

ON THE MISBEHAVIOUR OF PRE-LIQUID YERS IN OLD CZECH

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1. Setting a problem

- one of the most important rules of Slavic phonology is Havlík's Law which defines conditions that govern the transformation of yers (ь/ѣ), i.e. high centralized Vs whose origin were Indo-European *i/u*, into non-high Vs:

(1) Havlík's Law (Havlík 1889)

1. strong yer vocalization: ь, ѣ → V / _C₀ {ь, ѣ}

2. weak yer deletion: ь, ѣ → ∅

- (2) illustrates how this rule works:¹

	CS	OCz	gloss
C ₁ CVC-ь → CCVC	dъchor-ь	tchoř	polecat, NomSg
C ₁ C-ь → CVC	pъs-ь	pes	dog, NomSg
C ₁ C-V → CC-V	pъs-a	ps-a	dog, GenSg

- Cz diachronic grammars (e.g. Gebauer 1963, Trávníček 1935, Komárek 1982) mention one systematic exception of this rule, concerning pre-liquid yers
- their irregular behaviour is illustrated in (3):

(3)	CS: C ₁ /ъLC-ь/ѣ, C ₁ /ъLC-V	OCz: CL ₁ C, CLC-V	gloss
	dъrn-ь, dъrn-a	dřn, dřn-a	turf, NomSg, GenSg
	gъrb-ь, gъrb-a	hřb, hřb-a	hump, NomSg, GenSg
	gъrst-ь, gъrst-i	hřst, hřst-i	cupped palm, NomSg, GenSg
	sъrp-ь, sъrp-a	sřp, sřp-a	sidole, NomSg, GenSg
	tъrg-ь, tъrg-a	třh, třh-a	market, NomSg, GenSg
	tъrn-ь, tъrn-a	třn, třn-a	thorn, NomSg, GenSg
	vъlk-ь, vъlk-a	vřk, vřk-a	wolf, NomSg, GenSg
	vъrch-ь, vъrch-a	vřch, vřch-a	hill, NomSg, GenSg

2. Traditional analysis: rule ordering

¹ CS examples in (2) and throughout the paper are quoted from Kopečný (1981).

- in OCz grammars the structures with syllabic Ls are analysed in terms of **rule ordering**: the loss of pre-L yers and the subsequent rise of syllabic Ls preceded the yer vocalization; see Gebauer (1963:67), Trávníček (1935:58), Komárek (1982:16)
- however, this rule ordering scenario has at least three weak points:
 1. it does not explain why all pre-L yers in OCz did not behave alike
 2. it does not explain why the loss of the yer leads to the rise of a syllabic L
 3. it does not explain why pre-L yers behave differently in particular Slavic dialects

3. Need for an elaborated theory of syllable structure

3.1 OCz: all pre-L yers do not behave alike

- the behaviour of pre-L yers depends on whether the L is followed by another C:

(4)	CS: Cь/ьL-ь/ь, Cь/ьL-V	OCz: CVL, CL-V	gloss
	коты-ь, коты-а	kotel, kotl-a	kettle, NomSg, GenSg
	козы-ь, козы-а	kozel, kozl-a	goat, NomSg, GenSg
	оры-ь, оры-а	orel, orl-a	eagle, NomSg, GenSg
	осы-ь, осы-а	osel, osl-a	donkey, NomSg, GenSg
	агы-ь, агы-а	úhel, úhl-a	angle, NomSg, GenSg
	азы-ь, азы-а	uzel, uzl-a	knot, NomSg, GenSg
	свекы-ь, свекы-а	sveker, svekr-a	father-in-law, NomSg, GenSg

3.2 OCz: Syllabic Ls and their non-syllabic peers are not in complementary distribution

- no automatic implication between the loss of the yer and the syllabicity of the L
- two conditions must be met for Ls to be syllabic: **1. a yer before the L, 2. a C after it**; otherwise so called **trapped** Ls are derived (see Scheer, 2008):

(5)	CS	Cь/ьLC	CLь/ьC	CLь/ь#	#Lь/ьC
	OCz	CḶC	CLC	CL#	#LC

- some OCz words with trapped Ls are recorded in tables (6)–(8)
- both OCz categories of Ls in question, syllabic and trapped, display different features; one of them, namely the fact that the former count in poetry while the latter do not, is illustrated in the appendix of this handout

(6) internal trapped Ls

CS: CLь/ьC-ь/ь, CLь/ьC-V	OCz: CLC, CLC-V	gloss
abḷk-ь, abḷk-o	jablek, jablk-o	apple, GenPl, NomSg
bḷch-ь, bḷch-a	blech, blch-a	flea, GenPl, NomSg
kṛv-ь (< kry), kṛv-e	krev, krv-e	blood, NomSg, GenSg
pḷt-ь, pḷt-i	plet, plt-i	skin, NomSg, GenSg

slъz-ъ, slъz-a	slez, slz-a	tear, GenPl, NomSg
blъsk-ът-ъ, blъsk-ът-a	blsk-et, blesk-t-a	flash, NomSg, GenSg
bobr-ъk-ъ, bobr-ъk-a	bobr-ek, bobr-k-a	beaver, dimin., NomSg, GenSg

(7) final trapped Ls

CS: CL-ъ/ъ	OCz: CL#	gloss
bobr-ъ	bobr	beaver, NomSg
bratr-ъ	bratr	brother, NomSg
grabr-ъ	habr	hornbeam, NomSg
kopr-ъ	kopr	dill, NomSg
mysl-ъ	mysl	mind, NomSg
větr-ъ	vítr	wind, NomSg

(8) initial trapped Ls

CS: #Lъ/ъC-ъ/ъ, #Lъ/ъC-V	OCz: #LVC, #LC-V	gloss
лб-ъ, лб-и	leb, lb-i	skull, NomSg, GenSg
лѣ-ъ, лѣ-и	lež, lz-i	lie, NomSg, GenSg
лп-ъ, лп-a	len, ln-a	flax, NomSg, GenSg
лст-ъ, лст-и	lest, lst-i	trick, NomSg, GenSg
лв-ъ, лв-a	lev, lv-a	lion, NomSg, GenSg
лт-ъ, лт-a	ret, rt-a	lip, NomSg, GenSg
лѣ-ъ, лѣ-и	rež, rz-i	rye, NomSg, GenSg

- trapped Ls survived in OCz until the end of the 14th century, subsequently all of them except word-initial ones received syllabic status:

(9) CS	Съ/ъLC	CLъ/ъC	CLъ/ъ#	#Lъ/ъC
OCz	CḶC	CLC	CL#	#LC
Cz	CḶC	CḶC	CḶ#	#LC

3.3 LCS: Съ/ъLC strings have different reflexes

- (10) illustrates that pre-L yers in Съ/ъLC strings take exception to Havlík's Law in all Slavic dialects, but with different results
- the yers in question either: a) always disappear, i.e. behave as weak (e.g. in Czech), or b) always vocalize, i.e. behave as strong (e.g. in Russian):²

(10) CS	Cz	R	gloss
Съ/ъLC	CḶC	CVLC	
сѣр-ъ	srp	serp	sickle
рѣлн-ъ	plný	pólnyj	full

² I abstract away from the fact that syllabic Ls derived from Съ/ъLC underwent further changes in particular languages, e.g. the fact that the syllabic lateral *l* further vocalized to *o* in Serbo-Croatian.

3.4 Interim summary

- yers in C_ь/ъLC strings disobey Havlík's Law in all Slavic languages
- to analyze their behaviour we need **an elaborated theory of syllable structure**

4. Bethin (1998): a mora-based analysis

4.1 Three groups of CS dialects

- Bethin (1998:68–82) argues that the different development of CS _ь/ъL and L_ь/ъ originates in their different syllable representation; she divides CS dialects into three groups according to the behaviour of L-adjacent yers:

(11)	South Central (Sk)	North West (Pol)	North East (R)	gloss
C _ь /ъLC	C _ɹ C	CVLC	CVLC	
d _ь rž-ati, t _ь rg-ъ	držati, trh	dzierżyć, targ	deržát', torg	to hold, market
CL _ь /ъC	C _ɹ C	CLC/CLVC	CLVC	
bl _ь ch-a, bl _ь ch-ъ	blcha, blch	pchła, pcheł	blochá, bloch	flea, NSg, GPI

4.2 South Central dialects

- Bethin (1998:72,78) assumes that both interconsonantal _ь/ъL and L_ь/ъ had the same representation in the South Central dialects: they had been **diphthongs**
- what is important is that these Ls were moraic:³



- the further development of L-diphthongs in these dialects is a result of the interplay of two syllable constraints:

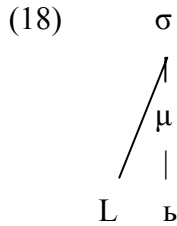
- (13) 1. **Moraic Constraint:** L is not a mora-bearing unit
 2. **Monosegmental Constraint:** syllable nuclei contain one segment only

³ For the sake of simplicity, I omit here the accentual differences, i.e. the fact that _ь/ъL-diphthongs could either bear a short falling or a long rising accent.



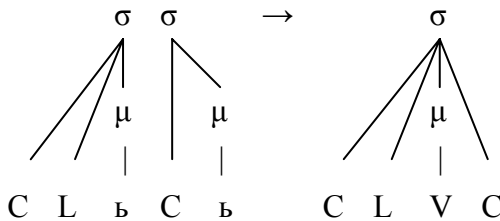
4.3.2 CL_ь/ьC

- they followed Havlík's Law: the regular loss of the yer in weak position makes the L trapped; see e.g. Pol *pchl-a* (<*bl_ьch-a*), *pchel* (<*bl_ьch-ь*) ("flea, NomSg, GenPl")
- according to Bethin (1998:89) these post-L yers behaved regularly because they were not engaged into L-diphthongs:

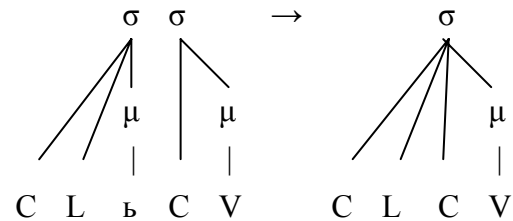


- (19)a shows strong yer vocalization, (19)b derivation of a trapped L before a weak yer:

(19) a. CL_ь/ьC-ь/ь → CLVC



b. CL_ь/ьC-V → CLCV



4.4 Consequences of the mora-based model

- to sum up: the cornerstone of Bethin's model is the notion of the **mora**
- sensitivity of L-adjacent yers to Havlík's Law depends on **whether the L is moraic or not**:
 1. the L is moraic → the yer is weak regardless of the quality of the following V
 2. the L is not moraic → the yer regularly follows Havlík's Law
- as a consequence either a syllabic L or a LV and trapped L is derived

(20)

	C _ь /ьLC	CL _ь /ьC	result
South Central	moraic	moraic	CL _ь C
North West	moraic	non-moraic	CL _ь C CLVC/CLC

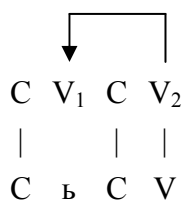
- This mora-based model raises a number of questions:
 1. Why did L_ь/ь have variable syllabic status?
Provided that the Ls in ь/ьL in the North West area were moraic, it is not clear why they could not be moraic in L_ь/ь as well.

2. Why has the monophthongization of L-diphthongs always been done in favour of Ls? In other words, why did both pre- and post-L yers behave as weak?⁵
3. Why have former syllabic Ls in the North West only been decomposed to VL, never to LV?
As Bethin (1998:74) herself notes, "we might have expected that a syllabic liquid would produce a vocalic element after it, so as not to violate the No Coda Constraint". To explain the choice of VL, rather than of LV sequences, she introduces a new syllable constraint which prefers sonorant syllable codas, i.e. CVR syllable type. Among other things, this constraint predicts: a) lenitions of the T>R type in codas (CVT.RV → CVR.RV), b) the existence of epenthetic sonorants (CV.CV → CVR.CV), c) methathesis of branching onsets (V.TRV → VR.TV). However, it does not seem that any of these processes was active in the North West dialects.
4. Why have the OCz trapped Ls changed to their syllabic peers, except in initial position?
Although Bethin (1998:79) is aware of this change, she provides no analysis of it.

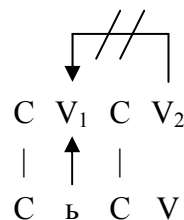
5. A government-based analysis

- I propose a new analysis of trapped and syllabic Ls based on the notions of the **government** and **consonantal domain** (see Scheer 2004 and Government Phonology references therein)
- Vs alternating with zero (yers) are lexically floating segments
- weak yers are governed by full nuclei (i.e. nuclei occupied by stable, non-alternating Vs), strong yers are not → government, a lateral regressive relation between two nuclear positions, serves as a barrier for yer vocalization:

(21) a. weak yer = governed
(e.g. OCz sn-a < CS сн-а)



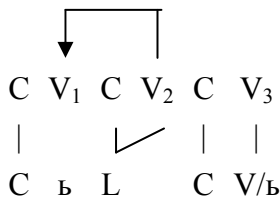
b. strong yer = ungoverned
(e.g. OCz sen < CS сн-ь)



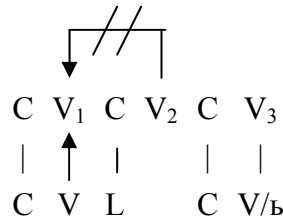
- pre-L yers in C_б/ъLC are insensitive to the quality of following Vs because of an intervening nucleus; these yers are either weak (Cz) or strong (Rus) depending on whether the L branches to the empty nucleus to its right
- branching Ls = syllabic Ls; C-position determines their articulation, V-position their phonological behaviour (they can bear stress, can express length, count in poetry etc.)

⁵ This question becomes more relevant if we consider other types of CS diphthongs: diphthongs with initial glides (*i, u*) never behaved in the same way as their mirrored pendants; see e.g. Horálek (1962).

(22) a. weak yer: before a branching L
(e.g. OCz tr̥h, tr̥h-a < CS t̥rg-ъ, t̥rg-a)

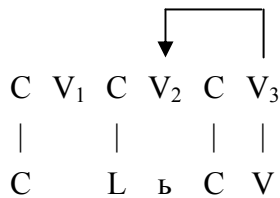


b. strong yer: before a non-branching L
(e.g. ORus torg, torg-a)

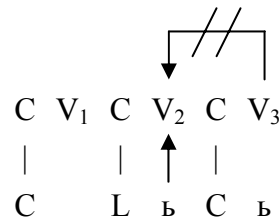


- yers in CL_ь/ъC are either weak or strong depending on whether a yer or a full V occurs in the following nucleus

(23) a. weak yer: before a full V
(e.g. OCz slz-a < CS slъz-a)



b. strong yer: before a yer
(e.g. OCz slez < CS slъz-ъ)



- the difference between South Central Slavic (syllabic Ls < C_ь/ъLC) and North East Slavic (VL < C_ь/ъLC) is **parametric**: Ls can or can not branch, i.e. can be syllabic (South Central) or not (North East)

5.1 OCz vs. MoCz: trapped Ls can/can not be heads of branching onsets

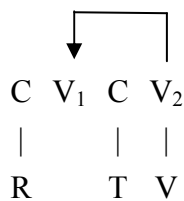
- recall that in OCz inter-consonantal Ls (CLC) and post-consonantal final Ls (CL#) could be both syllabic or trapped, while in MoCz all of them are syllabic; initial Ls (#LC) remain trapped even in MoCz:

(9)	CS	C _ь /ъLC	CL _ь /ъC	CL _ь /ъ#	#L _ь /ъC
	OCz	CL _̣ C	CLC	CL#	#LC
	Cz	CL _̣ C	CL _̣ C	CL _̣ #	#LC

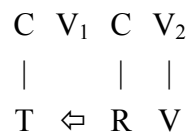
- if OCz Ls can branch, why did not they branch elsewhere where an empty nucleus (with or without a floating segment) was available? In other words, why did not they branch in those contexts where a nucleus with a floating yer followed them?
- the fact that Ls were branching only in C_ь/ъLC indicates that a reason for the branching was government: **Ls branch to their right in order to govern a floating yer**

- in CL_ъ/ъC, CL_ъ/ъ#, #L_ъ/ъC there was no floating yer before the L which had to be governed by it → these Ls had no reason to branch → the loss of the weak yer after the L leads to the rise of a trapped L⁶
- crucial question: Why did all trapped Ls except those in initial position become syllabic in MoCz?
- answer: because initial trapped Ls are not included in branching onsets (TR)
- theory-independent fact: Cs of TRs are more closely related than Cs in coda-onset (RT) clusters (e.g. phonotactics of TRs is more restricted than phonotactics of RTs); see e.g. Harris (1997)
- government-based representation thereof: empty nuclei in TRs but not in RTs are enclosed within a consonantal domain → domain-internal empty nuclei are resistant to government (see Scheer, in press.)
- in (24)b, a domain is marked by a backward arrow which indicates that the R serve as a domain-head:

(24) a. RT (coda-onset)



b. TR (branching onset)



- crosslinguistically, TRs are the most marked consonant clusters
- Cyran (2001, 2003) interprets this fact as follows: TRs must be licensed by the nucleus which follows them; which nuclear categories are strong enough to license TRs, it is a matter of a language-specific parameter
- the parametrical difference between OCz and MoCz: **trapped Ls can be (OCz) / can not be (MoCz) heads of consonantal domains**
- in other words: empty nuclei were good TR licensors in OCz while in MoCz they are not → the only good licensor of TRs in MoCz are full nuclei
- this is the reason why trapped Ls in TRs (i.e. in CLC and CL#) became syllabic → they started to branch to its right to create a good licensor of the domain in which they serve as heads
- initial trapped Ls: there is no reason for the them to branch → they are not domain heads → trapped Ls did not change to syllabic Ls

⁶ Furthermore, the regular vocalization of pre-L yers in C_ъ/ъL-ъ/ъ (see examples in (4) above) shows that Ls could not branch to empty nuclei containing floating segments.

5.1 Polish: the loss of the ability to branch

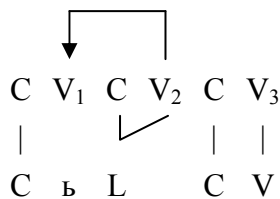
- recall that where OCz shows syllabic Ls Polish has VL; the problem is that these Vs are not regular strong yer reflexes

(25)	CS	Cz	Pol	gloss
	smьrd-ěti, pьrs-i	smřděti, přs	śmierdzieć, pierś	smell, breast
	mьlč-ati, vьlg-ь	mļčeti, vļhký	milczeć, wilgotny	be quiet, moist
	ьrlog-ь, ьrst-ь	řloh, řst	barłóg, garść	lair, cupped palm

- this leads many scholars to interpret them as epenthetic Vs which accompanied former syllabic Ls (see Bethin, 1998 and references therein)
- however, this perspective cannot explain why these epenthetic Vs systematically precede older syllabic Ls, but never follow them
- in a government-based model the position of these epenthetic Vs directly follows from the fact that syllabic Ls from CS ь/ьL branched to their right and governed the nucleus before them
- hence we can assume a following scenario for Pol: Ls had lost the ability to branch very soon (there are no syllabic Ls attested in OPol texts) → the first empty nucleus in CLC is not governed anymore → ungoverned empty nuclei cannot remain empty → the empty nucleus before the L is filled up with an epenthetic vowel

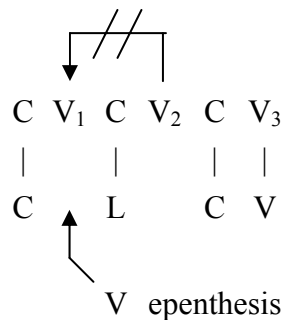
(26) a. early OPol

Ls can branch → pre-L yers fade away



b. OPol

Ls can not branch → epenthesis



6. Conclusion

- the distribution of syllabic Ls in Czech is a matter of two parameters
 - Ls can / can not branch: the difference between Czech vs. Polish
 - internal empty nuclei are / are not good licensors of branching onsets: the difference between Old Czech vs. Modern Czech

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Appendix

This appendix contains verses from Old Czech poetry dated from the beginning of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century. All quoted examples are based on Alexandrine verse which numbers 8 syllables.

The abbreviations in the square brackets correspond to the texts mentioned below:⁷

ApŠ = Zlomky legendy o apoštolích, Zlomek Šafaříkův; beginning of the 14th century

AlxB = Alexandreida, Zlomek budějovický; middle of the 14th century

Des = Desatero kázanie božie, Hradecký rukopis; 60s of the 14th century

Pláč = Pláč Marie Magdalény, Hradecký rukopis; 60s of the 14th century

Sat = Satiry, Hradecký rukopis; 60s of the 14th century

Prok = Legenda o svatém Prokopu, Hradecký rukopis; 60s of the 14th century

Kat = Legenda o svaté Kateřině; 3rd quarter of the 14th century

AlxV = Alexandreida, Zlomek svatovítský; beginning of the 15th century

Podk = Podkoní a žák, 1409

1. Internal trapped Ls: CLC < CLЬ/ЬC

blsketu (<-blʃsk-)	jakože při <i>blsketu</i> také (8) nelž by tam hnúti zrakem (8) [ApŠ, 33]
jablko (<-blʃk-)	a ty zlaté <i>jablko</i> jmiechu (8) o něžto sě velmi přiechu (8) [AlxV, 741] ať sě nepřem déle o to (8) daj který chceš, <i>jablko</i> toto (8) [AlxV, 748] řka tak, téj <i>jablko</i> dohodi (8) jež nad milostí vévodí (8) [AlxV, 761]
krvi (<krʃv-)	ande bradaticě, hrále (8) ve <i>krvi</i> jakžto vodě kalé (8) [AlxB, 103] jakž bych já svůj kóň okročil (8) svého vraha <i>krvi</i> utočil (8) [AlxV, 171] ve <i>krvi</i> velikú žádostí (8) když pak rozličnú žalostí (8) [Kat, 701]
krst- (<krʃst-)	<i>krščena</i> i v jeho v milosti (8) pro niž všě ľudské chytrosti (8) [Kat, 1704] jakž by, sě <i>krsta</i> přichopiece (8) byli svých <i>modl</i> odstúpiece (8) [AlxB, 235-6]
plťi (<plʃt-)	svú <i>plťi</i> leskne, krásy hojiec (8) Svatá Kateřina stojiec (8) [Kat, 2666]
plv- (<plʃv-)	jako zlodějě <i>vázali</i> (8) mezi oči jemu <i>plvali</i> (8) [Pláč, 74]
slz- (<slʃz-)	proč pláče i <i>slzy</i> mu tekú (8) takež, jakž samu člověku (8) [Des, 493] k jeho rovu přišla byla (8) aby s pláčem <i>slzy</i> prolila (8) [Pláč, 48] a <i>slzy</i> jejie bolestivé (8) změnichu sě v milostivé (8) [Pláč, 851]
trst- (<trʃst-)	jakžto <i>trscie</i> neb zechlé léščie (8) a hlas sě <i>vzdvihl</i> až v oblaky (8) [AlxB, 60-61]
bratrcě (<-trʃc-)	Nezabíjěj <i>bratrcě</i> svého (8) mé tváři, člověka mého (8) [Des, 232]
mudrcuov (<-drʃc-) chytrcuov (<-trʃc-)	ústa <i>řekl</i> , na něž se vráciv (8) všech <i>mudrcuov</i> múdrost zatrativ (8) i všech <i>chytrcuov</i> chytrost zkazi (8) pro něž já vám všem to razi (8) [Kat, 2093-4] <i>mudrcuov</i> chytrosti všeliké (8) i ich mistrovstie veliké (8) [Kat, 1696]
myslce (<-slʃc-)	obličej mají pokojný (8) a <i>myslce</i> vždy žádá vojny (8) [AlxV, 51] tak mi <i>myslce</i> v obém stáše (8) ktož tu biechu, každý spáše (8) [AlxV, 869]

⁷ All examples are taken from the following recourses: *Legenda o svaté Kateřině*. Jan Vilikovský (ed.), Praha: Vyšehrad, 1946; Gebauer, Jan. 1970. *Slovník staročeský*. Praha: Academia (2nd edition); *Vokabulář webový – webové hnízdo pramenů k poznání staré češtiny*, available at <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz>

2. Final trapped Ls: CL# < CLь/ь#

bratr (< -trь)	proto za vše zavinění (8) proši, <i>bratr</i> , daj mi pokání (8) [Des, 776] s druhé strany tu bliz stáše (8) <i>bratr</i> Filotóv, jenž boj bráše (8) [AlxV, 1645]
múdr (< -drь)	aby člověk v tom <i>múdr</i> býval (8) jeho v jěšut ani vzýval (8) [Des, 1166]
mysl (< -slь)	jeho hlavě se otrúti (8) jímž se <i>mysl</i> ho nic neskrúti (8) [AlxB, 109] ten mój <i>rozmysl</i> , ten má žádost (8) ten má odpověd i radost (8) [Kat, 1756] v silnější <i>mysl</i> žádostivě (8) čekající radostivě (8) [Kat, 1616]
vietr (< -trь)	což hnáti <i>vietr</i> nemožěše (8) vesly dopomoci chtieše (8) [AlxV, 573] <i>vietr</i> protivný vše rozvěje (8) lap se který skutek děje (8) [AlxV, 1777]
šcedr (< -drь)	a k tomu <i>šcedr</i> z svého budeš (8) tak věčného pekla zbudeš (8) [Des, 1187]
-Cl (<i>l</i> -participle) (< -Clь)	v tu dobu král z Macedonie (8) <i>pobodl</i> bieše svého koně (8) [AlxB, 71] ale jak jsem <i>řekl</i> , jest vinna (8) pro niž ješče Kateřina (8) [Kat, 783] o působě každé věci (8) jakž kto <i>mohl</i> najvyš dosieci (8) [Kat, 104] z truchlosti v nemoc <i>upadl</i> byl (8) nemocen jsa i dušě zbyl (8) [Des, 541] <i>kradl</i> sem, při <i>vedl</i> i přebíjal (8) <i>žehl</i> sem, svú rukú vybíjal (8) [Des, 763-4] vše proti našemu sboru (8) <i>obsědl</i> zde nad námi horu (8) [Des, 469]

3. Initial trapped Ls: #Lь/ьC < #LC

lživě (< lьž-)	a což dobrý skutí živě (8) to zlý na se potkna <i>lživě</i> (8) [AlxV, 340]
lst- (< lьst-)	ach, člověče, kak si křivý (8) kak jsi svéj hospodě <i>lstivý</i> (8) [AlxV, 118] súsěd chudý, nevěda <i>lsti</i> (8) tomu bohatci odpusti (8), [Des, 1079]
lv- (< lьv-)	zatiem povezú pardusy (8) <i>lvy</i> hi mnohé velé štrusy (8) [AlxB, 193] na svú žalost spomínaje (8) jakžto <i>lvový</i> štěnc právě (8) [AlxV, 184]
rv- (< rьv-)	nepoddada se druh druhu (8) <i>rvášta</i> se chvíli tak dlúhú (8) [Podk, 472]

4. Syllabic Ls: CLC < CЬ/ЬLC

brz- (< бѣrz-)	kteříž koli při tom biechu (8) že velmi u <i>brzkém</i> spěchu (8) [Prok, 448] a jakž to <i>brzo</i> povědě (8) tak žena očima vzhledě (8) [Prok, 532] Alexandru odpovědě (8) a jakž on to <i>brzo</i> zvědě (8) [AlxV, 2101]
vrch- (< вѣrch-) mrtv- (< мѣrt-) črn- (< чѣrn-)	ostavili biechu <i>svrchu</i> (8) ty pak <i>zmrtvěvše</i> na <i>vrchu</i> (8) <i>črnáchu</i> se bolestivě (8) pátú barvu žalostivě (8) [Kat, 2340-3]
chrt- (< чѣrt-) črt- (< чѣrt-)	ne můj muži, ale <i>črte</i> (8) převzteklý pekelný <i>chrte</i> (8) [Kat, 2930-1]
hrd- (< гѣrd-)	tak se bě vypravil <i>hrdě</i> (8) vši věci silně i <i>tvrdě</i> (8) [AlxV, 1212-3] město, chtě se mu přiečiti (8) svú <i>hrdostí</i> vz něho býti (8) [AlxV, 409]
skvrn- (< скѣrn-)	dievko i bez <i>poskvrnění</i> (8) vysokého urozenie (8) [Kat, 455]
drž- (< дрѣž-)	druhé kázanie božie jest (8) ktož je drží, blazě mu jest (8) [Des, 116] co Písmo velí přijieti (8) toho se nechtie <i>držěti</i> (8) [Des, 800]
hrb- (< гѣrb-)	kak jest vzrostlý na životě (8) <i>hrbovat-li</i> či v lepotě (8) [Kat, 288]
rdc- (< рѣdc-)	čistota v ráj nedovodí (8) jenž ot <i>srdcě</i> nepochodí (8) [Des, 262] vším svým <i>srdcem</i> milováše (8) ni co jiného ufáše (8) [Pláč, 93] svého synáčka milého (8) tu tak z <i>srděčka</i> čilého (8) [Kat, 694]
krčm- (< кѣрчѣm-)	v <i>krčmě</i> nebo v tanci ženu (8) posazují uličenú (8) [Des, 277] a když do <i>krčmy</i> jidesta (8) <i>brzo</i> tři krošě propista (8) [Sat, 43-4]

5. Trapped vs. syllabic in C_C: L (< LЬ/Ь) vs. Ḷ (< Ъ/ЬL)

srdce, krve	železná kopie proskočie (8) a z jich <i>srdce krve</i> utočie (8) [AlxV, 1517]
červená, krve	tělo před pohanstvem stkvieše (8) na němžto <i>červená</i> kvieše (8) barva ot jejie <i>krve</i> svaté (8) kterou ty panošě klaté (8) [Kat, 2331-2]
smysl, srdce	<i>smysl</i> i <i>srdce</i> toho zlého (8) že nahoru s stolce svého (8) [Kat, 1484]
plť, vytrhniechu	mezi ně se zapletiechu (8) tu je i s <i>plť</i> <i>vytrhniechu</i> (8) [Kat, 2371]
krví, trpěl	i svú vlastní <i>krví</i> vykúpil (8) muky <i>trpěl</i> , na kříž vstúpil (8) [Kat, 1304-5]
krvavým, milosrdně	rány jeho umyjíci (8) <i>krvavým</i> pláčem oplačící (8) <i>milosrdně</i> zlíbající (8) [Pláč, 405-6]
lsti, mrzká	ó nevěrná <i>diebelská</i> <i>lsti</i> (8) i lidská <i>mrzká</i> závisti (8) [Prok, 985-6]
lvy, vlky	jakžto dva <i>lvy</i> hladovitá (8) nebo dva <i>vlky</i> nesyatá (8) [AlxV, 1568-9]
vztrže, vietr, brzo	<i>vztrže</i> se <i>vietr</i> ovšem časný (8) i by ten den velmi jasný (8) [AlxV, 532] a jakž <i>brzo</i> jě rozsúdi (8) <i>vztrhna</i> se <i>vietr</i> , jej <i>ubudi</i> (8) [AlxV, 764]