INTRODUCTION
Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects in OCS sources

§I. The Old Church Slavic language and its sources

Old Church Slavic (OCS) is defined, on the one hand, as the language of the first Slavic translations of liturgical books by Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the second half of the IXth century, and, on the other hand, as the language represented by a small corpus of the oldest surviving texts (hereafter *sources*), created in the X–XII centuries.

There is no agreement among researchers on which sources constitute the OCS canon and which are outside of it.[1] For example, the dictionaries of Sadnik and Večerka differ in the list of sources. The benchmark corpus in this book includes only the following seven sources: *Kiev Missal*, *Codex Zographensis*, *Codex Marianus*, *Codex Assemanius*, *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, *Sava's book*, and *Codex Suprasliensis*.

Data from other sources are admitted unsystematically.

§II. Glagolitic and Cyrillic writing

The most salient difference between the sources is the use of two scripts, or alphabets, the *Glagolitic* and *Cyrillic* ones. Some sources use the Glagolitic script

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[1] For example, some authors are inclined to consider the Ostromir Gospel (the oldest dated manuscript, from 1056) as an OCS source. The oldest sources of Church Slavic should also be distinguished from OCS, differing from it in both place and time of composition. The language used today in orthodox services is also called Church Slavic; see details in e.g. Kraveckij.

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(KIEV, ZOGR, MAR, AS, PS SIN), while others use the Cyrillic script (SAV and SUPR). This difference, however, is trivial, and can be eliminated using very simple transliteration rules that replace Glagolitic letters with their Cyrillic analogs according to very simple replacement patterns.[2]

The following fragment from *Codex Assemanianus*, shown in its original Glagolitic script and its Cyrillic transliteration, serves as an illustration (Mk 8, 34).

рече гⷭ҇ь ѥже хощет

по мнѣ ити·

да отъврьже

тъ сѧ себе· и

възьметъ

крⷭ҇тъ свои и

по мьнѣ грѧдет·
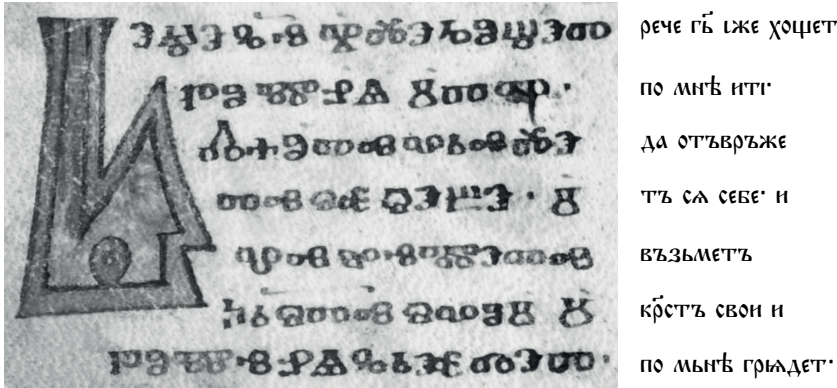
In most editions, Glagolitic texts are represented in transliteration. Below, all texts from sources are taken from published versions, in particular the Glagolitic ones from published Cyrillic transliterations.

§ III. Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects

Apart from the differences in the alphabets, sources also differ in more or less significant details, showing both *differences across idiolects* (i.e. between the sources) and *instability within idiolects* (i.e. variation within a single source).

Table I. Spellouts of the stem of the lexeme тоуждь 'alien'

Spellouts	Sources						
	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV	PS SIN	SUPR	KIEV
тоужд-	2	5	5	3	11		
тоуз-							1
стоужд-						8	
штоужд-	1					14	

Table I shows the variant distribution for the spellout of the stem тоуждь in seven sources. Only ZOGR and SUPR show instability within an idiolect in this case—there are two variants in each of these sources. Differences across idio-

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[2]   These rules are identical across editions of different Glagolitic sources. See details in § 132.

lects reveal the pairwise opposition between four groups of sources: (KIEV) ~ (ZOGR) ~ (SUPR) ~ (MAR, AS, PS SIN, SAV).

§IV. Canonical OCS

The simplest way of describing differences between idiolects and instability within an idiolect assumes the definition of a certain arbitrary canon; the observed diversity is described as a departure from that arbitrary canon. This grammatical fiction is referred to here and below as *canonical OCS language*, or simply *the canon*. As a rule, this book describes the grammar of that canonical OCS. Luckily, there are no significant disagreements between researchers on the definition of various grammatical features of this language.[3]

The question is simply of selecting a convenient baseline for describing all observed facts. The selection of a canon as a necessary descriptive tool should not be confused with the historical and philological questions of the existence of an "original" OCS (see paragraph XI below).[4]

§V. The grammar of canonical OCS and the description of sources

The goal of describing the grammar of canonical OCS is distinct from the goal of describing the sources as such.

The present book aims to construct such a canonical OCS that makes it possible to obtain the data observed in sources using some conversion rules, and to offer these conversion rules.[5] Data from sources are admitted only out of necessity to show the reader that the observed diversity of the sources can really be represented as declared conversions from the canonical language.[6]

§VI. Parallel texts

Below are parallel fragments from four sources, ZOGR, MAR, AS, and SAV.[7] Verse numbers are shown using Arabic numbers at the beginning of the verse. The

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[3] Setting up a canonical language is such a natural move that in most grammars it is simply not discussed, but introduced implicitly, as something obvious. In Lunt's grammar (1974), differences between the canon and actual observations are stated; Lunt refers to canonical OCS as *standard* OCS.

[4] Note that canonical OCS is outside of the comparative-historical domain, and in that sense should be distinguished from Proto-Slavic, which often serves as a baseline in works on OCS. In this book, grammatical features of the canon are set up solely on the basis of data from sources, without any external comparison.

[5] Of course this problem has more than one solution. Our goal here is to give one possible canon and one possible grammar, and only for the segmental grammar and paradigmatics within the boundaries of the narrowed dictionary as defined below (see §3 on the benchmark list of wordforms).

[6] This strategy also pursues a pragmatic goal, namely to make it possible for the reader to read original texts independently.

[7] Here and below sources are referred to using Večerka's system of abbreviations. However, all

number in parentheses refers to the commentary to Table II, which pertains to the section of the text that precedes the reference.

Codex Zographensis, Mt 8, 28–34

[28]ι пришьдъшюмоу на онъ полъ· въ странѫ ѣерʼѣесинʼскѫ· сърѣтосте (1) и дъва бѣсьна (2)· отъ гребишть (3) іхъ ісходѫшта (4) лютⷶ ꙑѣло· ѣко не можааше (5) никʼтоже минѫти пѫтемь (6) тѣмь· [29]ι се възъписте (7) глагⷮѭшта· чьто естъ нама и тебѣ іꙁ̅ѥ· сꙑне бж̅іи· пришелъ ли еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мѫчитъ насъ· [30]бѣ же далече отъ ꙗею· стадо свиꙗии (8) много (9) пасомо· [31]бѣси же молѣахѫ (10) и глаⷮѭште аште иꙁгониши нꙑ· повели намъ іти въ стадо свиное· [32]ι рече імъ· ідѣте· они же шьдъше вънидѫ въ свиниꙗ· ι абие оустрьми (11) сⷶ стадо все по брѣгоу (12) въ море· ι оумрѣшⷶ ι оутопошⷶ (13) въ водахъ· [33]ι пасѫштеи бѣжашⷶ· ι шьдъше въ градъ възвѣстишⷶ всѣ (14)· ι о бѣсъноую· [34]ι се весь (15) градъ іꙁіде противⷶ іꙁ̅ви· ι видѣвъше и молишⷶ· да би прѣшьлъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

Codex Marianus, Mt 8, 28–34

[28]ι пришедъшоу емоу іꙁ̅ви на онъ полъ· въ странѫ ѣеркесинскѫ· сърѣтете (1) и дъва бѣсьна (2) отъ жалии (3) ісходѧца (4) лютⷶ ꙑѣло· ѣко не можааше (5) никтоже минѫти пѫтемь (6) тѣмь· [29]ι се възъписте (7) глⷶца· что естъ нама и тебѣ іꙁ̅ꙁе сꙑне бж̅іи· пришелъ еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мѫчитъ насъ· [30]бѣ же далече отъ неѭ· стадо свинии (8)· мъного (9) пасомо· [31]бѣси же молѣхѫ (10) и глаⷮѭце· аце иꙁгониши нꙑ· повели намъ ити въ стадо свиное· [32]ι рече имъ· идѣте· они же ишедъше идѫ въ свиниꙗ· ι абье оустрьми (11) сⷶ стадо вьсе по брѣгоу (12) въ море· ι оутопѫ (13) въ водахъ· [33]а пасѫцеи бѣжашⷶ· ι шедъше въ градъ възвѣстишⷶ вьсѣ (14)· ι о бѣсъноую· [34]ι се весь (15) градъ иꙁидѫ противⷶ іꙁ̅ви· ι видѣвъше и молишⷶ· да би прѣшелъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

Codex Assemanius, Mt 8, 28–34

[28]пришедъшоу іꙁ̅оу въ странѫ ѣеркесинскⷶ· сърѣтосте (1) и дъва бѣсьна (2)· отъ гробиштъ (3) исходѧца (4)· лютⷶ ꙑѣло· ѣко не можааше (5) минѫти никтоже пѫтемь (6) тѣмь· [29]и се възъписте (7) глⷶца· чьто естъ нама и тебѣ іꙁ̅е сꙑне бж̅іи· пришелъ еси сѣмо· прѣжде врѣмене мѫчитъ насъ· [30] бѣ же далече оⷮ нею стадо свинии (8) много (9) пасомо· [31] бѣси же молѣахѫ (10) и глаⷮ· аце иꙁгониши нꙑ· повели намъ ити въ стадо свиное· [32]и рече имъ идѣте· они же ишедъше вънидѫ въ свиниꙗ· и абие оустрьми (11) сⷶ стадо въсе по брѣгоу (12) въ море· и оутопѫ (13) въ водахъ· [33]а пасѫцеи бѣжашⷶ· и шедъше въ градъ· възвѣстишⷶ вьсѣ (14) о бѣсъноую· [34]и се весъ (15) градъ иꙁіде противⷶ іꙁ̅ви· и видѣвъше молишⷶ и да би прѣшелъ (16) ѿъ прѣдѣлъ их·

Cyrillic letters denoting pages of the manuscript are replaced with roman letters. Texts are shown as they appear in the editions used; in particular, the editor has broken up the text into wordforms (inserting spaces and possibly other dividers), removed corruptions (or supplied emendations), etc. Note that the researcher, when constructing a grammar, operates with a corpus of (at least partially) interpreted texts, knowing not only the contents of the text (its translation, so to speak), but also at least some of its grammatical features.

Sava's book, Mt 8, 28–34

²⁸пришъдъ іс҃ въ землѭ геръгесиномъ· сърѣтоста (1) ı в҃ бѣсьноуѭща (2) са отъ гроба (3) исходаща (4) лютѣ зѣло· ıако не могѫщю (5) никомѹже прити· пѫтьмь (6) тѣмь· ²⁹и абие възъписта (7) гл҃ѭща· что е нама и тебѣ сн҃оу бж҃и· приде прѣжде врѣмене· насъ мѫчитъ· ³⁰бѣ же далече· отъ нею стадо свинии (8) много· (9) пасомо· ³¹бѣси же его молѣхѫ (10) гл҃ѭще аще изгониши насъ повели намъ ити въ стадо свиное· ³²и рече имъ идѣте· они же идѫ вь свиниа· и абие оустрьми (11) сѧ все стадо по брѣгоу (12) въ море· и истопѫ (13) въ водахъ· ³³пасѫщеи же бѣжаша· и шъдъше въ градъ повѣдаша вса (14)· о бѣсьноую· ³⁴и абие весь (15) градъ изиде вь сърѣтение іс҃оу· и видѣвъше его молиша· ıако да прѣидетъ (16) отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ·

§ VII. Analysis of selected examples

The forms of different sources are not compared with each other, but each is compared with the canonical form. As long as the canon is fixed, each form of the source is easily identified as canonical or non-canonical, or *alternative*.

Table II on p. XXVI shows canonical forms with their grammatical address and their analogs in the four passages from different sources, for 16 wordforms.

§ VIII. Source-to-source and source-to-canon comparison

In some cases, sources differ lexically and syntactically in parallel passages. For example, at the end of the fragment above we see in ZOGR да би прѣшьлъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ıхъ, but in SAV ıако да прѣидетъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ (the construction in MAR and AS is the same as in ZOGR). Accordingly, the canon for the fragments in ZOGR, MAR and AS (да би прѣшьлъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ) differs from the canon for the corresponding fragment in Sav (ıако да прѣидетъ отъ прѣдѣлъ ихъ). Such differences, while philologically quite interesting, are outside of the scope of this book, which deals only with features of segmental grammar and paradigmatics. Thus, when considering sources, the subject of analysis is the following pair: (actual spellout of wordform in text, its canonical analog). Members of such pairs are eponymous wordforms, e.g. (сърѣтете, сърѣтосте) 3Du2PlAor (сърѣсти); (пѫтемъ, пѫтьмь) ISg (пѫть) etc. The actual spellout of a wordform that differs from the canon is called an *alternative spellout*. The so-called *doublet* wordforms and doublet lexemes constitute a separate case. Two distinct wordforms, identical in their grammatical characterization and both belonging to the canon, are called doublets. Such are the forms вьса and вьсѣ, in the passages above, as well as, e.g., GLSg wordforms словесе//словеси.

Table II. Analysis of compared wordforms in four sources

	ZOGR	MAR	AS	SAV
1°	3Du2PlAor (сърѣсти): сърѣтосте			
	сърѣтосте	сърѣтете	сърѣтосте	сърѣтоста
2°	GSgmnNSgfNADumNAPlnBrev (бѣсьнъ): бѣсьна, GSgmnNADumNAPlnBrev [шт-Part (бѣсьновати)]: бѣсьноуѭшта			
	бѣсъна	бѣсъна	бѣсьна	бѣсьноуѭща
3°	GPl (жаль): жалии, GPl (гробиште): гробиштъ, GSgNADu (гробъ): гроба			
	гребиштъ	жалии	гробиштъ	гроба
4°	GSgmnNADumNAPlnBrev [шт-Part (исходити)]: исходѧшта			
	исходѧшта	исходѧца	исходѧца	исходѧца
5°	2–3SgImf (мошти): можааше, DSgmnGLDumnfBrev [шт-Part (мошти)]: могѫштоу			
	можааше	можааше	можааше	могѫщю
6°	ISg (пѫть): пѫтьмь			
	пѫтемь	пѫтемь	пѫтемъ	пѫтьмъ
7°	3Du2PlAor (възъпити): възъписте			
	възъписте	възъписте	възъписте	възъписта
8°	NLDSgNADuGPl (свинии): свинии			
	свинии	свинии	свинии	свинии
9°	NASgnBrev (мъногъ): мъного			
	много	мъного	много	много
10°	3PlImf (молити): молꙗахѫ			
	молѣахѫ	молѣхѫ	молѣахѫ	молѣхѫ
11°	2–3SgAor, 2–3SgImv (оустрьмити): оустрьми			
	оустрѣми	оустрѣми	оустрѣми	оустрьми
12°	DSgGLDu (брѣгъ): брѣгоу			
	брѣгоу	брѣгоу	брѣгоу	брѣгроу
13°	3PlAor (оутопнѫти): оутопнѫша, 3PlAor (истопнѫти): истопнѫша			
	оутопоша	оутопѫ	оутопѫ	истопѫ
14°	NSgfNADumNAPln (вьсь): вьса, вьсѣ			
	всѣ	вьсѣ	вьсѣ	вса
15°	NASgm (вьсь): вьсь			
	всь	весь	весъ	всь
16°	NASgm [л-Part (прѣити)]: прѣшьлъ, 3SgPrae (прѣити): прѣидетъ			
	прѣшьлъ	прѣшелъ	прѣшелъ	прѣидетъ

Notes to Table II

1° ZOGR, MAR and AS show canonical forms; MAR has the secondary form of the so-called root aorist. SAV shows an alternative terminal of the standard aorist.

2° The first three sources have ъ in place of the canonical ь. SAV shows another form (participle), different from its canonical analog in having ъ instead of the canonical ь, as well as an alternative shape of the letter *šta*.

3° Sources differ lexically: гробиште, жаль and гробъ. ZOGR has the alternative spellout гребиштъ; AS has a final ъ instead of the canonical ь.

4° All four sources have canonical forms. ZOGR and MAR show alternative shapes of the letter и, MAR, AS and SAV have alternative shapes of the letter *šta*, and SAV an alternative shape of *little yus*.

5° The first three sources have canonical forms. SAV shows another form (participle) with an alternative shape of the letter *šta*, which is followed by ю instead of оу.

6° All four sources have alternative terminals: in the first three the initial vowel is є instead of canonical ь, in AS and SAV the final vowel is ъ instead of canonical ь.

7° ZOGR and MAR have canonical forms. AS has ь in the root instead of canonical ъ, and also a nonstandard shape of the letter и. In SAV, the terminal is alternative, as in (1°).

8° ZOGR shows an alternative spellout with *kamora* (hypercorrection) and an alternative shape of the letter и. MAR has the canonical one, while AS and SAV have alternative shapes of the letter и.

9° All sources except MAR omit ъ.

10° MAR and SAV have alternative imperfects (the so-called contracted imperfect). All four sources have alternative spellouts of the phonological combination /l'a/: everywhere except ZOGR the *kamora* over the letter л is missing.

11° All sources except SAV show an alternative spellout of the root: стръм instead of canonical стрьм.

12° All sources except SAV have the canonical form. The form брѣгроу in SAV is a scribal error for брѣгоу.

13° All sources show an alternative aorist (root aorist in MAR, AS, and SAV, see 1° above; ZOGR has the aorist by class 4 instead of 5); the lexeme in SAV has a different prefix.

14° For this form of the lexeme вьсь, the terminal ѣ predominates in Glagolitic sources, and а in Cyrillic sources (see § 319–320 on the lexeme вьсь). The forms вьсѣ and вьса are doublets, and thus are both canonical. In ZOGR and SAV, ь is omitted in the root.

15° None of the sources have the canonical form: ZOGR and SAV omit ь in the root, MAR and AS show є instead of ь in the root, and AS shows ъ instead of ь in the terminal.

16° ZOGR shows the canonical form. MAR and AS show є instead of ь in the root. SAV has a different form (present).

§IX. Transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script

When considering actual material from sources, Glagolitic forms are examined in their Cyrillic transliteration, which is then compared with the corresponding canonical form. For example, in (1°), first the ZOGR form ⰔⰟⰓⰡⰕⰑⰔⰕⰅ is converted into its Cyrillic transliteration сърѣтосте, which is then compared against the canonical сърѣтосте; MAR ⰔⰟⰓⰡⰕⰅⰕⰅ (сърѣтете) is likewise compared with the same canonical сърѣтосте, where a partial mismatch is observed. We compared ZOGR ⰋⰔⰘⰑⰄⰡⱎⱅⰰ (исходѧшта) (4°), AS ⰋⰔⰘⰑⰄⰡⱌⰰ (исходѧца), SAV исходѧца with the canonical исходѧшта, and also identify partial mismatches. In (10°), ZOGR ⰏⰑⰾⰡⰰⱈⱛ (молѣахѫ), MAR ⰏⰑⰾⱑⱈⱛ (молѐхѫ), AS ⰏⰑⰾⰡⰰⱈⱛ (молѣахѫ) is compared with the canonical молꙗаахѫ, and in all three pairs partial mismatches are found. In (16°), ZOGR ⱂⱃⱑⱎⱐⰾⱏ (прѣшьлъ) and MAR ⱂⱃⱑⱎⰅⰾⱏ (прѣшелъ) is compared with the canonical прѣшьлъ, where ZOGR shows a complete match and MAR a partial mismatch.

§X. Aberrant spellouts in sources

As these illustrations show, alternative forms in sources live alongside canonical ones. It may be the case that the same form in the same source in some of its occurrences acts as canonical, while in others as alternative (cf. in SAV the spell-out of the preposition въ and вь). The observed diversity of aberrant forms is induced by a limited number of *aberrations*. A complete list of aberrations must make available a suitable *aberrant derivation* for any observed aberrant form. In the majority of cases, aberrant derivations have the modality of permission rather than requirement. Because each aberrant form corresponds to a single definite canonical form, the transition from the text of a source to its canonical analog is determinate, but the converse is not the case: a canonical text cannot be converted into its prototype in a source using determinate rules, at least because the selection of a form as canonical or aberrant at any point in the text does not follow a rational pattern: their distribution is random.

The share of alternative spellouts in the passages shown remains below 20%. This ratio is stable across the general corpus of the texts under consideration, although in some sources there are more aberrant spellouts than in others (e.g. in SUPR in some places the share is 25–30%).

Differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects are described using the same set of aberrations. The same instability within idiolects, established separately for each source, forms the differences between idiolects, because sources differ not so much in their assortment of aberrant forms, as much as by the character of competition between different canonical and aberrant forms.

Table III shows, for example, the distribution of the variant spellouts of the words къто and мъногъ in two sources. This shows that for мъног-, canonical forms predominate in MAR and aberrant ones in ZOGR. For къто, canonical forms predominate in ZOGR and aberrant ones in MAR.

Table III. Spellouts of the forms мъногъ and къто in ZOGR and MAR

Canon	Spellouts in sources	Share of occurrences (%)	
		ZOGR	MAR
мъног-	мъног-	≈11	≈85
	мног-	≈89	≈5
	мьног-	None	≈10
къто	къто	≈91	≈31
	кто	≈9	≈69

Cf. the spellout кьто Lk 10, 36, AS.

The distribution of aberrant spellouts generated by the same aberration can differ in the same source in different lexemes (or even forms). Thus, we can suppose that in different sources different aberrant spellouts were treated as acceptable alternative variants. As far as segmental aberrations are concerned, the character of the competition can be understood as a certain scribal regimen, rather than a phonetic law. It is also not a graphic rule, because such rules admit no exceptions and use no information on units of higher rank than segment, while scribal regimen concerns individual wordforms.

At the same time, differences between sources and their within-idiolectal instability can be described using a simplified schema that estimates only the proportion of a given segmental aberration or graphic peculiarity in a given source. Such a schematic table is given below (Table IV) for the seven basic sources; such ratings as "no", "rare", "occasional", "present", "often" are meant to reflect the increasing proportion of spellouts that reflect a given segmental property of the source.

Table IV. Overview of the main segmental peculiarities of sources

	Glagolitic sources					Cyrillic sources	
	KIEV	ZOGR	MAR	AS	PS SIN	SAV	SUPR
Kamora	No	Present	Rare	No			Present
z ~ dz distinction	No examples	Inconsistent distinction		Consistent distinction		No distinction	
l-epenth. + ь, и	Always present	Often absent				Often absent	
l-epenth. elsewhere		Rarely without *l-epentheticum*					
Fall of ъ and ь	No	Occasional	Often	Occasional			
Confusion of ъ and ь				Often		Occasional	
ъ-strengthening (o)		Rare		Often	Occasional	No	No
ь-strengthening (ε)				Often	Occasional	No	Occasional

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§ XI. A note on the interpretive substance of the differences across idiolects and instability within idiolects

The purely linguistic problem of describing a group of idiolects and instability within an idiolect amounts to creating such mechanisms as described above. However, from a historical-philological point of view, both the status of the canon and the status of differences between idiolects are of paramount importantce.

Manuscripts were being created at different times, in different places, and by different scribes. In the general case idiolectal differences can be interpreted as temporal (more vs. less archaic), regional (reflecting dialectal differences), or as social and register differences (e.g. as the opposition between oral and written, formal and informal, and the like). The sociolinguistic situation can be quite complex when such oppositions are interlinked.

As far as the status of the canon, the question can be posed as follows. First, can the canon be interpreted as the "original" OCS, i.e. as the language of translation of the first Greek liturgical books, the language of the first Slavic apostles? Second, can the canon be considered the genetic prototype of the idiolects observed in the sources? For the specific canonical OCS that is usually considered as such and described in this book, the answers are obviously negative: it is neither "Cyril's original" language, nor a genetic prototype. We should note that while the latter question of the genetic prototype is fairly clear, the meaning of the question of "Cyril's original" is not well-defined as posed: it is not obvious a priori how to verify a proposed reconstruction of such a language. Durnovo (1929) carefully considers the question of "Cyril's original" language, using the oldest data on alphabets. Taking his conclusions on the traits of that language, we must admit that it does not coincide with the canon described here.[8]

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[8] Interested readers are referred to Durnovo's works, which contain a comprehensive analysis of these questions both in their grammatical and interpretive aspects. Here we limit ourselves to one quote, which clarifies the main direction of Durnovo's thinking: «Sts. Cyril and Methodius, with their translations, originated the Slavic literary language that is known to us in its oldest attested form as Old Church Slavic. Since it is defined as a literary language, we understand under the term a certain norm that authors, translators, and scribes who were writing in this language attempted to follow, and which cannot be identified with their individual languages or a living dialect. Only those linguistic traits that were perceived by the writer as the norm form part of OCS, more or less consistently according to the writer's level of literacy. Traits not consistently maintained in these sources and amounting to departures from the scribe's adopted literary norms, are not part of OCS as a literary language, and should be regarded as reflecting various living dialects, or another literary language. It also follows from the same definition that, even though a living dialect lay at the basis of OCS, and that it is possible for a literary language to coincide with a living dialect in all its traits, without including traits of other dialects or languages, we may not assume without sufficient reason that OCS as we know it coincided with another Slavic language or dialect» (Durnovo 1929, quoted from Durnovo 2000, p. 567).

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