin itself which was rendered by the non-diminished compounds *сѣн-ъмъ* and *сѣ-боръ*. (See the entry for these.)

— Semantic calques.

262–263. СЪНЪМЪ, СЪБОРЪ ~ τὸ Συνέδριον

‘assembly, council, Sanhedrin’. Mt 26,59: Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ὅλον ἐξήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν ~ ἄρ’ хієрєи жє ї старци · ї сьнѣмъ вьсь · їскаахж лѣжа сьвѣдѣтелѣ на ѿца · ѣко ла оубижитъ ѿ. ‘and the high priests and the whole council were searching false evidence against Jesus, in order to sentence him to death’.

Similar passages: Mt 10,17; Mc 14,55; 15,1; Lu 22,66; Jo 11,47.

In Mt 10,17 we find the later vocalized form сѣнѣмъ in the Marianus. In some loci (Mt 10,17; 26,59; Lu 22,66 and Jo 11,47) сьборъ appears instead of сьнѣмъ in the Ostromir, just as in Mt 26,59 in the Savvina Kniga, and Jo 11,47 in the Zographus.

The later Russian Church Slavic texts use the loanwords сѣнѣдрионъ (сѣнѣдріонъ) and сѣнодъ as well, and they vary the translations сьвѣрание, рада, сьвѣране, громада and сьдилиште, according to the sense.

The Latin texts use the noun *concilium*. In the Gothic the cited passage cannot be found but in Mc 14,55 and 15,1 we read *ga-faurds* ‘convening, Sanhedrin’. The Latin *concilium* is a verbal abstract formed from \**con-calare* which—in view of the basic meaning of *calare* ‘to call’ is not likely to have influenced the Slavic words. The influence of the Gothic word would be more imaginable, but we do not see any reason why the two wholly different Gothic words would have resulted in the relationship сьборъ ~ сьвориште in the Balkano-Slavic linguistic medium. Luther’s usual word is *Rath* ‘Council’ (but *Rathhaus* ‘council house’ in Mt 10,17).

The Romanian *sinedriu* is a Greek-Latin loanword. The Albanian *báshkëndënja* is a compound, which consists of *báshkë* ‘commonly, together’ and *ndënja* ‘stay, sojourn’ (This latter is a verbal abstract of the suppletive verb *rrhi*, *ndéjta*, *ndënja*, *ndënjur*, ‘to stay, sit down, dwell, sojourn’).

The earlier Hungarian *gyülekezet* ‘convening, meeting’ (a deverbal noun from the immanent verb *gyülekezni* ‘to assemble, to get together’), was later replaced by the word *tanács* ‘council, advice’. Bible manuals and Jesus-biographies belonging to the genre of gospel harmonies (“diatessarons”) sometimes apply the Aramaized form *Sanhedrin* of the Greek συνέδριον. In the latest Catholic versions (1967, 1973, 1981), we find *főtanács* ‘supreme council’, but in some cases (e.g. Mt 10,17) we also find *bíróság* ‘tribunal, court of justice’, according to the context.

A similar solution can be found in the Kralice Bible as well: *rada* ‘supreme council’, but *shromáždení* ‘assembly’. In the modern Russian text the loanwords сінѣдрионъ and синагога have been preserved.

As for the living Slavic equivalents, see the entry for the word pair сьнѣмиште ~ сьвориште. Concluding also from that, we can see that сьнѣмъ is a Moravianism, but сьборъ a Balkanism.

— Semantic calques.

264. ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ ~ τὸ σωτήριον

'redemption, salvation'; 'good luck, fortune'. Lu 2,30: ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ~ ꙗко видѣсте ὄчи мои спѣньє твоє · 'because my eyes have seen Thy salvation'. Similar loci: 1,69; 1,71; 1,77; 3,6; 19,9; Jo 4,22.

The later Church Slavic also uses the words *отъкоупление* and *освобождение*.

As it is seen, the majority of occurrences can be found in Zacharias' Chant, called Benedictus after its Latin introductory word in Lu 1,68–1,79 as a *canticum* in the extramissal texts of the Latin liturgy. (The intramissal Benedictus is the second part of the post-prefational doxology, Sanctus; both chants are the well-known and permanent subjects of Christian musical compositions.) Luther's translation alternates the word *Heiland* 'Saviour' (*Heil* 'Salvation'), and the verb *retten* 'to save'.

The Latin *salutare*, a substantivized neutral adjective form in the modern Vulgata revisions, has been replaced by the noun *salus*, applied also many times in Catholic liturgic and extraliturpic texts. The Gothic *naseins* 'saving, hail' comes from the verb *nasjan* 'to save' which corresponds to the Greek σωζω 'id.'

The Romanian *mântuire* is originally the older "long infinitive" of the verb *mântui* 'to liberate, to relieve' (a loanword from Hungarian: *menteni* 'to save, to rescue'). The Albanian *shpëtim* 'liberation' is a verbal abstract from the verb *shpëtoj* 'to save'.

In Károli's Hungarian text we find *Idvezítő* (its present-day literary form is *üdvözítő*) 'saviour' in this locus. In the recent Catholic versions (1967, 1973) the word *üdvösség* 'salvation' is common, from the adjective *üdvös* 'salutary'. If the word refers, however, to Christ himself, as in Lu 1,69, the corresponding term is *Szabadító* 'Rescuer, Liberator', a participle present from the verb *szabadítani* 'to liberate, to make free' (today mostly with a perfective prefix: *megszabadítani*). The Hungarian correspondents (on Latin base) of σωτήριον are *megváltás*, (*meg*)*szabadítás*, *üdvözítés*, *üdvösség* 'redemption, salvation, liberation'.

In the Kralice Bible these are various interpretations: *spasení* 'salvation'; *výkoupení* 'redemption'; *vysvobození* 'liberation'; *umění spasitelné* 'knowledge of salvation' (Lu 1,77); similar ones occur in the Bratislava edition, too. In Jakubica's translation we find the word *zárowiczel*, a calque of German *Ausgleicher*. In the Russian edition of Stockholm, the Church Slavic *спасение* has survived as an ecclesiastic term (*спасѣние*).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *спасѣние*; Sr.-Cr. *spâc* 'id.!' ); (*спасѣње*); Russ. *спасѣние* (*спасѣнье*); Ukr. (*спасіння*); M. (*спас* 'id.!' ); Cz. *spasení*, *spása*; Slk. *spasenie* (*spása*); (*zbawlenie*); H.So. (*spasc* 'to save, to preserve'); L.So. (*pasenje* 'safety, watching').

The word seems to be a Moravianism just because of the lack of precise etymologic equivalents in the Polish and Sorbian. The Macedonian and Serbian *спас*, *спас* are synonyms of *спаситель* in Old Slavic, though it is possible that

these Balkanic forms are originally not masculine but neutral substantival or participial forms of the stem \*сѣ-пас- 'to save'.

— Semantic calques inasmuch they render the special syncretistic-Christian terms Σωτήρ 'Saviour' (and not 'rescue' of a general or military type).

265–266. сѣпасѣ, сѣпасителѣ ~ ὁ Σωτήρ

'Saviour, Redemptor, Rescuer'. Lu 2,11: ὅτι ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον Σωτήρ, ὃς ἐστὶν χριστὸς κύριος, ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ. ~ ꙗко роди са вамъ · дньсь сѣ · ѡже ѣсть хъ гъ · въ градѣ даѣвъ · 'because today a Saviour was born to you, who is Christ the Lord, in the town of David'. Similar loci: сѣпасѣ: Jo 4,42; сѣпасителѣ: Lu 1,47.

In the later Church Slavonic texts отъкоупителѣ, избавителѣ and освобоудителѣ can also be read.

In the Latin text we find *Salvator* corresponding to Σωτήρ (where this term is translated into Old Slavonic by сѣпасѣ), but *salutaris* in Lu 1,47 (where the Old Slavonic translation is сѣпасение). It seems that the Latin terms differ according to the adjectival (or rather appositional) role of the Greek σωτήρ (*salutaris*), and to its independent substantival use (in Latin: *Salvator*).

In the Gothic we find the present participle *nasjands* from the verb *nasjan* 'to save' in both of St. Luke's passages (Jo 4,42 does not occur in Wulfila's translation), i.e. the Gothic translation does not distinguish the two functions of the Greek noun. Luther's term *Heiland* is one of the oldest German words of Christian terminology which corresponds to the Greek and Latin words alike, as an old participial form (cf. the Old Saxon *Heiland*).

In the Romanian texts the equivalent *mântui* 'to liberate', a loanword from the Hungarian verb *menteni* 'to save, to liberate' (today its prefixed perfective aspect is nearly more common: *megmenteni*).

The Albanian *shpëtimtar* is a nomen agentis, from the verb *shpëtój* 'to save' by the mediation of the nomen actionis *shpëtim* 'saving, liberation' (cf. the entry for сѣпасение).

In the Hungarian translation, Károli applied different nouns of participial origin: *Megtartó* 'Defender, Preserver'; later *Megváltó* 'Redemptor'; *Szabadító* 'Liberator, Rescuer'. In the modern (especially Catholic) Hungarian texts we mostly find *Üdvözítő* 'Saviour', or the loanword *Messias* (Hungarian form of the Latin *Messias*, through Greek, coming from the Hebrew-Aramaic *Massiah*).

In the Kralice Bible the noun *spasitel* is common; in Jakubica's translation *zdrowiczel*; the modern Russian text has also preserved the term спаситель, and спасѣ also occurs, especially in the liturgic texts.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavonic words are: B. спаситель, спас; Sr.-Cr. spāsitelj (spāsilač; izbavitelj, izbavilač); Russ. спас, спаситель (избавитель); Ukr. спаситель (избавитель); M. спасител; Cz. *spasitel*; Slk. *spasitel'*; P. (*zbawiciel*); L.So. (*pasar*); H.So. (*Mesias, swobodźer*).

Perhaps the establishment of the difference between *σπλας* and *σπλασιτελ* was influenced by the parallelism of Latin *salvator* and *salutaris* (*salutare*); this parallelism can be stated, in any case, for the earliest gospel texts. The Moravian character of these words is also more probable.

— Semantic calque, for rendering the Christian–Judaistic syncretical meaning ‘Saviour’ of the Greek *Σωτήρ* (and not of some liberator in general).

267. *сѣдалиште* ~ ἡ καθέδρα

‘seat, chair’. Mt 23,2: ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθισαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι. ~ НА МОУСѢВѢ СѢДАЛИЩИ СѢДѢЖЪ КЪНИЖЪНИЦИ І ФАРИСѢИ. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) ‘The Scribes and Pharisees have set in Moses’ chair’.

Similar loci: Mt 21,12; Mc 11,15. (In this latter passage the seats of the Temple sellers are mentioned, thus the word *сѣдалиште* can be considered here a simple translation, in contrast to the citation where *καθέδρα* means, in figurative sense, the ‘office of teachers of the Law’).

In later Russian Church Slavic *сѣдѣлькѣ* and *сѣдѣльскѣ* also occur in this sense.

In the Latin translation the loanword *cathedra* is used. In the Codex Argenteus this citation cannot be found, but in Mc 11,15 the concrete sense of ‘seat’ is rendered by the deverbal noun *sitls* (from the verb *sitan* ‘to sit’) which is applied for translating the Greek *κατασκήνωσις* ‘dwelling place, nest’ as well (Mt 8,20; Lu 9,58). Luther’s text uses the noun *Stuhl* ‘chair’ as a rule.

The Romanian *scăun* means ‘chair’ in a concrete and figurative sense alike. The Albanian *fron* ‘small chair without dorsal’ is a Greek loanword (θρόνος). The Hungarian *szék* similarly means ‘chair’ in both its concrete and figurative meaning, but in some newer editions, as in 1967, the more precise word is: *tanítószék* (word for word: ‘teaching chair’).

In the Kralice Bible we find *stolice*; in the modern Russian the Old Slavic word is used.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. *седáлище* (*седáлка*); Sr.-Cr. (*сѣдало*); Russ. *седáлище*; Ukr. (*сідалка*); M. (*седало*); Cz. (*sedátko, sedadko*); Slk. (*sedadlo, sedielko*); P. (*siedanie*); L.So. *sedlo* (*sedliščo* ‘residence’); H.So. (*sedleško* ‘chair, throne’) in the popular exclamation: *Bože sedleško*; corresponding to the sense ‘Woe is me!’; word for word: ‘God’s throne!’

— Semantic calque. In the Psalterium Sinaiticum (142 b.18) it has a meaning similar to our citation: ‘council, meeting’.

## T

268. *трьхѣтъ* ~ τὸ λεπτόν

‘penny, small change’. Lu 12,59: ... ἕως καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτόν ἀποδῶς. ~ ДОНДЕЖЕ Ё ПОСЛѢДЪНИИ ТРЪХѦТЪ ВЪЗДАСИ. ‘...till thou hast not repaid the last penny’.

The Greek word originally meant 'small, tiny'. In the Greek text similar loci are: Mc 12,42; Lu 21,2.

The other Old Slavic and later Church Slavic texts, however, use the loanword *лѣпта* (the plural form of *λεπτόν*, which was adopted by Old Slavic as a noun of the *a*-declension; it occurs as *лѣпта*, too. In late Russian Church Slavic the loanwords *грѣши*, *лѣньги* and *монѣта* also appear.

The Latin texts apply the noun *minutum*, which was the neutral form of the past participle passive of the verb *minuere* 'to make smaller, to lessen'. In the Gothic the cited passages cannot be found.

Luther's translation contains the noun *Scherf* 'penny, little gift' and its diminutive *Scherflein*, respectively.

As for the Romanian, Bishop Nicolae applied the corresponding Romanian *ban* in the cited passage but *lepta* in the other two, which points to the mediation of the Old Slavic text. Micu-Clain, however, used the Hungarian loanword *филѣръ* in all the three loci. (The Hungarian *fillér* has been, for more than a century, the hundredth part of Hungarian monetary units,—the *korona*, *pengő* and *forint*—but it was known as early as in 1425, its original meaning being 'the four' or 'fourth', a loanword from the Middle High German *vierer* 'id.').

In the Albanian we find the Turkish (originally, New-Greek or Byzantine Greek) loanword *aspër* in the cited locus, from *ἄσπρα* 'white coin'. This substantivized Greek feminine adjective form got into all the Balkanic languages, and from Serbo-Croatian into Hungarian as well: *oszipora* an obsolete word for 'an old silver coin' and for 'the priest's or schoolmaster's gift'). In the other two loci *tě-imete* can be read, from the adjective *imte* 'little, small', thus it seems to be a calque for the Greek *λεπτόν* (*λεπτά*) or the Latin *minutum*; but the difference between the citation and the two other passages is the same as in the Romanian.

In the Hungarian we find the above-mentioned *fillér* in all the three cases.

The Kralice Bible uses the German loanword *halěř* (from the Middle High German *heller*) in the cited verse, but the obsolete *sarta* 'farthing' also occurs in the other loci. In the modern Russian edition the loanword *лѣпта* can be found but in Lu 12,59 we read the obsolete *полѣшка* 'a fourth part of the копѣйка (word for word: 'the halflet').

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (*тpoxá* 'crumb'); Sr.-Cr. (*тpáxa* 'id.'); Russ. (*тpoxá*, *тpóхи*, *тpóшки* 'a few, little'); Ukr. (*тpóхи*, *тpóшки* 'id.'); M. *тpoxa* 'crumb'); Cz. *trochet* (*trochýtek*, *trocha*, *troška*, *trošička*, *trošinka* 'a few, a bit'); Slk. (*trocha*, *trochu* 'a few, a bit'); P. (*troche*, *troszkę*, *troszczka* 'id.'); L.So. (*tšocha* 'a little'); H.So. (*tróšku* 'id.').

The word must be of Common Slavic origin in the sense 'crumb'; in the Old Slavic the diminutive took on the meaning 'penny' on the basis of the Greek *λεπτόν*.



The sense 'a little, a few' in the living Slavic languages is a regular change of meaning (cf. e.g. Latin *mica* 'crumb' > Romanian *micu* 'little, small').  
— Semantic calque.

ου

269a–b. οὐλκοριτι σα ~ ἡλίζομην, οὐλβαριати σα ~ (αὐλίζομαι)  
'to sojourn somewhere, to spend the night'. Lu 21,37: τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος ἡλίζετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν· ~ ἃ ноштитиѡ οὐλβαρѣатиє σα ἱσχοла вѣ горѣ · нарицаети єλεѣнѣ. '... but at night going out, He spent the night on the mountain, called the Mount of Olives'.

This variant is taken from the Zographus text; in the Nikoljja Gospel исхола οὐλβαρѣатиє σα can be read while the other four archaic manuscripts apply the verb вѣлваρѣатиє σα (see the entry for вѣлκοριτι σα and вѣлβαριатиє σα).

As for the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts, this pair of verbs (or, more precisely, the imperfective form) is a hapax legomenon.

As for their Slavic and non-Slavic equivalents, see the entry for вѣлκοριτιє σα and вѣлβαριатиє σα.

In later Church Slavic texts оцатиє σα and вѣзатиє сѣбѣ вѣивание can also be read.

— Real structural calques.

270. οὐζѣрѣти ~ διέβλεψα (διαβλέπω)  
'to take care of'; 'to set oneself to'. Mt 7,5: καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. ~ ἱ τѣгла οὐζѣришиє ἱзати ἱ сжчиє · ἱз очееє врата твоєго · '... and then set thyself, to throw out the thorn from the eye of thy fellowman'.

As for the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts, the verb οὐζѣрѣти occurs about fifty times for rendering the Greek ὄραω (εἶδον, ὄψομαι, ὀφθήσομαι), θεάομαι, θεωρέω, βλέπω and ἐμβλέπω, but, in these cases, we do not find the figurative sense 'to take care of, to set oneself to' which can be seen in the cited verse.

In the later Church Slavic texts οὐζѣрѣти, οὐვიλѣти, and ѡбачити also occur.

The Latin texts also use the corresponding verb *videre* 'to see'. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found. Luther's translation shows the verb *besehen*.

The Romanian *vedea* does not differ from the Greek, Latin and Old Slavic usage; similarly, the Albanian *shoh* (*páshë, párë*) means 'to see'.

As for Hungarian, Károli rendered the original text with *gondolj arra* 'think of that', but in the later versions we generally find *lásd* or *lássad*, corresponding to the Latin (or Greek) use of word as e.g. in Káldi's Catholic version (and in its later revisions, e.g. in those made by Tárkányi, and by Székely). In the Rome edition of 1967 we read ... *akkor majd elég tisztán látsz ahhoz, hogy kivehesd a szálkát felebarátod szeméből* '... then you will see clearly enough to take out the

thorn from thy neighbour's eye'. In the Budapest editions of 1973 and 1981 this passage sounds: ... *s akkor hozzálátsz(-hatsz) ahhoz, hogy kivedd a szálkát embertársad szeméből* '... and then you may set yourself to taking out the thorn from your fellowman's eye'.

In the Kralice Bible the meaning of the verb *prohlédnouti* is 'to review, to examine, to come to know thoroughly'. The Russian edition of Stockholm renders this locus with the perfective verb *увидеть* 'to see' which is often used in a figurative sense, too.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (сзрѣа, сзрѣах, сзѣирам); Sr.-Cr. узрети; Russ. узрѣть (узрѣвать, узырять); Ukr. узріти; M. узрее; Cz. *uzříti*; Slk. *uzriet'*; H.So. (*pohladać, wuwidzeć*); L.So. (*poglědaś, widaś*); P. (*uwidzeć, pogledać*).

— Semantic calque. Naturally, this secondary sense can be found in all the living Slavic languages where its etymologic equivalents exist; there is no necessity to suppose everywhere a Greek, Latin or other foreign effect. But in the case of Old Slavic we may consider that the figurative sense was due to the influence of the Greek text as a "parole" phenomenon.

271. οὐμρτѣѣти ~ θανατώσω (θανατώω)

'to order to kill'. Lu 21,16: καὶ θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, ~ ἰ οὐμρτѣѣтѣ отъ васъ '... and they will order to kill some of you'.

In later Church Slavic texts *оубити, забити, оуморити* and *отънати животъ* also appear.

In the Latin text we find the expression *morte efficere*. In the Gothic this passage is not translated. Luther's version presents the factitive verb *tōdten* which comes from the noun *Tod*.

The Romanian versions use the denominal verb *omori* which was formed from the Church Slavic (Middle Bulgarian) loanword *omor* 'murder'; the word was phonetically adjusted to the original Romanian (Balkano-Latin) words *moarte* 'death', *muri* (*mor, moare, murim, murit*) 'to die'. In the Albanian we find the verb *vras* (*vret, vrave, vrarë*) 'to kill'. In the Hungarian the factitive-perfective verb *megöletni* 'to order to kill' was applied, later the perfective *megölni* 'to kill'; in the later (1973) Catholic version we read: *s némelyek meghalnak közületek* 'and some of you will die', similarly in the 1981 edition, too.

In the Kralice Bible the German loanword *zmordovati* occurs (German *Mord* 'murder'). In the modern Russian text the Old Slavic verb has been preserved.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. умъртѣѣ (умъртѣѣх); Sr.-Cr. умртѣвити; Russ. умертѣвь (умертвлять); Ukr. умертѣвити (умертвляти); M. умртѣви; Cz. *umrtviti (umrtvovati)*; Slk. *umrtvet'* (*umrtvovat'*); P. *umartwić (umartwiac)* 'to torment'; L.So. (*wumoriś* 'to order to kill'); H.So. (*wumorić, wumorjować* 'to torment till death').

As the etymological equivalents of the Old Slavic verb exist almost in all the living Slavic languages, we can suppose it to be a Moravianism which was, however, not the result of Latin influence. As we have seen, the Latin text interpreted this verb with a word group here—and the verb *mortificare* which appears in the Vulgata text of St. Paul's epistles cannot be supposed to have exerted an immediate influence on the earliest Old Slavic gospels. (Besides, *оумрътѣти* appears in the Euchologium Sinaiticum, 89 b. 22 as well, as it renders the Greek verb *νεκροῦμαι* of similar sense.)

The Old Slavic word, consequently, is a denominal formation like the Greek (from the Greek noun *θάνατος* 'death' and the adjective *νεκρός* 'dead', and from the Old Slavic *мрътъ* 'id.' participial adjective, respectively). If we seek another source for the Old Slavic verb as a Moravianism, the Old High German verb *gīdoten* 'to kill' must be taken into consideration, which is a similar prefixed formation from the adjective *dot* 'dead'; but its occurrences in Otfrid's text (III, 26,54; and V,4,43) do not cover, from the viewpoint of content, the Greek citation. Therefore we can conclude, on the basis of all these, that direct Greek influence seems to be most probable of all the possibilities.

— Real structural calque.

272–273. *оумничьжити* ~ *ἐξουδενηθῆν*, *оумничьжати* ~ (*ἐξουδενόω*, *ἐξουθενέω*) 'to disregard, to treat disrespectfully'. Mc 9,12: *καὶ πῶς γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ ἐξουδενηθῆ* ~ *і како естъ писано о снѣ чсцѣвмь · да много постраждетъ · і оумничьжатъ і*. 'But how is it also written about the Son of Man that he should suffer much, and he should be treated disrespectfully?'

Similar locus: *оумничьжати*: Lu 18,9; in the Greek text we find *ἐξουθενέω* here, also a prefixed verb of similar formation.

In later Church Slavic texts *прѣзрѣти*, *ненавидѣти*, *покорити*, *оустыдити*, *ни въ что держати* can also be found.

The Latin text uses the words *contemnere* and *aspernari* 'to despise, to disdain' (according to the sense, in passive voice as well). The Gothic *fra-kuns wairdan* 'to become disregarded' renders the Greek (and Latin) passive voice while in Lu 18,9 *fra-kunnands* is the present participle active from the verb *fra-kunnan* 'to despise' which renders the Greek *ἀθετέω* and *καταφρονέω* as well, corresponding literally to this latter. Luther's text uses the verb *verachten* (in passive: *verachtet werden*).

In the Romanian we read the expression *socoli drept nimic* 'to value directly for nothing', and in Lu 18,9: *disprețui* 'to depreciate'. (Micu-Clain, however, uses the verb *дефайма* 'to disdain, to disparage'). In the Albanian we find the verb *çnderoj* 'to dishonour, to outrage' in the cited passage while in Lu 18,9 the expression in question is the following: *edhe nuk i ziminë për gjë të-tje-rëtë* 'and they did not think anything of others'.

In Károli's Hungarian text we see *semminek állítani* 'to set' or 'to assert somebody for nothing' which solution follows the original Greek (and resembles the Old Slavic as well), but later *semmibe vétetni* 'to be taken for nothing, to be disdained', and *gyalázatot tűrni* 'to suffer ignominy', *megvetni* 'to despise, *semmibe venni* 'to set at naught. The Hungarian translations of 1973 and 1981 *és megvetésben lesz része*; literally 'and he will have a part in despise'.

In the Kralice Bible we find *za nic položen býti* 'to be taken for nothing, to be set at naught', and *za nic neváziti* 'to ponder for nothing, to set at naught'. The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Church Slavic words: *быть уничижен* and *уничж́ать*, respectively.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic pair of words are: B. (униза́, унизя́вам, унижа́вам); Sr.-Cr. (уни́зити, унижа́вати); Russ. уничижи́ть, уничижа́ть; Ukr. (уни́зити, унижа́вати); M. (унижи, унижува); Cz. (*za nic neváziti*); Slk. (*nevázit' si*); P. (*uniżyc, unizac*); L.So. (*njewazys*); H.So. (*njewazic sej*).

Apparently, the Old Slavic pair of words has been preserved in the Russian only, influenced by Church Slavic. In other Slavic languages doublets of similar meaning exist, but from the root *низъ-* (existing, otherwise, in Russian as well).

— Real structural calque. As for the prefix of the verbs, perhaps the phonetic form of Greek *οὐδενέω* and *οὐθενέω* influenced the interpreters' choice (as we see that *ἐξ* is rendered here, mostly not with *изъ*, but with *οϋ-*).

## Χ

274a-b. *χλῆβι πρῶδλοῖνηνα* [*χλῆβι ἐν παμᾶτι*] ~ *οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως* 'sacrificial bread [bread of memory]. Mt 12,4: *καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγον*, ~ *ί χλῆβι πρῶδλοῖνηνι ἐβνῆστ*. '...and how did they eat the sacrificial bread [= loaves] as well?'

Similar loci: Mc 2,26; Lu 6,4. (It occurs later in the Epistle to the Hebrews 9,2 too.)

The Old Testament story, which is alluded to in the three gospel passages, took place in King David's time and was written in I Kings 21,6 where the Greek expression *ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ προσώπου* substitutes the common *ὁ ἄρτος τῆς προθέσεως*, strictly corresponding to the original Hebrew genitive construction *כֶּמֶן*, mentioned in Leviticus 24,5-9. (The sacrifice designated there was ordered already in Exodus 25,30!)

In later Church Slavic texts we find *посващитенъ отъ благословенъ хлѣбъ* as well, but *хлѣбъ лица* in Leviticus 25,58 (*οἱ ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου*).

The Greek *πρόθεσις*, and the Latin *propositio* may both mean the concrete 'placing in front of' and the figurative 'offering' thus their imitations also vary between these two senses. In the Latin text the *panes propositiois* corresponds

precisely to the double meaning of Greek, just as the Old Slavic expression does. The citation is missing in Gothic but we find the corresponding phrase *hlaibs faurlageires* in Mc 2,26, which also reflects the original, and its verbal base corresponds etymologically to the Old Slavic verbal stem. Gothic *hlaib* ~ Old English *hláf* ~ Old Slavic *хлѣбъ* were the dialectal variations of the same Indo-European root.

Luther's text uses the compound *Schaubrote* (word for word: 'view-breads' or 'memorial breads').

The Romanian *pânila punerii înainte* renders the concrete sense very correctly ('the breads of placing before'; the Albanian *buket'e parëvenjesë* may go back to the Greek, Latin and Old Slavic alike).

The Kralice Bible contains *chleby posvátné* 'sacred breads' here; the Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the Old Slavic expression.

In Károli's Hungarian text we find an attributive word group (*az Isten asztalára tett*) *szent kenyerek* 'the holy bread (put on the table of God)', but later *szentelt kenyerek* 'sacred breads'. In the various revisions of Káldi's Catholic text (Székely, Békés-Dalos) we find the attributive expression *kitett kenyerek* 'placed-out breads' following the concrete sense, but in the Rome edition of 1967 we again find *szent kenyerek* 'holy breads'. (In the Epistle to the Hebrews 9,2, however, *a felajánlott kenyerek* 'the offered breads' occurs). The latest Hungarian Catholic versions (Budapest, 1973 and 1981) also contain *szent kenyerek*, in the gospels, and *felajánlott kenyerek* 'offered breads' in the other loci.

The constituents of the Old Slavic expression has existed, of course, in all the living Slavic languages, but the whole expression follows the Greek text (as for the Western Slavic languages, the Latin influence could have the same result).

Considering the Gothic expression, its influence on Old Slavic might be supposed, however, the Old Slavic expression could have come into being without Western influence, merely on the basis of Greek.

— Real structural calque expression (or, which is similarly acceptable, a semantic calque).

275. *χρηνιλισητε* ~ τὸ φυλακτήριον  
'phylactery, frontlet, tephillin'. Mt 23,5: *πλατύνουσιν γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλύνουσιν τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ἱματίων αὐτῶν* ~ *раширяютъ же хренилища свои · величаютъ полъметы въ скрилиѣ ризъ своихъ*. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'because they broaden their phylacteries and make larger the fringes of their gowns.'

The word *χρηνιλισητε* occurs in Lu 12,24 as well, but it is the simple translation of the Greek and Latin *ἀποθήκη* ~ *horreum* 'barn' thus it is used in an entirely different sense there.

The Church Slavic texts use this word in the sense 'barn, gaol, sentry, watch-post', too.

In the cited passage we find the loanword *phylacterium*, in the Latin translations; its original, the Greek φυλακτήριον comes from the stem of the verb φυλάττω (\*φυλακ-*j*-ω) 'to preserve', thus φυλακτήριον meant originally 'sentry, watchtower' and also, later, 'amulet, talisman'; on the basis of these latter meanings it was used in the Septuaginta for rendering the Hebrew ritual paramentum *tephillin* 'prayer lash'. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found.

Luther's text contains a compound, *Denkzettel* (word for word: 'memorial note').

The Romanian text uses the loanword *filacterie* (though Micu-Clain uses the word ΔΛΦΟΡΙΕ). The Albanian *ruajtje* 'preservation' is the precise calque of the Greek word.

Károli's Hungarian text retained the Latin loanword *filaktérium*, but its modern editions apply *homlokszij* 'frontlet'. The Catholic versions [Káldi-Tárkányi-Székely; Békés-Dalos; Kosztolányi (1973) and Gál (Kosztolányi) (1981)] use *imaszj* which can be considered to be a more exact translation (as only one of the *tephillin* lashes was fastened to the forehead during the prayers, while the other to the left leg).

The Kralice Bible uses the word *nápis* 'inscription', obviously referring to the Thōrah citations; the new Russian edition has preserved the Old Slavic word (and in Lu 12,24 also, in the sense 'barn').

Though the sense of the cited verse refers to the ostentatious and showy widening of the phylactery as a 'prayer-lash', the Greek φυλακτήριον and the Old Slavic хранѣлиште correspond better to the idea of the Hebrew *tephillin*, which originally meant not only 'lash', but also 'box', fastened to the lash (in modern Hungarian also, it is sometimes translated by *imatok* 'prayer box') in which four passages of the Bible, among others the confession of faith *Shēmā, Yisrael* can be found written on pellicles and serves for reminding the people of God's love (cf. Exodus, 13,9; Deuteronomium, 6,8). Thus *tephillin*, word for word, really meant a 'place of conservation': concretely, the 'conservation of the pellicles' and figuratively, the 'conservation of the faith and love for God, of His Law and commandments'. The Hebrew mystical exegetists deny the talismanic, pagan origin of the *tephillin*, and they find its parallel in the Canticum Canticorum (Šir-Ha-Šširim), 8,6; *Embrace me as a seal to thy Heart*, i.e. to the 'taking the divine commandments into the heart'. At any rate, Luther's word alludes to the pellicles and their biblical texts, corresponding to the medieval Hebrew exegetist, Raši Šemuel ben Meir:

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. хранѣлище 'barn'; Sr.-Cr. хранилиште; Russ. хранилище; Ukr. (сховище); M. (храна 'food, meals'); Cz. (*chranidlo*); Slk. (*chranidlo*); P. (*chronienie* 'protection'); L.So. (*chronjenje*); H.So. (*chronjenje* 'id'.)

The words хранилище and *chranidlo* have the meaning 'storehouse, repository' in the living Slavic languages, and they do not have the meaning 'phylactery, tephillin'. Thus, the Old Slavic word has no direct etymologic equivalents in Western Slavic; the Southern Slavic has preserved it in the sense 'barn, storage' only, without any reference to 'tephillin'; it has been preserved in the sense 'phylactery' exclusively in Russian.

— Real structural calque; if, however, we suppose its previous existence in Old Macedonian, in the sense 'storehouse' its literary Old Slavic sense is a semantic calque.

11

276–277. ЦѢСАРЬСТВО, ЦѢСАРСТВО ~ ἡ βασιλεία

'kingdom'. Mt 6,10: ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου · ~ ДА ПРИДЕТЬ ЦѢСТВО ТВОЕ · 'Thy kingdom may [should] come'.

Similar loci: ЦѢСАРСТВО: Mt 4,8; 4,23; 5,3; 5,19 (bis); 6,13; 6,33; 7,21; 8,11; 8,12; 9,35; 10,7; 11,11; 11,12; 12,26; 12,28; 13,11; 13,19; 13,24; 13,31; 13,33; 13,38; 13,41; 13,43; 13,47; 13,52; 16,19; 16,28; 18,1; 18,3; 18,4; 18,23; 19,12; 19,14; 19,23; 19,24; 20,1; 20,21; 21,31; 21,43; 22,2; 23,14; 24,14; 25,1; 25,34; 26,29; Mc 1,14; 1,15; 4,11; 4,26; 4,30; 9,1; 9,47; 10,14; 10,15; 10,23; 10,24; 10,25; 11,10; 12,34; 14,25; 15,43; Lu 1,33; 4,5; 4,43; 6,21; 7,28; 8,1; 8,10; 9,2; 9,11; 9,27; 9,60; 9,62; 10,9; 10,11; 11,2; 11,17; 11,20; 12,31; 12,32; 13,18; 13,18; 13,20; 13,28; 13,29; 14,15; 16,16; 17,20 (bis); 17,21; 18,16; 18,17; 18,25; 18,29; 19,11; 19,12; 19,15; 21,31; 22,16; 22,30; 23,42; 23,51; Jo 3,3; 3,5; ЦѢСАРСТВО: Mt 3,2; Mc 13,8 (bis); Lu 11,18; 21,10 (bis); 22,29; Jo 18,36 (ter).

It is surprising that these doublets (and, in the original Greek, the corresponding βασιλεία) occur in a very small number in St. John's Gospel, compared to the synoptical gospels. This difference shows a parallelism to the frequency rate of παραβολή ~ притѣча, since the word βασιλεία is applied by the synopticists mainly in the parables, with the well-known starting words: Ὁμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν . . . ~ ПОДОБНО ЯСТЬ ЦѢСАРСТВО НѢКОЕ ~ *Simile (factum) est regnum coelorum* . . . 'The kingdom of Heaven has become similar to . . .'. But in the fourth gospel, the expression βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν occurs only in the conversation with Nicodemus and in the interrogation by Pilate.

In the later Church Slavic texts we meet the words КРАИНА, КРАЛЕВСТВО and ГОСУДАРСТВО too.

The Latin *regnum* is an old \**no*-suffixation from the verbal stem \**reg* 'to reign', in an originally neutral past participle passive sense 'the reigned land' or 'the fact of reigning'. Similarly, the Gothic *þiudanassus* 'kingdom' comes from the denominal verb *þiudanon* 'to be a king, to reign'. Luther's translation uses the

noun *Reich*, from the same Indo-European root as *regnum*, *rex*, *regere*, Gallic *u rixu*, Sanskrit *rādj*, etc.

The Romanian *împărățiă* is a similar deverbal suffixation from the verb *împăra* 'to reign', just as the Albanian *mbrëteri* from the verb *mbrëtëroj* 'to reign' (the basic word being the noun *mbrët* 'king').

The Hungarian *ország* (in Old Hungarian: *uruszág*) is general (it was an obsolete formation from the noun *úr* when this meant 'chief of tribe', later 'reigning prince', then 'king'). But as early as at the end of the 11th century there appeared the denominal noun *királyság* formed from the Slavic loanword *király* < *král*, from the name of Charlemagne), as it is found in the Old and Middle Hungarian (Codex of Ersekújvár 345b, Chronicle of Heltai 36b) later in the sermons of Pázmány, and in Káldi's Bible translation, although its meaning is 'regia dignitas', 'royal dignity' in these texts. The calque expression *mennyek országa* can be considered general in Hungarian ecclesiastical style corresponding to the Latin *regnum coelorum*.

The Kralice Bible contains the expectable word *království* here. In the Russian we find царство, царствие going back to the Church Slavic цѣсарѣство, цѣсарѣствіе from цѣсарѣство, цѣсарѣствіе, a suffixed denominal noun from цѣсарь < Greek καῖσαρ < Latin *Caesar*. (From the Old Slavic word, the Hungarian *császár* 'Emperor' has also its origin.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. царство; Sr.-Cr. царство; R. царство, царствие (царствованіе); Ukr. царство; M. царство. All of them are the continuations of the reduced-vowel цѣсарство or цѣсарствіе. The Serbo-Croatian цѣсар(ство), Russian кѣсарство 'empire' are later words; they designated chiefly the Byzantine imperial power.

In the Western Slavic Cz. *carství*, *carstvo*; Slk. *carstvo*; P., H.So., L.So. *carstwo* do not belong here, as they are not the etymological equivalents of the Old Slavic word, but Russian loanwords, used to denote the Russian 'tsarism', and 'tsaristic power'.

The Cz. *císařstvo* and *císářství*, Slk. *cisarstvo*, P. *cesarstwo* have the sense 'empire, imperial rule', i.e. the Old Slavic semantic content has been lost and it has been replaced by the derivatives of the common name formed from the Old High German personal name *Karl* (*Charlemagne*): Cz. *království*; Slk. *kráľovstvo*; P. *królestwo*. Similarly, the L.So. *kejžorstwo* and H.So. *kěžorstwo* are denominal formations from the loanwords *kejžor* or *kežor*, respectively (German *Kaiser*), and the sense 'kingdom' is expressed by the L.So. *kralojstwo*, H.So. *kralowstwo* in these languages. The Southern and Eastern Slavic continuations of цѣсарѣство had the meanings both 'kingdom' and 'empire'; the latter originated from the Byzantine connections, the former was the survival of the Old Slavic semantic content. The Old Slavic word does not directly reflect the Byzantine meaning but, perhaps, influenced by the Gothic *þiudanassus* it became the equivalent of the Greek βασιλεία. The Old Slavic цѣсарь itself might also



have been the borrowing of the Gothic *kaiser* and the sense transformation 'emperor' > 'king' might have taken place in the South Slavic dialect of Thessaloniki, although the Byzantine use of ῥήξ and κράλης, and the existence of a Proto-Slavic \*kesarь render it more probable that among the Greek and the Southern Slavic people alike, the Greek βασιλεύς was used at that time in the sense 'emperor' as an equivalent of καῖσαρ, and the semantic changes had already been completed in the period when иѣсарьство was formed.

But it is surprising that, in contrast to the predominant number of иѣсарьствие, the occurrence of иѣсарьство is almost at a minimum; the former seems to have a Moravian character, the latter may be a Balkano-Slavic formation. On the basis of Western Slavic data (e.g. Old Czech *ciesar*, Cz. *císařství*) we could suppose that the Old Slav interpreters used a double source here: иѣсарьство is for Balkanic origin, with a Greek (and maybe Gothic) motivation, but иѣсарьствие is a Moravianism from a Latin (Old High German) loanword иѣсарь. Cyril's and Method's Macedonian Greek origin and the translation requirements of the Greek text, however, ensured the unified sense of the two words. (See also: Kniezsa, 221, I/1, pp.121 and 268-269).

— Real structural calques.

278. иѣсарьствоваѣти ~ βασιλεύω

'to reign'. Lu 19,14: οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ~ не хощемъ се мовѣ · да иѣрцуетъ на насъ нами · '... we do not want this man to reign over us'. Similar passage: Mt 2,22.

In much later Church Slavic texts госпóльствоваѣти, пánоваѣти and крáлеваѣти also occur; the latter two are Western Slavisms.

In the Latin text we find *regnare*, a denominal formation from the noun *regnum*. The Gothic *þiudanon* 'to be king, to reign' is a verb formed from the noun *þiuda* 'people, folk'.

The Romanian texts use the verb *împărăți* (but Bishop Nicolae applies the verb *domini*; both verbs are of Balkano-Latin origin). The Albanian *mbrëtëroj* has a similar meaning, and is a denominal formation from *mbrët* 'king'.

The Hungarian translations contain the common *uralkodni* 'to reign' (from the noun *úr* 'Sir', originally: 'Sire, king'), though in the Middle Hungarian texts we find the verb *királykodni*, too (as in the Gospel Explanations of the Telegdi Codex I,147, and in the Sermons of Pázmány 674) from the Slavic (probably Croatian) loanword *király* 'king'.

The Kralice Bible translates this locus with the corresponding denominal verb *královati* which exhibits some similarity to Luther's German translations (*König war* 'he was king' and *herrschte* 'he reigned', resp.).

The Russian edition of Stockholm uses the verb царствовать, going back to the Church Slavic.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: B. (царѹвам); Sr.-Cr. (царовати); Russ. царствовать (царить, царовать); Ukr. (царювати); M. цари, царува); Cz. (*cárovatí*); Slk. (*cárovat'*); P. (*być carzem*); L.So. (*kějzoriš*); H.So. (*kějzorić*).

Thus, the precise etymological equivalents of the Old Slavic word do not exist in the living Slavic languages. The verb царовати is a much later Church Slavic (and popular Russian) form from \*цѣсаровати; in the Czech, of course, it may be a later Russian borrowing. The Western Slavic languages form the verbs with the meaning 'reigning' from quite different stems (cf. Cz. *královati*, Slk. *panovať, kraľovať*; P. *królować, rządzić, kierować*, L.So. *krališ se*, H.So. *kralować*).

— Real structural calque.

#### 4

279–280. четръѣтовластъникъ, четръѣтовластъиць ~ ὁ τετραρχης  
'tetrarch'. Lu 3,19: ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ~ ἱερολѣ  
же четръѣтовластъникъ · обличаеми ѣмъ · 'Herod, the tetrarch [was also] reprimanded by him'.

Lu 9,7: Ἦκουσεν δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραρχης τὰ γινόμενα πάντα ~ слыши же  
иерола четръѣтовластеиць бѣываѣшиица отъ него въсь. 'But Herod, the tetrarch heard  
all that happened'.

The two Old Slavic words are hapax legomena in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts (the model, the Greek τετραρχης is also a special gospel word, not occurring in the other books of the Bible). — Luther's translation contains the calque *Vierfürst*.

The form четръѣтовластеиць is a later one, vocalized from the original четръѣтовластыиць.

In later Church Slavic texts (the vocalized) четръѣтовластъникъ is common, instead of четръѣтовластыиць.

Instead of the ordinal numeral четръѣто-composition, the compounding with the collective number четръѣ also appears: четръѣовластъникъ.

The Latin translations contain the loanword *tetrarcha*, and in the Gothic we also find *taitrarkes* (it is an exact borrowing of the original, when the Greek η still had the value of ē, and not i as in the time of the Old Slavic translations). In Lu 3,1, however, we can read a real structural calque *fidur-raginu* for τετραρχεῖα 'tetrarchy' or, more precisely, for the translation of the "genitivus absolutus" construction of the verb τετραρχέω 'to reign as a tetrarch'.

The Romanian *tetrarh* is also a loanword, but Micu-Clain (maybe influenced by Church Slavic) uses a calque in Lu 3,19: πατρѣбѣиѣрѣтор (while he also uses τετραρχъ in Lu 9,7). A similar calque is the Albanian *katrurdëratës*.

The Hungarian *negyedés fejedelem* is a calque, too (word for word: 'the [ruling] prince of the fourth part'); this has been preserved in the latest editions (but Hungarian biblical literature prefers the term *tetrarcha*).

The Kralice Bible contains the word *čtvrták* (just as Hungarian *negyedes*), perhaps not without the influence of the Lutheran translation *Vierfürst*; the modern Russian text contains the Russian vocalized development of the Old Slavic word: четвер(т)овла́стник.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. четврьтовла́стник; Sr.-Cr. чѣтвртовлăснѣк; Russ. четвер[т]овла́стник; Ukr. (четверто-владар); M. четвертовластник; Cz. (*čtvrták*); Slk. (*štvrtivladár*); P. (*czwartowladca*); H.So. (*tetrarche*); L.So. (*tetrarcha*).

Thus, Church Slavic influence has helped to preserve one of the Old Slavic words in Russian and the Southern Slavic languages.

— Real structural calque.

281. ЧЕТВРЬТОВАЛАСЬТВОВАТИ ~ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΕΩ  
'to reign as a tetrarch', 'to be a tetrarch'. Lu 3,1: καὶ τετραραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρῴδου, ~ ἰ четврьтовластьствовати и штию · галилеи и ж роду · '... and when in Galilee Herod reigned as a tetrarch'. Similar loci: in this verse (Lu 3,1) twice. In later Church Slavic text четврьовластвовати also occurs.

In the Latin text, instead of a verbal form, we find an "ablativus absolutus mancus" with the ablative case of the Greek loanword *tetrarcha*. In a later similar manner, we find the construction "dativus absolutus mancus" in the Gothic with the dative of the real structural calque *fidur-ragini* 'tetrarchy'. — Luther's text contains the expression *ein Vierfürst sein* 'to be a tetrarch'.

In the Romanian there are several solutions. In the Bucharest edition of 1909 we find a gerund construction: *fîind . . . tetrarch al Galilei Irod*. Micu-Clain used a similar solution, but with a good calque expression: *стъпънинѣ ѣ патрѣ партѣ дин галилѣѣ . . .* 'reigning over the fourth part of Galilee'. But in Nicolae's translation a temporal clause occurs here: *pe când . . . era . . . Irod tetrarch al Galileii*. Similarly in Albanian: *kur ishtë Irodhi katrurdëratës*, i.e. translating *tetrarch* with the real structural calque *katrur-dhëratës*.

In the Hungarian, Károli applied the same construction (temporal clause) with a calque expression: *mikor volna . . . Galileának negyedes fejedelme Heródes* (in the modern version: *mikor volt* i.e. an indicative past instead of the obsolete conditional).

Church Slavic influence caused the Old Slavic word to be preserved in the Russian as *четверовла́стствовать* though in the Russian edition of Stockholm we find the temporal clause with the expression *четверовла́стником быть*, just as in the Kralice Bible where *býti čtvrtákem* 'to be a tetrarch' occurs.

The living Slavic languages apply similar constructions.

— Real structural calque.

282–283. ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦЬ, ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦА ~ ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος  
'homicide, killer, murderer'. Jo 8,44: ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ~  
онъ чѣкоубица бѣ ѿскони · 'that was a homicide from the beginning'.

The Old Slavic words and their Greek original are hapax legomena in the gospel texts (they occur only in I,Jo 3,15).

The compound ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦЬ can be found only in the Marianus; in the other archaic codices the simple УБИИЦЬ was used. (The form ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦА as the simple УБИИЦА occur in later copies.)

The Latin *homicida* is a precise parallel to the Greek, like the Gothic *manþrja* 'man-killer', too. Luther's text contains the deverbal noun *Mörder* as the Slavic УБИИЦЬ (УБИЙЦА).

The Romanian genitivus explicativus *omoritor de oameni* has the variant *ucidator de oameni* in Bishop Nicolae's text. Micu-Clain used the popular form УЧИГАШ which meant 'devil' as well (but only in the singular definite form: *ucigașul*), evidently on the basis of this biblical verse.

The Albanian text contains a real structural calque, *njerivrásës* (from *njeri* 'man' and *vrásës* 'murderer').

In Károli's Hungarian text we find the obsolete calque *ember-öldöklő*; in the later and modern texts the simple noun of uncertain origin, *gyilkos* 'murderer' is commonly used.

The Russian edition of Stockholm has preserved the variant ЧЛОВОУБИЙЦА of the Old Slavic. In the Kralice Bible *vražedník* is an obsolete compound (word for word: 'murder-doer') whose components are known from Old Slavic ВРАГЪ 'enemy' and ДѢТИ 'to do'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic words are: В. ЧЛОВОУБИЕЦ; Sr.-Cr. (човеко-) убица; Russ. (человеко-) убийца; Ukr. (чоловікоубійник); M. ЧЛОВОУБИЕЦ; Cz. (*zabiják*, *vražedník*); Slk. (*zabijač*, *vražedník*); P. (*zabójca*); L.So. (*zabijař*); H.So. (*zabiwak*).

— Real structural calque. It seems (on the basis of the Balkano-Slavic languages) that ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦА came into being in a Serbian linguistic sphere, but ЧЛОВѢКОУБИИЦЬ in a Bulgarian one, or it may have arisen at the boundary of these two territories, as two different dialectal variants of the Old Macedonian.

### III

284–285. ШЕСТВИЕ ТВОРИТИ, ШЕСТЬЕ ТВОРИТИ ~ πορείαν ποιεῖν  
'to walk, to come (a way)', 'to cover a distance'. Lu 13,22: Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ~ ἰ  
прохождаше скрозѣ грады ѿ вѣси . . . ἰ шествіе творѣ въ ѿмъ. 'and He was walking  
through the towns and the villages, [teaching] and covering the distance to  
Jerusalem.'

The form шьстьѣ occurs in the Marianus only; the other archaic MSS contain the more usual word шьствие.

In later Russian Church Slavic text проходить пѣть and съвършити пѣть also occur.

The Latin text contains a similar expression, although it is a parallel development rather than a calque: *iter facere*. In the Gothic this locus is not translated. Luther's interpretation is a similar expression: *er nahm seinen Weg* 'he took his way'.

The Romanian simple verb *călători* means 'to wander, to make a journey'. But Micu-Clain's version contains a real calque expression: *калъ фачеа*, and we see a similar one in the Albanian text, too: *běj (bëra, bërë) udhë*.

The simple Hungarian *menni* 'to go' varies with the later *tartani valahová* 'to head for somewhere'. In the recent Catholic versions *keresztülmenni* 'to go through' (1973) and *áthaladni* 'to pass, to walk through' can be read; in the 1981 edition we read *megtenni az utat* 'to cover the distance, to make the way'.

The Kralice Bible applies the reflexive verb *se brati* 'to be up and go'. The Russian edition of Stockholm applies the elegant, modern expression *направлять путь* 'to direct one's way towards' which, nevertheless, resembles the Old Slavic.

Some of the living Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic expression, such as В. творя шѣствие; Russ. творить (путь-)шествие; Укр. творити шѣствие (проходити путь); М. твори шествие continue the Old Slavic expression, while the corresponding Western Slavic expressions contain the words *cesta*, *cestovanie* or *put'* instead of the Southern and Eastern Slavic nouns formed from the verbal stem \*шьль-.

— Real (structural) calque expression.

## IA

286–287. ѡрѣмьникъ, ѡрѣмьничъ ~ τό ὑποζύγιον  
'draught-animal' 'she-ass put to a yoke', 'beast of burden'. Mt 21,5: καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου. ~ и вѣсѣлъ на ослѣ и жрѣ-  
ба сѣа ѣремнича. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) '...and getting on an  
ass, and on the foal of a beast of burden'. The ѣ is a graphic variation here,  
instead of ѡ.

In later Church Slavic texts полѣорѣмьникъ and полѣорѣмьничъ also occur.

The cited locus shows the influence of Isaiah, 62,11 and Zachariah, 9,9 from the Old Testament, and it is similar to Jo 12,15.

The form ѣрѣмьникъ is common in the archaic Old Slavic gospels, but in the Savvina Kniga we find the denominal adjective ѣрѣмьничъ.

In the Latin text *subiugale* is applied, which corresponds precisely to the original Greek. In the Gothic this passage cannot be found. (In Jo 12,15 we find

*ana fulin asilaus* 'on the foal of ass', which corresponds to ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου, or the Latin *super pullum asinae*).

Luther's text uses the expression *die lastbare Eselin* 'the burden-bearing she-ass' in this locus.

The Romanian adverbial solution is a paraphrase compared to the Greek, Latin or Old Slavic, *fiul celui de supt jug*. The Albanian *bir mëzisterviturë* is a simple genitive connection (but rather a genitivus explicativus or originis than a possessivus): 'the son of a trained ass'.

The Hungarian *szamár vemhe* (word for word, 'the foal of the ass') was common in the older translations, but in the modern versions we read: *a teherhordó állat csikaja* 'the foal of the beast of burden' which corresponds better to the original.

The Kralice Bible uses a paraphrase in this locus: *i na oslátku té jhu podrobené* 'and on that ass-foal, subdued to the yoke'. The new Russian text follows the Greek original precisely: на молодомъ ослѣ, сынѣ подъяремной 'on a young ass, foal of a subjugated she-ass'.

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. (подъярмувано магаре); Sr.-Cr. (подјармлено магаре); Russ. ярѣмник (ярѣмница, подъяремная); Ukr. (ярѣмна, підярѣмна); M. (подјарумвана магарица); Cz. (*jhu podrobený, -á*); Slk. (*podjarmena oslička*); P. (*osiol jarzmowy*); L.So. (*wosłowa zapśęgmuta*); H.So. (*zapřagnutá wosla*).

Thus, the Old Slavic words seem to be special Old Slavic formations, and they can be found in the sense 'she-ass (put to the yoke)' only there.

— Semantic calques (and, perhaps, calque neologisms as well). The Southern and Eastern Slavic подъя- prefixations are real structural calques).

## Α, (ΙΑ)

288. ἄθνη ~ τὰ ἔθνη

'the heathens, the pagans'. Mt 20,19: καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν · ~ И ПРѢДАДЪТЪ І АЗЫКОМЪ · (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'and they will deliver Him to the heathens'.

Similar loci: Mt 4,15; 5,46; 6,7; 6,32; 10,5; 10,18; 12,18; 12,21; 20,19; 20,25; 21,43; 24,9; 24,14; 25,32; 28,19; Mc 10,33; 10,42; 11,17; 13,10; Lu 2,32; 12,30; 21,24 (bis); 21,25; 22,25; 24,47; Jo 7,35.

In later Church Slavic texts, sometimes погане, народи and ѡязычници occur in this meaning, too.

The Latin *gentes* meant 'nations, peoples' originally, but in the Bible — according to the Hebrew and the Greek τὰ ἔθνη — means the same as the much later word *pagani*. The original sense of this latter was 'the inhabitants of a *pagus* ('village'), i.e. 'people who, in their remote village, had not heard anything about Jesus Christ' in the second half of the 4th century. — In the Gothic text this locus

is absent but in other passages (e.g. in Mc 10,42) the word *þiudos* (plural form of the noun *þiuda* 'nation') is used for interpreting this term (just as in Greek and Latin). In the Old Slavic the use of *ѠЗЫЦИ* 'tongues, languages' in the sense 'peoples, heathens' is a *pars pro toto* phenomenon, a well-intelligible metonymy.

Luther's text contains the word *die Heiden* (originally 'the inhabitant of a heath', 'wild').

The Romanian *păgani* is of Latin origin, just as in the Hungarian the Latin (perhaps Slavic-mediated) loanword *pogányok* applied by Károli. The Albanian *kombëce* or *kombët* are the definite plurals of the noun *komb* 'nation'.

The later Church Slavic orthography distinguishes *ѠЗЫКЪ* 'people, heathens' from *ѠЗЫКЪ* 'tongue'.

The Kralice Bible uses the Latin loanword *pohané* that has its equivalent in the Church Slavic as well: *поган(-ин)ъ*, and in all the living Slavic languages. The Russian edition of Stockholm, however, shows a denominal formation of this word, namely *язычник* (see the following entry).

The equivalents of the plural form *ѠЗЫЦИ* can be found in every Slavic language, but (except the Old Russian) only in the meaning 'languages, tongues'. In the Old Russian (Russo-Slavic) *ѠЗЫКЪ* also meant 'tribe, nation' and *ѠЗЫЦИ* 'foreigners, heathens'. The living Slavic languages apply, however, alternately the equivalent of *поганинъ* and *ѠЗЫЧЬНИКЪ* used for this concept.

— Semantic calque.

289. *ѠЗЫЧЬНИКЪ* ~ *ὁ ἔθνικός*

'a heathen, a pagan'. Mt 18,17: *ἔστω σοι ὡσπερ ὁ ἔθνικός καὶ ὁ τελώνης* ~ *да бждетъ ти ꙗко ѠЗЫЧЬНИКЪ и мзытарь*. (Second-hand text in the Zographus.) 'he be for thee as a heathen and a publican'. Similar locus: Mt 6,7.

In later Russian Church Slavic texts we find *поганинъ* and *идолослоужитель*, too.

The Latin texts use the Greek loanword *ethnicus* (the Greek word itself comes from *τό ἔθνος* 'the people'). In the Gothic this citation is not contained but in Mt 6,7 we find *þai þiudos* 'the peoples'. For this calque, just as for the Romanian and Hungarian, cf. the above-mentioned remarks about *ѠЗЫЦИ*. The Albanian *gjentár* or *gjindár* comes from *gjini* 'sex, gender'; see also *gjindë* 'a number of people', *gjindt* 'people, men'.

Later Church Slavic orthography distinguishes *ѠЗЫЧЬНИКЪ* 'heathen' and *ѠЗЫЧЬНИКЪ* 'chatter'.

For the Kralice Bible and the Russian edition of Stockholm see the entry for *ѠЗЫЦИ*.

Luther's text uses the above-mentioned *der Heide* 'the heathen'. (The German and English words are the calques of the Latin *paganus*.)

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. *езичник*; Sr.-Cr. (*поганик*, *поганин*); Russ. *язычник* (*поганец* meaning also: 'hideous, nasty

fellow'); Укр. язичник (поганин is an obsolete word); М. езичник (obsolete) (поган: only in some dialects, but in the literary language: 'a hideous man'); Cz. (*pohan, pohánek, pohanka*); Slk. (*pohan, pohanča, pohanka*); P. (*poganin, poganka*); L.So. (*pogan, pogánka*); H.So. (*pohan, pohanka*).

Thus it appears that the Greek calque was ousted by the Latin loanword *поганъ*, but the Old Russian and Bulgarian preserved the Cyrillian Old Slavic word. The Church Slavic *поганинъ*, introduced early, existed already in archaic Old Slavic, borrowed either from Latin *paganus* directly, or from the Hellenised form *πάγανος*. (Perhaps the Hungarian borrowed it from one of the Slavic languages: *pogányu*.) In the Old Slavic the original Latin meaning 'a man living in the *pagus*', a 'villager, who is not in contact with Christendom', was not felt any more, and even less in the related Slavic languages, or in Romanian and in Hungarian.

— Semantic calque (or, from the viewpoint of the basic meaning, calque neologism).

### Ж

290. ЖЗИЛИШТЕ ~ τὸ δεσμωτήριον

'jail (gaol)', 'prison'. Mt 11,2: 'Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ~ ἰδὼν δὲ ἤρξατο λέγει πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· Ἰδοὺ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ἁλώσει.' 'But John, meanwhile, heard in the prison about the deeds of Christ'.

In later Church Slavic texts we meet the synonyms ПЛѢНЪ, ЗАТВОРЕНИЕ and ТЪМЬНИЦА, ТОО.

Both the Greek and the Old Slavic words are hapax legomena in the gospel texts.

The Latin *vincula* meant originally 'shackles, irons'. The Gothic *karkara* is a Latin loanword from the plural form *carcera* of the singular *carcer* 'gaol'. Luther's text applies the deverbal noun *das Gefängnis*.

The Romanian *închisoara* 'gaol, prison' meant originally 'a place for locking up captives' (Vulgar Latin *\*inclosaria* from the verb *inclodere* or Classical Latin *includere* 'to close'. Micu-Clain, however, used the word *принкоръ* (from the Vulgar Latin *\*prensoria* 'prison'. The Albanian *burg* 'jail' comes from the Greek *πυργός* 'tower, fortress'.

In the Hungarian we find *fogság* 'captivity' in the earlier texts, but later *börtönház* (originally: 'the executioner's house'), and from this the now common *börtön*.

The Kralice Bible contains the word *vězení* which comes from the past participle passive form *vězen* 'captive, prisoner'. In the modern Russian text we find *темница* 'gaol' (originally: 'a gloomy place') from the Old Slavic *тъмьница*, cf. *тъмьнъ* 'dark, gloomy'; its equivalents can be found in every Slavic language. From the Slavic noun (probably, from the Croatian as a juridical-administrative



term) is taken over the Old Hungarian *timnuc* (today with a dissimilation: *tömlöc*).

The other Slavic equivalents of the Old Slavic word are: В. (тѣмніца, затвѣр, тѣрма); Sr.-Cr. (та̄мница, сѣжѣа̄ство); Russ. узѣлище, узѣльница, тѣма, темніца; Укр. (в'язніця, темніця); М. (темница); Cz. (*temnice*); Slk. (*temnica*); P. (*ciemnica*); L.So. (*šamnica*); H.So. (*čémnica*).

Thus, the Russian language has also preserved the Church Slavic word (although it is obsolete now). In the other Slavic languages, as we see, entirely different words occur for expressing the concept of 'prison' and 'gaol' ('jail').

— Real structural calque, formed from the noun  $\alpha\lambda\alpha$  'shackles' on the model of Greek δεσμός ~ δεσμωτήριον, with the suffix expressing place.

## PART THREE

# SUMMARY

### RECAPITULATION

The investigation of the calques of Greek origin in the most ancient Old Slavic gospels has been carried out in this work on the basis of critical evaluation of the literature related to different aspects of the question.

As evidenced by the literature, many problems of detail concerning both the archaic Old Slavic gospel (and other) texts and the Greek original are still waiting to be clarified. At the same time, valuable assistance in researching the establishment and essence of calques was lent by interlinguistics, which, analyzing language contacts and interference, has enriched the theory and terminology of calques with a number of general conclusions and particular facts. Parallel to it, the methods of generative and transformational grammar have also proved to be readily applicable for representing some calque phenomena.

a) As for questions of detail, I can say that the philological research concerning the *antiquity of the gospel texts of the Old Slavic codices* enables the conclusion that Horálek was essentially right in assuming, with respect to translation technique, that Cyrillian text can be found primarily in the Zographus and the Marianus, disregarding, of course, their phonetic innovations (especially the change of ъ and ѣ in the Zographus and the pronounced vocalization tendency of the Marianus). In many cases, valuable variants have also been preserved in the Assemani and the Savvina Kniga. From among the six archaic codices discussed the texts of the Ostromir and the Nikolja Gospels are perhaps the latest. Even if we suppose that they go back to an earlier protograph, it is just the evidence of the text variants containing the calques that shows that they cannot compete—in their present form, at least—with the antiquity of the Zographus or the Marianus.

In my opinion, the passages examined in connection with the calques also warn us to avoid extreme positions in judging the relative antiquity of the above-mentioned manuscripts.

We should also take into consideration the fact that if we define the content of the term "Old Slavic", we must admit that in its pure form it is rather a linguistic norm which might have prevailed in the translation of the Slav Apostles, but already the first generation of their disciples carried over the peculiarities of their respective Slavic mother tongue (dialect) into what we usually term, much more exactly, "Old Church Slavic".

b) *As for the Greek sources of the Old Slavic texts*, the analyses relating to the calques show that in the earliest Old Slavic texts a great number of "lectiones variantes" which (in Soden's symbols) date back to some Greek texts of H- and I-recensions, i.e. to the Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian types, or to the "compromise" texts, formed from the above-mentioned Near East types and the already unified texts of K-recension (Constantinopolitan). These "compromise" Greek texts have retained many of the peculiarities of the Alexandrian and Caesarean texts, consequently the earliest Old Slavic texts, translated from them and protected against unification due to their geographical situation, their partly Bogumilian, partly Latin-rite milieu on the peripheries of Byzantium, allowed greater stylistic freedom in the four different gospels than the later, purely K-type East Bulgarian (Middle Bulgarian) versions which tended to enforce standardization.

In part, this more liberal Greek source type might explain the fact that the first interpreters had the opportunity to practise their translating art more freely. The more independent Greek text variants did not hinder the endeavour for elegant style so much as later, unified variants did. Thus, it is easy to understand that the number of real, established structural calques is relatively small; however, many more alternative translations can be found, either simple translations or semantic calque and calque neologisms. Sometimes calques and loanwords alternate with simple translations.

It can be observed that the number of calques increases in a direct proportion to the temporal order (lateness) of the manuscripts. In the Zographus or Marianus we often find a free translation in loci where later real structural calques or at least calque neologisms appear, e.g. in the Ostromir or in the Nikolja Gospel.

It is evident that the relative freedom of the Greek texts, considered to have been the sources for translation, would not be in itself sufficient explanation for all these phenomena: the Vulgata, Mesrop's and Wulfila's translations had been made 400 years earlier, supposably from even more independent Greek texts; nevertheless, they are much less varied. In the variety of the Old Slavic texts—thus, among others, in the multiplicity of calques—some special factors played a decisive role, such as Cyril's splendid stylistic sense, his extensive knowledge of language, the rivalry of Bulgarianisms and Moravianisms and the endeavour for their neutralization or compensation, and the repeated change in the

geographical and, consequently, the linguistic (dialectal) environment of the translations and manuscripts, respectively.

The fact that, notwithstanding the freer Greek sources and the stylistic aims of the Slav Apostles, we find calques even in the earliest Old Slavic gospel texts (we put their number at 290), is due to such factors as (1) the strict adherence to the "Verbum Dei", λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, the special terminological requirements of the new faith, and (2) the endeavour to render precisely certain linguistic reflections of a geographical and historical environment, alien to both the interpreters and their audience. With respect to the aim of the translation, it was the former factor that resulted in a certain number of calques; with respect to the content, the latter condition was probably more important. As apparent from the Glossary, the text to be translated required the calque-like rendering of words and expressions related to different socio-economic conditions.

c) *I gave a full account of the real and alleged Latinisms of the archaic Old Slavic gospels in the Introduction.* Thus, here I only recall the conclusions which were drawn there, after the textual analysis of the peculiarities, which are most likely to be Latinisms. The principles stated there are confirmed by the detailed examination of the calques of Greek origin. Indeed, there are Latinisms in the Old Slavic texts, but the calque-like words and expressions seem to be much less attributable to the Latin than it was supposed by some scholars. The comparisons made on the basis of the analyses reveal that the Latin language was much less inclined to apply compounds and calques than the earliest Old Slavic did.

Cyril (and his immediate followers) often use a calque when we find a loanword or simple translation, sometimes a verbal government or an attributive expression in Latin; the opposite case is very rare. But where the Greek compounds or phrases are rendered by calques in both the Latin and the Old Slavic, the Old Slavic passage can often be explained from the Greek directly without any difficulty. In many cases, the *Latinisms* got into the Old Slavic texts in an indirect way, through the *Moravianisms*, or, maybe, as the continuation of a popular liturgic style that was perhaps influenced by pre-Cyrrillian *Old High German*, or—even much less—by some *Italian* and *Irish-Scottish* missionaries' activity.

Our text comparisons have also shown that in the case of the Old Slavic calque—if we consider only linguistic (structural) similarities—we could suspect almost as many *Gothisms* as *Latinisms*. In view of the concrete historical conditions, Latin influence must be given priority; however, some Gothic parallels which elucidate the Old Slavic text better than the Greek and Latin do, cannot be explained as fortunate coincidence. Naturally, we must bear in mind the principle referred to already in the Introduction that in addition to the possibility of the common utilization of the Codex Brixianus, the existence of a latent Greek version as a common source may also be assumed. We must not

forget either that certain loanwords (e.g. крѣстъ, цѣсарь) indicate Gothic influence on Balkano-Slavic; Cyril and Method had several possibilities to get in touch with the remaining Goths either in the Balkan Peninsula or even before, in Khazaria (or later, in Italy) or at least with their Bible translations and liturgy, not to speak about the material of the Constantinopolitan imperial library.

If we do not accept the assumption of a common but as yet undiscovered Greek source, we may form relatively more definite opinion in the cases of Old Slavic passages, parallel to Gothic. As described in detail in the Introduction, besides the Greek texts of H- or I-version, common for the Latin and Old Slavic translations, the alleged Latinisms could also be caused by two major motives: the original Latinisms of the Greek protograph, and the Latin-mediating Old High German influence in Moravia. On the other hand, no such factors have to be assumed in the case of Gothic influence. (However, due to our deficient knowledge of the Gothic remnants in the Balkan and Italy in the 9th century and the incomplete account of Cyril's sojourn in Khazaria, I did not dare attribute a greater role to the Gothic influence than to the Latin.) We must also consider that this Latin applied fewer calques than the Old Slavic, but the Gothic more: thus, necessarily, there was more chance for parallels to emerge between Gothic and Old Slavic than between this latter and Latin. The possibility, however, that the stylistic features of Wulfila's translation, which used compounds and calques in great number, reinforced the tendency for calques in Old Slavic, cannot be regarded either as proved or refuted, again because of the lack of knowledge about the remnants of the Goths in the 9th century.

d) Some light has also been thrown on *the popular peculiarities of the word stock in the Old Slavic gospels* by the analysis of the calques, although all the problems discussed cannot be solved. It is relatively easiest to draw the line between the Moravianisms and Bulgarianisms. Among the calques, the *не*-prefixed and *-ѣстриѣ*-suffixed words can be considered in many cases to be Moravianisms, in contrast to the *бѣз*-prefixed and *-ѣство*-suffixed Bulgarianisms.

Similar contrastive pairs seem to be, e.g., the doublets *сѣньмъ* and *сѣборъ* and their derivatives *сѣньмиште* and *сѣбориште*, *напастъ* and *искоушениѣ*, etc. If the Old Slavic words have been preserved in Czech, it very often indicates a Moravianism; even in cases when the word can also be found in Slovak, Sorbian and Polish, because these latter could take it from Czech (especially in the case of Slovak). The investigation of calques allows the conclusion that the number of Moravianisms was considerably high in Old Slavic, though it is not the Moravian origin that was characteristic for the Old Slavic calques. The calque problem, in an indirect way also sheds some light on the question of *popular Grecisms*. The doublets of the archaic texts such as *упокритъ* ~ *лицемѣръ*, *катапетазма* ~ *опона* and the like show the spreading of the latter forms. Thus they highlight the dialectic contradiction that it is just the increasing Byzantine influence that tends to oust the popular Greek loanwords (and, of course, those

of "mot savant" character, too), substituting calques for them, more and more. This fact, on the other hand, stresses the dialectic contradiction in language development that a loanword often becomes an element of the popular language much quicker (especially, if it becomes the source of a family of words in the adopting language, and it fits in with the phonetical system, too) than a calque that consists of native elements of the adopting language, but reflects a different outlook. A great number of examples can be found in various languages (among others in English, if we take the extinct Old English calques of Latin origin and their Latin or Norman-French substitutes).

Less light was thrown by the examination of calques on the difference between the *Prěslavian (East Bulgarian)* elements of Prěslav and the *West Bulgarian (Macedonian)* elements of Ochrida, and on the victory of the former over the Macedonian elements, as the examples, mentioned in the Introduction, can be considered calques only in a broader sense. (But the doublet *искони ~ испрѣва*—if it originated under New Testament influence at all—may suggest that the Macedonian *искони* reflects the Greek *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* or *ἐξ ἀρχῆς*, and the East Bulgarian *испрѣва* the Gothic *from fruma*. Wulfila's (and also, for a time, Theodoric's) Goths were indeed settled in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, but here again the difficulty arises that has been said about the Gothic influence in general.

As for the *Macedonian-West Bulgarian popular character* of the Old Slavic word stock, the calques of the archaic gospel texts do not seem to offer important data. Even if we suppose that a part of the known calques had existed before the translation of the Greek texts into the Macedonian-West Bulgarian dialects, i.e. they were *not* New Testament and liturgical calques, it appears that these, in their greatest part, do not occur in the gospels (except *бръма* and *отроча*, which, as very commonly used words, cannot be proved to have had the parallel Greek *φορτίον* and *παῖδιον* as models for their creation. Most words, enumerated by Šapkarov and Conev appear to be simple translations rather than calque neologisms. But concerning the words of strictly ecclesiastic character we can suppose that they became "mot populaires" from "mot savants" i.e., here, from ecclesiastic language.

Finally, as for the *layer of Proto-Bulgarian (Turkic-Bulgarian)* words in the gospel texts, it is the word *кѣнигѣчи* only that can be considered to be a calque (a Slavic or, perhaps, Turkic-Bulgarian) basic word, with a Turkic-Bulgarian suffix, though in some scholars' opinion, the suffix may also be of Proto-Bulgarian origin). Considering similar formations which occur in other texts (*сокачи*, *шадѣчи*, *самѣчи*, *крѣмѣчи*), the Proto-Bulgarian origin appears to be more probable than the palatalization of the original Proto-Slavic suffix. We cannot deny the possibility of complex or secondary causes as a methodological principle; in this case, perhaps, the Proto-Bulgarian

(Turkic-Bulgarian) word formation reinforced the trend of Old Slavic phonetic and morphological development, caused by the similarly sounding words.

e) Concerning problems of principle and the terminology a detailed, although not exhaustive, summary was given of the development of the concept of calque, on the basis of the most important works on the subject. I believe that the study of the Old Slavic calques proved inductively the theoretical conclusions drawn in advance from the literature by the deductive method.

From the point of view of both linguistic psychology and lexicology, calques may be regarded as a phenomenon showing a bipolar, dialectical unity of contradictory facts. From a psychological aspect the calque is a dialectic, paradoxical-seeming phenomenon because it reminds us of the older form (i.e. the meaning and structure—composition or affixation—of the foreign model) and at the same time we must forget the sound envelope of the original word (i.e. we must replace it with the corresponding constituents of the adopting language). From a strictly linguistic point of view, however, a calque also means a bipolar-dialectic unity because it is linked to the original language in respect of its etymology and structure (compounding, affixation, phrase, etc.), but by virtue of the actual morphophonological form of its constituents it belongs to the adopting language. Any of calques found in the Old Slavic material examined, especially the real structural calques and the semantic calques, makes evident this doubly bipolar-dialectic dualism in the phenomenal unity of such words or expressions.

In the author's opinion the Old Slavic calques also demonstrate the necessity of the terminological differentiation that he endeavoured to establish by coordinating the data of the reference works. The author tried to solve this problem by developing a terminology of his own to express the categories considered most common, on the basis of the best-known international terms.

Comparing the Old Slavic calques to the word stock of the *living Slavic languages*, the picture obtained was the same as the preliminary picture obtained on the basis of the frequency of compounds and calques in the living Slavic languages, recorded in the literature, though not in every detail. The *Russian language seems to prefer calques* much more than it does in actual fact, if we approach it from the side of biblical and liturgical expressions only; and the position is the same in the case of Ukrainian and Bulgarian, even if not to such a great extent. But we have to take into account the more than millennial influence of Old Slavic through Church Slavic on these languages, and also the effects of Russian on Ukrainian and Bulgarian. In the Serbian, however, we often find Church Slavic calque-like formations or other translations later than Old Slavic.

This is also the situation—naturally, even more—in the Western Slavic languages, although the Czech Moravianisms sometimes indicate a direct relationship to the Old Slavic; their influence has extended, in some cases, to Slovak, Polish and even Sorbian. Polish, on the other hand, has been an

important source for the Ukrainian word stock, so the Ukrainian shows a double influence of Old Slavic, from two directions and through two media; of course, the Church Slavic influence from the Russian direction is much more important. The Western Slavic languages, however, sometimes show the influence of the Lutheran translation and other German effects. These effects appear, now and then, in the other compared Slavic and non-Slavic texts of the 16th–20th centuries.

Summing up, we can state that the originally slight number of Proto-Slavic compounds was considerably increased with the calques of Greek origin, but neither these nor other foreign influences could strengthen the propensity of Slavic languages for calques to such a great extent that we could speak of a common Slavic linguistic feature here. However, it is a fact that they provided a number of models for certain Slavic languages, especially those of the Eastern-rite (Byzantine Slavic languages).

It can also be stated, even on the basis of the comparison of the relatively few Balkanic (Romanian and Albanian) and Hungarian gospel texts that the *Romanian* translations are significantly indebted to the Old Slavic (naturally, through Church Slavic or Middle Bulgarian), but these effects were often modified by other (Greek, Latin and Hungarian) impacts. The Hungarian influence on the Romanian gospel texts is due not only to the Transylvanian origin and the Hungarian education of Samuel Micu-Clain; it had started much earlier, in the 17th century, with the initiatives of the Calvinist Transylvanian Princes to prepare Romanian Bible translations. It was also due to the Hungarian peculiarities of the Romanian language, established during the 8 centuries of Hungarian–Romanian coexistence in Transylvania. On the whole, Micu-Clain's text is a compromise between the older translations exhibiting Middle Bulgarian influence, his own linguistic and literary endeavours, and those of his friends, from "the Latinistic triad" (Samuel Micu-Clain, Petru Maior, Gheorge Șincai), his Hungarian education and the principles of coordinating his translation with the Greek original and the Vulgata.

The Romanian text shows a number of parallels with the *Albanian* text in the examined passages (the used Albanian text appears to be a revised edition of the older versions, checked against the original Greek published by the British and Foreign Bible Society). These Romanian–Albanian parallelisms are especially remarkable in the word order of the verbal governments and attributive constructions; they may be traced back, partly, to the neighbouring Middle Balkanic origin of the two peoples. Besides, the Albanian translation contains somewhat more compound calques than the Romanian. It seems that the internal regularities of Albanian permit their establishment more than those of Romanian which is the continuation of the Balkanic popular Roman (Low Latin) idiom. We must also reckon, however, with a stronger influence of Greek (Byzantine and Modern Greek) models in Albanian, perhaps stronger than in



Romanian. In the Albanian, of course, the Hungarian peculiarities known from Romanian are absent, and the relations to Church Slavic are even more remote. In contrast to this, the Latin and, maybe, the New-Greek and Italian influence seems to be stronger.

As for the *Hungarian*, the author studied mainly Gáspár Károli's Vizsoly Bible (1590) in looking for possible calques, but he found that this translation had relied on a much more established usage than the Romanian and Albanian texts had. The cause of this phenomenon is, evidently, that it could lean on the Hungarian Vulgata versions of the Middle Hungarian Codices and the first reformators, and on their revisions after Greek, respectively. Therefore, the number of calques (compounds and affixations) in the Vizsoly Bible is notably lower than in the Romanian and Albanian. We can find mostly semantic calques and calque neologisms in it, but the number of simple translations is higher.

*Luther's gospel translation* may also have exerted some influence on Károli's text, as on the Western Slavic translation as well—as we can see it from the Czech and Low Sorbian texts.

It is an entirely different problem how great the *Slavic influence on the Hungarian antecedents of Károli's text* could be (especially on the language of the codices in the 14th–15th centuries). In this respect, the influence of Old Slavic used to be considered practically excluded, and that of Church Slavic negligible. However, due to the very close relationship and the recurrent contacts of the Slavic languages among themselves, it is possible that the Slav missionaries used such Church Slavic expressions as *ХВАЛЖЪ БЪЗЛАТИ* and *БЕЗОУЧЕСТВО* which have their parallels (*hálát adni* and *szemtelenég*) in the Hungarian, surely, not by chance. The nomadic, then conquering and later Christianized Hungarian people also had contacts with the Byzantine Slavic Christendom in the 9th–13th centuries, but some transient contacts with Byzantium must have existed some three or four centuries earlier, too (at the time of the Hungarians' sojourn by the Azovian and Black Sea).

In general, it can be said that the *languages of South-Eastern Europe* are characterized by interwoven parallelism in respect to the calques of gospel texts, too. Therefore, a great number of detailed studies are required for explaining the mutual influence of different texts, separating the “langue” and “parole” phenomena in them, distinguishing the common and general features from occasional and particular ones.

# THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CALQUES STUDIED ACCORDING TO SEVERAL VIEWPOINTS

DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO TOPICS  
(IN LATIN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

## RELIGION (IN THE NARROWER SENSE)

Blagovĕstiti, blagovĕštati, blagovĕstovati, blagovĕstvovati, blagovĕstystvovati,  
blagodĕtĕ, blagodatĕ, blagodĕtĕnĕ, blagodatĕnĕ, blagodĕtelĕ, blagodatelĕ, blago-  
sloviti, blagoslovĕstiti, blažitĭ, blaženĕ;

Chlĕby predloženĭja;

Desĕtinŏ dajati;

Izbavlenie, izbŕany, iskusiti, iskušati, iskusitelĕ, iskušenie, isprĕniti;

Kĕnĭžnik, kŕstitelĕ, kŕstenie;

Lĕžĕ prorokĕ, lĕžĕ Christĕ;

Malovĕrĕ;

Nevĕrie, nevĕrĕstvie, nevĕrĕstvo, nevĕrĕnĕ;

Obrĕzati, obrĕzanie, obĕtovanie, obĕštati, okusati, oprĕšnĭca, ostaviti,  
ostavlĕti, otrĕpustiti, otrĕpuštati, otrĕpuštenie, ostavlenie, otrĕkryti, otrĕkvenie,  
okŕvenie, osĕniti, osĕnĕti, otrĕdesĕtĕstvovati;

Pakybytie, prĭtĕča, prĭsĕlĕsĕ, prorešti, prorokĕ, proročĭca, proročĕstvo,  
proročĕstvovati, prĕžderešti, prĕobraziti sĕ;

Sĕnĕmište, sĕborište, sĕnĕmĕ, sĕborĕ, sĕrasenie, sĕrasitelĕ, sĕrasĕ;

Veličĭti, veličati, veličie, vĕskŕnŏti, vĕskŕsnovenie, vĕskŕsiti, vĕskŕsati,  
vĕskŕsĕnie, vĕsesĕžagaemoe, vĕ(z)stati, vĕ(z)stavati, vĕ(z)stanie, vĕzdvignŏti,  
vyšĕnaja, vĕrŏ jĕti, vĕrŏ imati, vĕrŏ imĕti, vĕrovati, vĕstĕnikĕ;

Zapečatlĕti.

## ETHICS AND JURISDICTION

Be(z)zakonie, bez(z)akonenie, bez(z)akonĕnikĕ, bezočĕstvo, be(z)čĕsti,  
beštĕstĕnĕ, blagotvoriti;

Človĕkoubĭisĕ, človĕkoubĭica;

Дѣлѣніе, дѣлѣніе byti, dobrotvoriti;  
 Грѣшникъ, грѣшница;  
 Lichoimie, lichoimanie, liceměřstvie, liceměrie, liceměř, lъzesъvĕdĕtelъ.  
 lъzesъvĕdĕtelъstvo, lъzesъvĕdenie, lъzesъvĕdĕtelъstvovati, lъzesъvĕdĕtelъ byti;  
 Nevъzblagodatъnlъ, nevъzblagodĕtъnlъ, nedostoinъ, neključimъ, nepovinъnlъ.  
 nepravydъnlъ;  
 Opravyditi, opravydati;  
 Prĕdati, prĕdaati, prĕdajanie, prĕdatelъ, prĕstōpati, prĕstōpiti;  
 Samovidъsъ;  
 Vъzdajanie, vъzdati, vъzglagolati;  
 Zakonoučitelъ, zakonъnlъ, zasĕdъnlъ, zъlodĕi, zъlosloviti, zъlotvoriti.

#### POLITICS AND JURISDICTION

Blagoobrazъnlъ;  
 Cĕsarъstvo, cĕsarъstvie, cĕsarъstvovati;  
 Četverovlastъnlъ, četverovlastъsъ, četverovlastъstvovati;  
 Drgъžavinъ, dobra roda;  
 Graždaniņ;nlъ;  
 Inoplĕmenъnlъ,  
 Nastavъnlъ, nestroenie;  
 Otrokъ, ōziliste;  
 Ra(s)ĕĭjanie;  
 Voevoda, vъcĕsariti sĕ, vladĕčъstvo, vladĕčъstvie.

#### PSYCHOLOGY

[J]Avlenie, vъ avlenie pridetъ;  
 Bez(d)razuma, bezumie, bezumъnlъ, bespečali, bespečalъnlъ, blagovoliti,  
 blagoizvoliti, blagovolenie, bĕsnovati sĕ;  
 Duchovъnlъ, duša;  
 Nerazumivъ, nerazumъlivъ, nesъmyslъnlъ, nōždъnlъ;  
 Uničъžiti, uničъžati;  
 Veselie, vъmĕstiti, vъmĕstati, vъslastъ, vidĕnie;  
 Žestosrĕdie.

Bezďnъ, bezďnъnъ, bezďna, bezvodъnъ, beštęďnъ, beštęď, beštęda, bę(g)stvo;

Chranilište;

Domovъnoje pristavъstvo, domovъnoje pristavlenie, domašъnъ, domaštъnъ, domovitъ človękъ, dъštica, dъnevnaja čręda;

Glava ogъlu, gorъnica, gospodъ domu, gospodinъ domu, g. chrama, g. chraminъ;

Izdъchnęti, izmęna, iznemoštii, iznenogati, imęti jako, inočęď, iskoreniti;

Jaгъmъnikъ, jaгъmъničъ, jele živъ, jezyci, jezycъnikъ;

Kokotoglašenje, kuroglašenje, krilo, krъvotočenje, krъvotęčenje;

Ležati;

Mimochoditi, mimo iti, minęti, mъnogolagolanie, mъnogocęnъnъ, męď;

Nasrudъ-nasrudъ, nasųъnъ, negasy, negasimъ, nevъzmožъnъ, neslanъ, neumvenъ, nešvenъ;

Obujati, okъgъstъ živęštęi;

Pętelъglašenje, podъnožie, prijętъnъ, prijętъ, prъvovъzlaganie, pręďďdvorie, pręzdevъzlęganie, pręzdesędanie, pręďśedanie, pręiti, pręizlica, pęnęzъnikъ;

Rųkotvorenъ;

Stroenie domu, stroiti kъ domu, sъkopъčanie, sęďalište;

Šъstvie tvoriti, šъstie tvoriti;

Udvarjati sę, uzъręti, umъrtviti;

Vetъšati, vinopiica, vinopiicъ, vodъnъ trędinъ, vodъnotrędovitъ, vodonosъ, vъdvoritъ sę, vъzglavъnica, vъzležati, vъzleštii, vъlagalište, vъselępnaja, vъstok, vъtoroplъnъ, vъzaimъ dajati;

Znajemъ, znati, zaimodavъsъ;

Žitomęrenie, žitie.

THE NUMBERS OF THE DISTRIBUTION  
ACCORDING TO TOPICS

Topic	Number	%
Religious (in narrower sense)	94	32.41
Ethical-jurisdictional	49	16.90
Political-jurisdictional	20	6.90
Psychological	26	8.96
Everyday life, miscellaneous	101	34.83
Total:	290	100.00

As it can be seen, the number of the calques belonging in a narrower sense to the religious topics, in the occurred Old and New Testament texts, does not amount to one third of the total number of the other categories. If we consider

this type compared to the miscellaneous category of everyday life we can observe that the two categories are about equal, and the other three categories seem to represent a transition between the first and the last.

But as we know, the gospels are narratives of historical character, including popular parables of allegorical character and ethical-metaphysical "orations" of didactic-contemplative character (the term "orations" is used here in both the Antique Roman and the Christian Latin liturgic sense). This proportion does not characterize, naturally, the word stock of the gospels as a whole but the distribution of calques according to topics casts light upon the needs for the creation of new words in the adopting language, and upon the interpreter's ad hoc needs and activities at the same time.

#### DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF WORD FORMATION

	Compound	Derivate	Word group	Modification of meaning
Numbers	69	186	30	15
%	23.22	61.14	10.36	5.28

It seems that derived words are in absolute majority over the other categories. So are the compounds as against the total number of word groups and modifications of meanings. Of course, the dividing lines grow indistinct between the first two categories, as some derived words (especially the *BE3-* and *HE-*prefixed ones) can also be considered privative compounds.

#### DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF CALQUE

	Real structural calque (compound or derivate)	Calque expression	Semantic calque	Calque neologism (pseudocalque)	Other types
Number	174	30	66	16	4
%	60	10.34	22.76	5.52	1.38

We can see that real structural calques are in absolute majority in the archaic Old Slavic gospels (and, concluding from the former Table, the derived words are deverbal in their majority, and denominal in a minority).

Even the number of semantic calques surpasses that of the calque expressions doubly. The number of calque neologisms, indicative of the personality (and, perhaps, the everyday usage) of the interpreter is also considerable.

#### DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO PART OF SPEECH

	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Verb	Phrase (Expression)
Number	128	51	2	79	30
%	44.4	17.6	0.6	27	10.4

This Table clearly shows the relative predominance of nouns compared to the other form classes. (Evidently, the categories of numerals and pronouns testify to the relatively high stability of Proto-Slavic and, at the same time, the conservation of the structural and lexicological elements of Indo-European.) The high number of the substantival calques also shows the predominance of structural decalquisation; semantic calques occur among the verbs in a greater number. The distribution of adjectives is more proportional. Naturally, real structural calques appear among the verbs, too; first of all, the compounds of БЛАГО-, ДОБРО-, ЗЪЛО-, МЪНОГО-, МАЛО- and similarly prefixed types belong to this category.

# ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSARY

B.	= Bulgarian
Beloruss.	= Belorussian
Cz.	= Czech
H.So.	= High Sorbian
L.So.	= Low Sorbian
M.	= Macedonian
P.	= Polish
Russ.	= Russian
Slk.	= Slovak
Sln.	= Slovene
Sr.-Cr.	= Serbo-Croatian
Ukr.	= Ukrainian





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