LEXICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CORESI'S TEXT "APOSTOLUL"[1]

***Abstract**: Researchers have shown a special interest in the texts belonging to the 16th century. The reason for doing this is simple: the texts represent the ample and safe evidences of the oldest stages of Romanian language. They've been transcribed and analyzed (in studies dedicated to all language compartments). From Coresi's* "Apostolul"*, I. Bianu has published only the facsimiles. Alexandru Gafton turned his attention only to some of the words he found in this text that are no longer in use nowadays or changed their meanings. We have investigated only one of the language compartments of this old text, namely the part dedicated to the vocabulary. We are going to analyze it having in mind a comparison between this text and other texts written in the same century, especially other texts signed by Coresi.*

***Keywords**: vocabulary, etymology, comparison.*

Professor Alexandru Gafton wrote a book entitled *Codicele Bratul*, in which he transcribed the text, but he also gave the correspondent fragments (exclusively) from Coresi's *Apostolul, Codicele Voroneţean,* Iorga's *Apostolul* and *Codex Sturdzanus.* In *Evoluţia limbii române prin traduceri biblice din secolul al XVI-lea*, he made – for comparison reasons – comments on some of the linguistically interesting terms found in a couple of texts belonging to the first century of written Romanian, among these texts being the one analyzed here. But he referred only to those passages from Coresi's text which parallel Bratu's. We have left aside the words already discussed by the above mentioned linguist and focused on some other lexemes.

Words which are no longer used nowadays (in literary Romanian)

We draw the attention to a word derived in Romanian from another word that is of Modern Greek origin: *argăsitorie* – derived from *argăsi* < Modern Greek ἀργάζω "to process leather and fur, to taw". It can be found in a context like: „era-lă *argăsitoria* meşterşugul" (84/10)[2]. In the correspondent fragment from *CB* a derived term occurs, *curelari*, whose root is *curea* (< Latin *corrigia*).

The Slavic word *čemerĭ* "poison" generated the Romanian *a ciumări* which has two meanings: "to get sour" and "to get angry". In *CP* there is a slightly different form of this verb that does not fall under the category of verbs ending in *–i* (the fourth type of conjugation), but it ends in *–a* (the first type) as we can infer from the form *ciumărează*: „dragostea nu uraşte; dragostea nu e înşălătoare, nu se măreaşte, nu cu rău arată-se şi nu caută ce e al ei, nu *se ciumărează*, nu cugetă rău" (324/18). The latter meaning mentioned above is the one that we extract from this context. The verb also appears in *CC2*.

The verb *a cumpăni* derives from the noun *cumpănă* that was borrowed by Romanian, as Alexandru Ciorănescu states in his dictionary (Ciorănescu, 2002:266), from Slavic (< Slavic *kǫpona*) which, in turn, took it from Latin (< Latin *campana*). We

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[2] The numbers indicate the page and the line (in Coresi's original text) where the word discussed is taken from (we did not refer to the entire fragment cited in this article). For similar fragments excerpted from other versions of *Apostolul*, we only indicate the page from professor Alexandru Gafton's book *Codicele Bratul*, where the word referred to can be found.

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find the verb and the participle transformed into an adjective into Coresi's text in the following two forms – *cîmponesc, cîmponită*: „*cîmponesc* voao drept dulceaţa ce e dată mie de la Dumnezeu" (273/17), „cinste *cîmponită*" (356/2). Ovid Densuşianu (Densuşianu, 1961:270) considers that these phonetic versions are due to the influence exerted by the Old Slavic *kʲpona*, *kʲponiti* (with *a* transformed into *î* when followed by a nasal). The meaning of the verb is "to remind" (for clarifications, for a better understanding of the context, see other versions of the *Bible*, starting with the old ones, in other languages, and ending with modern Romanian ones) and that of the adjective is "being valuable". *CB* lacks the correspondent fragments.

Another term found in Coresi's text that disappeared from the Romanian language is *divure*, a word which has the inflexion specific to the neuters while dictionaries mention it – from the point of view of the grammatical category of gender – as a feminine noun. The Romanian word *divă* "wonder, miracle" comes from the Slavic (Bulgarian) *divo* (H. Tiktin, A. Candrea – see Ciorănescu, 2002:295). In its turn, the Slavic term seems to have Turkish origin (< *div*); in the source language, the meaning is "evil genius" (in Bulgarian, the word *div* means "savage"). In *CP* it occurs in the following context: „Întreba-se oareceşi de ale sale credinţe în *divure* ce avură cătr-însul" (123/ 14), while the correspondent fragment from *CB* is as follows: „Întrebarea oarecare cîtă credinţă avea cătră elu" (237), and in *CV*: „Întrebare oarecarea de a sa credinţă în tot chipul avea cătră elu" (237). Pascu mentions the existence of the word *divutină* in Romanian, which means "beast" (Pascu, 1916:276).

In the following context „În zilele acealea înmulţindu-se apostolii, fu murguire grecilor spre evrei, derep ce văduole lor *dodei-se-lă* prespre toate zilele întru slujbe" (22/16), the verb *a se dodei* (< Slavic *dodějati*) holds the meaning of "to do some harm to someone". In *CB*, the same paragraph was transformed in such a way that no perfect correspondent appears there. The word disappeared in the 16th century. It is registered (with meanings related to the one mentioned above) in some other texts from the same period as the text here discussed: *PS, PH,* Coresi's *Psaltire* from 1577*, CC2*.

Felon is a word of Greek origin. In fact, its roots descend to Medieval Greek (<*φελόνιον*), but Alexandru Ciorănescu (Ciorănescu, 2002:324) claims it was taken into Romanian by means of two intermediates: Modern Greek (<*φελόνι*) and (partially) Slavic (< *felonŭ*). The meaning of the word is "short cape specially designed for a priest". It occurs in: „zise lui să vie cătră-nsul curînd să aducă *felonul* şi cărţile" (511/9).

In „că ziua Domnului ca un *fur* va veni noaptea" (481/10), the underlined word sends us to the Latin noun *fŭr*. The meaning is preserved in Old Romanian: "thief". It also occurs in *PO, CV,* Coresi's *Pravilă*.

The Romanian *ighemon* has Medieval Greek origin (< ήγεμών), though the dictionaries attest it as coming into Romanian from Medieval Greek by means of Slavic – the Slavic term *igiemonŭ* (partial intermediary). The word is not used anymore; it was lost (at least as far as we know from the written texts) at the end of the 16th century. The meaning of the word is that of "governor". It occurs in many contexts in Coresi's text that we are analyzing so we are going to enumerate only a few: „să-l petreacă pînă la Filic *ighemon*" (115/5), „aceaia spuseră lui *ghemon* de Pavel" (116/15) – neither fragment has a correspondent in *CB*; in other cases there is a perfect lexical and semantic correspondence between *Apostolul* signed by Coresi, the version attributed to the priest Bratu and *Codicele Voroneţean*: „împăratul şi *ighemon*, Vernichie" (*CP*) – „împăratul şi *Ghemon* şi Vernichie" (*CB*) – „împăratu şi *Ghiemonu* şi Verrnichie" (*CV*). We should point out that the word is affected by the phenomenon of aphaeresis in *CB* and *CV*. Coresi preserved better the phonetics of the etymon, though, as we can easily

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see from one of the above-mentioned passages, the deacon used the word with aphaeresis as well (though so much more rarely). The word was also used in *CT*, *CV, CC1, EL*.

The verb *a izidi*, no longer heard today (at least not accepted by the formal, literary language), is an extension of the Bulgarian *izjaždam* (for which H. Tiktin indicates, though, the Slavic etymon *izŭjadati* (see Ciorănescu, 2002:440)). The etymon's significance is "to be consumed", while in Romanian, from a semantic point of view, it generated the meanings "to deteriorate" and "to die". Both in *CP* and *CB*, the verb *a izidi* is registered with the last of the above mentioned meanings. Thus, similar fragments taken from the two texts containing the verb in question are the following: „Ce el ucis fu şi toţi cîţi crezură lui *izidiră* şi fură întru nemică" (*CP* 21/18) and „Ce ucisu fu şi toţi cîţi crezură lui *izidiră-se* şi fură de nemică" (*CB* 56).

Îngrecă is a word derived expressively from the adjective *greu* of Latin origin (< Popular Latin **grevis* < Classical Latin *gravis*), as Alexandru Ciorănescu states in his dictionary (Ciorănescu, 2002:377), and it means "to burden (with)", "to impregnate", "to conceive". Ovid Densuşianu's opinion is different; he assumes there must have been a Latin verbal form **ingrevicare* (Densuşianu, 1961:24). Gheorghe Ivănescu gives the same etymon as Ovid Densuşianu and adds that the word *îngreca* is still heard in two Romanian dialects (Megleno-Romanian and Macedo-Romanian) and in a Daco-Romanian subdialect spoken in Maramureş (Ivănescu, 2000:119, 304). It occurs in *CP* in „Pentru aceaia credinţă dobîndi Sarra puteare de ia *îngrecă*" (565/4). In some other texts from the same period we find the Romanian word *întăroşa*, derived from *tăroasă*, this one in turn derived from *tar*, which is a borrowing from Hungarian (< *tar* "burden"). This means that the synonym of Coresi's term, *întăroşa*, follows the same metaphorical transformation, but only half of the procedure of lexical transformation as *îngrecă*.

Juruirea is the noun form coming from the long infinitive *juruire*, the latter coming, in turn, from the verb *a jura* of Latin origin (< *jûrâre*) "to make a solemn promise": „de Ierusalim să nu vă despărţiţi, ce aşteptaţi *juruirea* Părintelui" (3/13). A term of Hungarian origin was preferred in *CB*, namely *făgăduita*: „de Ierusalim să nu împarţă-se, ce ca aşteapte *făgăduita* Tatălui" (6); the word means "promise" and represents a noun derived from the verb *a făgădui* (< Hungarian *fogadni*); the noun derived from the verb of Hungarian origin (with this precise form, *făgăduita*) is also out of use in Romanian today. The verb *jurui* and the noun *juruită* are found in *CV*.

The term *meser* and most of the words derived from it are no longer in use today. They are found in texts dating back to the 16th – 18th centuries. The noun *mesereare* that occurs in *CP* has Latin origins (it was not derived in Romanian since Romanian continued an already derived word in Latin: *mĭserçre*). The meaning of the etymon, preserved in the word transferred into Coresi's language, is that of "mercifulness". In *CP*: „chemaţi *mesereare* voao şi pace şi iubov" (211/3). In *CB*, in the corresponding paragraph that we find on page 381, a word of Slavic origin is used instead: *milă* < *mila*. It occurs in *PV, CS,* Coresi's *Pravilă, Molitvenic* from 1567-1568, *CTd,* too. The adjective *meser* can be read in Coresi's *Liturghier*, *PH*, *PS, CT, CC2, ÎP, CTd*.

A murgui is an old Romanian word of Hungarian origin (< *murrogni* – though Alexandru Rosetti designates the verb *morogni* as the true etymon (Rosetti, 1966:330)) that has not been found in written texts since the late 16th century. Its meaning is "to protest" and in Coresi's text it occurs in a context like: „nu *murguiţi* cum unii dentr-înşii *murguiră*" (312/17-18). It is also present in *CV*, *PO, CC1, CC2*.

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The Slavic *mjesto* "place" generated *naměstije* which was borrowed in Romanian and phonetically transformed into *nămestie* "order, system of subordination". This term is no longer used now, but it was known in the 16th century since it occurs in Coresi's *Apostolul* in such a context as: „noi avem o *nămestie* de Dumnezeu făcută" (356/8).

The verb *năstăvire* that can be read in the following context: „Cum să pociu înțeleage să nu mă neştine *năstăvire*?" (36/5) is of Slavic origin as well (< *nastaviti*) meaning "to direct, to lead, to inspire" (the verb generated other words in the Romanian language, such as *nastavnic* or *năstăvitor*, both these words have not been registered in texts written after the 16th century and they are not heard today in any part of the country; the noun *năstav* < Slavic *nastavŭ* "creating, leading" was used until the 18th century. In *CB*, in the corresponding fragment, one can find the word *dereptare* (with Latin etymology, possibly originating in the word *derectâre*): „Cum, amu, să pociu a înțeleage se nu neştine dereptare-me?" (89). The verb is registered in *PH*. The word derived from *năstăvi,* which is *năstăvitoriu*, occurs in *CC1, CC2* and in *CT*.

The verb *a oblici* has a Slavic etymology, too: (< *oblièiti*) "to manifest". The word is registered in dictionaries as having four meanings: 1. "to manifest", this one representing a prolongation of the Slavic word; 2. "to reveal, to confront (with arguments)"; 3. "to realize" – these three meanings have been forgotten (by the native Romanian speakers) since the 16th century; 4. "to look for, to search", this one being the only meaning the word knows nowadays (a meaning with which the word is still heard in some parts of Moldavia and Transylvania). In *CP*, the verb is used with the second meaning presented by the dictionaries (that was still in use during the 18th century according to Gheorghe Ivănescu (Ivănescu, 2000:631)). Thus, we find the verb in different chapters, with subtle differences of meaning. In „vîrtos *oblicia* jidovii întru oameni, spunea Scriptura ce e a fi de Hristos Isus" (87/20), the meaning is "to confront someone with the truth, to convince". In *CB*: „vîrtos, amu, ovreaii *înfrunta* naintea oaminilor, spunea cu Scripturile se fie Hristos Isus". (199) In „*să oblicească* toate necurățiile lor de toate lucrurele necurăției lor" (213/12), the meaning is "to reveal"; in *CB* „*frunta* toți necurații de toate lucrure necurățiiei loru" (386). In „e să căutaret spre fățărie, păcat faci, *oblicindu*-te den leage că pristăpişi" (148/3), the meaning is "being accused"; in *CB*: "iară se spre față căutați, păcatu faceți, *înfruntați* de Leage ca trecătorii" (276). One can easily see the author of *CB* chose a word of Latin origin (< Latin **infrontare*). The verb *a oblici* also occurs in Coresi's *Psaltire* from 1577, in *CT*, *CC2*, *EL*, Coresi's *Evanghelie cu învățătură,* in *PS*, in *CV* and in *Glosele Bogdan*. The noun *oblicire* is found in *CP, CV*.

Although it has one meaning only in Slavic ("mantle"), the word *plaštĭ* was taken by Romanian which turned it into *plaşcă* and added two more significations: "fishing net" (this one still used in Transylvania and Oltenia) and "a special kind of plant". The word occurs in *CP* in „Tihic am tremes la Efes ca să-mi aducă *plaşca* ceaia ce lăsai la Troada" (520/18); the noun occurs here with its primary meaning. The word is also found in *PO*.

Pocaanie is a word derived from *a se pocăi* (< Slavic *pokajati*) according to Alexandru Ciorănescu (Ciorănescu, 2002:614); Ovid Densuşianu (Densuşianu, 1961:331) indicates the noun as coming from a Slavic *pokajanije*. The form that Coresi used in his text is an old version of *pocăință* (a term used only in texts written in the religious style). The word *pocaanie* occurs in such contexts as: „a da *pocaanie* lu Israil" (21/2). The exact same word was used by the author of *CB* (55). The form we are discussing is registered in some other texts, some of them signed by Coresi: *CC1, CC2*,

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Molitvenicul rumînesc from 1564, *CT*, Coresi's *Pravilă, EL, CS*, *CV, Pravila ritorului Lucaci; Începătură de nuiale* (a text from South-East Transylvania, written in 1559/1560); *Pravilă de ispravă oamenilor* (a text from Moldavia, written at the end of the 16th century or the beginning of 17th century).

Deacon Coresi kept close to the original Slavic text, the source for his own Romanian version. This is the main reason why many words specific for the religious style (and not only) are in close connection to their correspondents that can be found in the source (in the exact same places). To express the idea of "anointed", the deacon used the word of Slavic origin *pomăzui* (< Slavic *pomazati*): „Isus cela den Nazaret cumu-l *pomăzui* el Dumnezeu cu Duhul Sfînt şi cu silă" (48/10). A word of Latin origin is used in *CB* in the same paragraph, *uns* (< Latin *ŭngĕre*): „Isus cela din Nazaritu, că lu *unse* elu Zeul cu Duhul Sventu şi cu tărie" (114).

The noun *povealania,* which is not used anymore, has as its etymon the Slavic word *povelénije* "order". The verb from the same family of words, *a poveli* < Slavic *poveléti* (H. Tiktin – see Ciorănescu, 2002:627), disappeared from the Romanian written language in the 16th century. In *CP* the noun occurs in the context: „Voinicii, amu, după *povealania* lor, luară Pavel şi-l duseră prespre noapte întru Antipatrida" (116/1). There is no correspondent fragment in *CB*. Besides the text we have studied it occurs in *PS*, *Pravila* written in 1577, Hasdeu's *Texte bogomilice, Apocalipsul Maicii Domnului* (a text from Northern part of Hunedoara, written in 1590-1602). The verb is registered in *PH*, *CS*.

The noun *pridăditori* was derived in Romanian from the verb of Slavic origin *pridădi* (< Slavic *prědati*) (in fact, the author of *DER* indicates the verb *pridădi* as a phonetic different version of the verb *a pridídi* that is still used today). One of the old and out of the use meanings of the verb was "to hand, to give", so that the noun derived from it with the suffix *–tor* represents a *nomina agentis*, designating the one(s) giving something to someone; transformed according to the mechanisms of a metaphor, the verb gets the new meaning of "to turn somebody over someone". If one interprets the following context: „şi-i uciset ceia ce-au vestit venitul Dereptului, celuia ce şi voi acmu *pridăditori* şi ucigători seţi" (31/14) one can extract the true and basic meaning of the underlined noun, namely that of "traitor". In *CB*, though, the fragment is more explicit: „şi uciseră ceia ce vestit-au de venitul Dereptului, ceia ce acmu *vînzători* şi ucigători fuset" (79). The author of this last mentioned text opted for a word of Latin origin (derived from *a vinde* < Latin *vendĕre*). The verb can be found in *PH, CV, PV, PS.*

The verb *a prisădi* occurs in many fragments from Coresi's text analyzed here: „nu vă rîdicareţi spre izraili, ce să ştiţi derepce ca mlădiţele spre rădăcini, aşa şi la aceia *prisădiră-se*" (219/9), „frîmseră mlădiţele cealea ce eu *am prisădit*" (260/2), „putearnic amu iaste Domnul *să*-i *prisădească* ei; să tu dentr-acea fire tu eşti tăiat maslin sălbatec, cît mai mult *prisădi*-te-*veri* întru bunul maslin cu cît mai vîrtosu aceia ce pre fire *prisădi-se-vor* al lor maslin" (260/13-19). The etymology is Slavic (< *prisaditi*) and the meaning is "to plant".

Proslăvi-se, a Romanian term of Slavic origin (< *proslaviti*) meaning "to praise, to glorify" can be found in a context like „Dumnezeul părinţilor noştri *proslăvi-s[e]* feciorul său Is." (12/18). By comparing this fragment with the corresponding one in *CB*, we observe that there is a word of Latin origin in the latter text instead, *trimease*: „Zeul părinţilor noştri *trimease* proncul lui" (31). In *CP* also occurs in „de unde sînt eu apostol păgînilor, slujba mea o *voi proslăvi*" (259/4), a fragment which has no correspondent in *CB*. The verb accompanied by the reflexive pronoun (short form) was

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used only in Moldavia at that time. It was still in use in the 19th century (Ivănescu, 2000:669). The verb is also found in *CC2, PH*, *PO*, *CS*.

A very common word for the period in which *CP* was written is *spată*, a term of Latin origin (< *spatha*) which gathered a lot of significations, among them was that of "sword". Alexandru Philippide considers that the Latin *spatha* was inherited from Greek (< σπάθη) (Philippide, 2011:238). The original Greek term designated, as the researcher shows, a shovel that was quite long and not too broad, an instrument used for the weaving loom; it also named a special kind of sword that was used only to hit and not to thrust; last but not least, it meant "shoulder blade". The Romanian word thus continued the primary, initial form and significations. It is found in *CP* in: „că cuvîntul Domnului elu e viu şi putearnic şi mai tare de o *spată* cu doao ascuţite şi întră şi desparte duhul şi sufletul şi măduoa den oase" (543/15), „cu *spata* omorîrăţi" (569/1). This old word has been preserved until today in literary Romanian, but only with the first and third of the meanings we have mentioned above and it can still be heard with the second meaning only in Muntenia (Rosetti, 1976:102); it has a pair, *spadă*, that is used today and that has an Italian origin (< *spada*). It can be found in some other texts from that period, such as *PO*, *CS, CC1, CC2, EL, CTd*, Hasdeu's *Texte bogomilice* and *Texte măhăcene*.

A word that was quite often used in the texts written in the 16th century, but that is totally lost in the past is *usne*, whose etymon is the Slavic *ustĭna*. The meanings of the noun are "mouth, lip" and "edge, casing (of a well)". The word is registered in Coresi's text (with the former meaning mentioned above) in the following fragment: „că eu cu alte limbi şi cu alte *usne* grăi-voi acestora oameni" (329/1). It is also present in *PH, PO, CV*, Coresi's *Liturghier*, Coresi's *Psaltire* from 1589.

The presence of a word like *vătah* in *CP* (a text belonging to the southern part of Transylvania) is interesting since it refers to a Moldavian reality from the 16th century, designating the administrator of a province or of a county. Only in the 17th century the word was used in Muntenia as well to designate the administrator of a small rural district. Now, it is used in more general contexts; it can mean either "the leader (of shepherds / thieves / gipsies)", or "endorser, empowered". Specialists have debated a lot over the origin of this word, Alexandru Ciorănescu pointing, though, to the Tartar *vataha* "group" (Ciorănescu, DER). Alexandru Philippide presents Miklosich's opinion on the etymology of this word and considers that the best solution was the one found by Cihac[1], who saw the Romanian word as having Slavic and Germanic ascendants: Ruthenian *ataman, ottoman, vataman, votaman, hetman,* Russian *ataman, getman,* Polish *hetman, wataman,* Czech *hejtman,* German *Hauptmann* (Philippide, 2011:387). The word occurs in *CP* in the following context: „Deşteptară-se strejuitorii temniţeei şi văzură deşchise uşile temniţeei şi scoase *vătahul* cuţitul să se ucigă de sineşi" (77/10). The author of *CB* rephrased the translation in such a way so as not to have a correspondent at all (no matter the possible origin); the context from this text similar to the one in *CP* is the following: „Deşteptă-se al temniţeei păzitoriu şi văzu, deşchise uşile temniţei şi scoase cuţitul, vrea sineş se ucigă" (177). The word is also found in *Glosele Bogdan* (but with the form *vătaf*) and in *Catastif* from Moldavia from 1591.

The adjective *zloabe* that occurs in this context from *CP*: „împluţi de toate nedereptăţile, de curvie, hicleşug, rea avuţie, *zloabe*" (223/16) means "misdeeds, unjust deeds" and has a Slavic origin (< *zloba*).

[1] Cihac, Al., *Dictionnaire d'étymologie daco-romane,* Frankfurt, Berlin, Bucureşti, 1870-1879, second volume, p. 137 *apud* Philippide, Alexandru, *Istoria limbii române,* Editura Polirom, Iaşi, 2011, p. 387.

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Words which have a different meaning nowadays

One can infer the (semantic) content of the word *grai*, different from what we know today, from contexts like: „şi-l lua aminte gloatele *graiurile* lu Filip întru suflet" (33/6). While the etymon of the Romanian word, namely the Slavic *graj*, means "song", the Romanian term acquired many significations, most of which are now forgotten; among them is that of "verb, word", which represents the exact meaning with which the word is used in *CP*. The author of *CB* used a word derived from this one in the correspondent fragment: „Lua aminte gloatele *grăitelor* de la Filip cu un suflet" (82). The term occurs with the exactly same meaning in *CV, PS, PV, PH* and *Scriptura Domnului Hristos* – Bianu's edition.

The Medieval Greek word εύθυνόζ was borrowed by the Romanian language as *ieftin* (Alexandru Rosetti indicates it as being introduced into Romanian by means of Meridional Slavic language (Rosetti, 1976:72)), a term designating, along with the reality we are all native speakers of Romanian language aware of, the quality of being generous. This idea is now left aside, but it can be found in the 16th century text *CP* in a context like: „Aceia ferecăm răbdătorii răbdarea lu Iov auzit şi sfîrşitul Domnului văzut că mult milostiv iaste şi *eftin*" (157/2). The same term occurs both in *CB* and in *CV* in the fragments corresponding to the one cited above. Besides these texts, it occurs in *PS, CC2*, *CS,* in *Texte măhăcene*.

The noun of Slavic origin *năravurile* (< Slavic *nravŭ*, Alexandru Ciorănescu offering the Bulgarian *năray* and the Serbian *narav* for comparison (Ciorănescu, 2002:538)) was used in Old literary Romanian with the generic meaning of "habit". It is used nowadays exclusively with the meaning of "bad habit, vice". In *CP*, it has a more general meaning: „va schimba *năravurile* ce-au dat noao Moisi" (24/11). The same term with the same semantics is used in *CB*: „schimba-va *năravurele* cealea ce deade noao Moisi" (63). The word is also registered (with the meaning here discussed) in the *CC1, CC2*, *CV, PO, Pravila ritorului Lucaci, Omilia pentru Înviere* (South-Eastern Transylvania, 1559/1560), *Floarea darurilor*.

Titles of the books – Abbreviations: *CP* – Coresi's *Apostolul, CB – Codicele Bratul, CC1* – Coresi's *Cazania 1, CC2* – Coresi's *Cazania 2, CS – Codex Sturdzanus, CT* – Coresi's *Tetraevanghel, CTd – Codicele Todorescu, CV – Codicele Voroneţean, EL – Evangheliarul din Londra, ÎP – Învăţătură la Paşti, PH – Psaltirea Hurmuzaki, PO – Palia de la Orăştie, PS – Psaltirea Scheiană, PV – Psaltirea Voroneţeană*.

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