

TEXT AS A UNIT FOR CODIFICATION: A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF NORMALIZATION IN (OLD) CHURCH SLAVONIC

Swetlana Mengel

*Humboldt University Berlin
Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg
Institute for Slavic Studies*

Abstract: The present paper deals with an 'unusual' aspect of text linguistics, i.e. the role of text with regard to the evolution of norm.

Various examples serve to illustrate the fact that the existence of a *text-bound norm* can be of relevance to different written languages in certain periods of their development. However, for Old Church Slavonic (OCS) - the Slavic peoples' first written language - the text-bound norm represents a uniquely decisive phenomenon conditioned by the peculiarity of how OCS evolved, existed, and spread.

Various texts selected from Old Church Slavonic serve to illustrate and define four manifestations of the text-bound norm: *context-bound norm*, *model-text bound norm*, *text-type bound norm* and *literary-monument bound norm*.

The approach to text linguistics heralded by the title of this paper may seem uncustomary, but it becomes more accessible if we recall the following facts:

In their efforts to revive the rules of the Latin language, the Neo-Latinists of Western Europe, among others, look to the *texts* of Cicero and plead that normalization should be based on Cicero's 'usage of words' following the principle of authority (cf. Paul, 1920).

A similar process was consummated in the Moscow Rus of the 17th century with Patriarch Nikon's literary reforms (Third South Slavic Influence). These 'corrections' reflected the conventions of the older canonical *texts* and served to preserve the archetype (cf. Tolstoj, 1963).

In modern Russian, too, the codification process of the early 19th century appears to have in part been based on the *texts* of the belles-lettres. Kozin (1979), in his analysis of Puskin's

usage of prepositional forms ending in *-e* and *-u*, demonstrated that the variability of these forms influenced the prescriptive rules set forth in Vostokov's grammar of 1831.

Studies on the lexical norms of the written language of Kiev Rus (11th-14th centuries) have shown that here the word did not determine the context, but rather that the *context* demanded the selection of particular lexemes. A person who was characterized, for example, by the attributes *кротъкъ*, *съмѣренъ*, or *милостивъ убогымъ*, was described as a *мужъ* and never as a *человѣкъ*. Of the *Verbi* dicendi, one finds *молвити* used in direct speech, whereas *глаголати*, *вѣщати* and *речити* are used in contexts which refer to biblical sources (cf. Michajlovskaja, 1980, pp. 245ff).

Finally there is the phenomenon of the Russian chronicles, which are well known for their transformation of the 'language code' (cf. Hütti-Folter, 1983). The examples I have selected from the *Codex Laurentianus of 1377* reveal that the language chosen in a particular *text type* determines the way in which phonetic forms (full vowel and metathesis), grammatical forms (various past tenses) and certain lexemes are used in similar contexts depending on whether the text is concerned with 'everyday events', as in (1), or 'divine truths' (2):

(1) ... Олег же вниде въ городъ и пригана и горожане Изаслава же възмис положиша и въ монастыри стго Спса и штоуда перенесоша и Новогородоу и положиша и отътъѣ Софѣ на лѣвѣи сторонѣ ... ('Oleg entered the town and was taken in by the townsfolk. They received the corpse of Izjaslav and brought it to the Monastery of the Holy Redeemer [for funeral services]. From there they carried it to Novgorod, to the Church of St. Sophia on the left bank [of the river] ...')

Features of the official language text type:

Phonetic: full vowel - *городъ*, *горожане*, *перенесоша*, *Новогородоу*, *сторонѣ*

Morphological: Past tense forms - aorist (as the narrative tense)

(2) ... сила бѣ ико (кн. Александра) часть ѿ силы Самсона . даљь бѣ икоу бѣ прѣдѣсть Соломону и храбрѣство же мѣти цѣра Римъскаго Еспиниана иже бѣ пѣниль всю Подынудѣнскую землю . и нѣгдѣ исполни сѧ въ градоу Атапатоу пристоупити и шедше гражане . . . и възврати силу ихъ ико вратом ико граднѣым... ('... the strength [of Prince Alexander] was a part of Samson's strength. God had bestowed upon him the wisdom of Solomon, and the courage of the Roman emperor Vespasian, who had subjugated the entire land of Judea and who had once ventured with all his warriors to storm the city of Atarot. The city-folk fought to repel the attack ... [but] he forced their army back to the city gate ...') - 168b.

Features of the scholarly language text type:

Phonetic: Metathesis - *храбрѣство*, *пѣниль*, *градоу*, *гражане*, *възврати*, *вратом*, *граднѣым*

Morphological: Past tense forms - plusquamperfect (*даљь бѣ*, *бѣ пѣниль*) and aorist (*исполни*, *възврати*);

Adjective endings - *Римъскаго*

Lexical: The conjunction *иже*

In my opinion, the facts shown here point to the existence of a *text-bound norm*, which may have been of relevance during certain periods in the development of various written languages.

However, for Old Church Slavonic (OCS) - the Slavic peoples' first written language - the text-bound norm represents a uniquely decisive phenomenon conditioned by the peculiarity of how OCS evolved, existed, and spread.

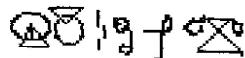
Old Church Slavonic developed as an 'artificial' language for religious *texts* translated from the Greek into the Slavic by the Slav missionaries Cyril-Constantine and Methodius and their disciples between the 9th and 11th centuries.

If we follow the brilliant hypothesis proposed by Georg Tschernochvostoff (the talented pupil of the Finnish Slavicist Valentín Kiparsky) in his unjustly forgotten Master's thesis of 1947 (cf. Kiparsky, 1958, 1964, 1966, 1968, Tschernochvostoff 1995), we must conclude that *text* also formed the basis for the creation of the first Slavic alphabet, Glagolitic, which Constantine developed for translation purposes. In demonstrating the hypothesis, I shall restrict myself to one illustration.

Tschernochvostoff's hypothesis states that all Glagolitic letters are built upon three sacred symbols: the Cross representing Christ; the Circle symbolizing God the Almighty, the Everlasting, and the Perfect; and the Triangle, sign of the Holy Trinity. Moreover, a striking and unparalleled symmetry is seen between, among others, the letters 'I' and 'S':



According to the Panonian Lives, however, the first translation from the Greek into the Slavic was the Aprakos Gospel, which begins with the words from the first chapter of the Gospel of John: 'εν ἀρχῃ - 'In the beginning (was the Word)', OCS искони (въ слово), cf. from Vita Konstantini: и аникъ съложи письмена и нача бѣседѣ пысати кевангельскіи. искони въ слово... Thus we see that the first Slavic word ever put to paper began with the letters 'I' and 'S':



What seems to be even more important is that these same two letters are used in biblical texts to abbreviate the name of Jesus: ИС = ИС (Исусъ).

The survival and dissemination of OCS (Church Slavonic served as the scholarly language of Russia until the 17th Century) can not least be credited to the many reproductions made of the *representative texts*.

It will thus appear logical that text (in all its various forms) as a unit of codification represents a distinctive feature of the Old Church Slavonic language.

Through my research carried out at the word-formation level, I have been able to classify the following four manifestations of the text-bound norm: *context-bound norm*, *model-text bound norm*, *text-type bound norm* and *literary-monument bound norm* (cf. Mengel, 1993).

These manifestations of the text-bound norm encompass more than just the constituents of word formation, and they may very well be characteristic of other written languages in various

stages of development. Recalling the facts which I listed at the beginning of this paper, we find that the efforts of the neo-Latinists, the literary reforms in Moscow Rus and the described methods of codification for modern Russian in the early 19th century all represent an attempt to apply the model-text bound norm. The lexical norms found in manuscripts written in the Kiev Rus of the 11th-14th centuries are context-bound, while the so-called transformation of the 'language code' in Russian chronicles is further associated with a text-type bound norm.

The principle of normalization at the text level is nonetheless a dominant feature of the Old Church Slavonic as a whole. In what follows I would like to illustrate the effects of the various manifestations of the text-bound norm in OCS by looking at elements of word-formation. Especially suitable for this purpose are synonymous word-formation elements which share the same root, known among researchers of OCS manuscripts as 'variants' or 'doublets'. (One should keep in mind that normalization may be defined as choosing between existing variants.)

Among the OCS literary monuments, the *Codex Suprasliensis*¹ contains a wide variety of doublets. 24 groups are found among personal titles alone, a phenomenon which is also found in the Aprakos Gospels and Tetragospels (as 'representative texts').

In the *Codex Marianus*, for example, we find: *Горе вамъ кънигъчия и фарисеи, лицеи* – Mt 23:23; *Горе вамъ кънижъници и фарисеи упокрити* – Mt 23:25 ('Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!').

At Jn 4:37, we read in the *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Zographensis*, and *Codex Assemanianus*: *Что ини есть свѣти и ини есть жѣна и* ('[And herein is that saying true], One soweth and another reapeth.'). In contrast, Mt 13:39 in the *Codex Marianus* and *Codex Zographensis* reads as follows: *а жатва есть кончаніе вѣка, а жатве суть англіи* ('...the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are angels.'). The corresponding passage in the *Codex Assemanianus* states: *а жатва кончаніе вѣка есть, а жатве суть англіи суть*

In the *Codex Marianus*, Lk 5:2 reads: ... и видѣвъ дѣва корабица стояніта при езерѣ. *рыбы тѣ* же ошѣдъши отъ неихъ плакадужъ мрѣжъ ('...And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing their nets'), while the corresponding passage in the *Codex Zographensis* uses *рыбари*, and in the *Codex Assemanianus* *рыбите*. Corresponding lines from the transcripts made in Russia are characteristic: *Ostromirovo evangelie* *рыбари*, *Tetraevangelie 1144* *рыбите*.

The variants given here point to a text-bound norm. With regard to the use of doublets, we can differentiate between the following manifestations (cf. op. cit.) of the text-bound norm:

1. With the doublets *кънигъчий* – *кънижъникъ*, *жѣнѣ* – *жатвѣ* we are dealing with a context-bound norm. The choice of the latter variants is apparently determined by the variation

¹ Here is a brief review of the literary monuments referred to in this paper. Gospels: *Codex Marianus* - Tetragospel, 11th century, written in Glagolitic; *Codex Zographensis* - Tetragospel, 11th century, Glagolitic; *Codex Assemanianus* - Aprakos Gospel, 10th century, Glagolitic; *Ostromirovo evangelie* - Aprakos Gospel, 1056-1057, Cyrillic, transcription from Russia; *Tetraevangelie 1144* - Tetragospel, 1144, Cyrillic, transcription from Russia. 'Non-gospel' manuscripts (collections): *Codex Suprasliensis* - menaion (collection of saints' lives and homilies - devotional texts), 11th century, Cyrillic; *Simeonov zbornik* - a collection of translations from the Greek, a sort of 'scientific' dictionary preserved in a transcription made in Russia in 1073 (= *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda*), Cyrillic.

in content of the two different contexts² (cf. Michajlovskaja, 1980). The doublets **кънигъчи** - **кънижъникъ** are used in one and the same context. Here I believe we should consider the fact that the variability of linguistic means of expression was one of the chief principles on which Cyril and Methodius based their translation technique (cf. Verescagin, 1972; Brock, 1979; Cernyseva, 1994). It is thus conceivable and logical that two derivatives formed from a common stem via different word formation routes within a single word-formation category could be used in the same context. Doing so avoided the repetition of the same lexeme (i.e. the same 'word form'). (Consider in this context the parallel use of lexical synonyms: the Slavic loan translation **лицемъри** and the borrowing from the Greek **упокрити** - 'hypocrite'.)

2. As regards **рыбарь** - **рыбитецъ** (particularly in the Russian transcripts), we apparently observe a 'stabilization of the linguistic norm' (Alekseev, 1987, 34ff.) effected by the use of model texts as a basis (model-text bound norm).

3. The text-type bound norm can be found as well. For example, the lexeme **спасъ** is used to mean 'God' in both gospel and non-gospel texts, while the word **спасителъ** is found only in non-gospel texts.

4. OCS texts are governed by a literary-monument bound norm.

This last norm refers to the fact that doublets in literary monuments are only very rarely used as absolute synonyms (cf. **кънигъчи** - **кънижъникъ**, **жънал** - **жатеъль**). Their usage is confined to a specific meaning and motivated by the selection of certain units. Nonetheless, this process is guided by other currents of normalization on both the text and non-text levels.

To demonstrate, I have chosen a number of examples from the *Simeonov zbornik* (cf. Mengel, 1995), the oldest, Russian, copy of which has been handed down under the title *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda* (a further 27 transcripts followed in the period from the 11th to the 19th centuries).

A study of the norms applied in this literary monument reveals that the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was carried forward by the translators of the Greek original (cf. Dorskij, Nevostruev, 1859-1869, Lunt 1984). This is especially evident with regard to the morphological and syntactic (cf. Minceva, 1991), as well as orthographic rules. In fact, direct parallels can be identified between the orthography used in this work and that found in the *Codex Zographensis* (glagolitic archetype) and the *Codex Suprasliensis* (cf. Velceva, 1991). On the lexical level one clearly recognizes the trademarks of the Preslav School, which had been charged with the translation.

Let us then examine the following examples:

(1) The doublets **кънигъчи** - **кънижъникъ** - 'γραμματεύς' occur in one context only:

² In Jn 4:37, we find the nominalized participle **жънал** used as a predicative complement (cf. the English translation). In contrast, the personal title **жатеъль**, sharing the same root and formed using the productive word-formation pattern 'infinitive stem + **-тель**', functions as the subject of the sentence in Mt 13:39 (it appears in the *Codex Assemanianus* with the secondary suffix of the Singulativum **жатеълинъ**).

како се јегда речемъ дѣтиштј силој кънижъникъ быти ѹма + имъже ѹма
покошъној таоже быти кънижчиј + по нраву же таоже къда речемъ
мъчаштјому кънигъчиј – 232v ('Thus we are [at times] forceful with the child: it
must learn the script. The child must, however, possess a certain talent if it is to become a
scribe. And yet we are pleased when the student does not contradict our words.)

A context-bound norm for the use of these variants is known in gospel texts (cf. op. cit.). In general the lexeme **кънижъникъ** is most commonly used (150:7 after Cejtin, 1986: 170) because the word-formation pattern of 'noun stem + **книгъ**' is considered productive. In contrast, **кънижъникъ** is found only once in this literary monument. As in the gospel texts, the variants **кънижъникъ** – **кънигъчиј** appear in one and the same context. Deserving of special interest are, I feel, the two phonetic manifestations of a single word, **кънижчиј/кънигъчиј**, which both occur in the same context. It is known that the **книжчиј** form is characteristic of the *Codex Suprasliensis* only, where it reflects the 'living pronunciation' (cf. Cejtin, 1986:169) and, as in the present manuscript, is used only once (cf. **кънигъчиј** – 9).

The following assumption would appear justified: Following the principle of variability, the translator uses, in one and the same context, two doublets (**кънижъникъ** – **кънигъчиј**), whose usage in this 'context-bound' function is known to the translator from representative gospel texts. But since the same concept appears again in the same context, the translator may see no choice but to search for a third variant derived from the same root. The translator knows of such a variant from one of the model texts of the same text type (i.e. non-gospel): the *Codex Suprasliensis*. The variant **книгъчиј** is here not a new word-formation unit, but rather a deviant dialectal pronunciation of **кънигъчиј** (using the word-formation pattern 'noun stem' + **ъчиј**). Its occurrence in the described context codifies the usage of this form together with two previously known doublets (phonetic variant and 'word-formation variants') as a context-bound norm within only one literary monument, the *Simeonov zbornik*. What we are dealing with here is surely not a word-formation norm, but rather a 'normative usage of the word'. Further examples below serve to demonstrate the role of text in the codification process on the word-formation level. Before moving on, however, I would first like to add one final remark concerning example (1).

It appears conclusive that the usage of the described variants in the *Simeonov zbornik* should be considered as a context-bound norm within one literary monument. This usage could on the one hand have been influenced by the context-bound norm governing the use of the corresponding doublets in gospel texts (cf. the normalization parallels with the *Codex Zographensis*). On the other hand, the usage of the corresponding variants bears the mark of that found in the model texts, in this case the *Codex Suprasliensis*.

(2) **Съпасъ** – 1) 'God the Redeemer, 2) salvation' – **съпасъникъ** – 'saviour'.

In the meaning 'God the Redeemer' the 'older formation' **съпасъ** is used in the *Simeonov zbornik* (cf. Cejtin 1986:288). This formation is known to carry both meanings in gospels and in non-gospel OCS model texts (cf. op. cit.):

...о борѣ же и о съпасѣ нашемъ ісъхъ. ... - 244a ('... of God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ ...); **небонъ члекъ самовластьнъ** юеть. о своемъ спасѣ и о погибѣли... 165a ('Because man has power over his salvation or his destruction ...')

To form an agential noun from the same verb (**съпласти**), the word-formation pattern 'verb stem + **ыникъ**' was used. This is because the place of the corresponding derivative with the productive suffix **-тель** was assumed in non-gospel model texts (including the *Codex Suprasliensis*) by the parallel 'new formation' **съпластъ**. Thus the word **съпаситель** - 'God the Redeemer', is specialized to have only the 'personifying' meaning carried by this word-formation constituent, cf. **кърститель** - 'John the Baptist', **искоуситель** - 'Satan' (but **искоусникъ** - 'Tester'). Thus we find in the *Simeonov zbornik* an occasionalism, **съпасъникъ** - 'Saviour', not documented in OCS canonical texts or in manuscripts from 11th-century Russia.:

да сице о́убо съній добрымъ члкомъ и баге́търъмъ звѣзды сѣть и спъсъници гаюже рече Гъ къ нимъ. въ юсте сѣть мира сего и соль землиниа. 189б-в ('Because saints are [like] stars and saviours for the pious and pure in heart, God speaks thus to them: Ye are the light of the world and the salt of the earth.')

This phenomenon can be defined as a literary-monument bound norm which is conditioned by the text-type bound norm.

(3) In the series of parallel formations

чародѣи - 'ἐπαοιδός' - **чародѣица** - 'γόης'
любодѣи - 'πόρνος' - **любодѣица** - 'μοιχός'

the formations ending in **-ица** seem to have a more intense pejorative colouring.

The word pair **чародѣи** - 'ἐπαοιδός' - **чародѣица** - 'γόης' is fixed only in the *Codex Suprasliensis*, where the derivative **чародѣица** is given a negative shade by the specialized pejorative meaning associated with the word-formation constituent in the word-formation pattern 'infinitive stem + **-ица**'³. Following the precedent of the model text, the above distribution is likely to also have been carried over to the doublets **чародѣи** - **чародѣица** (**чародѣица** is not found in OCS canonical manuscripts, appearing first in later writings from Russia):

... не вѣдѣши. не чародѣи не отравлѣши. чародѣи и бо не живѣши. - 94а ('... thou shalt not practice witchcraft, nor sorcery, nor conjure poisons, for the sorcerer is doomed to death');

... нѣ отъкланяти сѧ тацѣхъ зълыхъ вражеши и чародѣици - 130б ('... but beware of wrongdoers, shamans and sorcerers).

It seems clear that the above distribution spread in the *Simeonov zbornik* to the parallel formations of **любодѣи** - **любодѣица**. The negative shading is here inherent in the lexical meaning of the shared stem; nonetheless, **любодѣица** is used in the meaning of 'adulterer',

³ Compare, inter alia, **пиланица** - 'μετθύων', **ѹбенца** - 'φονεύς', **сѣница** - 'σπεκουλάτωρ' - from *Codex Suprasliensis*; **гадыца** - 'φάγος' from *Codex Marianus, Codex Zographiensis*

любодѣни refers to the 'wooer'. In the following context, it is the woman who appears as the 'chief offender'.

Что єсть жена. земльная мысль ... мужкоу потопъ. некротимый звѣрь.
любодѣни мъ прѣбывашиште. броужкы дыѣвоке. ... 174 в-г ('What is a woman: a worldly thought, ... man's deluge, an uncontrollable animal, a refuge for the wooer, the weapon of the devil ...);
... и чужинихъ желажшихъ. и любодѣницъ. гносыны бо суть тѣхъ трѣбы бѹи.
— 82в ('Vile and repugnant are to God the desires of those who covet strangers, who are adulterers').

If we consider each text as a meaningful chain of characters, and if we work on the assumption that these characters are dual in nature (form and meaning), then it appears to me that, with regard to the use of the above series of parallel formations, the text-level mechanism of codification in the *Simeonov zbornik* comprises the following associations:

The characters **чародѣни** — **чародѣница** in the *Simeonov zbornik* are on the lexical level associated with the characters **чародѣни** — **чародѣница** in the model text (*Codex Suprasliensis*) due to the similarity of their sounds. The same distribution of lexical meaning appears in both word pairs. The word **чародѣница** is thus given the negative colouring of 'γόης', whereas for **чародѣница**, the derivative from the model text, such shading was conditioned by the specialized pejorative meaning connected with the affix in the word-formation pattern 'infinitive stem + **ица**' (cf. op. cit.). This constituent meaning is, however, not found in the word-formation pattern 'infinitive stem + **ици/ьци**' (cf. **сѣчыца** - 'hangman' - **сѣчыца** 'warrior').

The present text (the literary monument) nonetheless demonstrates further associations of characters on the word-formation level. The opposition of the formal word-formation structure of the word-formation patterns in the described word pair, 'infinitive stem + Ø' (**чародѣни**) : 'infinitive stem + **ици**' (**чародѣница**), is associated with the opposition of the functions of the word-formation constituents in these formation models, i.e. as 'nomen agentis' : 'pejorative'. Thus in the *Simeonov zbornik* appear the analogous parallel formations **любодѣни** — **любодѣница**, which certainly may occur elsewhere as lexical synonyms (and with synonymous word-formation constituents). In later manuscripts written in Russia, these two doublets even appear as markers for different text types (cf. **съпась** — **съпаситель**, op. cit.) (cf. Uspenskij, 1984).

I am therefore of the opinion that the usage of the above parallel formations appearing in the *Simeonov zbornik* follow a literary-monument bound norm which evolved under the influence of the model text.

In this paper, I have examined a small number of examples in an attempt to show the bases for codification ('naïve-textological rules', cf. Janakieva, 1991) within Old Church Slavonic writings (in their various forms: context, text type, model texts and literary monuments and their various transcriptions). The text-bound norm represents a distinctive feature of the Old Church Slavonic, the very origins of which define it as a language of the written text. But such normalization is found in languages other than OCS, and other paths of normalization were also seen in the Slavs' first written language.

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