

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF WORDS FOR *HUNGER* IN THE OLD BULGARIAN CORPUS: ON MATERIAL FROM THE SO-CALLED *UCHITEL'NOE EVANGELIE* BY CONSTANTINE OF PRES LAV¹

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Abstract: DIKOVA, Ekaterina. *Towards the History of Words for Hunger in the Old Bulgarian Corpus: On Material From the So-Called Uchitel'noe evangelie by Constantine of Preslav*. The article is focused, firstly, on a substantive that has remained outside the scope of study on the 9th-century *Uchitel'noe evangelie* – $\lambda\lambda(\text{z})\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha$. Its 6 appearances in this collection are observed together with their Greek corresponding words and direct respective contexts in the source and target texts. The derivatives of the same root are also traced in the monument together with their Greek counterparts. Then, a visual thesaurus is presented of the concurrent nouns with the root **alk-* according to the main diachronic dictionaries. Finally, two synonymic roots – $\rho\omicron\sigma\tau-$ and $\rho\lambda\lambda\Delta-$ are presented in terms of their distribution in the monument and their semantic peculiarities.

The conclusions are that the words for hunger in *Uchitel'noe evangelie* are of three roots and that each of these roots has its exact Greek counterpart: $\rho\lambda\lambda\Delta-$ translates $\lambda\upsilon\mu-$ and signifies 'acute need for food'; $\rho\omicron\sigma\tau-$ corresponds to $\nu\eta\sigma\tau-$ and is related to 'voluntary deprivation of food', and $\lambda\lambda(\text{z})\kappa-$ is related to $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu-$ only in its more general meaning of 'need for food' (but not in its meaning related to 'gluttony').

The word $\lambda\lambda(\text{z})\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha$ is relatively rare in the older written monuments. Nevertheless, it completes the thesaurus of nouns with $\lambda\lambda(\text{z})\kappa-/ \lambda\lambda\kappa-$, it is inherent in the Old Bulgarian literary language, and, in particular, in Constantine of Preslav's language.

Keywords: *Old Church Slavonic, diachronic lexicology, ninth century, Didactic Gospel*

The Old Bulgarian 9th-century² *Uchitel'noe evangelie*³ is a collection of 51 sermons intended to be given at the Sunday liturgies of the whole church year from Easter to Palm Sunday. It is a combination both of Constantine of Preslav's translations of Byzantine catenae⁴ (and homilies⁵) to the Sunday Gospels and of his own texts (including the introduction and the Alphabetic acrostic prayer at the beginning of the book, all the introductions, and conclusions of the orations as well

¹ I am indebted to both the Editorial Board and my anonymous reviewers for their important suggestions on this article. It is written within the frame of the project entitled *The Vocabulary of Constantine of Preslav's Uchitel'noe evangelie ('Didactic Gospel'): Old Bulgarian-Greek and Greek-Old Bulgarian Word Indices* which is financed by the Bulgarian National Science Fund (contract КП-06-H50/2 of 30.11.2020).

² The monument is dated usually to 889 – 893 (cf. Arhim. Antonij 1885, 7; Galluchi 2001, 3-4; Spasova 2005; Tihova 2012, XII, Slavova 2017, 3 and the literature cited there).

³ Francis Thomson refers to this monument as *Evangelienhomiliar* (cf. Thomson 1986) yet the designation *Uchitel'noe evangelie* has been largely accepted in the scholarship.

⁴ See the catalogue of the Byzantine Greek catena manuscripts by Parpulov 2021.

⁵ See e.g., Gorskij – Nevostruev 1859, 423-424. Kotova 2022a and Petrov 2022 find previously unknown Greek source texts for certain parts of orations 19 and 20 respectively in St. John Chrysostom's homilies. Cf. also Mitov 2022.

as oration 42⁶). This written monument is precious for many fields of Slavonic medieval studies and was fully edited in 2012 (Tihova 2012, reviewed by Krys'ko 2017).

The first of the words with sememe *hunger* observed here is αλ(β)κοτα. This lexeme appears six times in three of the orations of the monument. The table below lists all these occurrences together with their Greek counterparts and their Old Bulgarian and Greek contexts. The first column in it marks the respective places according to the oldest manuscript Syn. 262 of the monument because this is how they could be easily found in Tihova's edition. The number before the slash indicates the number of the respective oration, then follows the page, column, and line of the occurrence. The null sign (∅) designates that there is no Greek counterpart of the respective form because it is found in a text authored by Constantine of Preslav (i.e., in an introduction or conclusion of an oration); the grey script marks words omitted in translation and the square brackets enclose a newly discovered Greek counterpart.

Syn262	Old Bul	Gr	Context
16/78a13	αλκοτЪ	πείνης	καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς πείνης ἐλάμβανον αἴσθησιν и αλκοτЪ же не ѱογѣааχοу*
16/80a13	αλβκοτЪ	[πείναν]	[πόθεν δὲ ἡμεῖς παραμυθησόμεθα τὴν πείναν τὴν ἡμετέραν;] коуадоу наамЪ боуадеѣ оуѣѣха* αλβκοτЪ нашеи*
16/80d16	αλκοτου	πείναν	ἐδύνατο μὲν γὰρ καὶ σβέσαι τῶν ὄχλων τὴν πείναν. можааше бо и αλκοτου оугасити*
16/82a08	αλκοτЪ	∅	и вЪ поугѣзини живааахоу* и αλκοтЪ ноуааиии не ѱнидоша*
27/130d18	αλβκοτЪ	ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς	καθάπερ γὰρ ἐάν τις τοὺς οἰκέτας ἴδοι, τοὺς ἐν τρυφῇ ὄντας, ἐαυτὸν δὲ ἐν ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς какже бо аще кЪто оуѣритѣ своа рабѣи вЪ пици оуѣа* сеѣѣ же вЪ αλκοтЪ*
31/143a12	αλκοτЪ	∅	славохотие не нѣдѣитѣ αλκοтЪ и жаѣа не можѣѣ оуѣѣ ѣрпѣѣти*

The place in the middle of oration 16 (16/80a13) was thought to not have its Greek original according to Tihova's edition of the monument in which Cramer's edition of catenae was used to juxtapose source and target texts. Dobriela Kotova, however, has checked other Byzantine sources and found its correspondence in St. John Chrysostom's Homily 49, more precisely in Joan. Chrys. Hom. in Matth. (CPG S, 4424.49; PG 58, 499, 4-6 (the very word is on line 5)).

The conclusions which can be drawn at this stage are that: 1. the word αλ(β)κοτα was part of Constantine of Preslav's vocabulary since it appears in his own additions to the translated texts and 2. it translates πείνη/πείνα always in its first meaning of 'hunger, strong need for food' and not in the second, i.e., not in the meaning of 'strong desire to acquire something'.⁷ The only deviation in the listed above series of Old Bulgarian-Greek parallels is the correspondence αλβκοτЪ – ἐσχάτοις

⁶ At a recent conference (Das kirchenslavische Schrifttum als Kulturerbe: Texte und Textwelten, Rezeptionswege, Digitale Erfassung, Heidelberg, 15–16.07.2022) D. Kotova presented her discovery of Greek parallels for about one-fourth of this oration. This study has been published already – Kotova 2022b.

⁷ For the meanings of the Greek words, check e.g., LSJ.

κακοῖς. It does not seem like a standard translation and so requires some explanation. My initial assumption was that Constantine of Preslav, thinking about his neophyte audience, decided that the idea of the eschatological troubles would be difficult to comprehend. But here, it seems, the key is rather in the translation of τροφή with пища⁸ and the meaning of пища as ‘abundance’⁹. And so, it is more reasonable to assume that, while editing his text, the translator introduced ал(ъ)кота as contrasting to пища because the opposition пища and what would be the Slavonic counterpart of ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς would not be clear enough for Constantine’s audience and would rather confuse them. But this case is specific and should not be considered a second translation variant of ал(ъ)кота.

The substantive ал(ъ)кота is not present in the following Slavonic diachronic dictionaries: *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (SJS 1, 27-28), *Etymologický Slovník Jazyka Staroslověnského* (ESJS 1, 48 referring to 7, 399-400), the dictionary of Ceitlin, Večerka and Blagova (SS, 68-69), the Old Bulgarian Dictionary of the Institute of Bulgarian language at BAS (SR, 18), the learner’s dictionary by Stojanov and Janakiev (SETR, 117),¹⁰ Argirovski’s dictionary of Greek-Old Church Slavonic correspondences (Arg, 362-363) as well as in numerous dictionaries to particular editions of codices, including the oldest Gospels and Old Testament books.¹¹

In other dictionaries, the word is mentioned in later monuments. Izmail Sreznevsky finds it in *Palaea* of the 14th and *Skazanije* of the 15th century (Srezn 1, 19), Franz Miklosich documents it in the *Mihanović Homiliar* and a *Paterikon* of the 14th century (Mikl, 4), Atanasij Bonchev discovers it in a *Prolog* for February (Bonch, 23) and yet this occurrence does not seem an early one as the word is missing in the indices of the *Prolog* for the winter half of the year which have been prepared according to the earlier copies (Krys’ko at al. 2011)¹², moreover, in the complete Church Slavonic dictionary of Dyachenko, the word is quoted only in the same *Skazanije* of the 15th century already pointed by Sreznevsky in this respect (D’jachenko 1993, 12). The dictionary of the Old Russian language fixes ал(ъ)кота in three texts of the 14th century (SDRJ 1, 81) and, in the meaning ‘fasting’ also in the *Izbornik* of the year 1076 (Mushinskaja at al. 2009, 93) without any Greek counterpart. The dictionary of the 11th-17th-century Russian language pins the word to *Uspenskij Sbornik*¹³ (SRJa 1, 29). The last two usages are the only earlier references in the general

⁸ The confusion of τροφή and τροφή as counterparts of пища had a long Slavonic tradition – cf. randomly chosen diachronic dictionaries e.g., Arg, 460-461; Srezn 2, 945; SJS 3, 43 and its electronic version e-SJS.

⁹ Reflected as a second meaning of пища in SJS 3, 43 which always translates τροφή. Thanks to the e-SJS we can easily find out that τροφή was translated with only two words in the earliest Old Church Slavonic monuments, namely with пища and крѣмля and that these two words were the counterparts of τροφή as well.

¹⁰ In another learner’s dictionary it is, however, present – Bojadzhiev 2016, 222.

¹¹ The exact lexicographic volumes I have checked are: Pogorvelov 1910, 260; Istrin 1930, 205; Meyer 1935, 4; Aitzetmüller 1975, 5; Davidov 1976, 22; Lebedeva 1988, 12; Lihachev – Dujchev 1988, 259; Ljusen 1995, 183, 245, 249; Christians 2001, 3; Krys’ko 2005, 667; Hristova-Shomova 2007, 329; Pichhadze – Makeeva 2008, 16; Penkova 2008, 45-46; Sels 2009, 3; Dimitrov 2010, 13; Maksimovich 2010, 2; Taseva 2010, 525, 590; Veder 2011, 3; Afanaševa 2012, 276; Fahl – Harney – Fahl 2012, 1760; Ilieva 2013, 258; Dimitrova 2016, 367; Iliev 2017, 423; Savova 2017, 261; Hristova-Shomova 2018; Dimitrova 2019, 318; RPE 2019, 31; Danova 2020, 375.

¹² Besides, the lists of word forms to the twelve-volume edition of the Tarnovo redaction of the *Verse Prolog* (Petkov – Spasova 2008–2014) lack ал(ъ)кота and the only use of the stem registered there is of the adjective алкотънъ in the *Vita* of St Fevronia on 25 June (ibid. 59, 89). See also *Cejtlin* 1986, 195-198, where a number of nouns with the suffix -ота are explained, but the one in question is not given.

¹³ The exact context given in the dictionary is: “(Бл҃гов)вѣщавану азъ ꙗко ꙗже ꙗко къ томꙋ не боитє са мѹщитєла, нъ не родитє о страѣи ни о сѣмьрѣни ни о алѣкотѣ ни о скрѣви. Усп. сб. 426 XII-XIII вв.” together with the quotation of another source of the 15th – 16th century.

diachronic dictionaries which I have found so far. It is present also in the *Scete Patericon* and this seems to be its earliest fixation (Veder 2012, 157)¹⁴.

This all comes to confirm that the word $\lambda\lambda(\text{з})\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha$, as present in *Uchitel'noe evangelie*, is not just part of Constantine of Preslav's idiolect but also of the earliest literary language, no matter that it enjoyed a less frequent use. Its absence in the majority of the general lexicographical manuals for the period means, above all, that their publication preceded the publication of the monuments in which it is found. As Vadim Kryś'ko and Geogrij Mol'kov (2017, 385) point out, even though some of the words found in *Uchitel'noe evangelie* have not been included in SRJa – albite the fact that the Description of Alexander Gorsky and Kapiton Nevostruev (Gorskij – Nevostruev 1859) and Sreznevsky's dictionary (Srezn) were among its sources – many others did, besides with reference to the work of Gorsky and Nevostruev. In addition, SJS also includes certain lexemes found in *Uchitel'noe evangelie*, while SR, SDRJ, and SRJa do not reflect the monument at all (Slavova 2013, 107, see also Zhikova 2017, 25).

If this is so, it is logical to look for information about the word $\lambda\lambda(\text{з})\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha$ in the very studies of the vocabulary of *Uchitel'noe evangelie*. The earlier scholars of it (Gorskij – Nevostruev 1859, 424-432) aim at making an overview of more specific linguistic features and of particular translation decisions and author's choices and so the word $\lambda\lambda(\text{з})\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha$ remained out of their scope. Roman Kryvko attempts to prove the Western and South-Western origin of the monument (Krivko 2014); V. Kryś'ko and G. Mol'kov systemize various linguistic features on a territorial basis – Eastern and South Slavonic – and do not mention the word $\lambda\lambda(\text{з})\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha$ (Kryś'ko – Mol'kov 2017). Zheni Zhikova does not pay special attention to the lexeme, but it still appears in an example quoted in her dissertation – the one from Oration 31 (Zhikova 2017, 148, 198). So, as far as I know, $\lambda\lambda(\text{з})\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha$ has not attracted special attention in the studies of *Uchitel'noe evangelie* – presumably, because it is neither a loan word nor a theological term, it is not present in a Biblical quotation and has nothing unique in its etymology, morphology and word formation, no specific rhetorical uses of it were noticed.

Yet the root **alk-* was relatively productive in Old Bulgarian as attested by the number of words which contain it – verbs, adjectives, and other nouns. *Uchitel'noe evangelie* shows various occurrences of the kind – fifteen in total in twelve orations as follows:

02/10a06	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ Ø
03/11d06	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\gamma\epsilon\eta\alpha\delta\gamma\sigma$ ($\lambda\lambda\text{з}\gamma\sigma\mu\alpha\gamma\sigma$ WH) $\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\alpha$
12/67d06	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\sigma\mu\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\alpha$
13/68d16	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\sigma\mu\epsilon$ Ø – in an introduction, metaphorically used
16/77d16-17	$\lambda\lambda\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ же $\eta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\sigma\iota\tau\iota$ τοῦ $\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon$ γε $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ¹⁵
26/126b06	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\sigma\mu\iota\eta\mu\text{з}$ Ø – in an introduction, metaphorically used
28/133c16	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\eta\eta\alpha$ Ø
32/144b06	$\text{в}\text{з}\text{з}\lambda\kappa\alpha\lambda\text{з}$ Ø – in an introduction with reference to Christ in the desert
32/150d13	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\kappa\alpha\chi\text{з}$ Ø – in a conclusion
33/153c21	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\gamma\eta\eta\eta$ Ø – in a conclusion
42/195b21-195c1	$\text{в}\text{з}\text{з}\lambda\kappa\alpha\lambda\text{з}$ Ø – in an introduction
47/212b10	$\text{в}\text{з}\text{з}\lambda\kappa\alpha\chi\text{з}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\sigma\alpha$
47/212d19	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\eta\eta\text{з}$ $\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omega\upsilon\upsilon$
47/210d21	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\eta\eta\alpha\mu\text{з}$ Ø
49/220d04	$\lambda\lambda\text{з}\pi\sigma\mu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ Ø – in an introduction

¹⁴ I am indebted to Ivan P. Petrov for this finding.

¹⁵ This asymmetry is one of the numerous examples of phrase-for-phrase and not word-for-word translations in *Uchitel'noe evangelie* unless another source was used in this particular case.

The excerpts above reveal that: 1. no other nouns of the same root were used in the monument¹⁶, 2. two-thirds of the usages of -λλ(ζ)κ- are in original and not translated parts, which themselves constitute a much smaller share of the corpus – probably around one-tenth of it, and 3. the majority of the usages correspond to the Greek root -πειν-.

The lack of other nouns of the root -λλ(ζ)κ- in the monument would make the scholar curious about the system of these competing terms, that is, of the other nouns with the root *alk- and the semantic relation between them. The outline of the related substantives, according to the dictionaries is as follows¹⁷:

- **λλ(ζ)ΚΛΗΝΗΕ**
 - 1. λιμός (e-SJS¹⁸), πείνα (SDRJ; Pichhadze – Makeeva 2008, 16¹⁹; Maksimovich 2010, 2), Ø (SRJA, SS)
 - 2. νηστεία (Mikl; Meyer 1935, 4; SJS; e-SJS; Arg; SDRJ; SR; SS, Iliev 2017, 42), Ø (Srezn, SRJa)
 - 3. Ø ‘greed, strong desire’ (e-SJS,²⁰ SRJa)
- **λλ(ζ)ΥΨΒΑ**
 - 1. νηστεία (Mikl, Meyer 1935, 4; SJS; e-SJS; SS; Ilieva 201, : 258; Dimitrova 2016, 367), Ø (SDRJ; SR;SRJa), άσντηά (Istrin 1930: 20), άσκησνς (SJS, e- SJS, SS);
 - 2. Ø ‘hunger’ (Srezn, SDRJ, SR, SRJA), πείνη/πείνα (Istrin 1930, 20; Lebedeva 1988; 12, Fahl – Harney – Fahl 2012, 1760)
- **λλ(ζ)ΥΔ**
 - 1. λιμός (SJS, e-SJS, Arg)
 - 2. Ø ‘fasting’ (e-SJS), νηστεία (Arg)
- **λλ(ζ)ΥΨ**
 - 1. Ø ‘hunger’ (SJS, e-SJS, SDRJ, SRJa), πείνα (Srezn, Mikl), λιμός (Mikl, Arg)
 - 2. Ø ‘fasting’ (Srezn, SDRJ, SRJA)
- **λλ(ζ)ΚΟΤΔ**
 - πεινη/πείνα1 (Srezn, Mikl), Ø (SDRJ, SRJa)
- **ΛΔΚΟΜΗΕ,
ΛΔΚΟΜΨΤΒΗΕ,
ΛΔΚΟΤΔ
ΛΔΚΟΜΟΨΤΨ,
ΛΔΚΟΜΨΤΒΟ**
 - Ø ‘gluttony, voracity, greed, avarice’ (SJS, e-SJS)
ΛΔΚΟΜΟΨΤΨ – πλεονεξία (Mikl)
ΛΔΚΟΜΨΤΒΟ – άδηφαγία (Taseva 2010, 525)

The broadest meaning has λλ(ζ)κλννηε as it translates both λιμός and πείνα as well as νηστεία, besides, was noted to designate also ‘greed’; λλ(ζ)υψβα translates νηστεία and even άσκησνς, while λλ(ζ)υδ most often translates λιμός but is also fixed to designate ‘fasting’ even though without

¹⁶ In it, there are no metathesized forms – with initial лак- from *alk-.

¹⁷ A valuable reference tool to check this list is CID-COLCSLL 1. 2015 (9, 11, 12), 2. 2018 (260). It refers to all the listed substantives and marks the Slavonic diachronic dictionaries which mention them. The three missing above are the dictionaries of Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian redactions respectively, of which just the first one is available to me and it mentions some of the non-metathesized forms just as references to the metathesized, whose entries, however, are forthcoming (the last volume of the edition, as far as I know, is 22. (2018) (zeml'ny – i)).

¹⁸ The print version of SJS does not give a Greek correspondence of the word – it is present only in the electronic version, e-SJS, which includes the additional material from the fifth section.

¹⁹ But also, ένδεια, έπιτυμία (ibid.).

²⁰ The third meaning of the word is present only in the electronic version of the dictionary.

a Greek correspondence; ἀλγυβ is registered generally as ‘hunger’ but without a Greek counterpart and in only one example. To this system, we need to add also ἀλ(β)κοτᾱ from the ninth-century monument (the noun previously noted in Mikl, Srezn, SDRJ, SRJA) which relates to the first meaning of πείνη/πείνα. Last but not least, there is a whole group of nouns that have the same root but with metathesis in it, i.e., starting with ἀκ-. They all mean ‘voracity’ and ‘avarice’. All this system may be presented visually in the following way:



The most general term is ΔΛ(Β)ΚΑΝΙΗ – it includes the need for food, the severe lack of it, the voluntary restriction of eating, and, even, the gluttony and greed. In the upper register comes ΔΛ(Β)ΥΒΑ designating fasting and metaphorically used also for any kind of asceticism. The upper register is touched by ΔΛ(Β)ΥΔ in its meaning related to fasting while the severe need for food pulls it down. Quite narrow – and rather neutral – in meaning is ΔΛ(Β)ΚΟΤᾱ designating simply the need for food. And the substantives with metathesis in their root, at least according to the dictionaries listed, seem to signify abnormal desire for food and other goods.

Needless to say, the visual thesaurus presented above related to nouns deriving from *alk- is not fully attested in *Uchitel'noe evangelie*. The higher register of ΔΛ(Β)ΥΒΑ and the lower of ΔΛΙΚΟΜΙΗ... are missing in it; ΓΛΑΔЪ is used instead of its synonymic ΔΛ(Β)ΚΑΝΙΗ and ΠΟСТЪ replaces ΔΛ(Β)ΥΔ. So, the distribution of these two additional lexical roots designating *hunger* in the monument is as follows: first, come the four uses of ΓΛΑΔЪ in the monument plus two of the adjective ΓΛΑΔЪНЪ and then follow the eight occurrences of ΠΟСТЪ plus six other of the verb ΠΟСТИТИ СѦ:

- 32/148c06 ΓΛΑΔΟΥ λιμού
- 39/185a21 ΓΛΑΔЪНЪНѦ СЪМЪРТИ ἀπὸ λιμού θάνατον
- 39/185b06 ΓΛΑΔΑ λιμού
- 43/199b06 ΓΛΑΔЪ ∅ – in a conclusion
- 47/212d19 ΓΛΑΔЪНЪ λιμώτων
- 23/118a03 ΠΟСТЪ ∅ – in an introduction
- 23/118b08 ΠΟСТИТЕ СѦ ∅ – in a conclusion

- 27/131c05 *постомь* Ø – in a conclusion
- 48/216b12 *поста* Ø – in an introduction
- 48/217b01 *постите са* νηστεύητε
- 48/217c21 *постѣ* νηστείας
- 48/217d08 *постѣ* νηστείαν
- 48/218b01 *поцьмь са* νηστεύσας
- 48/219b15 *поститї са* Ø – in a conclusion
- 49/220c08 *постъ* Ø – in a conclusion
- 49/220c10 *постъ* Ø – in a conclusion
- 49/220c11 *постъ* Ø – in a conclusion
- 49/220c16 *са* постиши Ø – in a conclusion
- 49/221a07 *постимь са* Ø – in a conclusion

These excerpts reveal that: 1. *глад-* is exclusively the counterpart of *λιμ-*, 2. *пост-* corresponds to *νηστ-*, and 3. *длк-* corresponds – to the main meaning of *πειν-* i.e., the one related to hunger, but not the secondary, the metaphorical one.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that the words for *hunger* in *Uchitel'noe evangelie* are of three roots, namely *глад-*, *пост-*, and *дл(з)к-* and that they have their exact Greek counterparts, besides, word for word and meaning for meaning: *глад-* translates *λιμ-* and designates severe hunger, *пост-* to *νηστ-* and is related to fasting, while *дл(з)к-* translates *πειν-* in its meaning related to 'need for food' (and not to 'greed, desire for acquiring'). Indeed, it is occasionally used also metaphorically to signify the strong need for non-material, spiritual goods, in which sense it slightly touches the second sense of *πεινή/πεινά* but still remains in the upper register and distant from the group of nouns designating gluttony and greed for food and other material goods.

Most specific among the three is the word *дл(з)кѣ* as it seems to be relatively rare in the older Slavonic monuments but nevertheless, it is inherent in the Old Bulgarian literary language and in the vocabulary of Constantine of Preslav in particular. Besides, it finds its place in – and completes – the thesaurus of nouns with the root **alk-* which are related to various aspects of the sememe *hunger*.

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