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VERBAL ASPECT IN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

JAAP KAMPHUIS

VERBAL ASPECT IN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

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CONTENTS

Contents ..... *i*

Acknowledgements ..... *vii*

0 Preliminaries *1*
0.0 Introduction 1
0.1 Terminology 2
0.2 Examples 4
0.3 Transliteration table 6
0.4 Abbreviations 7
0.5 Bible translations and Greek versions 7

1 Old Church Slavonic *9*
1.0 Introduction 9
1.1 The Moravian mission 10
1.2 The Ohrid and Preslav schools 11
1.3 What is OCS? 12
1.3.1 Periodization 12
1.3.2 Linguistic features 15
1.3.3 Variation within OCS 15
1.4 OCS canon 17
1.4.1 Fourfold Gospels 17
1.4.2 Evangeliaries 18
1.4.3 Apostols 19
1.4.4 Psalters 19
1.4.5 Liturgical texts 19
1.4.6 Homiletic texts 20
1.5 Database and Parallel Corpus of OCS Gospel texts 21
1.5.1 Database 21
1.5.2 Limitations of the data 22
1.5.3 Parallel corpus of OCS Gospel texts 23

2 Verbal Aspect *27*
2.0 Introduction 27

2.1 Lexical aspect 27
2.1.1 Maslov 1948 27
2.1.2 Vendler 1957 28
2.1.3 Vendler's classification 30
2.1.4 Terminative versus telic 34
2.1.5 Aspectual construal 34
2.1.5.1 The influence of the object 35
2.1.5.2 The influence of the subject 36
2.1.5.3 The influence of the broader context 36
2.1.5.4 The influence of inflectional aspect 37
2.1.5.5 The importance of aspectual potential in this study 38
2.2 Grammatical aspect 38
2.2.1 Slavic-style aspect 39
2.2.2 Terminativity and aspect 44
2.2.3 The East-West Theory of Slavic aspect 46
2.2.4 Study of verbal aspect in older stages of Slavic 52
2.2.5 Concluding remarks on derivational grammatical aspect 54
2.3 Verbal aspect in New Testament Greek 54

3 Research questions and hypotheses 57
3.0 Research questions 57
3.1 Hypotheses and further outline of the study 57

4 Various approaches to determining aspect in OCS 61
4.0 Introduction 61
4.1 Anaspectual verbs 63
4.1.1 Definition of anaspectual 64
4.1.2 Anaspectual versus biaspectual 64
4.2 Dostál 1954 66
4.2.1 Dostál's criteria to establish aspect 67
4.2.2 Dostál's categorization 68
4.3 Eckhoff & Janda (2014) 73
4.3.1 Grammatical profiling 73
4.3.1.1 The grammatical profile of an OCS verb 75
4.3.2 Method and results 76
4.3.3 Possible issues 79
4.4 Amse-de Jong (1974) 84

4.5 Concluding remarks 89

5 Morphological markers of aspect ***93***
5.0 Introduction 93
5.1 Morphological markers of aspect 93
5.1.1 Prefixes 94
5.1.2 Other prefixes and pseudo prefixes 98
5.1.3 Verb pair forming suffixes 99
5.1.3.1 The suffix *-nǫti, -ne-* 99
5.1.3.2 The suffix *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-* 100
5.1.3.3 The suffix *-ati, -je-* 101
5.1.3.4 The suffix *-ovati, -uje-* (*-evati, -uje-*) 102
5.1.3.5 The suffix *-iti, -i-* 102
5.1.4 Derivational relationships 103
5.2 Database of OCS verbs 104
5.3 Classification of verbs on morphological grounds 108
5.4 Concluding remarks 110

6 OCS verbal paradigm ***111***
6.0 Introduction 111
6.1 Paradigm of the OCS verb 111
6.2 Time-relational model of tense 114
6.3 Present tense 116
6.4 Aorist and imperfect 119
6.5 Imperative 125
6.6 Present participles 128
6.7 Past participles 130
6.8 Infinitive and supine 137
6.9 Concluding remarks 141

7 Grammatical profile analysis ***145***
7.0 Introduction 145
7.1 Core groups 145
7.1.1 The profiles 145
7.1.2 Correspondence analysis and pair-wise comparison 149
7.2 Inclusion of the other groups in the analysis 154
7.3 Concluding remarks 157

8 The functions of verbal aspect in OCS ***159***
8.0 Introduction 159
8.1 Present tense 160
8.1.1 Future reference 161
8.1.1.1 Special case: the verbs *rešti* and *glagolati* 168
8.1.2 Other uses of the present tense 171
8.1.2.1 Multiple or generalized events 171
8.1.2.2 Single events 174
8.2 Aorist and imperfect 180
8.2.1 Perfective aorists and imperfective imperfects 183
8.2.1.1 Retrospective mode 183
8.2.1.2 Narrative mode 187
8.2.2 Imperfective aorist 192
8.2.2.1 Some complicated verbs 192
8.2.2.2 Examples of the imperfective aorist 196
8.2.3 Perfective imperfect 202
8.3 Anaspectual verbs 205
8.3.1 Inherently aterminative anaspectual verbs 205
8.3.2 'Terminativizable' anaspectual verbs 209
8.3.3 The relationship between anaspectual and other verbs 214
8.3.4 Some dubious anaspectual verbs 218
8.4 Some complicated cases in the perfective groups 222
8.4.1 Complicated cases in the perfective unprefixed group 222
8.4.2 Complicated cases in the perfective prefixed group 224
8.5 Concluding remarks 227
8.5.1 Perfective verbs 227
8.5.2 Imperfective verbs 228
8.5.3 Anaspectual verbs 229
8.5.4 Other issues 230

9 Semantic analysis of non-core groups ***231***
9.0 Introduction 231
9.1 Prefixed verbs without suffixed partner 231
9.2 Leskien's class II and partners 237
9.2.1 Introduction 237
9.2.2 Unprefixed Leskien's class II and partners 241

9.2.3 Prefixed Leskien's class II and partners....246
9.2.4 Concluding remarks....251
9.3 Prefixed verbs of motion....252
9.4 Unprefixed verbs of motion....256
9.5 Derivational chains with extra derived verbs....261
9.6 The verb *byti*....266
9.7 Concluding remarks....271

10 The development of derivational aspect: a case study....273
10.0 Introduction....273
10.1 Characteristics of the selected verbs....274
10.1.1 Verb stems....274
10.1.2 Extra derived forms in *-ovati, -uje-*....277
10.2 Semantic analysis....277
10.2.1 Present tense....277
10.2.2 Imperative....282
10.2.3 Participles....283
10.2.4 Aorist and imperfect....284
10.2.4.1 Aorist....285
10.2.4.2 Imperfect....286
10.2.5 Infinitive and supine....288
10.2.6 Concluding remarks....289
10.3 Extra derived forms....291
10.4 Summary case study....294
10.5 Derivational aspect and the role of the imperfect....295
10.5.1 From lexical to inflectional aspect....296
10.5.2 From inflectional to derivational aspect....298
10.5.3 Imperfective aorists and perfective imperfects....300
10.5.4 Some complications and explanations....302
10.5.4.1 Derived verbs with suffixed other than *-ati, -aje-*....302
10.5.4.2 Lengthened root vowel....302
10.5.4.3 Leskien's class IV as a model....304
10.6 Concluding remarks....306

11 Conclusion....309
11.0 Research questions and hypotheses....309
11.1 Methodology....309

11.1.1 Perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs (core groups)... 311
11.1.2 Other groups....313
11.2 The functions of verbal aspect in OCS....316
11.2.1 Contexts and functions....317
11.2.2 (In)compatibility of aspect and verb forms....317
11.2.3 Comparison to modern Slavic languages....318
11.3 Origin and development of Slavic-style aspect....319
11.3.1 Origin of Slavic-style aspect....319
11.3.2 The development of Slavic-style aspect....319
11.4 Further research....320

***References*....322**

***Index of verb forms discussed in examples*....333**

***Samenvatting*....349**

***Summary*....355**

***Curriculum Vitae*....361**

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0 PRELIMINARIES

0.0 Introduction

Slavic languages are well known for their aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs. This opposition is assumed to stem from the ancestor of all Slavic languages, Proto-Slavic (Van Wijk 1929, Kuznecov 1953, Maslov 1961, Andersen 2009) and cannot be traced back to Indo-European aspect, hence it must be regarded as a Slavic innovation (Van Wijk 1929, Růžička 1962: 18, Galton 1976: 293, Szemerényi 1987, Schuyt 1990: 411, Galton 1997).

The aspect system that can be found in the modern Slavic languages shows such similarities between the various languages, in both its use and its morphology, that it is possible to treat it as a single system (cf. Galton 1976, Dahl 1985, Lindstedt 1995, Tomelleri 2010). However, in recent decades several studies have shown that there are also considerable differences in the use of verbal aspect among the modern Slavic languages (Galton 1976, Mønnesland 1984, Stunová 1993, Dickey 2000, Barentsen 2008). This raises the question as to the kind of system that the modern Slavic verbal aspect systems originate from and how aspect functioned in the earlier stages of Slavic. Since there are no means of directly studying the source of all Slavic languages, Proto-Slavic, studies into the origin or development of aspect in Slavic concentrate on specific languages or dialects, mostly Old-Russian (cf. Růžička 1957, Forsyth 1972, Bermel 1997, Nørgård-Sørensen 1997, Mende 1999).

The subject of this study is the verbal aspect system in Old Church Slavonic (OCS), the oldest attested Slavic language. The system in OCS is comparable to the systems in modern Slavic languages insofar as it concerns aspectual morphology. Scholarly opinion differs, however, when it comes to the questions of the functioning of the OCS aspectual system. For example, Antonín Dostál (1954) distinguishes four main categories of verbs with regard to verbal aspect: perfective, biaspectual (more perfective), biaspectual (more imperfective) and imperfective. However, other studies discern three categories (Amse-de Jong 1974) or merely two (Eckhoff & Janda 2014). The general research question that arises from the comparative studies of modern Slavic verbal aspect and the differing opinions on the functioning of the OCS verbal system can be formulated as follows:

What does the verbal aspect system in OCS look like?

I will break down this main research questions into a number of more specific questions in Chapter 3 regarding the way aspect can be established,

which verbs participate in the aspect system, the functions of verbal aspect, comparison to modern Slavic languages and the development of verbal aspect. In the same chapter I will also give a ***further outline of the study***. However, this is only possible after I have discussed the two main subjects of this study: Old Church Slavonic (Chapter 1) and verbal aspect (Chapter 2) in more detail.

The approach I take is not driven by a specific theory or framework, but it is usage-based, in the sense that I take an empirical, data-oriented approach to verbal aspect.

0.1 Terminology

I will use a number of terms with regard to verbal aspect and given the lack of a standard terminology throughout studies dealing with verbal aspect, it is important to clearly define each term. The various terms and the concepts they stand for are discussed extensively in Chapter 2, but the most important terminology is already summed up below, with references to the sections in which the various terms are discussed.

First, I discern ***lexical aspect*** (2.1), which refers to the inherent semantic properties of a verb, or a predicate. All verbs express lexical aspect and the kind of lexical aspect they express depends on three main parameters: qualitative change, temporal dimensions and ***boundary*** (2.1.2). For this study the latter parameter is the most significant, since this is the lexical parameter around which the OCS grammatical aspect system revolves. Verbs expressing a boundary are ***terminative***; they express a change of situation or, in other words, connect two qualitatively different situations. Hence, in a terminative verb the boundary is part of the lexical content of the verb to which I will refer as the ***inherent boundary***. A boundary between two situations can also be expressed by other means (2.1.5), in which case it is no longer an *inherent* boundary. Therefore, a predicate can be terminative even though the verb that is part of the predicate is not terminative.

Secondly, there is ***grammatical aspect*** (2.2), which is a form-meaning category concerning the different ways in which an event can be viewed or presented. It puts an extra layer of aspectuality on the event, which is added to the lexical aspect that is present in each verb. In the most general terms ***perfective aspect*** is used to present an event in its totality, while ***imperfective aspect*** is usually defined as the opposite of the perfective aspect (2.2 and 2.2.2). There are, however, various ways in which an event can be presented in its totality and for the sake of clarity, I discern two distinct systems. There is ***Slavic-style aspect*** (2.2.1), which concerns an opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs that revolves around terminative verbs, hence verbs expressing an inherent boundary. In this system the perfective aspect presents the event as ***complete***: the inherent boundary is attained.

Imperfective aspect, on the other hand, defocusses the inherent boundary. The other system is ***Romance-style*** aspect (2.2.1) which concerns an opposition between perfective and imperfective verb forms, often restricted to the past tense, which revolves around a ***temporal boundary*** and which is not dependent on the lexical content of the verb. Hence, in Romance-style aspect a verb does not have to have an inherent boundary to express perfectivity or imperfectivity. Perfective verb forms in a Romance-style system express a temporally bounded event and imperfective verbs forms a temporally unbounded event.

To make matters complicated, Old Church Slavonic has both types of grammatical aspect systems. It has a ***derivational aspect*** system, in which ***imperfective verbs*** are derived from ***perfective verbs*** (2.2.1, cf. also Chapter 5). This is a Slavic-style system, involving terminative verbs. It also has a past tense ***inflectional aspect*** opposition between ***aorist*** and ***imperfect*** (cf. Chapter 6). This is a typical Romance-style aspect system in which the aorist expresses a temporally bounded event and the imperfect a temporally unbounded event.

The ***morphological markers*** of derivational aspect in OCS are ***prefixes***, ***suffixes*** and ***derivational relationships*** between verbs (cf. Chapter 5).

Another important term in this study is ***anaspectual*** (4.1). Anaspectual verbs are verbs in which morphological markers of aspect are absent. These verbs, therefore, do not express the extra 'viewpoint layer' of aspect that perfective and imperfective verbs do. Anaspectual verbs differ greatly as to the question whether they are ***terminativizable***, i.e. whether, or to what degree, they allow the expression of a boundary by the predicate they occur in (8.3.2).

The ***grammatical profile*** (4.3.1.1) of a verb is the relative distribution of verb forms that the verb occurs in. The individual occurrence of a verb form in a manuscript is called an ***attestation***. The ***paradigm*** of a verb refers to all verb forms that a verb is attested in (e.g. present, imperfect, aorist, infinitive etc.) (cf. Chapter 6).

I will use the term ***event*** as a generic term for what is expressed by the predicate. I define the predicate as the ***verb*** and its ***object(s)*** (if any). Furthermore, I occasionally use the term ***construal***, following Croft (e.g. 2012: 13-19, 83-110). The term refers to how people structure or conceptualize the world (or object of conceptualization) through language. In other words: language is not a way of merely describing reality, but also a way of structuring it, or 'viewing' it. In the same vein, verbal aspect is not a property of the real world, but a way of conceptualizing an event.

Finally, I refer to ***functions*** of aspect and ***contexts*** in which verb forms occur. It is sometimes hard to draw a clear line between the two. Take, for example, sequentiality: perfective aorist often have the function of sequentially

connecting past events in narratives, while imperfective imperfects present events as occurring parallel to each other. However, there are also examples of imperfective imperfects in sequences of past tense events (cf. 8.2.1.2), in which case sequentiality rather is a characteristic of the context.

0.2 Examples

I will give OCS examples in transliteration (see 0.3 for a transliteration table). Accents and titlos are omitted and abbreviations are dissolved by inserting the missing letters in parentheses, e.g. b[og]ъ 'God'. The manuscripts are written in scriptio continua 'continuous script', but the transliteration contains spaces between the words, following the diplomatic editions (cf. 1.4.1). Unless otherwise indicated, English translations of OCS Bible quotations are from the New American Standard Bible 1995. In some cases I edited the English translation to align it with the OCS version. I will indicate this by adding 'my translation'. I have chosen to not start the English translation with a capital (unless it starts with a name, or a word referring to God) and not end them with a full stop, thus keeping the English version as close to the OCS example as possible.

For all examples I indicate from which source they originate, immediately after the example, in square brackets. For the sources I will use abbreviations, referring to OCS codices (see 0.4 and 1.4). Whenever an example occurs in more than one OCS codex, the first codex mentioned is the codex from which the example is taken. The examples are almost never completely identical between codices, but I regard them as identical whenever the verb form(s) concerned is (are) similar. The verb form that is discussed is printed in boldface and is glossed (see 0.4). Other verb forms may be glossed when they are relevant to the analysis. The translation of the form(s) that is (are) discussed is printed in italics. The translation field is followed by the exact location of the example, in brackets. When the example is a Gospel text, the Gospel, chapter and verse number are indicated. When I use an example from the Book of Psalms, I use the Psalm numbering as used in the OCS codex *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, which follows the Septuagint. This may differ from the numbering in modern translations that follow the Hebrew numbering. With examples from other codices I use the referring system that is used by Aitzetmüller (1977), with either a reference to the folio and line number, or to a page number and line number.

All of this results in the following format:

(1) iskoni ***bě***$^{\text{ĭmpf}}$ slovo (i) slovo ***bě***$^{\text{ĭmpf}}$ u b[og]a i b[og]ъ ***bě***$^{\text{ĭmpf}}$ slovo [*A*, *Z*]
in the beginning *was* the Word, and the Word *was* with God, and the Word *was* God (John 1:1)

Finally, I do not indicate the aspect of the OCS verb, since this is not a given. It is in fact one of the parameters I would like to establish in this study. In examples from modern Slavic languages, I will indicate the aspect of the relevant verb.

0.3 Transliteration table

Glagolitic	*Cyrillic*	*Transliteration*
ⰰ	а	a
ⰱ	б	b
ⰲ	в	v
ⰳ	г	g
ⰴ	д	d
ⰵ	е	e
ⰶ	ж	ž
ⰷ	ѕ	dz
-	ꙅ	dz
ⰸ	з, ꙁ	z
ⰹ	и	i
ⰺ	(і)	i
ⰻ	и	i
ⰼ	(ћ)	ġ
ⰽ	к	k
ⰾ	л	l
ⰿ	м	m
ⱀ	н	n
ⱁ	о	o
ⱂ	п	p
ⱃ	р	r
ⱄ	с	s
ⱅ	т	t
ⱆ	ѹ, ꙋ	u
ⱇ, ⱈ	ф	f
ⱉ	х	x
ⱊ	ѡ	o
ⱋ	щ	št
ⱌ	ц	c
ⱍ	ч ,ҷ	č
ⱎ	ш	š
ⱏ	ъ	ъ
ⱐ, ⱑ, ⱏ ⱁ	ы, (ъі), ъи	y
ⱑ	ь	ь
ⱒ	ѣ	ě
ⱓ	ю	ju
-	ꙗ	ja
-	є	je
ⱔ	ѧ, ѧ	ę
ⱗ	ж	ǫ
ⱘ	ѧ, ѩ	ję
ⱙ	ѫ	jǫ
-	ѯ	ks
-	ѱ	ps
ⱚ	ѳ	th
ⱛ	ѵ	ü

Table 0.1 Transliteration from Glagolitic and Cyrillic to Latin

0.4 Abbreviations

I will use the following abbreviations:

For ***languages***: BCS = Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Bg = Bulgarian, Cz = Czech, It = Italian, Gr = Greek, OCS = Old Church Slavonic, OR = Old Russian, Ru = Russian.

For ***codices*** (cf. 1.4): *A = Assemanianus, C = Clozianus, Es = Euchologium Sinaiticum, M = Marianus, Ps = Psalterium Sinaiticum, S = Suprasliensis, Sk = Savvina Kniga, Z = Zographensis.*

For ***verb forms***: aor = aorist, cond = conditional, fut = future, impf = imperfect, impr = imperative, ind = indicative, inf = infinitive, ipf = imperfective, pf = perfective, pl = plural, pres = present, PrsAP = present active participle, PrsPP = present passive participle, PstAPI = past active participle I, PstAPII = past active participle II, PstPP = past passive participle, ptcs = participles, sg = singular, sup = supine.

I will use the abbreviation ***VOM*** for verb of motion.

Abbreviations from the ***time-relational model of tense*** (Klein 1994, 1995) are: TU = Time of the Utterance (moment of speech), TA = Time for which the Assertion is made, TS = Time of the Situation.

0.5 Bible translations and Greek versions

As mentioned above, I use the New American Standard Bible 1995 for the English translation of the OCS examples. For Russian, the standard translation I use is the Russian Synodal Orthodox Version 1996. In a number of cases I also refer to other Bible translations as found in the Bible software program *BibleWorks 9* or on the website www.biblegateway.com. The following is a complete list of the Bible translations that I have used for this study, with their designation as given in *BibleWorks 9* or on www.biblegateway.com:

Bulgarian	Bulgarian Protestant Version, 1940/2005.
Croatian	Croatian Bible, 1974.
Czech	Bible: 21st Century Translation, 2009.
English	New American Standard Bible, 1995.
	King James Version, 1611/1769.
Macedonian	Macedonian Dynamic Translation of the New Testament, 1999.
Polish	Nowe Przymierze Pismo Swiete Nowego Testamentu, 2009.
Russian	Russian Synodal Orthodox Version, 1996.
	New Russian Translation, 2006.
	Easy-to-Read Version, 2007.

Slovak Sväté Písmo, 1995.
Ukrainian Ukrainian Version of the Bible, 1996.

I also made use of the software program *Slavonic Bible* for the Church Slavonic Bible version, the so-called Elizabeth Bible.

Church Slavonic Elizabeth Bible, 1757.

Finally, for the Greek I made again use of *BibleWorks 9*. In most cases the Byzantine recension must be regarded as the source for the OCS translation. However, there are instances in which the critical text provides useful information as well.

Byzantine edition Byzantine Text Form, 2005. Compiled and arranged by Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont.
Critical text Novum Testamentum Graece, Nestle-Aland 27th edition, 1993.

1 OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

1.0 Introduction

Old Church Slavonic is directly tied to the rise of Slavic literacy. At the end of the tenth century, the monk Khrabr writes the following in his treatise *O pismenexъ* 'On the letters', which is dedicated to the Slavic writing system:[1]

"Earlier the Slavs did not have books but by strokes and notches read and divined, being heathen. And when they were baptized, they had to write their Slavic speech with Roman and Greek letters without design. Because how could one adequately write with Greek letters *bogъ* 'God', or *životъ* 'stomach' or *dzělo* 'very much' or *crьky* 'church' or *čajanie* 'expectation' or *širota* 'width' or *ědъ* 'poison' or *ǫdu* 'where' or *junostь* 'youth' or *ęzykъ* 'tongue' or other similar words? And so it was for many years. (*The monk Khrabr*, Džambeluka-Kossova 1980)"

The situation described in this quote, in which the Slavs did not 'have books', i.e. did not have a writing system of their own, came to an end in 862/63 when the Macedonian brothers Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, the 'Apostles to the Slaves', went on a religious mission to Moravia and devised an alphabet to translate the Bible and other religious texts into Slavic.

Since Old Church Slavonic, the language that is the subject of this study, is so closely connected to this Moravian mission, I will first briefly sketch the historical events that led to the creation of a Slavic alphabet and the following events. These historical events form the framework within which the language found in the OCS manuscripts is defined both temporally and geographically. In section 1.3.2 I will consider the linguistics characteristics demarcating OCS.

As basis for the description I have mainly used two monographs: *The dawn of Slavic* by Alexander M. Schenker (1995) and *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur* by Jos Schaeken & Henrik Birnbaum (1999). Furthermore, I

[1] The text of this treatise is probably from the end of the tenth century (Schenker 1995: 227), written by a monk that is only known by his epithet *Khrabr* 'Brave'. It is in defence of the Slavic alphabet, which is compared to the Greek alphabet for the use of writing Slavic. The examples Khrabr mentions in this quote all contain sounds for which the Greek alphabet does not have letters.
Schenker (1995: 227) argues that it is likely that Khrabr was a disciple of Clement or Naum, themselves disciples of Methodius, because of the fact that the protograph of the treatise was Glagolitic, which connects it to the Ohrid school. Moreover, some codices mention that Khrabr's contemporaries still remembered Cyril and Methodius (Schenker 1995: 227 fn. 283).

used the two most important primary sources for the Moravian mission: the so-called *Pannonian Legends*,[2] i.e. the Saints' Lives of Constantine and Methodius: *Vita Constantini* (VC) and *Vita Methodii* (VM).[3] The following sketch is far from complete and the reader is referred to the above-mentioned monographs and the Pannonian Legends for a more comprehensive treatment.

1.1 The Moravian mission

In the VC and VM the story of the Moravian mission starts with a request from Rastislav (Rostislav), the ruler of Moravia made to the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, probably in the year 862 AD:

"Though our people have rejected paganism and observe Christian law, we do not have a teacher who can explain to us in our language the true Christian faith, so that other countries which look to us might emulate us. Therefore, O lord, send us a bishop and teacher; for from you good law issues to all countries." (*Vita Constantini*, 14)[4]

Emperor Michael III and the patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, believe Constantine to be the right person for this mission. Constantine had been a pupil of Photius and had successfully carried out religious missions for the emperor before. But it is not just his good reputation that makes him the right person to carry out this mission. Michael III phrases his main reason as follows:

"None other than you can do this. Here then are many gifts. Take your brother, the Hegumen Methodius, and go. For you are both Thessalonians and *all Thessalonians speak pure Slavic* [my emphasis]." (*Vita Methodii*, 5)

The brothers Constantine and Methodius were born in Thessaloniki (*Solunь* in OCS) and they were bilingual, speaking Greek and Slavic. This made them the ideal persons to translate Greek Christian texts into Slavic. I will get back to the importance of the Greek original for this study in section 2.3.

VC (14) describes that Constantine gives himself up to prayer and that God reveals to him the Slavic script. Constantine then composes an alphabet,

[2] I use the edition and translation by Kantor (1983). Although the term 'legends' for these Saint's Lives may give the impression that these are works of fiction, the texts actually contain data that can be used to reconstruct historical events. Kantor (1983: 2-3) therefore calls these sources 'semi-secular biographies' because they contain a mix of hagiographic and biographic writing.

[3] For other sources of the events surrounding the Moravian mission see Schenker (1995: 26-28).

[4] The number indicates the section numbers as given in Kantor (1983).

which is now known as ***Glagolitic***.[5] With the alphabet ready he starts translating the first verse of the Gospel of John, which in the codex *Assemanianus* looks like this (cf. example (1) in Chapter 0):



Figure 1.1 Glagolitic fragment, codex Assemanianus (John 1:1)

After Constantine and Methodius have translated a number of texts, they leave for Moravia. Here they keep on translating religious texts, the language of which might have been influenced by the West-Slavic dialects of that region. The mix between South Slavic and West Slavic features found in the Kiev Folios is probably linked to this period (cf. Schaeken 1987, see also 1.3.2).

Constantine dies in 867 during a visit to Rome where the Slavic translations are blessed by the Pope and the disciples of Constantine and Methodius are ordained. Before his death, Constantine takes his monastic vows and takes on the name Cyril, which is the name most people know him by. Methodius continues work in Moravia until his death in 885. Soon after the death of Methodius, however, the mission comes to an end. The remaining disciples are imprisoned, expelled or sold as slaves.

1.2 The Ohrid and Preslav schools

Some of the disciples of Methodius reach Bulgaria, where they are received by the Bulgarian khan Boris, who converted to Christianity in 865 (taking on the name Michael). The disciples set up two literary centres, one in the west, in ***Ohrid***, Macedonia, and one in eastern Bulgaria, ***Preslav***. In these two centres

[5] Not much is known about the origin of Glagolitic. There is no clear source for most letters in another alphabet. Uspenskij (2013) discusses a possible ideographic origin for a number of the letters.

the disciples continue the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition by translating religious texts into Slavic and copying already existing translations. The best-known figures among these disciples are Clement and Naum (possibly the composer of the VM), who end up in Ohrid, Macedonia, and Constantine the Presbyter, who is the main figure in the literary centre in Preslav.

In 893, when Boris' son Symeon assumes the Bulgarian throne, Preslav becomes the capital of Bulgaria and Bulgarian becomes the official language. It is likely that this historical event leads to the creation of the ***Cyrillic*** alphabet, which is based on the Greek majuscule alphabet, with a number of additional letters for Slavic sounds. The similarities between the Greek alphabet and Cyrillic must have made it easier to learn for the people who already knew the Greek alphabet, whereas the entirely new Glagolitic letters must have been much more difficult to master. Hence, the introduction of Cyrillic may have facilitated the introduction of Bulgarian as the official language.

The rise of a Cyrillic tradition in Preslav and the continued tradition of Glagolitic in Ohrid, results in a corpus of manuscripts that is treated as a linguistic unity, with two different orthographic systems (but see section 1.3.3). Manuscripts from these two scriptoria form the Old Church Slavonic canon, the oldest corpus of Slavic texts, which are the basic material for this study into the oldest stages of verbal aspect in Slavic.

1.3 What is OCS?

Not all Medieval Slavic manuscripts dealing with religious matters are considered to be a part of the OCS canon. There are several geographical and temporal demarcation lines that separate this canon from other traditions. Moreover, there is also periodization within OCS. First, I will discuss the periodization based on historical data. Then I will pay attention to the linguistics features that are used to categorize manuscripts into one of these periods. And finally I will dedicate a few words to variation within OCS.

1.3.1 Periodization

OCS is the first attested Slavic language and it is often regarded as closely resembling Late Common Slavic (LCS), the latest common variant of Proto-Slavic.[6] The fact that Constantine and Methodius where able to use their own

[6] Birnbaum (1970) discusses the difference between Proto-Slavic as a language reconstructed based on comparative data from other Indo-European languages and LCS as the later period of Proto-Slavic in which the last common Slavic phonological innovations took place. He argues that it is impossible to draw a clear border between LCS as the last Common Slavic period and

South Macedonian dialect of Slavic to carry out a mission in Moravia also indicates that the differences between the local variants could not have been much more than dialectal. Moreover, the OCS translations form the basis for the Bible translation of all orthodox Slavs, including those in Kiev Rus', which shows that the variants were at least mutually intelligible.[7]

Even though OCS is presumed to closely resemble LCS, OCS is an East South Slavic variant of Slavic, as the historical data (and linguistic characteristics, cf. section 1.3.2) demonstrate. Constantine and Methodius were from Macedonia and the two first Slavic scriptoria from which manuscripts have survived were in Ohrid and Preslav, today Macedonia and Bulgaria. OCS thus is the ancestor of the modern East South Slavic languages Bulgarian and Macedonian, not the common ancestor of all Slavic languages.

OCS is often divided into three or four periods. The periods, limited in both time and in geographical area, are also referred to as *Heimat* 'homeland' (Diels 1963: 2, Schenker 1995: 187-188, Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 13-15).

The ***first homeland*** is the short period in Constantinople, 862/63, where Constantine started translating into Slavic. It is possible that Constantine had already started his translation work before Rastislav made his request. However, his argument about the unavailability of an alphabet makes that improbable. No matter the exact moment at which the translating started, the linguistic features of this 'Proto-Church Slavonic' ('Urkirchenslavisch' as Trubetzkoy (1968: 23) calls it) must have reflected the Macedonian dialect that the brothers knew from their hometown, Thessaloniki. There are no extant manuscripts from this period.

The ***second homeland*** of OCS is the period of the Moravian mission, 863-885. During this period, the local dialect in Moravia must have had its influence on the translations. Although we have no manuscripts from the second period either, there is one manuscript, the *Kiev Folios* (also *Kiev Fragments*, or *Kiev Missal*), which, because of its age, the fact that it is written in Glagolitic, the fact that it is a translation of a Roman rite, and most importantly because of its mix of South Slavic and West Slavic phonological features can be linked to this period (Schaeken 1987: 117-118).[8]

the beginning of the various regional variants of Slavic (such as East Slavic or West Slavic). In this view, OCS can be seen as (partly) overlapping with LCS.

[7] Notwithstanding the fact that there must have been dialects that strongly deviated, like the language on the Novgorod birchbark letters that shows, among other things, a deviating verbal system, without aorist and imperfect (cf. Zaliznjak 2004, Darden 2004).

[8] This is not the place to go into the question whether the language of the Kiev Folios contains a mix of two dialects, or a transitional dialect as Schaeken (1987: 104-121) argues. The fact remains that the manuscript contains both South Slavic features and West Slavic features. The manuscript is considered older than the other manuscripts in the OCS canon (the Kiev Folios is thought to

The ***third homeland*** of OCS is the Bulgarian/Macedonian period after 885. This period can be split up in a period from which no manuscripts survive, i.e. from 885 until the end of the tenth century and one from which the OCS canon stems, from the end of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century. I will present the individual manuscripts that together form the OCS canon in section 1.4. The linguistic features of the language in these manuscripts are South Slavic, with some minor differences between the Macedonian Glagolitic tradition in Ohrid and the Bulgarian Cyrillic tradition in Preslav, which I will address in section 1.3.3.

Manuscripts that originate from the Bulgarian and Macedonian area from the twelfth century onwards belong to the Bulgarian and Macedonian Church Slavonic recensions and are not considered part of the OCS canon. However, Schaeken & Birnbaum (1999: 17-18, 24) point out that there is no strict dividing line between the OCS canon and the early manuscripts of the Bulgarian and Macedonian recension. Some manuscripts, like the *Enina Apostol*, are considered to be part of the OCS canon based on the general linguistic and graphic features, but also show some features of a later period (one-jer orthography, restricted use of jotated letters and confusion of the original nasal vowels, see also section 1.3.2). Schaeken & Birnbaum (1999: 17) use the term ***Late Old Church Slavonic*** (*Spätaltkirchenslavisch*) to refer to these manuscripts.

Based on linguistic features three main Church Slavonic recensions can be discerned next to the Bulgarian and Macedonian recension: the ***Czech recension***, the ***Serbian and Croatian*** recension, and the ***Russian*** recension (Schenker 1995: 190-193. Manuscripts from these recensions are not necessarily of more recent provenance. For example, part of the oldest manuscript in the Czech recension, the *Prague Fragments*, in Glagolitic, dates from before the end of the eleventh century (Lysaght 1982: 87, Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 132) and the oldest manuscript showing Slovene linguistics features, the *Freising fragments*, written in Latin script, is even dated late tenth or early eleventh century, which makes it as old as the oldest OCS manuscript, the Kiev Folios (Lysaght 1982: 103, Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 131). Compared to the various local recensions of Church Slavonic, the OCS recension contains only a relatively small number of manuscripts.

originate from the late ninth, or at latest the beginning of the tenth century) and its West Slavic features give it a special position within OCS canon. Another feature that sets it apart from the other OCS manuscripts is the etymological use of the reduced vowels (ibidem: 93-94), which is almost flawless and which could underpin its high age (cf. section 1.3.2).

1.3.2 Linguistic features

As already mentioned, OCS is a South Slavic language, or more precisely an East South Slavic language. This can be based on historical reconstruction, as I have shown above. However, the only way to establish whether a manuscript belongs to this specific East South Slavic tradition of the third homeland and does not originate from another period or geographic area, is by its linguistic features.

The only exclusively East South Slavic feature is the reflex *št* and *žd* for Proto-Slavic **tj* and **dj* (cf. OCS *svěšta* and Bg *svešt* 'candle', with Cz *svíce,* Ru *sveča* and BCS *sveća*). Hence, a manuscript exhibiting different reflexes for Proto-Slavic **tj* and **dj* is not considered to be part of the OCS canon (the only exception being the Kiev Folios that shows a mix of South Slavic and West Slavic features).

There are other features that help to identify OCS as a South Slavic language, but these are not exclusive, meaning that they are shared with either West Slavic or East Slavic languages. An example is the reflex *l* for Proto-Slavic **tl* and **dl* (OCS *moliti* vs Cz *modlit* 'pray', shared with East Slavic), or the reflex *RaC* from Proto-Slavic *ôRC* (OCS *rastъ* vs. Ru *rost* 'growth', shared with central Slovak).

The temporal demarcation line between OCS and the younger Bulgarian and Macedonian Church Slavonic recensions, is drawn at the time when the nasal vowels *ę* and *ǫ* (Schenker 1995: 190, Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 24) became denasalized and the spelling of the nasal vowels was no longer in accordance with etymology. As already mentioned above, there is no clear border between the etymologically correct use of nasal vowels and complete denasalization. In manuscripts that belong to so-called Late Old Church Slavonic, manuscripts from late eleventh or early twelfth century, original nasal vowel occur as denasalized, or they are still written as a nasal vowels, but their spelling is no longer dependent on etymology. This shows the denasalization process in progress. Another feature of these younger manuscripts that deserves mention, is the so-called one-jer orthography, showing the results of a phonological development that is known as the 'fall of the jers' in which the two reduced vowels, the front jer *ь* and the back jer *ъ*, merged with other vowels, or were lost, depending on their distribution (see also below in section 1.3.3).

1.3.3 Variation within OCS

The manuscripts written in Glagolitic are usually linked to the scriptorium in Ohrid (western Bulgaria/Macedonia) and the Cyrillic manuscripts to that in Preslav (eastern Bulgaria). The two schools show mainly lexical differences. An example is the Ohrid school's preference for native Slavic words, while

the Preslav school uses more Graecisms (cf. Thomson 2006: 34-35 for a discussion and references to comparative terminology lists). However, such differences are merely trends, and manuscripts often contain terminology from both schools.

There is also a phonological difference between manuscripts from the two schools, which pertains to the development of the back jer (ъ) in strong position:[9] in the Glagolitic manuscripts, from Ohrid, the strong back *jer* in some cases merges with *o*, as in modern Macedonian, while in the Cyrillic manuscripts from Preslav the sound is still written as ъ, probably indicating a *schwa*, which is the reflex of the back *jer* (ъ) in strong position in modern Bulgarian. However, in the older Glagolitic manuscripts, like the Codex *Zographensis*, the absence of the merger of ъ with *o* can be attributed to old age; the language simply reflects the period before the fall of the jers, not a geographically defined feature.

The differences between the Ohrid and Preslav schools are relatively minor and a lot of mixing occurs within manuscripts (Cyrillic documents with some typical Ohrid features and vice versa). One of the reasons for this is that all OCS manuscripts are copies, probably copies of copies. Specific linguistic features can therefore be attributed to either the original, to an earlier copy, or to the language of the scribe. This means that one document may contain characteristics from different periods and geographical areas, depending on the number of times it was copied. A good example forms the *Savvina Kniga*, a Cyrillic manuscript that shows traces of a Glagolitic exemplar (cf. Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 100-101, with references).

Although the manuscripts cover a relatively long period of time (almost 200 years) and come from two different literary centres, there is also no indication that there is a systematic difference between the various OCS manuscripts with regard to verbal aspect. For this reason, I will treat the OCS corpus as a homogeneous corpus of texts with regard to verbal aspect. The database, which I will describe in the following sections, contains 80,000 verb forms from manuscripts from both centres and from both the tenth and the eleventh century. In a number of cases different manuscripts give a different rendering of the same text. This is most apparent in the Gospel texts, of which there are four OCS versions. These variant renderings can provide

[9] When counting from the last jer in a word to the beginning of a word, the first jer is in a weak position and the following jer is in a strong position, the next jer is weak again etc. This alternating pattern continues until a full vowel is reached. Counting from a full vowel, the following jer is weak, the next one strong etc. This pattern is known as Havlík's law (cf. Schenker 1995: 97), which was formulated in 1889 by the Czech scholar Antonín Havlík.

insight into linguistic developments concerning aspect, which is why I have compiled a parallel corpus of OCS Gospel texts (cf. section 1.5.3).

1.4 OCS canon

The OCS canon consists of a relatively modest number of manuscripts. The total number of folios is about 1825; 1270 in Glagolitic and the remainder in Cyrillic (Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 89). The texts are all of a religious nature, hence the name Old *Church* Slavonic, and they are almost all translations of Greek originals.

The database of OCS verbs that I use in this study is based on part of the canon; I gathered the data for the database from the *Belegstellenverzeichnis der altkirchenslavischen Verbalformen*, by Aitzetmüller (1977), which does not contain all texts that are regarded as part of the OCS canon today (cf. section 1.5).

Below I will describe the major manuscripts (10 folios or more) that are part of my database. Manuscripts from which no data have been used and minor manuscripts are merely mentioned, but not described. For a more extensive description of the various manuscripts see Schenker (1995: 203-213) and Schaeken & Birnbaum (1999: 93-135). Lysaght (1982) provides a collection and description of smaller manuscripts.

The manuscripts discussed below are categorized by content: Biblical texts (divided into Fourfold Gospels, Evangeliaries, Apostols and Psalters) and other religious texts (divided into Liturgical texts and Homiletic texts).[10]

After the description of manuscripts, I will present the database that I compiled based on these manuscripts, as well as the parallel corpus of OCS Gospel texts.

1.4.1 Fourfold Gospels

Fourfold Gospels, or tetra Gospels contain the text of all four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The two OCS fourfold Gospels that are part of my database are:

***Codex Zographensis* (*Z*),**[11] a Glagolitic fourfold Gospel of 270 folios,[12] containing the text of all four Gospels from Matthew 3:11 on, with some gaps

[10] I use the categorization as given by Schaeken & Birnbaum (1999: 87-88).

[11] Between brackets the letter I use in examples to indicate from which codex the example originates (cf. 0.4).

[12] The codex contains a total of 304 folios. However, there are a number of folios that contain later insertions, including some in Cyrillic, and that do not belong to the OCS canon (cf. Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 95-96, with references).

in between. The codex dates from the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. It is named after the place where it was found: the Monastery of St. Zographos on Mount Athos, in 1843. For this study I have used the diplomatic edition from 1879, edited by Vatroslav Jagić.

Codex Marianus (***M***), a Glagolitic fourfold Gospel of 173 folios, containing the text of all four Gospels from Matthew 5:23 to John 21:17, with some gaps. The codex dates from the early eleventh century and is called after the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God on Mount Athos where it was found in 1845. For this study I have used the diplomatic edition from 1883, by Jagić.

In addition to two fourfold Gospels that are part of my database, there is the *Codex Zographensis Palimpsest*, part of the codex *Zographensis* (folio 41-57), a Glagolitic on Glagolitic palimpsest, one of the later additions to the codex *Zographensis*.

1.4.2 Evangeliaries

Evangeliaries, also referred to as lectionaries or *aprakos* Gospels contain excerpts from all four Gospels. The OCS evangeliaries are all short evangeliaries, containing the texts to be read during the eight weeks from Palm Sunday to Pentecost, both on Sundays and weekdays, and texts for Saturday and Sunday for the remainder of the liturgical year. Evangeliaries normally contain two parts, a synaxarion (Gospel readings for the Easter cycle) and a menology (offices for feasts honouring saints and other important dates in the ecclesiastic year). The following two evangeliaries are part of my database:

Codex Assemanianus (***A***)**,** a short Glagolitic evangeliary of 158 folios, dating from the early eleventh century. The codex bears the name of its finder, Josef S. Assemani, who found it in 1736, in a monastery in Jerusalem. The diplomatic edition I use in this study is the 1955 edition, by Josef Kurz.

Savvina Kniga (***Sk***), a short Cyrillic evangeliary containing 130 folios, copied from a Glagolitic source.[13] It dates from the early eleventh century and owes its name to the scribe, the priest Sava, who wrote his name on two folios. The manuscript was discovered in 1866, in Moscow. For this study I have used the diplomatic edition by Vjačeslav Nikolaevič Ščepkin from 1903.

Other OCS manuscripts that fall within this category are the *Vatican Palimpsest*, *Bojana Evangeliary*, *Ohrid Folios*, *Undol'skij's Fragments, and the Sinai Fragment*.

[13] There is a total of 166 folios, 130 of which belong to the OCS canon. The remainder of the codex consists of later additions of Russian Church Slavonic recension.

1.4.3 Apostols

Apostols contain readings from the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles.

The only OCS Apostol is the *Enina Apostol* (not included in the database, since it is absent from the *Belegstellenverzeichnis*).

1.4.4 Psalters

Psalters contain the text of the Book of Psalms.

***Psalterium Sinaiticum* (*Ps*)**, a Glagolitic manuscript of 209 folios, containing 151 psalms, 14 Biblical hymns, the Lord's Prayer and some other liturgical texts. The two parts of the manuscript were both found in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The first part (Psalms 1-137, 177 folios) was found in 1850, the second part (the remainder of the Book of Psalms and other texts, 32 folios) in 1975.[14] The manuscript dates from the eleventh century. The diplomatic edition that I have used for this study is the 1922 edition by Sergej Sever'janov for the first part of the manuscript. For the second there is a diplomatic edition by František Mareš (1997).

There is one other OCS Psalter, the *Psalter Dimitrijs*.

1.4.5 Liturgical texts

Liturgical texts contain texts used during church services, such as prayers, blessings, hymns, creed etc. The following OCS codices contain liturgical texts:

***Euchologium Sinaiticum* (*Es*)**, a Glagolitic manuscript of 134 folios, the largest service book in OCS. It was found in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, in 1880, and contains parts of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Not all 134 folios were found at the same time. In 1850, 3 folios were found in the monastery of St. Catherine. Another 103 folios were discovered there in 1880, and yet another 28 folios in 1975.[15] The *Euchologium Sinaiticum* shares many linguistic characteristics with the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and probably also dates from the eleventh century. The diplomatic edition I have used for this study is the edition by Rajko Nahtigal (1941).

[14] The remainder of the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, which was found in 1975, is not part of my database, since it was not included in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis* by Aitzetmüller, which was issued in 1977.

[15] These latter 28 folios are not part of my database, since they are not included in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis* by Aitzetmüller.

Other manuscripts in this category are the *Sinai Missal, Kiev Folios*, *St. Petersburg Octoechos*, *Menaeum Sinaiticum* and *Folio 1r of the Kiev Folios* (containing the Marian prayer).

1.4.6 Homiletic texts

Homiletic texts contain Christian devotional literature, meant for edification. The following two codices are part of my database:

Codex Suprasliensis (***S***), the largest OCS manuscript, consisting of 285 folios, in Cyrillic, which among other things contains twenty-four lives of saints and twenty-four homilies. It owes its name to the monastery of Supraśl (near Białystok, Poland) where it was found in 1823. The manuscript dates from the eleventh century. The diplomatic edition used for the study is the edition by Zaimov & Capaldo (1982-83).



Figure 1.2 Fragment from the codex Suprasliensis (containing Romans 5:14)

Glagolita Clozianus (***C***), a Glagolitic manuscript containing 12 folios of homilies. The name of the manuscript refers to Count Paris Cloz (1777-1856), who acquired it and donated it to the City library of Trent. It dates from the eleventh century. I have used the 1959 diplomatic edition by Antonín Dostál for this study.

Other OCS liturgical texts are the *Rila Folios*, *Hilendar Folios*, *Zograph Folios*, *Cyrillic Macedonian (Hilferding's) folio*, *Grigorovič fragment.*

In addition to the manuscripts there are a number of ***inscriptions*** that are also considered to be part the OCS canon. The largest, best known are the ***Tsar Samuil's inscription*** (31 words) and the ***Mostič inscription*** (30 words). A good overview of inscriptions with transcription can be found in Lysaght (1982). Because of their limited content these inscriptions play only a minor role in this study, as do the smaller manuscripts; their small size means that they only have very limited influence in the statistical analysis in Chapter 7.

Table 1.1 contains an overview of the major manuscripts used for this study, a total of 1348 folios:

Glagolitic	*Cyrillic*
Codex Zographensis, 270 folios	*Savvina Kniga*, 130 folios
Codex Marianus, 173 folios	*Codex Suprasliensis*, 285 folios
Codex Assemanianus, 158 folios	
Psalterium Sinaiticum, 209 folios	
Euchologium Sinaiticum, 109 folios	
Glagolita Clozianus, 14 folios	

Table 1.1 Major OCS manuscripts used in the database

Of these, the Gospel codices (*Zographensis*, *Marianus*, *Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga*) play a key role in the analysis of aspect usage in this study, because these manuscripts allow for a comparison of up to four versions of the same text (cf. section 1.5.3), depending on the questions in how many the Gospel codices the particular passage is attested.

1.5 Database and Parallel Corpus of OCS Gospel texts

Data from the manuscripts described above form the basis of my database, on which, in turn, the morphological categorization of verbs in Chapter 5 and the statistical analysis in Chapter 7 are based. I will first give a short introduction of the database. In Chapter 5 I discuss the various parameters that are included in the database in more detail.

In section 1.5.3 I will introduce the Parallel Corpus of OCS Gospel.

1.5.1 Database

For this study of verbal aspect in OCS, I have compiled a database of attestations of OCS verbs. The first phase of the compilation of the database consisted of putting together a list of all attested OCS verbs from the retrograde part of the *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen texten* by L. Sadnik & R. Aitzetmüller (1955). Subsequently Aitzetmüller's *Belegstellenverzeichnis der altkirchenslavischen Verbalformen* (1977) was used to count the attestations for each individual verb. Differences between the verbs mentioned in the *Handwörterbuch* and those in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis* were straightened out in the process.[16] In a number of cases I corrected obvious mistakes in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis.*[17] This resulted in a database of 2,883 verbs with a total of almost 80,000 attestations.

[16] For example, the *Handwörterbuch* had both *grěti* and *grějati* 'heat', while the *Belegstellenverzeichnis* has only one lemma *grěti* (*grějati*). In such cases I chose the way the lemma was listed in the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* by Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova (1994), in this case *grějati.*
[17] For example, for the verb *pozьrěti* 'recover one's sight' 5 attestations of the present active participle are entered, which upon examination of the attestations turned out to be past active

When the list of verbs with their attestations was complete, other parameters were added to the database. This concerned mainly aspectually relevant characteristics, e.g. the absence or presence of a prefix or a suffix and derivational relations between verbs. These additions make it possible to group verbs based on shared (morphological) characteristics and compare the relative distribution of the verb forms in groups of verbs thus selected. Some other characteristics that I included are, for example, the Leskien verb class[18] and the meaning of the verb in Dutch and English. I will go into to the database and its use for this study more extensively in Chapter 5, where I will discuss the various relevant aspectual characteristics of OCS verbs. The figure below shows an example of the entry for the verb *sъbьrati* 'gather' in the database:

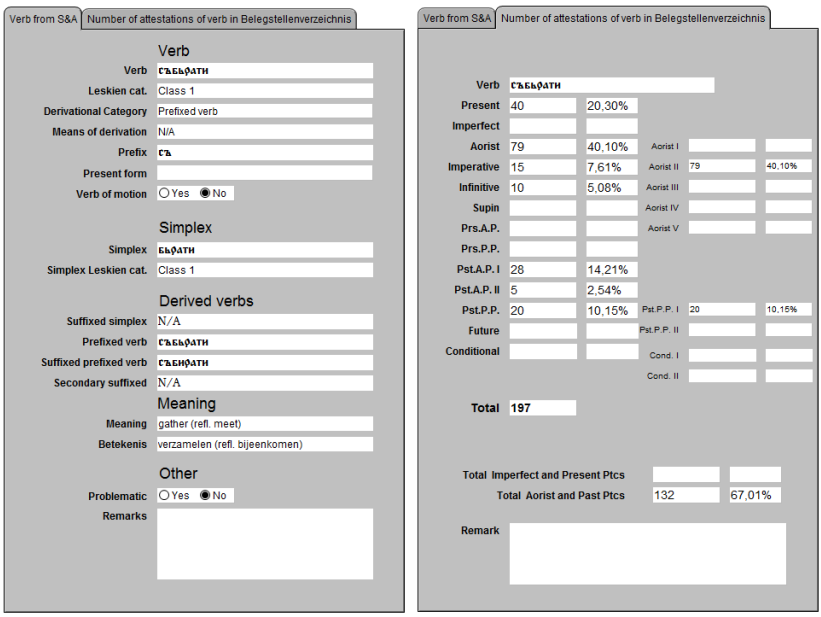


Figure 1.3 Screenshot of a database entry of the verb sъbьrati 'gather'

1.5.2 Limitations of the data

The attestations in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis* give a good overview over the verbal system in OCS. Some of the newer manuscripts, e.g. the ones found in

participles. Another example are the two aorist attestations of *nenaviděti* 'hate' which turned out to be one imperfect attestation and one aorist attestation of the verb *vъznenaviděti* 'start hating'.

[18] Refers to the classification of the OCS verbs into five groups based on the present tense suffix, by the German linguist August Leskien (1969: 138-168).

1975 on Mount Sinai, like the second part of the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and 28 folios of the *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, or manuscripts of which no diplomatic edition is available, like the Bojana evangeliary, are not included in the count. The following two minor manuscripts that are not regarded as part of the OCS canon, are included in the database because of their inclusion in the *Belegstellenverzeichnis*:

Novgorod Fragments, two folios from a Cyrillic gospel that shows some characteristics of the Russian recension of Church Slavonic. The transcription that can be found in Lysaght (1982: 29-37) does not indicate different use of verb forms compared to the Gospels texts in OCS manuscripts.

Słuck Psalter, five folios of a Cyrillic psalter (part of Psalm 118), with Russian characteristics. The manuscript itself is now lost, but the transcription of the manuscript by Sreznevskij (1868: 155-165) does not reveal different use of verb forms compared to the OCS codex *Psalterium Sinaiticum*.

The ***Kiev Folios*** are also included in the database. This codex is often mentioned as part of the OCS canon, but with some caution because its characteristics indicate a link to the second homeland, while all other OCS codices are from the third homeland, as discussed above. Unlike the other OCS manuscripts, which are translated from Greek, this is a translation from a Latin source. Furthermore, the West Slavic reflex of Proto-Slavic **tj* and **dj* could be seen as a valid reason to treat the Kiev Folios as a separate tradition (cf. also Schaeken 1987: 120-121). The description of the attested verb forms by Schaeken (1987: 87-89), though, does not show any deviating verb forms in comparison to the rest of the OCS canon.

The verb forms from this limited number of folios are vastly outnumbered by the verb forms harvested in the manuscripts that are regarded as belonging to the OCS canon. Moreover, since these manuscripts do not show any specific deviations on the area of the verbal system with regard to the OCS manuscripts they do not distort the overall picture of the verbal system. The database is therefore a reliable tool for studying verbal aspect in OCS.

1.5.3 Parallel corpus of OCS Gospel texts

Since this study of verbal aspect is in part a question of the scope of use of particular verbs and verb forms, as I will show in the following chapters, the four major Gospel manuscripts, providing up to four possible OCS versions of one and the same text, proved very useful in this study. This is mainly because variation between the manuscripts gives an impression of the range of verbs and verb forms that can be used in a particular context. Moreover, the Greek original of the Gospel texts is so well known and well analysed that it is easier to get an idea of what the Slavic translation tries to express than it

often is with texts from, for example, codex *Suprasliensis*, for parts of which the source text is not even known. Finally, in many instances, two, three, or all four of the codices have the same verb form. If this is the case, it is strong support for the assumption that the form is not simply a copying mistake, or an idiosyncratic system based on the dialect of the copier, but that it reflects systematic usage of the form throughout OCS.

I therefore compiled a parallel corpus of the four OCS Gospel codices of which a digital edition was already available: *Zographensis, Marianus, Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga*.[19] The parallel corpus makes it possible to spot differences and similarities between these four codices at a glance, giving an impression of the range of uses and translation choices the OCS translators had.

Compare the following two OCS translations of the same Greek original, which give an indication of how this study can benefit from the comparison of the various Gospel codices:

(2) slyšavъ že jako arxilai c[ěsar]rьstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***boja***^{aor} ***sę*** tamo iti [*Sk*]
slyšavъ že . ěko arxilai c[ěsar]rstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***uboja***^{aor} ***sę*** tamo iti [*A*]
but when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judea in place of his father Herod, he *was afraid* to go there (Matthew 2:22)

The difference between the codex *Assemanianus* and the *Savvina Kniga* is interesting here because it shows that in OCS apparently simplex verbs like *bojati sę* 'be afraid' were in competition with prefixed verbs like *ubojati sę* in this particular inchoative context in which 'was afraid' can be paraphrased as 'became afraid'. This reveals something about the state of the verbal aspect system in OCS and the various means available to translate the Greek original, which has an indicative aorist form *ἐφοβήθη*. Moreover, if there are arguments for the anteriority of one reading over the other, it also holds information on the direction in which the verbal aspect system developed.

In Chapter 8 I will address the issue of simplex versus prefixed verbs in the verbal aspect system in OCS more extensively, as well as other interesting variations between the extant OCS translations, but for now example (2) suffices to show that comparing codices provides more information

[19] The parallel corpus can be downloaded from my personal website: www.jaapkamphuis.nl. The digital texts on which this parallel corpus is based, originate from the Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense which can be found on http://www.helsinki.fi/slaavilaiset/ccmh/ and on the website of the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS), http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm.

regarding the aspect system than considering only a single codex. Of course, variation within one codex can also reveal such information, but the parallel texts all stem from a single source, i.e. the original translation by Constantine and Methodius, and can therefore reveal more about the direction of development.[20]

Thus, while the database of OCS verbs, which is the basis for the morphological categorization of verbs in Chapter 5 and the statistical analysis in Chapter 7, is based on a large part of the OCS canon, I often found the most illustrative examples in the parallel corpus of Gospel texts. It is important to note here that the Gospel manuscripts, as well as many other OCS manuscripts contain narratives.[21] In Chapter 8 (section 8.2.1) I will show that the functions of the aspects also depend on the question whether they occur in a narrative or in so-called 'retrospective' mode, in which a past event is not presented as part of a narrative, but as directly related to the moment of speech. The fact that most of the OCS manuscripts contain narratives, means that it is more difficult to reach firm conclusions regarding typical functions of aspect in retrospective mode, such as the general factual use of imperfective verbs (cf. section 2.2.1).

[20] Unless one assumes that the Gospel texts have been translated more than once and the OCS gospel codices stem from different OCS translations, for which to my knowledge exist no compelling arguments.

[21] An important deviation from this rule are the psalters, which contain monologues and dialogues.

2 VERBAL ASPECT

2.0 Introduction

The subject of this study is verbal aspect in OCS. In the preceding chapter, I have discussed OCS. I have sketched the historical events that resulted in the codification of Slavic, the relationship of OCS to these events, the linguistic characteristics of OCS, the manuscripts that belong to the canon of OCS and my database and Parallel Corpus of OCS Gospel texts that are based on these manuscripts. I will now turn to the second pillar of this study: verbal aspect.

Verbal aspect concerns the way an event unfolds in time. It differs from tense, which is a deictic category concerned with the position of the event with regard to a reference point. The way in which an event unfolds in time is subject to construal, as I will show in the following sections. Two basic factors in the aspectual construal of an event are the inherent properties of the event, which I will discuss under the header of ***lexical aspect*** (section 2.1), and the morphological properties of a verb expressing an aspectual opposition, which I will refer to as ***grammatical aspect*** (section 2.2).

Subsequently, I will turn to the specific characteristics of derivational aspect in Slavic, after which I will discuss an aspectual typology of the modern Slavic languages. Finally, I will deal with verbal aspect in older stages of Slavic and verbal aspect in the Greek of the New Testament (section 2.3). A detailed account of previous studies on aspect specifically in OCS will be given in Chapter 4.

2.1 Lexical aspect

Lexical aspect (in some studies also referred to as 'actionality') concerns inherent semantic properties of a verb or a predicate that, as Filip (2012: 721) states: "[i]n the most general terms [...] have to do with the presence of some end, limit or boundary in the lexical structure or certain classes of verbs and its lack in others." Smith (1997) coins this type of aspect 'situation aspect'.

2.1.1 Maslov 1948

The first lexical classification of Slavic (Modern Russian) verbs comes from Maslov (1948). The advantage of his classification is that it takes into account the interplay between lexical and grammatical aspect, something that also plays an important role in the present study.

Many of the tests Maslov uses to classify verbs into various lexical aspect categories make use of the functioning of an ***aspect pair*** (a pair of a perfective and an imperfective verb with the same lexical meaning, cf. section 2.2). One

important distinction in his classification is, for example, the difference between imperfective verbs that can express conativity and imperfective verbs that cannot. Thus in Modern Russian one can say *Vstrečal*^{ipf}, *da ne vstretil*^{pf} 'He was waiting (for someone), but did not meet (him)', while **Javljalsja*^{ipf}, *da ne javilsja*^{pf} 'He appeared but did not appear' is ungrammatical, since *javljat'sja*^{ipf} cannot express a tendency or an attempt. Another important characteristic of imperfective verbs in Maslov's classification is the (in)ability to express a process. This characteristic divides verbs like *prixodit'*^{ipf} 'come, arrive' from verbs like *vyxodít'*^{ipf} 'go out, come out'. For example, one can say *Kogda ja vyxodil*^{ipf} *iz domu, ja vstretil*^{pf} *znakomogo* 'When I went out of the house, I met an acquaintance', since *vyxodít'*^{ipf} can express an event in its development, while one cannot say **Ja vyzval*^{pf} *ego po telefonu, i on uže prixodit*^{ipf} *ko mne* 'I called him by telephone and he is already arriving at my place', since *prixodit'*^{ipf} cannot be used to express a process. These tests heavily rely on the instinct of native informants with regard to the functions of perfective and imperfective verbs, which it makes unsuitable for use in this study of OCS (cf. Bermel 1997: 52). Moreover, it results in a very fine-grained lexical aspect classification that goes beyond the purpose of the present study of grammatical aspect.

However, the underlying basic concepts, such as the absence or presence of a boundary, or the absence or presence of temporal extent, are the same as in the well-known classification by Zeno Vendler (1957), which I will elaborate on below.

2.1.2 Vendler 1957

Vendler uses the inherent aspectual properties of English predicates in his article "Verbs and times" (1957) to classify predicates into four categories (states, activities, accomplishments and achievements). He uses various tests in English to distinguish between them. One can, for example, say *I am running*, but not ?*I am knowing*, which is due to an inherent difference between the predicate *know* and the predicate *run* (Vendler 1957: 144).[1] Although through the years all kinds of alterations and supplemental

[1] These tests, in which a predicate is put in a certain linguistic context to establish a characteristic of that predicate, are language specific. In Dutch, for example, there is no *-ing* form, making this test unsuitable for Dutch, just as there are no aspect pairs to use for testing (cf. also the preceding section on the categorization by Maslov). Moreover, it is not always clear 'why' a test works, which characteristic of the predicate it points at. Finally, the tests are intrusive; using a certain adverbial or verb form can change the meaning of a predicate (cf. section 2.1.5). However, notwithstanding the difficulties in establishing the aspectual value of individual predicates, the four-way classification by Vendler is not language-specific, since it is based on abstract concepts, and is able to accommodate classification of predicates in a wide range of languages, including the Slavic languages.

categories have been proposed to Vendler's classification of situation types, it has survived up to today as a basis for many studies on lexical aspect. Croft (2012), for example, uses the four-way classification as a basis for his own classification in various aspectual types. Croft uses visual representations for these aspectual types which are very reminiscent of the way Barentsen (1995, 2003a) represents aspect in Russian. I will use similar geometric representations in my discussion of Vendler's classification.[2]

To capture the lexical aspectual properties of a verb or a predicate, the representation should be able to depict three concepts that in the words of Filip (2012: 727) are the "fundamental aspectually relevant concepts that recur in one way or another in virtually all taxonomies of lexical aspect and across different theoretical frameworks". These are: a ***qualitative dimension***, a ***temporal dimension*** and the absence or presence of an ***inherent boundary***.[3] This results in the following basic picture:

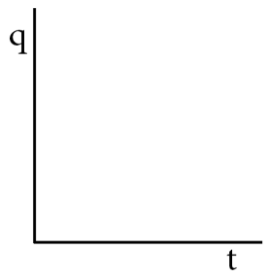


Figure 2.1 Basic representation of lexical aspect

In this representation the qualitative dimension is found on the q-axis and the temporal dimension on the t-axis (cf. Croft 2012: 53).[4] The possible inherent boundary only becomes apparent in the achievements and accomplishments (see below). As will become clear in my discussion of

[2] Similar graphical representations of Vendler's four classes can also be found in Scarborough-Exarhos (1979: 85), cited in Brecht (1985: 10).

[3] In this study I will use the term ***inherent boundary*** and not 'endpoint', 'terminal point' or 'climax' (Vendler 1957: 145), since those notions have a resultative connotation, while the inherent boundary can, for example, also represent the start of an action, as in inchoative verbs like the Russian *zacvesti* 'bloom/break into blossom'. In such verbs it feels awkward to speak of an endpoint. For similar reasons Comrie (1976: 18) argues for the use of 'complete' for grammatical perfective aspect, instead of 'completed' which "puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation". He illustrates this with a Russian example of a perfective present *Ja ub'ju tebja* 'I shall kill you' and an Ancient Greek example of an aorist infinitive *Boúletai toũto poiêsai* 'He wishes to do this'. In such examples the perfective aspect cannot be said to express a completed event. Cf. also the discussion on 'terminative' versus 'telic' in section 2.1.4.

[4] Timberlake (1982: 310) also notes the possibility of representing events as geometric figures with a temporal axis and an activity dimension, although he does not actually provide the drawings.

grammatical aspect, the concepts of a boundary and a qualitative and temporal dimension, are not only relevant to lexical aspect, but to grammatical aspect and the interplay between both forms of aspect as well. The graphic representations of grammatical aspect by Barentsen (1995, 2003a), as well as the images in Janda's adaptation of Croft's typology for Modern Russian (Janda 2015), show how they also play a role in grammatical aspect. In other words, these concepts are basic to aspectual construal in general. Below, I will discuss the four aspectual types as proposed by Vendler: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements.

2.1.3 Vendler's classification

States, are characterized by the absence of qualitative change. An example of a state is *She is French*. There are no separate phases to this event and all intervals of the event, no matter how small, are qualitatively equal (occupy exactly the same place on the qualitative dimension).[5] States can graphically be represented as follows:[6]

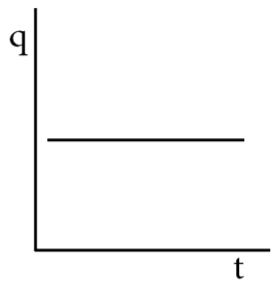


Figure 2.2 State

Although states often last longer, this is not a defining characteristic per se, as Croft (2012: 58) shows with his example of a 'point state': *The sun is at its zenith*.

Activities show both a temporal development and a development on the qualitative dimension. An example of an activity is *She is writing*. Vendler (1957: 144) notes that activities, unlike states, consist of successive phases. For example, *write* consists of putting your pen to a paper, drawing, taking the pen off of the paper again etc.; *walk* consists of raising one leg and putting it down in front of you, then raising the other etc. So there are qualitatively

[5] This is, for example, also the reason why *being a little pregnant* is felt to be funny; there are no qualitatively different stages of being pregnant. You either are, or are not pregnant.

[6] I give only very basic graphic representations to clarify the characteristics of the various classes on the two dimensions. For more elaborate graphic representations, differentiating between various subtypes within lexical aspectual classes see Croft 2012.

different phases to an activity, but there need not be development in one direction (cf. Croft 2012: 61 and Janda 2015: 219). There are examples of activities that show a development in one direction, like *cool* or *dry*, but most activities show different subphases that are not all moving in a single direction. The shared characteristic of all activities, as opposed to states is the movement on the qualitative dimension. This movement is also called 'dynamicity': an activity is a dynamic situation that "will only continue if it is continually subject to a new input of energy" (Comrie 1976: 49). This means that activities can weakly be presumed to run up to some kind of end, although this is not explicitly encoded, while states will continue more or less indefinitely unless they are interrupted (Timberlake 1982: 320). Actions can be graphically represented as follows (cf. Janda 2015: 219):

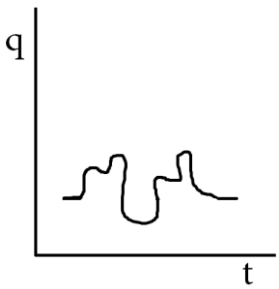


Figure 2.3 Activity

There are, of course, borderline cases between states and activities; posture verbs offer good examples of that. How much input of energy is really necessary to continue *lying in bed*, how much movement is there on the qualitative dimension? It is therefore no surprise that languages treat posture verbs differently. For example, in English, posture verbs like *sit* and *stand* can occur in the progressive (marked with be + *-ing*), which implies that they are evaluated as activities (Vendler 1957: 144-145),[7] whereas in Chinese they cannot occur in a tense form expressing durative progressive events (marked with *zai*), which indicates that in Chinese these verbs are evaluated as stative (Ping 1990: 6, 10-11).

States and activities share the characteristic of having no inherent boundary on the qualitative dimension. For states, this is inherent to the fact that they are not dynamic, there is no development at all on the qualitative dimension. Activities are dynamic, but do not show a qualitative boundary. I will refer to

[7] Compare this to a verb as *know* which strongly resists use in the progressive as in the example *?He is knowing*, (ungrammatical unless one wants to interpret the utterance in a more philosophical sense as 'He has knowledge (of)').

this type of predicate, without an inherent boundary, as ***aterminative*** in this study (cf. section 2.1.4).

Accomplishments are similar to activities in that they are dynamic. An example of an accomplishment is *He recovered from his injury*. However, in case of an accomplishment the qualitative development always connects two qualitatively different situations, in other words, there is an inherent boundary on the qualitative dimension beyond which a new situations begins. Predicates connecting two situations, express what Klein (1994: 85-95) calls 2-state lexical content, as opposed to 1-state lexical content as expressed by states and activities.[8] This 2-state content is also clearly present in the graphical representation:

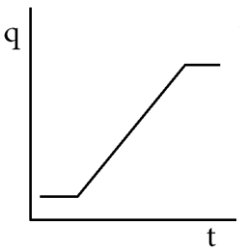


Figure 2.4 Accomplishment

The first horizontal line indicates the situation in which the event has not yet commenced. The diagonal stands for the process phase, e.g. the *recovering* process. The inherent boundary is the position on the q-axis at which the second state sets in, which stands for the situation in which the person is *recovered*. The heterogeneity of accomplishments, as opposed to activities (and states) emerges in English when an accomplishment in the progressive is compared with an activity in the progressive: *He is writing* (aterminative) entails that *He wrote*, because *write* refers to a homogeneous event, but *He is recovering* (terminative) does not entail that *He recovered*, because the process phase of recovering is a qualitatively different state from the 'recovered state' that is only reached when the boundary of the recovery process is reached.[9]

Achievements, like *He lost his key*, are similar to accomplishments in that they connect two qualitatively different situations (for *lose*: in possession → not in possession) and are thus also 2-state verbs. However, in case of

[8] I leave the 0-state lexical content out of consideration. This concerns what Croft (2012: 58) would call permanent inherent states.

[9] This test is able to make this distinction because the English progressive focuses only on the qualitative development of an event, leaving the inherent boundary out of the focus, while the simple past focuses on the complete event, including the inherent boundary (if there is one).

achievements, the change of state is not gradual, but instantaneous; it is a qualitative leap, as becomes clear from the graphic representation:

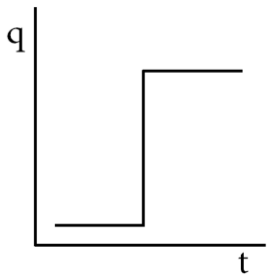


Figure 2.5 Achievement

The inherent boundary is located on the q-axis where the second state sets in, just as with the accomplishment. The difference between accomplishments and achievements regarding the presence or absence of a gradual change of state emerges when the predicate is combined with adverbs of duration. If one says *It took him three days to recover*, it means that for this period of three days, he was recovering. However, if someone would say *It took him three days to lose his key*, the person was not losing his key for a period of three days, but rather the period of three days is the period prior to losing the keys (cf. Vendler 1957: 147), the so-called preparatory phase (cf. Moens & Steedman 1988). Moreover, the present tense of an achievement in English is almost exclusively used as a historical present, or to refer to the immediate future (ibidem), since it cannot refer to an actual ongoing process (cf. the analysis made for Russian by Maslov as discussed in section 2.1.1). The difference in temporal extent between accomplishments and achievements is also why one can say *John was recovering when he died suddenly* but not **John was losing his key when he died suddenly.*

Verbs expressing an inherent boundary, accomplishments and achievements, are called ***terminative*** in this study. The difference between terminative and aterminative is the most important lexical distinction in OCS when it comes to the interaction of grammatical and lexical aspect, as I will argue below (section 2.2). In section 2.1.4 I will discuss the rationale behind using the term 'terminative' as opposed to 'telic'.

The combinations of the main three concepts that play a role in lexical aspect lead to the four basic aspectual types discussed above (cf. Filip 2012: 728):

Lexical aspect	Qualitative change	Temporal dimension	Boundary
State	-	+/-[10]	-
Activity	+	+	-
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Achievement	+	-	+

Table 2.1 Lexical aspectual types

2.1.4 Terminative versus telic

In this study I deliberately use the terms 'terminative/aterminative' instead of 'telic/atelic'. The main reason for this choice is the fact that 'telic' is often interpreted in the narrow sense of 'an event or situation with a process phase leading up to a boundary' (cf. Genis 2008: 91-100 for a more extensive discussion). Comrie (1976: 44-48) uses the term like that, for example. In his usage the inherent boundary is really a *telos*, an inherent goal, or endpoint, which is reached after some activity. By using 'terminative' I group together accomplishments and achievements, but also semelfactives (cf. section 9.2.2).[11] All these verbs have in common that they inherently refer to a change of state; they connect two qualitatively different situations. The point at which the change of state is attained is the inherent boundary, to which some authors refer as 'terminus' (cf. Figure 2.6 in section 2.2.3).

The term 'terminative' can also be used for Modern Russian delimitative and perdurative verbs. An example of the former is Russian *pospat'*[pf] 'sleep for a while'. This particular phenomenon of atelic terminative verbs does not occur in OCS, however.

2.1.5 Aspectual construal

It is good to realise that the verbs in the examples in section 2.1.3 are not exclusively tied to one lexical aspect category. For example, the verb *be* may be construed as an activity as in *He is being funny*; *write* as an accomplishment in *He wrote her a letter*; *recover* as an achievement in *He recovered instantly* and *lose* as an accomplishment in *I am losing you.* Croft (2012: 83) calls the possible ways in which a verb or predicate can be construed the ***aspectual potential*** of a predicate. Some verbs are particularly flexible and can be construed in a large range of aspectual types, while other verbs have a smaller aspectual potential. Croft (ibidem) gives the example of

[10] According to Filip (2012: 728) states always have a temporal extent. However, Croft (2012: 58) argues that 'point states' exist, e.g. *The sun is at its zenith.* I follow Croft's definition of states in this study. Hence, the lack of dynamicity is the key characteristic of states, even though most states will have a temporal extent.

[11] I regard semelfactive verbs as cyclic achievements (Croft 2012: 60), in which the change of state is immediately followed by a return to the first state.

the predicate *touch the painting* which allows a wide range of aspectual construals:

(3) Denise ***touched*** the painting. (achievement)
Denise ***was*** (kept) ***touching*** the painting. (activity)
The chair ***is touching*** the painting. (state)

Croft gives some more examples showing that the verb *touch* can also be used in other predicates in different subtypes of these aspectual types, making it more versatile than many other English verbs.

There are various factors that influence the aspectual construal of a predicate, which I will discuss below: the object, the subject, the broader context and inflectional aspect. The brief discussion of the influence of inflectional aspect below automatically brings the discussion to grammatical aspect, which will be dealt with separately in section 2.2. The various factors influencing the aspectual construal often co-occur, but for the sake of clarity I will treat them separately.

2.1.5.1 The influence of the object

The aspectual construal of a predicate is influenced by the absence or presence of an object, and the kind of object it has. For example, the verb *write* can be used in both terminative and aterminative predicates. When it is used without an object, or with a generic object like *books*, the predicate is aterminative. The addition of a discrete object as in *write a book*, introduces a boundary, resulting in a terminative predicate.

Although Vendler (1957) does not explicitly mention it, the 'verbs' he discusses are actually complete predicates and the aspectual types he discerns are heavily influenced by the object he chooses. For example Vendler (1957: 145) notes that a question like *For how long did he draw the circle?* is odd, while *How long did it take to draw the circle?* is appropriate. This has to do with the fact that *draw a circle* is a terminative predicate which is not very compatible with durative adverbials like *for*. However, when the discrete object *the circle* is exchanged for the generic object *circles*, the predicate becomes aterminative and the combinatory possibilities change: *For how long did he draw circles?* is quite normal, while *How long did it take to draw circles?* sounds odd.

It is important to mention that the lexical content of the verb itself, has an influence on the construal as well. Not all verbs have the same aspectual potential. For example, with the verb *write* or *draw* the addition of a discrete object results in the addition of an inherent boundary. However, with the verb *know* the boundedness of the object does not influence terminativity, both *He knows a girl* and *He knows girls* are events without an inherent boundary.

2.1.5.2 The influence of the subject

The subject of the predicate can also have an influence on the aspectual construal of an event. In example (3) the subject 'the chair' in *The chair is touching the painting* influences the construal; world knowledge tells us that apart from in fairy tales, chairs do not move around by themselves, so the most obvious interpretation is that of a state. However, when this particular utterance would in fact come from a fairy tale in which a naughty chair just couldn't keep its hands off a painting, the event would be seen as an activity, just as in *Denise was (kept) touching the painting.*

2.1.5.3 The influence of the broader context

Adverbs can also influence the aspectual construal of the predicate. For example the verb *know* might at first glance seem like the ultimate verb for stative predicates, especially if one thinks of examples like:

(4) I ***know*** how to do this. (Croft 2012: 85)

However, in combination with the adverb *suddenly* the predicate is construed as an achievement:

(5) I suddenly ***knew*** the answer. (Croft 2012: 85)

Regarding the verb *know* and similar verbs like *think* and *understand*, Vendler (1957: 152) remarks that while some verbs have an original and a derived 'sense', for verbs like *know* it is difficult to establish to which type they originally belong. In a similar vein Timberlake (1982: 312) states that the relationship between the various senses of the same verb is unclear, and Croft (2012: 83 ff.) also notes that it can be difficult or in some cases even impossible to establish a basic aspectual construal for a verb.

Apart from adverbs, other factors from the wider context have an influence on the aspectual construal as well. The following example, given by De Swart (1998: 359) and Michaelis (2004: 33) and repeated by Croft (2012: 89), shows that in some cases the factors come from outside the construction:

(6) My program ***ran*** in less than four minutes.[12]

This utterance can be understood as *after less than four minutes my program ran* and as *the running of the program lasted less than four minutes.* In such cases the interpretation must come from the context, for example, a

[12] Croft (2012: 89) uses this example and examples of verbs being construed in various ways without a clear basic construal (like *know*), as an argument against the concept of 'coercion' (cf. De Swart 1998), which presumes the existence of a basic type that is subsequently coerced into a derived type by, for example, the use of a specific verb form or adverb.

discussion of who has the fastest program, or who can get the program to run as fast as possible.

2.1.5.4 The influence of inflectional aspect

In example (3), regarding the verb *touch*, the various construals are also influenced by the form of the verb: the simple past and the past continuous. This can be compared to the situation in OCS, where it is also possible to influence the aspectual construal by means of the inflectional aspect opposition between aorist and imperfect.[13] Compare the following two examples of the OCS verb *bojati sę* 'be afraid'. There is no lexical difference between the two verb forms in these examples below (both are inflections of *bojati sę*), but there is a morphologically encoded difference in grammatical aspect between the aorist and the imperfect that results in a different construal:

(7) irodъ bo ***boěše***$^{\text{impf}}$ ***sę*** ioana . vědy mǫža pravьdьna i s[vę]ta [Z, *M*, *A*]
Herod *was afraid* of John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man (Mark 6:20)

(8) slyšavъ že jako arxilai c[ěsar]rьstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***boja***$^{\text{aor}}$ ***sę*** tamo iti [*Sk*]
when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judea in place of his father Herod, he *was* [*became*, my translation] *afraid* to go there (Matthew 2:22)

The difference between these two examples is similar to the difference between examples (4) and (5). In example (7) the predicate *boěše sę ioana* is construed as an event with temporal extension but without qualitative change (and thus without a boundary), in other words as a state. However, it belongs to world knowledge that states often have a start as well (Comrie 1976: 50, Croft 2012: 58)[14] and by using an aorist in example (8) the OCS translator focuses on the start of the state 'be afraid', resulting in an accomplishment construal. This does not make the lexeme *bojati sę* an accomplishment verb,

[13] Although aorist and imperfect are often referred to as tense forms, the difference between these two past tense forms is aspectual (cf. Comrie 1976: 31-32, 71, 126, Lindstedt 1985: 66, cf. also section 2.2.1) A similar difference can be observed between past and present participles (cf. Chapter 6). Dostál (1954: 598-602) argues that aorist and imperfect are not aspectual forms, since aorists can be formed of imperfective verbs and imperfects of perfective verbs. I agree with him that the two oppositions cannot be equated, but this is no reason to not refer to the aorist-imperfect opposition as an aspectual opposition (cf. section 2.2.1).

[14] The only type of state that does not have a start in Croft's typology of states (2012: 58) is the 'permanent inherent state'. This type concerns utterances like *She is French*, although one could easily think of a situation in which her being French is an acquired state, as in cases of naturalization. In such a situation the utterance *She is French now* would be quite normal.

but the combination of *bojati sę* and the aorist results in an accomplishment construal.

2.1.5.5 The importance of aspectual potential in this study

With these examples of the influence of inflectional aspect on the aspectual construal I have already digressed into the realm of interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect. Before I turn to the discussion of grammatical aspect in section 2.2, I want to make a few remarks concerning the relevance of aspectual construal for this study. As is clear from the examples given above, there are various factors that influence the aspectual construal of a predicate. These factors often function as constraints on the possible aspectual construals of a predicate. For example, the bare verb *draw* allows both aterminative and terminative construals, but the addition of a discrete object, like in *He drew the circle in an hour*, narrows down the aspectual potential to terminative predicates, making it, for example, less compatible with durative adverbs like *for* (?*He drew the circle for an hour*). I will show that in OCS perfective and imperfective aspect also work as constraints on the possible aspectual construal of a predicate.

Since the lexical content of the verb itself is the basis for its aspectual potential, it must be separated from other factors influencing the construal (Timberlake 1982: 309-310, Filip 2012: 725). I will show that verbs expressing either perfectivity or imperfectivity, something that in Slavic is strongly linked with the lexical content of a verb (cf. section 2.2.2), are less flexible, have a narrower aspectual potential, than verbs that do not express aspect, to which I refer as 'anaspectual verbs' (cf. section 4.1, Bermel 1997: 9).

I will discuss the relationship between Slavic derivational aspect and terminativity more in general in the following sections concerning grammatical aspect.

2.2 Grammatical aspect

While lexical aspect concerns inherent properties of events, grammatical aspect is a form-meaning category that concerns "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3). This 'viewing' component of grammatical aspect can also be found in the designation Smith (1997) gives to this form of aspect, namely 'viewpoint aspect' (as opposed to 'situation aspect' for lexical aspect). Hence, grammatical aspect is not concerned with inherent properties of a predicate; rather it imposes an additional layer of aspectuality on an event and it does so with morphological means. The grammatical aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective shows cross-linguistic variation (cf. Dahl 1985: 69 ff.), both with regard to the morphological means with which it is expressed, and with regard to the meaning that is expressed. This has, however, not

withheld scholars from formulating a general definition of aspect, of which the following definition by Comrie is the best known (1976: 16):

"[P]erfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation."

Below I will use this definition as a starting point for the discussion of the differences between Slavic-style aspect and other aspect systems.

2.2.1 Slavic-style aspect

General studies of grammatical aspect often devote special attention to Slavic languages because of their typical morphologically encoded derivational aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect that encompasses the entire verbal paradigm (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Smith 1997, Croft 2012, Gvozdanović 2012).[15] The fact that the opposition between perfective and imperfective applies to the entire verbal paradigm (Szemerényi 1987: 7 calls it 'thoroughgoing dualism'), makes it possible to speak of perfective and imperfective *verbs*. Both verbs of the pair have a past and present tense paradigm, an infinitive, an imperative and participles/gerunds.[16] The Russian verb *sostavit'* 'compose' thus is a perfective verb with a lexically identical morphologically derived partner *sostavljat'* 'compose', which is an imperfective verb. Such a pair of verbs, which express the same lexical meaning and differ only in grammatical aspect, is called an ***aspect pair***, which can be seen as the basic unit in the verbal aspect system in any Slavic language. In Chapter 5 I will discuss the various morphological ways in which pairs can be formed in OCS.

Even though Slavic aspect frequently receives attention in general studies of aspect, the Slavic opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs differs from other aspect systems in Indo-European languages. Dahl (1985:

[15] As mentioned before, some Slavic languages, including OCS, have an inflectional aspect system (aorist-imperfect) alongside the pan-Slavic derivational aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs. 'Slavic-style aspect' only refers to the derivational opposition.

[16] The distribution of the various verb forms differs and not all forms are attested for both aspects. I will return to this when I will be discussing the method of grammatical profiling (Janda & Lyashevskaya 2011, Eckhoff & Janda 2014) in Chapter 4 and Chapter 7. In Chapter 10 I will show that the derivational aspect opposition may have started out as an inflectional opposition. In fact, a verb pair like Modern Russian *sostavit'* - *sostavljat'* 'compose', could still be regarded as one paradigm formed by means of inflection (cf. Lindstedt 1985: 42).

84) and Tomelleri (2010) use the term ***Slavic-style aspect*** to refer to the rather atypical Slavic aspect system (cf. Maslov 1959, Arkadiev 2012).[17]

I will show the peculiarities of Slavic aspect by comparing it to the definition of perfectivity by Comrie (1976: 16): "the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation".[18] Dahl (1985: 74) classifies this definition as a 'totality' view of perfectivity and shows that this view gives problems for Russian. In his study he uses a questionnaire in which informants are expected to fill out the verb form of the verb that is indicated in capitals. Dahl finds that Russian deviates on some points. For example, most languages use a perfective form in the answer in the following dialogue, but not Russian:

(9) Question: What did your brother do after dinner yesterday?
Answer: He WRITE letters.[19]
Russian: On ***pisal***^{ipf} pis'ma. [Ru] (Dahl 1985: 74-75)

In the Slavic tradition such reference to the occurrence of an event in the past is known as *obščefaktičeskoe značenie* 'general factual meaning', or *konstatacija fakta* 'simple denotation'. Russian uses imperfective verbs in general factual contexts (cf. Forsyth 1970: 83-102). When a speaker uses an imperfective verb in this way, he refers to the occurrence of the event as opposed to the result of the action. The perfective version *On napisal pis'ma* could only be interpreted as 'He wrote *the* letters', which would mean that the speaker interpreted the question as a question regarding the writing of some specific letters and not as a general question as to the activities his brother was involved in after dinner yesterday. Other Slavic languages show this usage as well (although not all to the same extent, cf. Dickey 2000: 95-125, see also section 2.2.3), which is why Dahl speaks of Slavic-style aspect and not of

[17] The term 'Slavic-style aspect' was, to my knowledge, first coined by Dahl (1985). Maslov (1959: 70) uses similar terminology in Russian, *kategorija soveršennost'/nesoveršennost' slavjanskogo tipa* 'category perfectivity/imperfectivity of the Slavic type', when he discusses the differences between the verbal Gothic aspect system and the Slavic aspect system. In his discussion of verbal aspect in Lithuanian, Arkadiev (2012: 112) differentiates between aspect *slavjankogo tipa* 'of the Slavic type' and *romanskogo tipa* 'of the Romance type', as does Lindstedt (1995). It is, of course, no coincidence that all these studies are comparative studies. However, non-comparative studies, like the present, can benefit from the sharp definitions that emerge from the comparison of various verbal aspect systems as well.

[18] Lindstedt (1995: 95-96) notes that most aspectologists agree that it is easier to first define the perfective aspect and subsequently negatively define the imperfective aspect. I will also first concentrate on perfective aspect here. In the discussion of the typology of aspect in modern Slavic in section 2.2.3, I will discuss imperfective aspect as well.

[19] This conversation comes from the questionnaire by Dahl (1985). The capitals indicate the verb the informant should use. The informant then fills out the verb form he deems appropriate.

Russian-style aspect. Szemerényi (1987: 1) even calls this characteristic of Slavic aspect 'the essence of the phenomenon'. The Slavic general factual use of imperfective verbs makes defining perfectivity in Slavic a complicated enterprise. The definition of perfectivity that Comrie gives might still apply to Slavic, but it appears that at least the 'totality' (single whole) of the event needs to be more clearly defined if it is to be used as characteristic of perfectivity.

I use the ***Romance-style aspect*** (cf. Tomelleri 2010: 70-71, Arkadiev 2012: 112) to refer to aspect systems that would use a perfective form in examples like (9).[20] Lindstedt (1995) also signals the atypical position of the Slavic-style perfective aspect when compared to other aspect systems. However, he argues that it is still possible to use a general definition of perfective aspect that is valid for both Slavic-style aspect and Romance-style aspect. According to Lindstedt (1995: 97) perfectivity is always "semantically based on the notion of attaining a bound, but this bound is not conceptualized identically in all languages". Hence, a general definition of perfectivity is possible, but the boundary needs to be defined differently for different systems. In Slavic the attained boundary is always a material boundary, the ***inherent boundary*** of terminative verbs (cf. sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4), while in other languages, like the Romance languages the attained boundary is a ***temporal boundary***, which is independent of the terminativity of the verb (Lindstedt 1995: 97). Hence, in Slavic the perfective aspect always entails the attainment of the inherent boundary of the verb (Tomelleri 2010: 68), which is why Slavic perfective verbs are terminative verbs by definition (cf. Barentsen 1995: 4, 1998: 44, 46-49), while in other systems perfective forms are not inherently terminative. Thus in Italian the rendering of the answer in (9) would be with the *passato prossimo*, the Italian past perfective:

(10) ***Ha scritto*** lettere. [It]
He *wrote* letters.

[20] With the use of Romance-style system I do not imply that this is a system that is limited to Romance languages. On the contrary, I argue that Greek has a Romance-style aspect system (cf. section 1.3.5), and also that the aorist-imperfect opposition in Slavic languages should be considered a Romance-style aspect opposition. Moreover I do not want to imply that there are no differences in the functions of aspect between languages with a Romance-style system. There are considerable differences between the aspect systems of Slavic languages (cf. section 1.3.3) as well, even though all of them have a Slavic-style aspect system. I use these terms as umbrella terms, to emphasize the special characteristics of Slavic-style aspect and the difference with other verbal aspect systems, especially the past tense inflectional aspect opposition between aorist and imperfect opposition in OCS.

Although the event in (10) is presented as temporally bounded, there is no inherent boundary involved. A classic example of an aterminative event with a perfective form is the following Ancient Greek utterance:

(11) ***Ebasíleuse***[aor] déka étē. [Gr] (Comrie 1976: 17)
He *reigned* ten years.

The event 'reign' is aterminative, has no inherent boundary, but the aorist, which is the perfective aspect in Greek (cf. section 2.3), imposes a temporal boundary on the action, presenting it as one 'chunk' of reigning, and thus implicating that the event is over. Comrie (1976: 17) therefore gives an alternative translation, capturing precisely that chunk of an event: 'He had a reign of ten years'.[21]

Interestingly, Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian,[22] as well as OCS, have a Romance-style system in addition to their Slavic-style system: the past tense opposition between the aorist and the imperfect is an aspectual opposition of the Romance type.[23] Bulgarian would, for example, use the aorist form of *piša* 'write' in the answer in example (9):

(12) Toj ***pisa***[ipf, aor] pisma. [Bg] (Lindstedt 1995: 97)
He *wrote* letters.

Although the aorist-imperfect opposition is similar to the perfective-imperfective opposition as found in Romance-style aspect (cf. Forsyth 1972: 503, Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 211), this does not make Bulgarian *piša* in (12) a perfective *verb* in the sense of Slavic-style aspect. This might seem like a trivial point, but it is important to know what kind of (im)perfectivity is meant when a form is designated as being (im)perfective. The aorist is a verb form, not the entire verb. In this study '(im)perfective aspect' refers to Slavic-style (im)perfective aspect, which revolves around terminative verbs. This Slavic-style aspect opposition is not restricted to a particular verb form, like

[21] Without an external indication of duration (*déka étē* 'ten years' in this example), the aorist of this aterminative verb refers to an ingressive event (*he became king*), hence actualizing another temporal boundary.

[22] In Sorbian, which also has a past tense opposition between aorist and imperfect the two aspect systems have conflated; aorists are only formed from perfective verbs and imperfects from imperfective verbs.

[23] The opposition between the past and present participles is similar to that of aorist and imperfect. In Chapter 6 I will show that the frequencies of occurrence of aorist and imperfect in the various groups of verbs are very similar to those of past and present participles, which supports the idea that they have a similar aspectual meaning.

the Italian *passato prossimo*, or the Bulgarian aorist, but it is a characteristic of the entire verb and therefore of all verb forms of that verb.[24]

Even though the aorist does not impose an inherent boundary like Slavic-style perfective aspect, in some cases the aorist of a verb that is not inherently terminative, results in an aspectual construal that is very similar to an aorist of an inherently terminative verb. This similarity can be so strong, that there is no longer a difference in interpretation. Take example (2), repeated below as (13), in which *Savvina Kniga* has aterminative *bojati sę* 'be afraid', and codex *Assemanianus* has *ubojati sę* 'become afraid':

(13) slyšavъ že jako arxilai c[ěsar]rьstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***boja***^{aor} ***sę*** tamo iti [*Sk*]
slyšavъ že . ěko arxilai c[ěsar]rьstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***uboja***^{aor} ***sę*** tamo iti [*A*]
but when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judea in place of his father Herod, he *was* [*became*, my translation] *afraid* to go there (Matthew 2:22)

The difference between the two construals is in the 'building blocks'. The initial boundary of the event, the connection between the situation in which Joseph (the subject of the predicate) is not yet afraid, and the state of him being afraid, is already present in the lexical meaning of the inherently terminative verb *uboja sę* and is merely reinforced by the use of the aorist. In the predicate with the verb *boja sę*, which is not inherently terminative, the use of the aorist means that a temporal boundary is placed on the event. Since there is no indication in the context that it concerns a durative event, with a separate initial and terminative boundary (cf. Figure 2.6 in section 2.2.3), the aorist *boja sę* expresses an initial boundary (cf. example (5) *I suddenly knew*). Hence, in both cases the predicate is terminative. This, however, does not mean that the verb *bojati sę* is terminative in this example; it is the aorist that results in the terminative construal of the event.

In Chapter 4 I will show that some of the problems in categorizing the OCS verbs with regard to aspect are related to difficulty in discerning which factors are responsible for the aspectual construal. As (13) shows, even an aspectual construal in which a boundary is attained, does not automatically imply that the verb that is used is Slavic-style perfective.

[24] In Chapter 10 I will show that in OCS there are a few verbs that show a kind of intermediate state between derivational and inflectional aspect, which may point at an inflectional origin for Slavic verbal aspect. The dividing line between derivation and inflection when it comes to Slavic verbal aspect is not all that clear.

2.2.2 Terminativity and aspect

Lindstedt's (1995: 97) definition of the boundary in Slavic perfective verbs shows that the inherent boundary of a verb is the link between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect in Slavic. The close relation between perfectivity and terminativity raises the question whether the Slavic derivational aspect opposition should be equalized to the opposition between terminative and aterminative verbs.

Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000: 210) argue that these two oppositions are indeed equal and note that the Slavic aspectual pairs can be regarded as 'grammaticalized lexical categories' (cf. Dahl 1985: 89). Their view seems to be based, at least in part, on a biased set of examples; they use examples of pairs with an aterminative simplex and a terminative prefixed partner like *čitat'-pročitat'* 'read' and *pisat' - napisat'* 'write', yet they do not consider examples in which the imperfective verb is derived with a suffix like prefixed *sostavit'-sostavljat'* 'compose' or unprefixed *rešit' - rešat'* 'solve'.[25] And indeed, if the only attested aspect pairs in Slavic would be of the kind of *čitat' - pročitat'* and *pisat' - napisat'*, Bertinetto & Delfitto would be right in stating that the opposition is between a simplex verb that is not inherently terminative and an inherently terminative prefixed verb.[26] As such, Slavic would not differ much from other languages that form perfectives with (empty) prefixes, like Gothic, (Maslov 1959, Comrie 1976: 94, Genis 2012), Lithuanian (Arkadiev 2012) and Georgian (Comrie 1976: 94, Tomelleri 2010). In fact, this very situation, in which highly terminative prefixed verbs are opposed to unprefixed simplex verbs, represents an important (though unattested early) phase of development of Slavic verbal aspect (Maslov 1961: 190-191). However, the development of the Slavic system did not stop at the derivation of terminative verbs by means of prefixes; the derivation of imperfective verbs from these highly terminative verbs by means of suffixation, resulted in the unique Slavic-style aspect (cf. Maslov 1961: 191, see also Chapter 5). It was the latter development that resulted in oppositions like *sostavit' - sostavljat'*, which cannot be equalized with the opposition between terminative and aterminative verbs, since both verbs in the pair are terminative.

The function of these newly derived imperfective verbs (e.g. *sostavljat'*) can best be described as ***defocusing the inherent boundary***. Thus while the

[25] To some extent this choice of examples is understandable. Works on Russian or Slavic aspect often start out their explanation of the aspectual system with examples of an aspect pair formed by prefixation, like *pisat' - napisat'* 'write', *delat' - sdelat'* 'do' or similar pairs (cf. Forsyth 1970: 1, Dickey 2000: 1).

[26] The aterminative simplex verbs can be used in a terminative predicate, but are not terminative by themselves (cf. Chapter 8 for OCS examples), while the prefixed verbs always express an inherent boundary, hence a terminative event, independent of the predicate they occur in.

perfective aspect always entails the attainment of the inherent boundary, which could be seen as a strong focus on the inherent boundary, the imperfective aspect shifts away the focus from that boundary. Depending on the context, this results in various interpretations, like durative, habitual, or conative. However, these are merely interpretations resulting from the defocusing of the inherent boundary.

The difference in terminativity between the simplex and the derived imperfective emerges most clearly in cases of so-called aspect trios (cf. Veyrenc 1965, Xrakovskij 2005). Grønn (2003: 18) compares *čitat'*ipf 'read', *pročitat'*pf 'read (completely)' and *pročityvat'*ipf 'read (completely)'. He uses a test with the temporal adverbials *in/for x time*. Terminative predicates are only compatible with 'interval adverbials' such as *in*, while aterminative predicates are only compatible with 'measure adverbials' like *for* (cf. Dowty 1979). In Russian the 'interval adverbial' is rendered by *za*, while *for X time* is rendered by the temporal adverbial construction without a preposition. The absence of a preposition is rendered in the examples below by ∅:

(14) Vanja ***čital***ipf knigu ∅/*za dva časa. [Ru]
Vanja *read* the book for/*in two hours.

(15) Vanja ***pročital***pf knigu *∅/za dva časa. [Ru]
Vanja *read* the book *for/in two hours.

(16) *∅/Za dva časa Vanja ***pročityvaet***ipf knigu i srazu edet v gorod. [Ru] (historical present)
Vanja *reads* the book *for/in two hours and then [immediately , JK] goes to town.

This shows that the verb itself is of crucial importance for the aspectual construal, since the lexical aspectual type is similar for all three predicates (an accomplishment). In habitual expressions the difference in terminativity emerges as well. Compare *pit'*ipf 'drink' and *vypivat'*ipf 'drink (up)' in the following sentences:

(17) Každyj den' ja ***p'ju***ipf rjumku vodki. [Ru] (Mønnesland 1984: 61)
I *drink* a glass of vodka every day.

(18) Každyj den' ja ***vypivaju***ipf rjumku vodki. [Ru] (cf. Dickey 2000: 53, Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015: 173)
I *drink* (finish) a glass of vodka every day.

In habitual expressions there are two levels on which aspect can work (Mønnesland 1984: 54, Stunová 1993: 35). First there is the micro-level, the level of the individual sub-event, in this case the drinking of a glass of vodka. Secondly, there is the macro-level at which the individual sub-events form a collective habitual event (Timberlake 1982: 315). In both examples (17) and (18)

the predicates express the unboundedness of the macro-event, however, on the micro-level there is a difference. Although the micro-level 'drink a glass of vodka' is terminative in both sentences, in the case of *p'ju* in (17) this terminativity is introduced only by the discrete object 'glass of vodka', while in the case of *vypivaju* in (18) the verb itself is terminative and the discrete object is the only allowed choice.[27] And while in (17) the object could be replaced by a generic object *vodku*, rendering the predicate aterminative, in (18) the inherent terminative verb does not allow the replacement of the discrete object. In such cases it is clear that the terminativity of the verb should be regarded as a separate factor in the overall lexical aspectual type of the predicate (Timberlake 1982: 309-310, Filip 2012: 725), since the difference results in a different construal. The fact that *vypivaju* is itself terminative, results in a complete interpretation on the micro-level: the glass is emptied every time. This is not true for the sentence with *p'ju*, which could be continued with *but he never empties his glass.* These examples show that terminativity is not a simple binary opposition, but rather a continuum between weak and stronger terminativity (Genis 2008: 152). In example (18) the inherent boundary is doubly expressed, resulting in more emphasis on the boundary compared to (17). This continuum of terminativity is not only due to specific characteristics of predicates, it can also be discerned in verbs. This is, for example, why Maslov (1961) can speak of 'highly terminative' verbs (cf. Bermel 1997: 55).[28] Moreover, it plays a role in the classification of anaspectual verbs in section 8.3.

Although the tests above are just two tests with Modern Russian examples,[29] in Chapters 8 and 9 I will show that this difference between aterminative and terminative verbs plays an important role in OCS as well and that also in OCS the derivational aspect opposition cannot be equalized with the opposition between terminative and aterminative verbs.

2.2.3 The East-West Theory of Slavic aspect

As mentioned above, one can speak of Slavic aspect as a type of aspect and to a certain extent Slavic aspect can be treated as a single system with differences in usage (cf. Galton 1976). However, over the past few decades a number of studies have appeared that compare the aspect usage of various modern

[27] This can be compared to the compatibility between the lexical aspect and the aorist *uboja sę* in example (13).

[28] In OCS this continuum of terminativity can most clearly be seen in anaspectual verbs (cf. sections 4.1 and 8.3).

[29] Borik (2002: 45-50) and Grønn (2003: 18-19) give more tests for Russian, showing that terminativity and grammatical aspect in Russian interact, but are different notions at the same time.

Slavic languages and that show considerable differences (e.g. Galton 1976, Ivić 1983, Mønnesland 1984, Stunová 1993, Dickey 2000, Barentsen 2008, Alvestad 2013). Fortuin & Kamphuis (2015) discuss a typology of Slavic aspect that emerges most clearly from the studies of Barentsen (1995, 1998, 2008) and Dickey (e.g. 2000, 2007, 2015). Although the authors have developed their theories largely independently from each other, the strong similarities between their theories make it possible to treat them as a single theory (cf. Dickey & Kresin 2009: 125): the East-West Theory of Slavic aspect.[30] This theory explains the differences in usage by pointing at a difference in meaning of aspect between an eastern group (Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Bulgarian)[31] and a western group (Czech, Slovak, Slovene and Sorbian) of Slavic languages.[32]

Barentsen has concentrated mostly on the specific meaning of aspect in Russian. His way of representing grammatical aspect is very similar to the way Croft (2012) depicts the lexical aspectual types and shows the connection between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect in Russian. For Russian, i.e. the eastern group, a perfective verb in a predicate like *pročitat' knigu* 'read a book' could be schematically represented as follows (cf. Barentsen 1985: 61, 1995: 17):

[30] The term 'east-west aspect theory' was first coined by Dickey (2001: 26).

[31] Bulgarian behaves differently from other members of the eastern group in the general factual use of the imperfective, which is why Dickey in a more recent study (Dickey 2015) characterizes Bulgarian as a peripheral member of the eastern group.

[32] There are also two transitional zones: one in the south with Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Macedonian (Kamphuis 2014) and one in the north with Polish. These languages show characteristics of both groups depending on the context the verb occurs in.

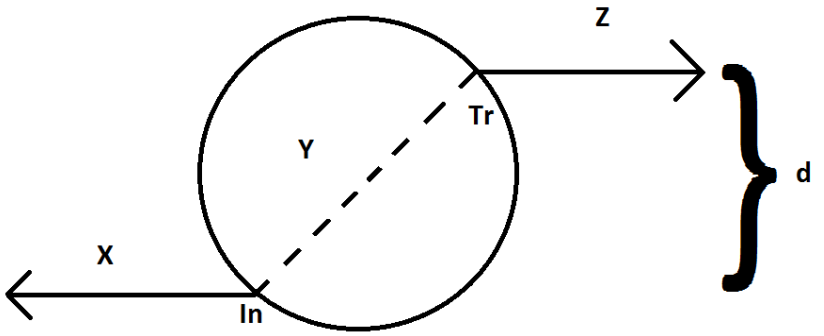


Figure 2.6 Barentsen's schematic representation of a perfective accomplishment[33]

In this representation, situation[34] X (before the reading has started) is connected to situation Z (when the book is read) through event Y (the actual reading of the book). This connecting of two situations is the defining characteristic of terminative events (cf. the representations of accomplishments and achievements in section 2.1.3, where also two qualitatively different states are connected through and activity phase). In the representation by Barentsen two boundaries are indicated: *In* (initium) and *Tr* (terminus).[35] These boundaries need to be crossed to reach a qualitatively different situation. Barentsen indicates the qualitative difference with *d* (distance or difference). The main part of the schematic representation is the circle, indicating that the two boundaries are indeed crossed and that we are dealing with a complete situation. Finally, the two hooks pointing left and right stand for the 'sequential connection' to another situation. All in all, this representation shows that in Russian a perfective verb is used when (I) the situation is ***terminative***, (II) the situation is seen as a ***totality***, and (III) there is a ***sequential connection*** to another situation. It is this third requirement, the sequential connection, that sets apart the eastern perfective aspect from the western perfective aspect; in the latter only the first two steps suffice to allow a perfective verb; sequential connection is not part of the meaning of

[33] For representations of different lexical types (activities, achievements, semelfactives) and various forms of perfectivity (delimitative and perdurative) in Russian see Barentsen (1995, 2003a: 373-381).

[34] I use 'situation' and not 'event', since this reference point can be an event, but also the moment of speech, or in some contexts it can even be "created" by the perfective verb itself (cf. Zel'dovič 2002: 31, Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015: 177).

[35] The two boundaries are inextricably linked in Russian grammatical aspect. Perfective aspect always expresses crossing both *In* and *Tr*, and together they form the transition from one situation to the other, or in other words: the inherent boundary.

the perfective aspect in the western group (Barentsen 1998: 55). This difference between the eastern and the western group can, for example, explain the difference of aspect usage in habitual expressions (cf. Mønnesland 1984). In Russian, the perfective present is normally not acceptable in habitual expressions:

(19) Každyj den' ja ***vypivaju***[ipf] (****vyp'ju***[pf]) rjumku vodki. [Ru] (cf. Mønnesland 1984: 61)
I *drink* a glass of vodka every day.

The ungrammaticality of the perfective verb in this context is due to the absence of a contrasting situation, a situation to which the habitual macro-event can be 'sequentially connected'. This is an inherent feature of habitual contexts since the event is presented as repeating an indefinite number of times,[36] which is incompatible with a definite location with regard to another situation.

In Dickeys terminology a perfective event is 'temporally definite', meaning that it is uniquely locatable in a context. Dickey & Kresin (2009: 125) relate temporal definiteness and sequential connection as follows: "temporal definiteness has as a practical effect the limitation of pf verbs in the eastern languages to contexts of (explicit or implicit) sequentiality." Hence, the locatability of an event depends on the question whether the event is "uniquely located in time relative to contiguous, qualitatively different situations" (Dickey 2000: 26-27). Dickey depicts this in the following manner:

[36] I mean 'indefinite' as opposed to 'definite' as in bounded repetition (e.g. five times, a number of times).

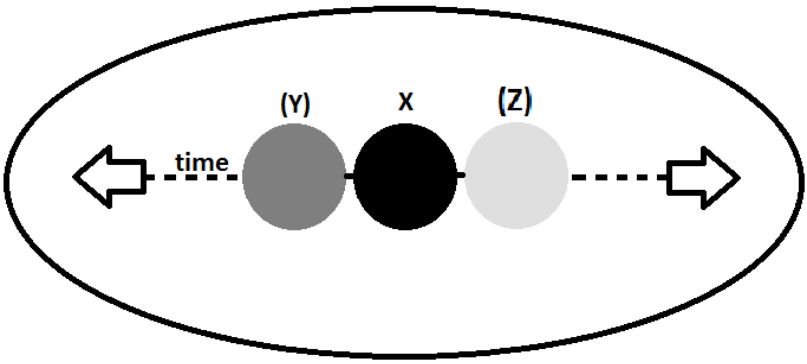


Figure 2.7 Dickey's schematic representation of the eastern perfective[37]

In Czech, a member of the western group, perfective aspect can be used for a 'plain' complete event, without a contiguous qualitatively different situation as becomes apparent in the Czech rendering of (19):

(20) ***Vypije***[pf] jednu skleničku vodky denně. [Cz] (Dickey 2000: 52)
(S)he *drinks* a glass of vodka every day.

Hence, in Czech a perfective verb is used when the first two layers that Barentsen uses to describe the Russian perfective (terminativity and situation seen as totality) are present; sequential connection is not part of the meaning of the Czech perfective.

The imperfective aspect in the eastern languages is the negative opposite of the perfective. In terms of Barentsen's definition, the absence of either terminativity, totality or sequential connection, will result in the use of an imperfective verb. Dickey calls this ***qualitative temporal indefiniteness***: "the non-assignment of a situation to a single, unique point in time relative to other states of affairs" (Dickey 2000: 108-109). In the western languages the imperfective aspect expresses ***quantitative temporal indefiniteness***: "the assignability of a situation to several points in time" (Dickey 2000: 107). This explains the difference in aspect use in utterances like the following:

[37] In this representation (Y) and (Z) are the qualitatively different situations, while (X) is the perfective event itself.

(21) Ja pomnju, v detstve odnaždy ja ***upal***[pf]/***padal***[ipf] s ėtogo dereva. [Ru] (Dickey 2000: 99)
Jako dítě jsem jednoho dne ***spadl***[pf]/**padal***[ipf] z toho stromu. [Cz] (Dickey 2000: 101)[38]
I remember, as I a child I once *fell* from this tree.

In Russian the imperfective aspect is used in this context to convey a general factual meaning (cf. section 2.2.1): the event is presented as isolated from the context (cf. Lindstedt 1985: 231-232). In other words: there is no sequential connection to another situation. In Czech, the fact that the event has no process phase, rules out the use of the imperfective aspect. The difference in meaning between the aspects in the eastern and the western group, results in a different behaviour in a number of contexts. The following table (after Dickey 2000: 260) captures a number of the most important differences:

Feature	West	East
Pf acceptable in habituals	+	-
Pf in historical present	+	-
Pf in performatives	+	-
No ipf in general factual achievements	+	-
Ipf in sequences of events	+	-

Table 2.2 Some important differences in aspectual behaviour between eastern and western group[39]

These differences in aspect usage between the various modern Slavic languages, show that even if a general definition of (Slavic) aspect, like the one Lindstedt (1995: 97) gives, is accepted, the individual parts of the definition need to be clearly defined themselves. Just as 'totality' is a different notion for Romance-style systems compared to Slavic-style systems, the notion differs between Slavic languages as well. If one defines 'totality' as 'attainment of the inherent boundary of an event, which is contiguous to qualitatively different situations', Russian perfective aspect could be said to express totality.[40] For Czech perfective aspect totality could simply be defined

[38] In the original Czech translation in Dickey (2000: 101) the word *jednou* 'once' is used as an equivalent for the Russian *odnaždy* 'one time'. Fortuin & Kamphuis (2015) point out that *jednoho dne* 'one time' is a better equivalent in Czech. It has, however, no consequences for the choice of aspect in this example.

[39] This table is, of course, a simplification of the differences. The reader is referred to Dickey (2000 and 2015) and Fortuin & Kamphuis (2015) for a more detailed discussion.

[40] All the more so because imperfective aspect can never express the attainment of a boundary, not even in absence of sequential connection in the eastern languages. The general factual examples are indeed interpreted as complete events, but that is due to the context. Imperfective aspect does not resist such an interpretation, but it also does not express totality. In a different

as 'attainment of the inherent boundary'. And, as Lindstedt already states, totality also works in the definition of perfective aspect in Romance-style systems, as long as it is defined as expressing the attainment of a temporal boundary, both with inherently terminative and other verbs. In this study I will use ***complete*** for a terminative event that is presented as total, hence, an event of which the inherent boundary is attained, while I will use ***temporally bounded*** for the Romance-style perfective, like OCS aorist.[41]

In the following section I will discuss some recent studies of verbal aspect in older stages of Slavic.

2.2.4 Study of verbal aspect in older stages of Slavic

In recent decades there has been an increasing interest in the functioning of verbal aspect in older stages of Slavic languages, often with a diachronic approach. Most studies have concentrated on Old Russian (e.g. Bermel 1997, Nørgård-Sørensen 1997, Mende 1999),[42] but, although to a lesser extent, also on Old Czech (Dickey 2011, 2013).

The question of whether or not grammatical verbal aspect is present in the older stages of Slavic verbal systems is not equally answered by those studies. Nørgård-Sørensen (1997) investigates verbal aspect in the Novgorod birchbark letters and concludes: "[a]spect must have been established as a grammatical category within a period of about 100 years starting from the beginning of the 17th century" (ibidem: 19). He draws this conclusion based on the fact that aspect in Old Russian functions differently from aspect in Modern Russian, since there is no regular derivation of imperfective verbs from prefixed perfective verbs and the forms that are derived function predominantly as markers of iterativity. If one takes the Modern Russian system as the measuring rod for the existence of aspect as a grammatical category, this conclusion may be justified. However, the question is whether regarding Modern Russian as the ultimate grammatical aspect system is

context, the same form could result in a conative reading. In other words: there is no totality without sequential connection in the eastern group, which shows that the last two layers in Barentsen's model are in fact one feature.

[41] Depending on the example I will sometimes use 'total'. The reason I do not just use 'total' as the standard term is that the aorist of aterminative verbs is also used to express ingressivity (cf. *boja sę* in example 13). And even though one could call that a kind of totality as well, the term 'total' has a strong connotation of 'final boundary'. Whether the addition of a temporal boundary results in a total or in an ingressive interpretation depends on the lexical aspect of the verb and the other factors influencing the lexical aspect of the predicate (cf. section 2.1.5).

[42] Bermel (1997: 17) notes that Old East Slavic is a more justifiable term for the early stages of what is also referred to as Old Russian.

useful when comparing (Slavic) aspect systems (cf. Mende 1999: 297-301, Tomelleri 2010: 92).[43]

Bermel (1997) takes a different angle of approach and concludes, on the basis of his diachronic study of various Old Russian texts, that the aspectual opposition is present from the oldest attested stages in Old Russian, but that it started out in non-punctual terminative verbs and from there spread throughout the system (Bermel 1997: 463, cf. Bunina 1959: 33). Furthermore, he notes a process in which the system is gradually reorganized from a lexically based system into a 'quasi-grammatical one' (Bermel 1997: 475). In that regard, his conclusion is compatible with Nørgård-Sørensen's. Mende (1999) and Lehmann (1999) describe the emergence of aspect in Russian also as a transition from a lexical aspect system towards a system with grammatical aspect. For them the development comes down to *Expansion*, the development of aspect pairs which almost doubles the verb inventory, and *Reduktion*, the redistribution of syntactic environments and functions over the expanded verb inventory (Lehmann 1999: 227). In this approach the Modern Russian aspect system simply represents the latest phase of development of aspect for Russian, not the ideal or final system of Slavic grammatical aspect.

Dickey (2012) shows that the development of one of the most typical functions of Russian verbal aspect, the extensive use of imperfective verbs in general factual contexts, is also a gradual process in which various usage types amalgamate into a new function of the imperfective aspect. He concludes that the Modern Russian system of grammatical aspect did not exist until the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Hence, the typical eastern meaning of perfective and imperfective aspect as discussed in the previous section are innovations (ibidem: 43, Dickey 2015: 34), which also fits with the conclusion drawn by Dickey (2007) concerning the development of delimitatives and perduratives in Russian.

Based on the results from the mentioned studies it seems safe to say that in the earlier stages of development of the verbal aspect system, the meaning of perfective aspect was Slavic-style totality, not temporal definiteness, which developed later and not everywhere. The imperfective aspect at that early stage was used for what Dickey calls the 'exploded view/processuality', not for qualitative temporal indefiniteness. Such an aspect system is more similar to that in the modern-day western group of Slavic languages like Czech.

[43] Bertinetto & Delfitto (2000) take a similar approach as Nørgård-Sørensen. However, their measuring rod is the Romance-style aspect system, which is why they treat the Slavic perfective-imperfective distinction as a lexical opposition between terminative and aterminative verbs rather than as grammatical aspect.

Dickey's diachronic study of aspect usage in sequences of events (Dickey 2011) also shows that the Czech system, with its relatively high frequency of imperfective verbs in sequences of events, has preserved an older system.

2.2.5 Concluding remarks on derivational grammatical aspect

As I have shown in the sections above, verbal aspect is a rather broad area of study and there are a lot of interacting factors to be dealt with. In Slavic the morphologically encoded grammatical aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect is strongly rooted in the lexical content of verbs. Perfectivity is always concerned with the attainment of an inherent boundary, which is expressed by terminative verbs, while imperfective aspect is used to defocus the attainment of the inherent boundary. This characteristic sets Slavic-style aspect apart from Romance-style aspect, which is not based on terminativity. However, there are also differences between the various modern Slavic languages with regard to the functions of grammatical aspect. Diachronic research indicates that the Modern Russian aspect system is rather innovative, while the Czech system is more archaic. A complicating factor in some Slavic languages, like Bulgarian and OCS, is the presence of a second grammatical aspect opposition, the inflectional opposition between aorist and imperfect next to the opposition between perfective and imperfective, functioning more like the Romance-style opposition.

Before I turn to my hypotheses on the state of the verbal aspect system in OCS, I would like to briefly discuss one further verbal aspect system, namely verbal aspect in New Testament Greek, since the Greek original is an important tool in the semantic analysis of the OCS examples.

2.3 Verbal aspect in New Testament Greek

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, all OCS texts are translations of Greek originals, except for the Kiev Folios, which contain a translation from Latin (Schaeken 1987: 5). In most cases the Greek source text is known, like in the case of the Gospels, which are a translation of the Byzantine recension of the Greek New Testament. In some cases the exact Greek source cannot be identified, as is the case with parts of the codex *Suprasliensis*. When studying verbal aspect in OCS, there are a number of reasons why it is good to bear in mind that the OCS texts are translations. First, the source texts can help with the interpretation of the OCS translation (cf. Dostál 1954: 49 ff.). Secondly, 'deviations' from the source text can help to identify what is originally Slavic. These two often go hand in hand. For example, if the Greek source text has a future form, for which Slavic has no clear equivalent, the Greek helps to interpret the OCS as referring to a future event, while at the same time it helps to identify which means OCS uses to convey a future interpretation.

Even though traditionally the Greek verbal system, including the system of Biblical Greek, has been described in terms of tenses, in the past decades the role of verbal aspect has gained more attention. Two dissertations have been leading in the discussion of the position of verbal aspect in New Testament Greek: Porter (1993) and Fanning (1990). Both scholars defend the position that the opposition between aorist and imperfect/present is an aspectual opposition. On other issues there is less consensus. Porter argues that tense is not a category of the Greek verb at all, but rather that the verbal system is completely aspect-based, while Fanning leaves room for tense as a category of the Greek verb, next to the aspectual opposition.[44] For the purpose of this study, it is important to understand that the aspect system in New Testament Greek is basically a Romance-style aspect; the opposition between aorist on the one hand and imperfect/present on the other, is not based on the presence of an inherent boundary like in Slavic-style aspect. It is, however, an extensive aspect system, not restricted to an opposition between past tense forms. The aspect opposition encompasses a large part of the verbal system and occurs in both finite (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative) and infinite forms (participle and infinitive), and in that regard it is similar to the all-encompassing Slavic verbal aspect system.

However, because of the difference between the two systems, a Greek perfective form (the aorist) does not automatically cause the Slavic translator to use a perfective verb (cf. the aspectual classification of OCS verbs in Chapter 5). Of course there is overlap between the meaning of perfectivity in Slavic and in Greek, as both concern a kind of 'totality' (cf. Lindstedt 1995: 97). That is why in many cases the choice of aspect in OCS and Greek is the same. Assuming that OCS has Slavic-style aspect, revolving around terminativity this means: often a temporal boundary coincides with a material boundary. Compare the following example in which a sequence of past events is narrated:

[44] Not only the status of tense is a question that is under debate, there is no consensus on the aspectual status of the perfect and the future forms either. The perfect in New Testament Greek is treated by some scholars as perfective, and by others as imperfective (Campbell 2008: 46-52), while the future is treated as either perfective or anaspectual (Campbell 2008: 39). Bary (2009) studies verbal aspect in Ancient Greek and considers the perfective as a third aspect, while she remarks that the future tense could have developed out of a non-past aorist (Bary 2009: 126) and connects this with the use of perfective present forms in Slavic to refer to future events. These issues in Greek are largely outside the scope of this study.

(22) καὶ ***ἐπέστρεψεν***[ind, aor] τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς καὶ ***ἀνέστη***[ind, aor] παραχρῆμα καὶ ***διέταξεν***[ind, aor] αὐτῇ δοθῆναι φαγεῖν[inf, aor] [Gr]
i ***vъzvrati***[aor] ***sę*** d[u]хъ eję . i ***vъskrъse***[aor] abьe . i ***povelě***[aor] dati ei ěsti[inf] (*Z, M, A, Sk*)[45]
and her spirit *returned*, and she *rose* immediately; and He *commanded* to give her something to eat (Luke 8:55)

In this example all indicative aorists, Greek perfective forms, concern terminative events. I will give a more detailed semantic analysis of OCS verb forms in Chapters 6, 8 and 9, but at least from a modern Slavic point of view, the verb forms used in the OCS translation are all perfective aorists and all have an attested partner with the same lexical meaning that could be seen as the imperfective counterpart (*vъzvratiti sę - vъzvraštati sę* 'return', *vъskrъsnǫti - vъskrъsati* 'rise', *povelěti - povelěvati* 'command'). However, there are also examples in which the Greek perfective form (aorist) is aterminative:

(23) ***ἐβασίλευσεν***[ind, aor] ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωϋσέως [Gr]
cěsarьstvova[aor] sъmrьtь otъ adama doži i do mosea [*S* 10, 4-5]
death *reigned* from Adam to Moses (Romans 5:14)

Here Greek uses an aorist to indicate the attainment of a temporal boundary, it expresses a 'chunk of reining' like the aorist in the Ancient Greek example (11) (cf. Comrie 1976: 17), similar to the aorist of *piša* 'write' in the Bulgarian example (12). OCS follows Greek with the use of the aorist form, but unlike in (22) it does not use a perfective verb, since there is no inherent boundary that can be focused on. Here the temporal boundary that the aorist imposes on the event, can be clearly discerned, since it does not coincide with an inherent boundary. In Chapter 8 I will delve deeper into the possibilities that arise from the various combination of inflectional aspect with derivational aspect.

[45] I have left the infinitive aorist out of the analysis. In Chapter 8 I will give a number of examples of the verb *jasti* 'eat' showing that it is an anaspectual verb.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

3.0 Research questions

I started out this study with a very general research question:

What does the OCS verbal aspect system look like?

Now that I have discussed the two major pillars of this study, Old Church Slavonic and verbal aspect, it is possible to break down this question into a number of more specific questions:

1. *How can the aspect of OCS verbs be established?*
2. *Which verbs participate in the OCS verbal aspect system?*
3. *What are the functions of verbal aspect in OCS?*
4. *How does the verbal aspect system in OCS compare to the modern Slavic aspect system?*
5. *What can the verbal aspect system in OCS reveal about the origin and development of Slavic verbal aspect?*

3.1 Hypotheses and further outline of the study

Based on the fact that the opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs exists in all modern Slavic languages and that the same morphological means are already present in OCS, it seems reasonable to assume that the opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs is already present in OCS. However, as I have shown in the discussion of grammatical aspect in various Slavic and non-Slavic languages, it is not enough to simply state that grammatical aspect is part of the verbal system, because there are various types of aspect. Moreover, aspect is continuously developing, both with regard to morphology and functionally. Therefore, aspect needs to be clearly defined in an individual language, in this case OCS, to give meaning to such a statement. In order to do so, one needs to first identify which verbs express aspect. Only then the functions of the aspects can be established.

In ***Chapter 4*** I will discuss three studies that have the specific purpose of establishing the aspect of OCS verbs. The three studies reach different conclusions and I will demonstrate that this is due to the different methods they apply. Dostál (1954) uses semantic analysis of individual verb forms, Amse-de Jong (1974) bases her categorization on the morphological characteristics of the verb, and Eckhoff & Janda (2014) use a statistical technique called 'grammatical profiling' to establish aspect. My hypothesis is that the best predictor of the aspect of a verb is its morphology, as also advocated by Amse-de Jong.

By taking the morphological characteristics of verbs as the starting point for the determination of the aspect of a verb, as opposed to semantics of individual attestations or the grammatical profile of individual verbs, it is easier to study the intrinsic relationship of derivational aspect with lexical aspect, the functions of aspect in various contexts and interaction of the category of derivational aspect with inflectional aspect, because in my approach grammatical aspect is a category in its own right and not the result of those other factors. In other words, in my approach grammatical aspect contributes to the meaning of an utterance and interacts with other elements in that utterance as well as with inflection, rather than being derived from those elements.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the morphological markers of aspect in OCS, on the basis of which I will categorize verbs into groups. This will allow me to distinguish between pairs like perfective *sostaviti* 'compose' and imperfective *sostavljati* 'compose', which would seem prototypical aspect pairs based on our knowledge of the modern Slavic languages, and other pairs like verbs of motion (VOMs) *iti* 'go' and *xoditi* 'go', but also prefixed verbs without a derived partner like *ubojati sę* 'become afraid'.

An important consequence of basing the aspectual categorization of a verb on morphological markers of aspect is that verbs without such morphological markers, like *viděti* 'see' or *plakati* 'cry' are regarded as ***anaspectual*** (cf. section 4.1). There have been several scholars who have identified verbs in OCS and Old Russian as neutral with regard to aspect (Růžička 1957, Birnbaum 1958, Maslov 1961, Forsyth 1972, Amse-de Jong 1974, Bermel 1997), but only Amse-de Jong does so purely based on morphological criteria. However, she does not indicate the size of the group anaspectual verbs, while in other studies these verbs are presented as rather marginal. The approach taken in this study shows that the anaspectual group is a large group in OCS: about 30% of all attested verb forms are attestations of anaspectual verbs. Together with ***perfective*** (*sostavitĭ*) and ***imperfective*** (*sostavljatĭ*) verbs these anaspectual verbs form the three core groups for the analysis of the functions of the OCS derivational aspect system. In addition to those core groups I identify a number of additional groups the aspectual status of which can only be determined on the basis of a comparison with the core groups.

In ***Chapter 6*** I will discuss all forms of the OCS verb and their functions. This is a necessary step for understanding the mechanism behind the method of grammatical profiling, which is based on the relative distribution of verb forms. It is also necessary for the semantic analysis of individual verb forms in the following chapters.

In ***Chapter 7*** I will apply the method of grammatical profiling to the morphologically categorized groups of verbs. This will provide the statistical support for my hypothesis that morphological markers of aspect are the best

indicator of the aspect of a verb, as well as additional information regarding the status of verbs that are not in the prototypical perfective and imperfective groups.

The functions of verbal aspect are the subject of ***Chapter 8***. I will perform a semantic analysis of perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs to be able to answer the question regarding the functions of verbal aspect in OCS. Since OCS is a Slavic language, my hypothesis is that the prototypical morphological opposition between verbs such as *sostaviti* and *sostavljati* 'compose' in OCS is a Slavic-style opposition in which the perfective aspect expresses Slavic style 'totality', the attainment of an inherent (lexical) boundary, whereas the imperfective aspect defocuses the attainment of the inherent boundary. Historical and diachronic studies of the development of Slavic aspect show that the particular meaning of aspect in the eastern languages is a late innovation, so I hypothesize that aspect in OCS will be more similar to aspect in the western group of Slavic languages, in which sequential connection is not part of the meaning of the perfective aspect.

The non-core groups are the subject of ***Chapter 9***, in which I will perform a semantic analysis of individual attestations from those groups and thereby come to a better understanding of the position of these verbs with regard to the core-groups. Insight in the status of these groups can also provide a better understanding of the stage of development of the derivational verbal aspect system in OCS.

Finally, given the morphological and functional similarities between the imperfect (tense) and the derived imperfective verbs, I hypothesize that the imperfect, which is a Slavic innovation, was the catalyst of the other Slavic innovation, namely the derivation of imperfective verbs. Hence, the derivational aspect system possibly started out as an inflectional system that grew into a derivational system when other forms joined the imperfect. In ***Chapter 10*** I will discuss a particular group of verbs in which the derivational aspect opposition shows traits of an inflectional opposition and subsequently I will describe the possible role of the imperfect in the origin and development of Slavic derivational aspect.

Chapter 11 contains the conclusion of this study.

4 VARIOUS APPROACHES TO DETERMINING ASPECT IN OCS

4.0 Introduction

In order to establish the functions of derivational aspect in OCS, it is necessary to first establish which verbs express (which) aspect. This is a step one rarely sees in the study of aspect in modern Slavic languages, where the aspect of a verb is often taken as a given, or as a starting point.[1] For example, scholars studying the Russian verbal aspect system "know" that the verbs like *est'*^{ipf}'eat', *javljat'sja*^{ipf} 'appear', *kljast'sja*^{ipf} 'curse' *ležat'*^{ipf} 'lie', *s"edat'*^{ipf} 'eat up', *vesti*^{ipf} 'lead' and *videt'*^{ipf} 'see' are all imperfective verbs, while *javit'sja*^{pf} 'appear', *sojti*^{pf} 'descend', or *s"est'*^{pf} 'eat up' are perfective verbs.[2] And if one is not sure, the aspect can be looked up in any dictionary. However, for OCS the situation is more complicated. Compare the categorization of OCS equivalents of the above mentioned verbs in the three studies that I will discuss below:

[1] An exception is the study by Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) in which the grammatical profile of verbs is used to determine to which aspect they belong. I will further review this method of establishing aspect when discussing the study by Eckhoff & Janda (2014).

[2] I have handpicked these verbs to illustrate my point. My main criterion: the verb has a cognate in OCS which occurs in the three studies that I discuss.

Author	***Aspect***			
***Dostál* (1954)**	***Pf***	***Pf/Ipf***	***Ipf/Pf***	***Ipf***
	aviti sę	*klęti sę*	*vesti*	*avljati sę*
	sъněsti		*jasti*	*sъnědati*
	sъniti			*ležati*
***Amse-de Jong* (1974)**	***Pf***		***Anaspectual***	***Ipf***
	aviti sę		*vesti*	*avljati sę*
	sъněsti		*jasti*	*sъnědati*
			klęti sę	
			ležati	
			sъniti	
***Eckhoff & Janda* (2014)**	***Pf***			***Ipf***
	aviti sę			*avljati sę*
	sъněsti			*jasti*
	sъniti			*sъnědati*
	vesti			*klęti sę*
				ležati

Table 4.1 Various categorizations of OCS verbs[3]

As the table shows, Dostál uses four different categories to categorize aspect, Amse-de Jong three and Eckhoff & Janda only two. The relationship between the three different categorizations is however not immediately clear. For example, in the anaspectual category of Amse-de Jong there are more verbs than in both biaspectual categories by Dostál. And the categorization by Eckhoff & Janda cannot easily be deduced from the other two either. Moreover, if one resorts to a dictionary for a definite answer, the results differ again from all of the above. For example, the authoritative dictionary *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (Kurz 1958-1994) categorizes *klęti sę* 'curse' as imperfective (as opposed to Dostál), but *vesti* 'lead' as both perfective and imperfective (as opposed to Amse-de Jong and Eckhoff & Janda). And although the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova 1994) categorizes the verbs in the table similarly to the SJS, in other cases the two dictionaries also differ in their assessment of the aspect of verbs.[4]

[3] The various authors use different terminology, which I will discuss below.

[4] I have not systematically compared both dictionaries, but a number of differences could be found quite easily. For example, *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* categorizes *piti* 'drink' as ipf/?pf, while *Staroslavjanskij slovar'*categorizes it as ipf/pf and *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* categorizes *sъniskati* 'acquire' as pf/ipf while *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* calls it ipf. Thus, the answers offered by the various dictionaries are not conclusive either. This should not be surprising, given the fact that specialized studies do not arrive at identical conclusions either.

In the discussion below I will show that the different categorizations in the three studies are the result of different methods and that the different methods reveal different perspectives on aspect. Dostál (1954) uses a combination of semantic analysis and morphological categorization to establish the aspect of individual verb attestations. His approach is the most fine-grained, since he concentrates on individual attestations and deduces the aspect of a verb from his analysis of these attestations. Amse-de Jong (1974) uses morphological criteria and categorizes verbs based on those morphological criteria. Her approach is the most coarse-grained, as it takes groups of verbs as starting point. Finally, there is the approach by Eckhoff & Janda (2014) who take the grammatical profile of individual verbs, as their starting point. In their approach, aspect is a characteristic of the verb, not of individual verb forms as in Dostál's approach. However, because they ignore the morphological markers of aspect in their study, aspect emerges as a continuum on which individual verbs take up a position, rather than as a system in which two (or more) groups are clearly distinct from each other (cf. the continuum of terminativity in Chapter 2). They regard verbs on the one side of the continuum as perfective and verbs on the other side as imperfective. However, verbs that are posited somewhere in between pose a problem.

Below I will first discuss the terms 'anaspectual' and 'biaspectual', since these are central to two of the approaches in this chapter. Moreover, anaspectual verbs form an important category in my own verb classification in Chapter 5. Subsequently, I will discuss the three approaches to categorizing verbs and argue why I prefer the morphological approach of Amse-de Jong, supplemented by the method of grammatical profiling that Eckhoff & Janda use and a semantic analysis of individual attestations as performed by Dostál. I will not discuss the approaches in order of appearance of the studies, but from the most fine-grained to the most coarse-grained, starting with Dostál and ending with Amse-de Jong, since the latter is the approach I will continue to build on in the following chapters.

4.1 Anaspectual verbs

In Chapter 2 I already used the term 'anaspectual' a few times. It is not a broadly used term, but I believe it to be of great importance for a good understanding of the verbal aspect system in OCS. I will first give my own definition of anaspectuality and subsequently discuss the differences with the similar term 'biaspectual' as well as the use of 'anaspectual' by various authors.

4.1.1 Definition of anaspectual

In the present study I will regard verbs without morphological markers of aspect (suffixes, prefixes or derived partners, cf. Chapter 5) as anaspectual verbs. My line of reasoning is as follows: the grammatical aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs is a form-meaning category (cf. section 2.2), in which the expression of either perfectivity or imperfectivity (meaning) is connected to certain morphological markers (form). When the form is absent in the verb, the meaning is not expressed by the verb. Hence the verb is anaspectual. In OCS this concerns a rather large group of 521 verbs, out of a total of 2,883 verbs. These 521 anaspectual verbs have a total of 26,683 attestations in my database, which is more than 30% of all attestations (cf. Chapter 5).[5] This group will therefore play a major role in the present study and discerning anaspectual verbs next to perfective and imperfective verbs, is absolutely necessary for a good understanding of the OCS verbal aspect system.

A major argument in this study is that the verbs that I classify as anaspectual based on the absence of morphological markers of aspect also share a semantic feature: they are not inherently terminative (cf. Chapter 8). Verbs with aspectual morphology, on the other hand, always express an inherent boundary and are thus terminative. This fits with the definition of perfective aspect as expressing the attainment of an inherent boundary and imperfective aspect as defocusing the inherent boundary. From this definition it also follows that inherently aterminative verbs are anaspectual.

4.1.2 Anaspectual versus biaspectual

In Table 4.1 the term 'anaspectual' can be found in the categorization by Amse-de Jong.[6] Dostál (1954) does not use this term; he uses 'biaspectual', and although many of the verbs that according to Dostál are biaspectual, and would be anaspectual in Amse-de Jong's approach (as they are in mine), the terms are not synonymous, and cover different verbs as o also shows. The different terminology turns out to be not merely a question of terminology, but implicates different views on aspect, or on the nature of the aspect system in a language.

[5] In addition to this core group of anaspectual verbs, there are some verbs that can be regarded as anaspectual based on their grammatical profile and functional similarity with anaspectual verbs, as I will demonstrate in Chapters 7 and 9, making the group even larger.

[6] Amse-de Jong (1974: 51 ff.) herself uses 'non-aspectual' for verbs 'without aspect' (ibidem: 126). The terms 'non-aspectual', 'anaspectual' and similar terms (e.g. the German term 'aspektindifferent', used by Birnbaum 1958) are synonymous and indicate that a verb does not express aspect.

Bermel (1997: 9) also discusses the difference between the two terms and defines anaspectual verbs as follows: "they lack evidence of restriction to a particular set of aspectual functions and usages". According to Bermel anaspectual verbs are generally more flexible in their application, which is something I will demonstrate for OCS anaspectual verbs in Chapters 7 and 8 as well. Biaspectual verbs are also "not restricted to a certain subset of functions and usages" but "the same verb or predicate functions in some places clearly like a perfective and in other places clearly like an imperfective" (ibidem). Bermel remarks that biaspectuality is easiest to posit for marginal verbs in a system in which most verbs express aspect, like Modern Russian. Anaspectuality is easier to posit in a system in which there is a considerable group of verbs that do not partake in the perfective-imperfective opposition, like Old Russian. Růžička already noted that the situation in Old Russian differs from the Modern Russian situation in this respect. He remarks:

"Es gibt zweifellos noch viel mehr Verben, die hinsichtlich des Aspekts im frühen Altrussischen als merkmallos bezeichnet werden können. [...] Wenn sich bei Verben wie *tvoriti*, *ljubiti*, *služiti*, *knjažiti*, *sědĕti*, *stojati*, *byti* (*esmь*),[7] obwohl sie zu diesen Bereichen gehören, nur imperfektive Verwendung nachweisen läßt, ist das mehr Sache der lexikalischen Bedeutung als des Aspekts." (Růžička 1957: 100).

However, since Růžička eventually uses the same method as Dostál, he is not able to identify exactly which verbs fall into this category, for reasons that will become clear in the discussion of Dostál's approach.

Other scholars, like Forsyth (1972) and Timberlake (2004) suggest that in Modern Russian as well, verbs that are normally considered to be biaspectual (e.g. *organizovat*$_{\text{pf/ipf}}$ 'organize') do not express aspect at all and are, in fact, anaspectual, since the aspectual interpretation of their various uses depends completely on the context, not on the inherent characteristics of the verb. Since Modern Russian is the type of system that Bermel calls 'highly aspectual', this line of reasoning by Forsyth and Timberlake shows that the difference in terminology is not just related to the kind of system a verb occurs in, but also to the approach of derivational aspect.

[7] Note that all verbs that Růžička mentions here are aterminative verbs, which fits with the idea discussed in Chapter 2 that Slavic-style aspect revolves around terminative verbs. It is not entirely clear to me whether "hinsichtlich des Aspekts … merkmallos" should be interpreted as *anaspectual* or as 'having no morphological markers of aspect', but both interpretations would result in a statement I could agree with, as the lack of morphological marker of aspect indicates anaspectuality (cf. Chapters 5, 7 and 8; I transcribed the Cyrillic words in the quotation.)

In a semantic approach, in which certain usages are seen as typically perfective or imperfective, verbs that occur in both types of usages would be considered biaspectual.[8] This is the approach Dostál takes. If one takes this approach and still wants to retain the position that aspect is a characteristic of the verb and not of individual attestations of the same verb, it is possible to see biaspectual verbs as a homophonous "pair", in which the aspect opposition is not morphologically expressed (cf. Janda 2007b: 89).

In an approach that takes morphological characteristics as a starting point, as adopted by Amse-de Jong (1974) and by myself in the present study, the presence or absence of certain morphological markers is decisive for determining the aspect of a verb. In such an approach there can be discussion about the markers that are used in the expression of aspect (e.g. is a prefix a marker of perfectivity?), but the basic assumption is that verbs with the same morphological markers express the same aspect, independent of the context or verb form they occur in (and until proven otherwise, cf. Chapters 8 and 9). The absence of morphological markers implies anaspectuality and not biaspectuality, since the verb does not express aspect.

In the following section, containing a discussion of Dostál's study, I will show why taking a purely semantic approach to determine the aspect of a verb is problematic, which makes the use of the concept 'biaspectual' problematic as well.

4.2 Dostál 1954

The first comprehensive overview of verbal aspect in OCS is *Studie o vidovém systému v staroslověnštině* by Antonín Dostál (1954). Dostál sets himself the task of determining the aspect of each individual verb in OCS (1954: 56). He categorizes the verbs based on two grounds: morphological characteristics and semantic characteristics.

The overall order in which Dostál treats the OCS verbs is based on morphological characteristics. He starts out with simplicia (e.g. *aviti sę* 'appear', *jasti* 'eat', *ležati* 'lie' and *pasti* 'fall'), subsequently treating the prefixed formations of those simplicia, (e.g. *nadъležati* 'lie upon', *obaviti* 'reveal', *otъpasti* 'fall off' and *sъnĕsti* 'eat up') and finally suffixed verbs, which

[8] The well-known test proposed by Maslov (1948) to establish whether two Russian verbs form an aspect pair by rephrasing a past tense utterance with a perfective verb into a historical present with an imperfective verb is also based on the close relationship between aspect and usage/context, more precisely, on the incompatibility of the Modern Russian perfective aspect with the historical present.

he calls ' iterativa',[9] both unprefixed (*avljati sę* 'appear', *padati* 'fall') and prefixed (*obavljati* 'reveal', *otъpadati* 'fall' and *sъnědati* 'eat up'). Within the simplex groups Dostál uses a semantically based categorization, which he also uses as a basis in his discussion of the prefixed formations of these verbs. Dostál distinguishes the following simplex categories: ***perfective simplicia***, ***biaspectual simplicia*** (***more perfective***), ***biaspectual simplicia*** (***more imperfective***) and ***imperfective simplicia***. Only the suffixed verbs, Dostál's iterativa, both prefixed and unprefixed, are not semantically subdivided.

The semantic categories are based on the way Dostál analyses individual examples of verbs with regard to the aspect they express. In case a verb shows examples of both imperfective and perfective usage, the verb is biaspectual and depending on the ratio perfective: imperfective, the verb is either 'more perfective' or 'more imperfective'.[10]

4.2.1 Dostál's criteria to establish aspect

Since Dostál bases his categorization of verbs within the morphological categories on the semantics of individual attestations, he needs a semantic definition of aspect to establish criteria for the categorization. Dostál defines perfective aspect as "a total, complete view of the event from the outside" (Dostál 1954: 15), which is similar to the definition by Comrie (1976: 16) as discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.2.1. The imperfective aspect is defined as the opposite of the perfective aspect and expresses the lack of totality (*celivost*) or completeness (*ucelenost*) (ibidem).

The criteria based on these definitions, by which Dostál differentiates between perfective and imperfective examples, are far from clear. For one, the difference between Slavic-style totality and Romance-style totality is not made. One important criterion for distinguishing perfective verbs that Dostál mentions is the use of the perfective present to express futurity (Dostál 1954: 45), which is widespread throughout the modern Slavic languages, except for BCS (Dostál does not mention Bulgarian and Macedonian here). In other words: when a present tense form expresses futurity, the form can be regarded as perfective. However, Dostál acknowledges that even this important criterion is not absolute. Other criteria, like the existence of derived imperfective verbs to prove the perfectivity of the base verb, or the question *what are you doing there?* to prove imperfectivity also turn out to not be absolute (ibidem: 45-46). He concludes that there is no single criterion

[9] The term 'iterativa' is used for verbs with an aspectual suffix (*-(j/v)ati*, *-(j/v)aje-*, cf. Chapter 5), but is not used by Dostál to imply that these verbs always express iterativity. Iterative verbs are not treated as a separate aspect group, but belong to the imperfective verbs (Dostál 1954: 18-20)

[10] Within each semantic category, the verbs are discussed in order of their Leskien's class (cf. Leskien 1969, see also Chapter 5), starting with verbs from class I and ending with class V.

that works under all circumstances (ibidem: 54). For present forms, the future meaning could indicate perfectivity; past perfectives are compatible with the question *did it happen at once, fast, suddenly*, while events that can be described with adverbs like *for a long time, permanently* or *slowly* are imperfective (ibidem: 55).[11] His struggle for clear criteria shows that it is difficult to arrive at a categorization of aspect by relying on usages/contexts to establish aspect only. This also emerged in the discussion of grammatical aspect in Chapter 2: the meaning and usage of aspect differ per language, even in closely related Slavic languages, which makes it impossible to use a general definition, or standard criteria, to distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspect in different languages. A detailed description of the functioning of aspect in a particular language is not a precondition for the study of aspect, but rather the result of such a study. Interestingly, even in Modern Czech, Dostál's mother tongue, there are examples of a combination of *quickly/at once* with imperfective aspect, showing the difficulties of such semantic criteria to establish the aspect of a verb:

(24) Potom do něho kousl[pf], odporem zkřivil[pf] tvář a ***vracel***[ipf] jej rychle Matějovi.
Then he bit into it, twisted his face with disgust and *returned* [it] to Matěj quickly. [Cz; Ivančev 1961: 83; Drda]

Regarding the morphological expression of verbal aspect, the only clear criterion that can be distilled from Dostál's discussion (Dostál 1954: 18-24) is that derived verbs, 'iterativa' in his terminology, always express imperfective aspect.

Now that I have very concisely discussed Dostál's approach, I will turn to the actual analysis of some of the OCS examples given by Dostál.

4.2.2 Dostál's categorization

The best way of understanding the semantic principles of the aspectual categorization by Dostál, is by concentrating on the biaspectual verbs in which some attestations are regarded as imperfective and others perfective. This is on the one hand, because it is precisely these verbs where aspect appears to be more a characteristic of individual attestations than of the entire verbs. On the other hand, this category is useful because Dostál describes these verbs extensively and with many examples, more so than he does for verbs that he regards as completely perfective or completely

[11] The criteria (or tests) show the difficulty of approaching aspect from the semantic side in a language that is no longer spoken. One could ask the question *Did it happen at once?*, but who will answer the question? A large part of the analysis depends on the investigator's intuition in that case.

imperfective. An example of such a biaspectual verb is the verb *klęti sę* 'curse'. According to Dostál, this verb is biaspectual (more perfective), indicating that he has found more perfective attestations than imperfective. Dostál (1954: 107) considers the following example of a present tense of *klęti sę* to express imperfective aspect:

(25) klъnyi sę oltaremъ ***klъnetъ***[pres] ***sę*** imъ i sjǫštiimi vrъxu ego [*M*]
whoever swears by the altar, *swears* both by the altar and by everything on it (Matthew 23:20)

In this case, the OCS present tense translates a Greek present tense, which can be considered to express the Greek imperfective aspect (cf. Chapter 2), which is probably why Dostál considers this an example in which *klęti sę* expresses imperfective aspect as well. There is, however, still some doubt in his mind as he translates *klъnetъ sę* with Czech *zaklíná*[ipf] *se*, but also adds in parentheses (*zaklne*[pf] *se*?).[12]

An example of an allegedly perfective attestation is the following in which the OCS present tense form translates a Greek future tense (Dostál 1954: 107):

(26) ne vъ lъžǫ ***klъneši***[pres] ***sę*** . vъzdasi[pres] že g[ospodo]vi klętvy tvoję [*Z, M, Sk*]
you *shall* not *make* false *vows*, but shall fulfil your vows to the Lord (Matthew 5:33)

In this example it is the Greek future form *ἐπιορκήσεις* 'you shall make false vows' that convinces Dostál of the perfectivity of the OCS form *klъneši sę*. And since Dostál is now convinced of the perfectivity of this example, he also chooses a perfective interpretation, namely *klъneši sę* as a total/complete event. Therefore, he translates this OCS example with a perfective Czech verb *nezapřisáhneš se*[pf]. He notes that his translation of the OCS example differs from the Modern Czech Bible translation that he uses, which reads *nebudeš klnouti*[ipf]. [13] In this case Dostál attaches great importance to the Greek original, which has a future tense. He might equally have used one of his other tests, like the 'control questions' for the imperfective aspect, whether the event can be described by the adverb *trvale* 'permanently', to which a positive answer seems possible in case of example (26). Hence, his criteria to

[12] The translation with the perfective *zaklne*[pf] *se* could maybe be seen as an instantiation of 'singularization' or 'exemplary use', the use of one occasion of an event to exemplify a recurring phenomenon (cf. section 8.1.2.1, for Russian cf. Forsyth 1970: 173 ff.).

[13] Modern Czech (like other Slavic languages in which perfective present expresses perfective futurity, e.g. Russian) uses an analytic future with imperfective verbs, a construction with a present tense form (*budu, budeš, bude* etc.) of the verb *být* 'be' and an imperfective infinitive. In OCS there are similar periphrastic constructions, but they do not occur as frequently as they do in Modern Czech, and often carry a modal connotation (cf. Birnbaum 1958).

establish aspect are not mutually exclusive, which is in line with the idea that grammatical aspect adds to the meaning of an utterance and cannot simply be deduced from it. In both cases, examples (25) and (26), the translation in Czech allows either a perfective or an imperfective Czech equivalent, depending on the way the translator intends to construe the event. This is a recurring problem, as the following example of an allegedly perfective example of *jasti* 'eat' and *piti* 'drink' shows:

(27) ne p'čěte sę ubo gl[agol]ǫšte . čьto ***ěmъ***[pres] li čьto ***piemъ***[pres] . li čimь odeždemъ sę[pres] [*Z, M, A, Sk*][14]
do not worry then, saying, "What *will* we *eat*?" or "What *will* we *drink*?" or "What will we wear for clothing?" (Matthew 6:31)

The Greek original has subjunctive aorist forms, which have a future meaning here, which is probably the reason Dostál sees these OCS forms as perfective. Dostál (1954: 126, 142) translates the OCS example with Modern Czech future forms, but even though he considers this example to express typical perfective usage, he gives a first translation with imperfective forms: *Co budeme jísti*[ipf] *a co budeme píti*[ipf], which seems to catch the essence of both the Greek and the OCS well. However, to account for his analysis of these verbs expressing perfective aspect in this context, he adds the following alternative translation with perfective verbs: *čeho se najíme*[pf] *a napijeme*[pf], which apparently is not his preferred translation. Again, Dostál's uncertainty about the rendering of the OCS example in Modern Czech, indicates that his approach, in which the context determines the aspect of an individual attestation, is problematic.

Examples of derived verbs translating Greek future forms complicate the picture even further. Compare the following two derived present tense forms, translating the Greek future forms *παραληφθήσεται* 'will be taken' and *ἀφεθήσεται* 'will be left':

(28) vъ tǫ noštь bǫdete dъva . na loži edinomъ . edinъ ***poemletъ***[pres] ***sę*** a drugy ***ostavlěetъ***[pres] [*Z, M*]
on that night there will be two in one bed; one *will be taken* and the other *will be left* (Luke 17:34)

[14] I will disregard *odeždemъ sę* 'will we wear for clothing' for now. It concerns a prefixed verb *oděti* 'dress' that has a derived partner (two in fact: *odějati* and *oděvati*) and thus fits with the idea of 'perfective' present forms in OCS being used to indicate futurity. It is interesting, though, that *jasti* 'eat' and *piti* 'drink' are used alongside *oděti* in the same utterance, translating similar Greek forms. However, in my opinion this does not make *jasti* and *piti* perfective in this example. On the contrary, such examples indicate that future reference is not exclusively tied to perfective aspect (cf. also example 28).

Dostál discusses these particular examples of *poimati* 'take' and *ostavljati* 'leave' because they translate Greek future forms. He concludes that these OCS present tense forms express a generalized event (*děj obvyklý*) and considers the verbs to express imperfective aspect (ibidem: 560, 576). I agree with Dostál in his assessment of this example, but examples like the above demonstrate that using future meaning as a test case for aspect is problematic. The choice of aspect depends on a number of factors, of which the future tense in the Greek original is important, but not decisive. Dostál is aware of this fact, but it does not withhold him from invoking future meaning as a cause for a perfective interpretation of OCS verbs in cases where aspectual morphology is absent, for want of better criteria.

Another possible reason for Dostál to regard verbs like *klęti sę* as biaspectual (more perfective) is that it rather frequently occurs in aorist form; almost 23% of the attested forms is an aorist.[15] However, such considerations are not made explicit and it is not clear whether and how these facts have influenced his assessment of individual attestations or, for that matter, of the verb *klęti sę*. Furthermore, Dostál does not consider the OCS aorist to automatically express perfective aspect. He categorizes 40% of all aorist attestations as imperfective (ibidem: 600), as also becomes clear from his discussion of the verbs *jasti* 'eat' and *piti* 'drink' (ibidem: 126, 142). On the other hand, his discussion of the varying distribution of verb forms between the semantic categories (e.g. Dostál 1954: 247) shows that he considers the forms in which a verb is attested to be of relevance for the aspect of the verb. It may have influenced his general opinion of *klęti sę* that the verb occurs frequently in the aorist and past participles, forms that are typical of perfective verbs (ibidem). The varying relative distributions of verb forms, the 'grammatical profiles' of verbs, are the basis for the analysis by Eckhoff & Janda (2014), which I will discuss below in section 4.3. They also form the basis for the statistical analysis in Chapter 7. For Dostál, though, these distributions seem to function more as circumstantial evidence for his categorization.

The difficulty of using the context and the Greek original as a diagnostic tool for the assessment of the aspect of an individual verb attestation in OCS, also emerges in the following example:

(29) i prědastъ is[us]a ***tepъ***$^{\text{PastAP I}}$ [*Z*]
i prědastъ is[us]a ***bivъ***$^{\text{PastAP I}}$ [*M*]
and *after having* Jesus *scourged*, he handed Him over (Mark 15:15)

[15] Compare this to the biaspectual (more imperfective) verbs *jasti* 'eat' with 12% aorist attestations and *piti* 'drink' with 6%, or the derived verb *ostavljati* 'leave' without aorist attestations.

In this case the Greek original has an aorist participle, which in OCS is mostly translated with a PastAPI. Dostál (1954: 125) argues that the example in the codex *Zographensis* convincingly shows perfective use of the OCS verb *teti* 'beat'. The fact that *tepъ* in this example is considered to be perfective, results in Dostál's interpretation *give a wound* (*dátipf ránu*) as opposed to *give wounds* (*dávatiipf rány*), which would be the meaning of *teti* in its imperfective attestations. The form *bivъ* from the verb *biti* 'beat', on the other hand, that can be found in the translation of this text in the codex *Marianus*, Dostál considers to be an imperfective form. According to Dostál (ibidem: 168), all attestations of the verb *biti* clearly show that we are dealing with an imperfective simplex. That means that in this case, the OCS examples are interpreted differently, even though the Greek original, the context and the OCS verb form are the same. It is not clear which criteria Dostál uses to come to a different conclusion for these attestations. It may be that the grammatical profile of the verb was decisive in his analysis, but even though the profiles show a difference,[16] a typical Slavic-style perfective interpretation of *tepъ* does not seem called for by the context. This example shows that the criteria used by Dostál lead to categorization of similar verbs into different categories. This criticism of Dostál's method has already been expressed by Růžička (1957: 99), who concentrates his argument on the classification of *vesti* 'lead' as biaspectual and *nesti* 'carry' as imperfective.

Even though Dostál's work without doubt is a valuable, and the most comprehensive contribution to the study of verbal aspect in OCS, and the discussion above, rather unfairly, concentrates only on the problematic side of his analysis, the examples show that his semantic approach comes with a number of issues. The criteria he uses for categorizing are not mutually exclusive, leaving Dostál unsure of the aspect in examples (25) to (27), as his translations into Modern Czech show. Moreover, the criteria cannot be implemented consistently, as becomes apparent from example (28) with present tense forms of derived verbs translating a Greek future tense, which Dostál still regards as imperfective. Finally, similar cases are not treated equally and similar verbs end up in different categories because of the difficulty to consistently categorize, as example (29) shows. The examples above all show that it is difficult, impossible even, to deduce the aspect of an OCS verb based only on semantic intuitions regarding the context, the Greek

[16] The verb *biti* 'beat' has 115 attestations of which 19% consist of aorists and past participles, while *teti* 'beat' has only 7 attestations, of which about 71% are an aorist or past participles. Here, another issue with Dostál's categorization emerges: he does not seem to take into account the size of the sample per verb. For example, he considers *bezъčьstvovati* 'dishonour' to be biaspectual (more imperfective), based on two examples only (Dostál 1954: 130), one perfective and one imperfective. Eckhoff & Janda (2014) use a threshold of 20 attestations for a verb profile to be considered in the analysis, to deal with this issue.

original, or the characteristics of the OCS verb form. It is, as Amse-de Jong (1974: 36) puts it: "clear that in the substance, or the nature of things, there is usually no particular necessity for making one choice rather than the other", as it is the speaker that "expresses a certain view of objective reality". The choice of aspect thus is a way of adding a certain view to the utterance and often a context allows either choice. In Chapter 8 I will demonstrate how examples like the ones discussed above are accounted for in my approach.

Below I will discuss the approach by Eckhoff & Janda, which can be seen as a reaction to Dostál's approach, generally supporting Dostál's resulting categorization, but relying on a different method of categorizing the verbs.

4.3 Eckhoff & Janda (2014)

In their article "Grammatical profiles and aspect in Old Church Slavonic" Eckhoff & Janda take an agnostic stance regarding the state of the aspect system in OCS (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 232), hence they do not start out with definitions of aspect or semantic criteria for establishing aspect. The questions they intend to answer are: "Was there an aspectual distinction between imperfective and perfective verbs in Old Church Slavonic? If so, was the aspectual distinction in Old Church Slavonic different from that in Modern Russian? If so, how and to what extent was it different?" (ibidem). The method they use to establish the existence of a derivational aspect opposition is grammatical profiling. Before going into the study of Eckhoff & Janda, I will first briefly discuss the background of the method.

4.3.1 Grammatical profiling

Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) developed the method of grammatical profiling inspired by the behavioural profiling method as developed by Divjak & Gries (e.g. Divjak & Gries 2006). In short, behavioural profiling can be described as a method for distinguishing between meanings based on patterns of co-occurrence of certain linguistic parameters (syntactic, semantic, morphological, and lexical) with the linguistic elements that are studied. A famous quote by Firth (1957: 11) can be regarded as the basic idea behind the approach: "You shall know a word by the company it keeps". Harris (1954: 156) describes the approach more specifically:

"If we consider words or morphemes A and B to be more different in meaning than A and C, then we will often find that the distributions of A and B are more different than the distributions of A and C."

The method of behavioural profiling is often used in studies of synonymy. Divjak & Gries (2006), for example, study near-synonym 'verbs of trying' in Russian, comparing the co-occurrence of these verbs with a total of 87 different parameters. Their statistical analysis shows that the 9 verbs of trying

that they study form three main clusters, based on similarity of the profiles. These clusters can subsequently be compared with the traditional distinctions made within the group of verbs of trying.

Grammatical profiling is a specialized version of behavioural profiling, since it uses only morphological parameters. In case of verbal aspect, the grammatical profile is established by the relative distribution of the verb forms that the verb occurs in (cf. section 4.3.1.1). Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) show that in Russian the grammatical profile differs between imperfective and perfective verbs, irrespective of whether it concerns a pair formed by suffixation like *sostavit'*^{pf} - *sostavljat'*^{ipf} 'compose' or a pair formed by prefixation, like *pisat'*^{ipf} - *napisat'*^{pf} 'write (down)'.[17] Their results show that the aspect of a Russian verb puts a constraint on the forms it occurs in. Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011: 732) find, for example, that in Russian imperfective verbs occur more frequently in the present tense while perfective verbs are more often attested in the past tense. It is important to note that the restrictions they demonstrate are relative, which shows why it is so difficult to work the other way around, as Dostál does. If one starts out from a particular Russian example, the fact that it concerns a past tense only means that it is slightly more likely to be a perfective verb, but it would be a bad test to establish the aspect of a verb (or an individual attestation of the verb in case of Dostál's study), given the large margin of error.

The method of grammatical profiling can easily be applied to older stages of Slavic. In fact, the method is ideal for languages that are no longer spoken, where no native speaker judgment is available, since it relies on parameters that can be objectively established in the extant manuscripts. Bermel (1997: 209) hints at the possibility of comparing inflectional patterns to establish whether aspect is present as a grammatical category in Old Russian and Eckhoff & Janda (2014) employ this method for OCS in their study "Grammatical profiles and Aspect in Old Church Slavonic". Unlike Dostál, who uses a predefined semantic notion of aspect as a starting point for his categorization, they take an agnostic stance as to the existence of aspect in OCS. They hypothesize that "[i]f there is an aspectual distinction between imperfective and perfective verbs in Old Church Slavonic, it can be discovered on the basis of the grammatical profiles of verbs". I will first present the concept of a 'grammatical profile' in a little more detail, and subsequently discuss the approach by Eckhoff & Janda.

[17] Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) do not analyse verbs that are not 'paired', nor do they include participles and gerunds in their study. It would be interesting to see what inclusion of other kinds of verbs and disregarded verb forms would do to the analysis.

4.3.1.1 The grammatical profile of an OCS verb

If the verb *byti* 'be' is left out of the equation, an OCS verb can be attested in a maximum of 11 verb forms.[18] These forms are: present, imperfect, present active participle, present passive participle, imperative, infinitive, supine, aorist, past active participle I, past active participle II, past passive participle.[19] I will treat these verb forms and their usage in Chapter 6, but for now it suffices to know that these are all the verb forms an OCS verb can theoretically occur in. Verbs differ not only in number of attestations, but also with respect to the relative distribution of forms they appear in: the grammatical profile of the verb. This profile consists of the relative contribution of the various verb forms in the total of the attestations. Figure 4.1 shows the profile of the verb *viděti* 'see', which is attested a total of 1636 times (n=1636) in my database:

[18] I disregard the various ways in which aorist and the past participles can be formed.

[19] The OCS data that I use in this study come from my own database, which I will discuss more extensively in Chapter 5, where I will also discuss all verb forms. Only four verbs in the complete OCS canon are attested in all eleven forms, namely *viděti* 'see' (n=1636), *mǫčiti* 'torment' (n=97), *povědati* 'proclaim' (n=85) and *slyšati* 'hear' (n=771). Of these verbs, only *viděti,* with 1636 attestations, is in the top 5 of most attested verbs in OCS in my database at number 5, while *slyšati* holds the 12th position and the other two verbs are not even included in the top 125. So there must be other reasons than sheer numbers of attestations that account for the fact that a verb is attested in all eleven forms. And, as it turns out, three of the four verbs mentioned above share one important feature: they belong to the category of verbs without a morphological marker of aspect and thus in the category of anaspectual verbs (cf. Chapter 5). The verb *povědati* is a different case. It can be regarded as derived from *pověděti* but has a derived partner *povědovati* as well. This is a relatively rare pattern of derivation and verbs exhibiting this pattern are categorized in a separate category in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 9 (section 9.5). There is one other verb that is attested in all eleven forms, but this is a special verb, *sъkazati* 'clarify, indicate' with two present stems and not all forms are attested of both stems. I will treat this type of verbs extensively in Chapter 10.

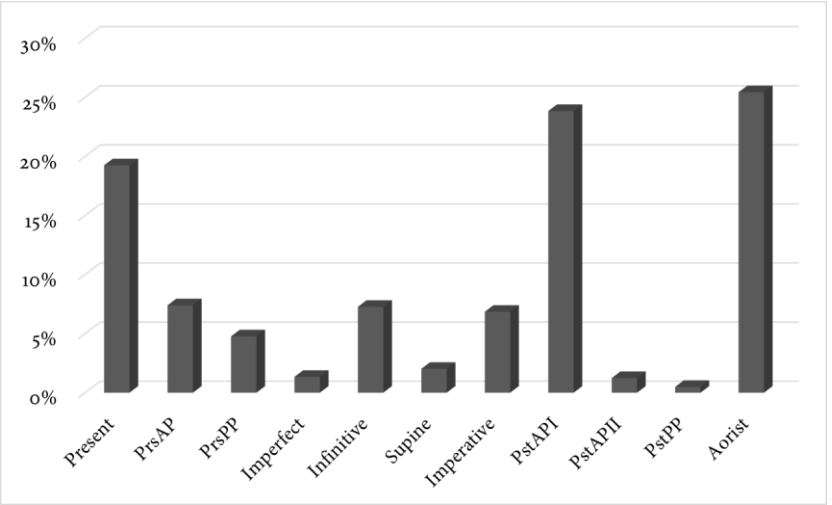


Figure 4.1 *The grammatical profile of the verb viděti 'see' (n=1636)*

The profile in Figure 4.1 shows that the verb *viděti* relatively often occurs in the present tense (315 attestations, 19.25% of the total), in the aorist (416, 25.23%) and in the past active participle I (390, 23.84%), as compared to the other verb forms. These facts, however, do not reveal much; 60% of all verb attestations in OCS are present tense forms, aorists and past active participles. Therefore, the question whether a profile shows certain restrictions or lack of restrictions can only be answered when profiles are compared with each other. Eckhoff & Janda (2014) do this for OCS and compare the profiles of individual verbs to find a possible difference between imperfective and perfective verbs.

4.3.2 Method and results

Eckhoff & Janda (2014: 235-236) extract their data from the PROIEL corpus, which contains 15,720 attestations of verbs in OCS, primarily from the codex *Marianus*. Of those attestations a number of 129 verbs with 9,694 attestations remain to be analysed after the exclusion of:

- the verb *byti* 'be'
- verbs that have two present tense stems and only one infinitive stem (cf. Chapter 10, Kamphuis 2015)
- all verbs that are attested less than 20 times

The profiles of the verbs are composed as follows: infinitive and supine are taken together as one category, voice is not considered and the Past Active Participle II (the *l*-participle, e.g. *viděl* from *viděti* 'see', cf. Chapter 6) is not included in the study. This results in a profile with seven categories: present,

imperfect, aorist, imperative, infinitive/supine, present participles and past participles. The profiles that are thus established are subsequently used in a correspondence analysis and a divisive clustering analysis (ibidem: 237).[20] The method they employ differs in one important respect from that of Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011): Janda & Lyashevskaya compare the profiles of morphologically defined *groups* of verbs, while Eckhoff & Janda compare individual profiles. I will argue below why comparing predefined groups of verbs is preferable in OCS as well.

Based on the correspondence analysis that Eckhoff & Janda perform, they create a two-dimensional scatter plot in which the seven categories included in the analysis are reduced to the two largest factors that are responsible for the variance in the dataset. This scatter plot (Figure 4.2) shows the position of every verb and every category in the analysis with regard to the distance from the centre of these two dimensions. Verbs that cluster together in the scatter plot have similar profiles and the further apart the verbs are, the more different their profiles. The two largest factors resulting from the correspondence analysis (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 238), together account for 57.8% of the variance and can be found on the x-axis and y-axis in Figure 4.2 below:

[20] In this study I will only discuss the outcomes of the correspondence analysis, since Eckhoff & Janda discuss the outcomes of this analysis more extensively and the results of both analyses are 95 percent identical (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 243). In Chapter 7, I will perform a correspondence analysis on the data in my own database, based on the categorization into morphological groups. I will discuss the method more in detail in Chapter 7.

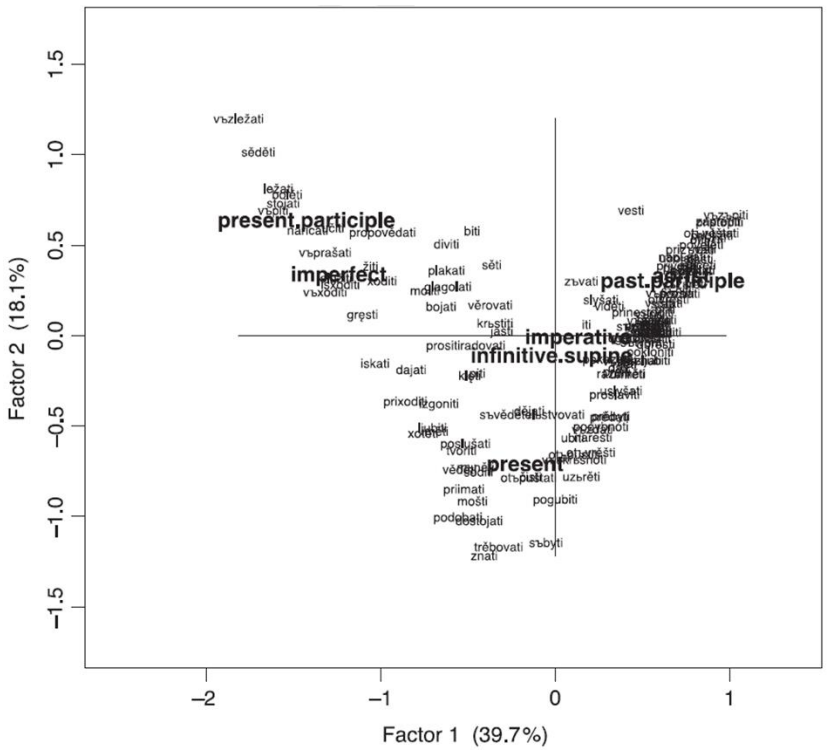


Figure 4.2 *Scatter plot based on correspondence analysis (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 238)*

Factor 1, accounting for 39.7% of the variance, ranging from -1.81 to 0.98, functions as the x-axis in the scatter plot based on the correspondence analysis. Eckhoff & Janda (2014: 239) draw a vertical line at 0 (zero) on this dimension and call the verbs that have a negative value (on the left side of the line) 'lefties' and those that have a positive value 'righties'. Factor 2 is of less importance for the purpose of the study, although Eckhoff & Janda's (2014: 241) comments regarding the possibility that this factor represents tense, are interesting. Eckhoff & Janda give all verbs that they analyse in a table with their Factor 1 values (ibidem: 240-241). I will base my discussion of their approach on that table as well, since the scatter plot does not allow the identification of all individual verbs.

When they compare their results to Dostál's categorization, Eckhoff & Janda find that the lefties correspond to Dostál's imperfective verbs and the righties

to Dostál's perfective verbs in at least 93% of the cases (ibidem: 244-245)[21] and conclude that Factor 1 stands for aspect, with the lefties expressing imperfective aspect and the righties perfective.

4.3.3 Possible issues

Upon closer examination, this approach to the verbal aspect in OCS comes with a number of issues. I have included a somewhat enlarged version of Figure 4.2 to allow for such closer examination.

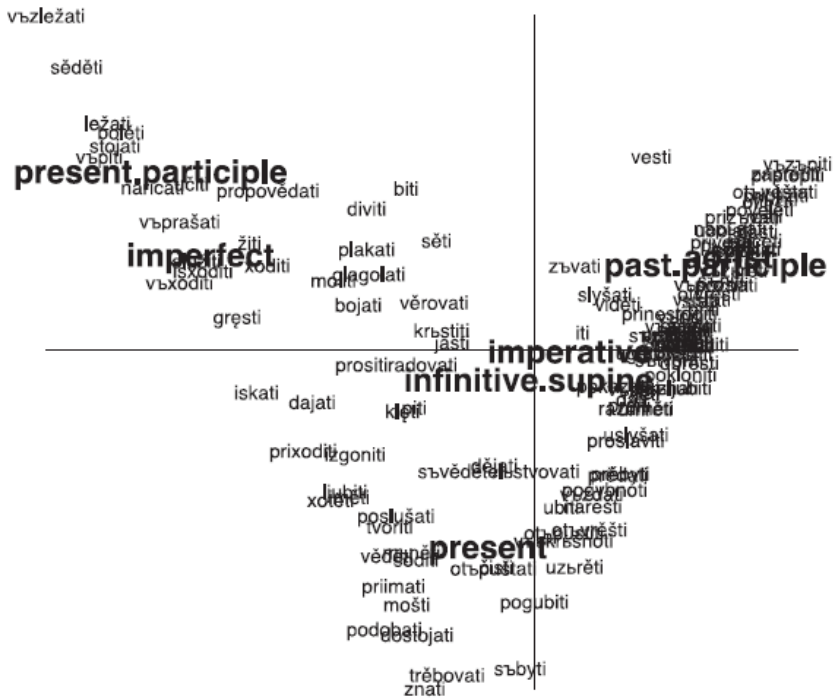


Figure 4.3 *Zoomed in version of the scatter plot by Eckhoff & Janda (2014: 238)*

The first thing we notice is that the verbs that are shown in the scatter plot and in the corresponding table (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 240-241) show a continuum and not a clear division into two groups. This makes the vertical line drawn at 0 (zero), dividing the lefties and the righties, look arbitrary. The zero does not have a clear meaning, nor does it seem to be a natural boundary

[21] Depending on how the various categories that Dostál uses are clustered (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 245).

in the scatter plot. The continuum in combination with the dividing line at zero also leads to other questions such as: what does it mean that the lefty *jasti* 'eat' (-0.31) is much closer on the Factor 1 dimension to the righty *ubiti* 'kill' (0.10) than it is to its lefty colleagues *vъpiti* 'cry' (-1.62) or *sěděti* 'sit' (-1.70)?

It seems probable that lexical factors play a role here, which can explain why there is a continuum and not a clear division into two or three aspectual groups, as one would expect if it were just grammatical aspect that played a role. A number of smaller clusters that can be discerned on the scatter plot also indicate that lexical factors probably have an influence on the position of verbs on the x-axis: verbs that share lexical properties can be found clustered together. On the top left side there is a cluster of verbs of bodily position *vъzležati* 'lie (at the table)', *sěděti* 'sit', *ležati* 'lie', *stojati* and 'stand', a bit closer to the centre, but still on the left side of the x-axis verbs expressing a psychological state *diviti sę* 'be surprised', *bojati sę* 'be afraid' and *věrovati* 'believe'.[22] Finally, on the right side of the x-axis, in the perfective area, two verbs of perception are clustered together, *viděti* 'see' and *slyšati* 'hear'.

This issue is also related to the fact that drawing a line at 0 automatically results in two groups. There is, however, reason to believe that there are more groups, based on the categorization by Dostál in imperfective, biaspectual (2x) and perfective that Eckhoff & Janda use as control mechanism. Other studies of the verbal aspect system in OCS and Old Russian also identify a third group of verbs which are neutral with regard to aspect (Růžička 1957, Birnbaum 1958, Forsyth 1972, Amse-de Jong 1974, Bermel 1997). This latter group can never be shown to exist if beforehand it is decided that there are only two groups, by drawing a single dividing line. This is also the reason that Eckhoff & Janda are forced to categorize the biaspectual groups of Dostál as either imperfectives (biaspectual, more imperfective) or perfectives (biaspectual, more perfective). If one would apply this method to, for example, Modern Russian, the group of biaspectual (or anaspectual, cf. Timberlake 2004) verbs would also have to be divided among the imperfective and perfective verbs.

The second issue has to do with the fact that the study is based on an unbalanced sample of verbs with regard to the morphology of the verbs. On the far right side there is a strong clustering on the x-axis. The main shared characteristic of this group is that it concerns mostly terminative base verbs, not verbs with a similar lexical content as in case of the clusters I mentioned before (e.g. 'perception' for *slyšati* 'hear' and *viděti* 'see'). The bulk of this

[22] Maybe *plakati* 'cry' could be seen as part of this group as well, as a physical expression of a psychological state.

cluster on the right side is made up of prefixed base verbs like *vъzъpiti* 'cry', *pristǫpiti* 'ascend, approach', *posъlati* 'send', and *ubojati sę* 'become afraid'. On the left side one would expect to see the derived partners of these verbs cluster together in an imperfective cluster.[23] However, the expected clustering of the derived partners is not there, in fact, derived verbs are almost completely absent from the picture. While the group of righties largely consists of prefixed verbs, i.e. 52 (62 if the prefixed determinate verbs of motion are counted as well) of the 76 verbs (68.4% or 81.6%), the lefties only have 5 derived prefixed verbs (9 if the prefixed indeterminate verbs of motion are counted) on a total of 53 verbs (9.4% or 17.0%). This causes a bias in the data, given the fact that suffixation is one of the central morphological characteristics of Slavic verbal aspect (cf. Maslov 1961, Forsyth 1972: 498-499, Schuyt 1990; see also Chapter 5). The reason behind the omission of these verbs must be that they did not pass the threshold of 20 attestations, although Janda and Eckhoff do not explicitly mention the (reason for the) absence of these verbs.[24] The threshold in itself makes sense: a profile can only be based on a relatively large number of attestations (cf. the categorization of *bezъčьstvovati* 'dishonour' by Dostál; fn. 16 above). It would not be very meaningful to say that a verb that is attested only once, in a present tense form, has a profile of 100% present tense and 0% for all other six categories (Eckhoff & Janda 2014: 236) and thus, for example, differs radically from a verb that is attested only once in an imperfect tense form. Notwithstanding the rationale behind the threshold, the fact remains that derived verbs have a much lower frequency than the base verbs from which they are derived, which makes the threshold of 20 especially harsh on these verbs, resulting in a biased sample of verbs that remains for analysis.

Thirdly, much of the spread on the 'aspect factor' consists of simplex verbs, verbs that do not show a morphological indicator of aspect, while prefixed base verbs (together with some simplex verbs that have a derived partner, like *pasti* 'fall', which has a derived partner *padati* 'fall'), cluster together. This could, again, indicate that the spread on this factor is, in part, caused by the

[23] Of the mentioned verbs *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' is the only one for which no derived partner is attested in OCS. The closest relation it has, is with the simplex *bojati sę* 'be afraid'. I have shown an example of this in Chapter 2 already and I will return to the relation between simplex and prefixed verbs in Chapter 8, section 8.3.3.

[24] For my database, which contains a larger number of attestations, the threshold would mean that 145 out of the 376 prefixed base verbs with a derived partner (38.6%) would pass the threshold while of their derived partners only 34 out of 455 verbs (7.5%) would do so. The reason that there are more derived verbs than derivational base verbs stems from the fact that a derived verb can be recognized even if the base verb is not attested, while I treat base verbs without a derived partner separately, since it is often impossible to know whether the derived verb did not exist or whether it is simply not attested (cf. Chapter 5).

lexical aspect of the individual verbs. It would make sense for the verbs that are not part of the overarching perfective-imperfective dichotomy to show the largest spread, or in other words, the least restrictions on their profile.

Eckhoff & Janda note that many of the verbs that have an atypical distribution compared to other verbs of the group (lefties and righties) they belong to "may not have a clear aspectual identity in Old Church Slavonic" (ibidem: 255-256). They also remark that many of the verbs with 'unstable aspectual behaviour' are simplex verbs, including determinate verbs of motion. Eckhoff & Janda (ibidem: 248-256) identify such verbs by means of an outlier analysis. It is, however, not clear what the status of these verbs, or of the individual attestations is.

Take, for example, the verbs *diviti sę* 'wonder, marvel' and *bojati sę* 'be afraid'. The verb *diviti sę* occurs relatively often in the aorist form. Eckhoff & Janda (ibidem: 249) therefore discuss the verb *diviti sę* as an outlier showing strong attraction to the aorist. The verb *bojati sę*, however, which is very close to *diviti sę* on the x-axis, does not turn up as an outlier in their analysis.[25] They give the following two examples of *diviti sę* in the aorist and in the imperfect:

(30) pilatъ že ***divi***[aor] ***sę***. ašte uže umrětъ [*Z, M, A*]
Pilate *wondered* if He was dead by this time (Mark 15:44)

(31) boěxǫ bo sę ego . ěko vьsь narodъ ***divlěaxǫ***[impf] ***sę*** o učenii ego [*Z, M, A*]
they were afraid of Him, for the whole crowd *was astonished* at His teaching (Mark 11:18)[26]

The difference between these examples can be compared to the difference between the aorist and imperfect of *bojati sę* that I discussed in Chapter 2.

(32) slyšavъ že jako arxilai c[ěsar]rьstvuetъ vъ ijudei . vъ iroda město o[tь]ca svoego . ***boja***[aor] ***sę*** tamo iti [*Sk*]
when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judea in place of his father Herod, he *was* [*became*, my translation] *afraid* to go there (Matthew 2:22)

[25] The verb *diviti sę* occurs in the aorist in 26% of the attestations of the verb in the database Eckhoff & Janda use, and similarly 25.6% in my own database (31 out of 121 attestations vs. 49 attestations (40.5%) in the imperfect). The verb *bojati sę* is not an outlier in the study by Eckhoff & Janda, so they do not give percentages of aorist attestations, but from their database, which is available on the internet, it becomes clear that 0% of the attestations of *bojati sę* in their database is an aorist. In my database *bojati sę* occurs in 1.6% of the attestations as an aorist against 14.6% as an imperfect.

[26] Note that OCS follows the Greek original with an object in the nominative singular, *vьsь narodъ* (*πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος*), and a verb in 3rd person plural, *divlěaxǫ sę* (*ἐξεπλήσσετο*).

(33) irodъ bo ***boěše***$^{\text{impf}}$ ***sę*** ioana . vědy mǫža pravьdьna i s[vę]ta [*Z, M, A*]
Herod *was afraid* of John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man (Mark 6:20)

The aorists in (30) and (32) express the start of a state (of mind), while the imperfects in (31) and (7) only express the existence of the state. So even though the usage pattern is the same (both verbs allow aterminative and terminative construals with a similar difference in meaning between the two) only *diviti sę* is considered by Eckhoff & Janda to have unstable aspectual behaviour, since it turns up in their outlier analysis, being attested more frequently in the aorist. This example shows that the method is not suitable for identifying all verbs that do not express aspect, because it relies solely on the grammatical profile of individual verbs, which is dependent on more than aspect alone.

Moreover, since Eckhoff & Janda do not go into possible semantic definitions of perfective and imperfective aspect, it is not entirely clear what they believe an aorist attestation to express. The aorist in (30) "emphasizes suddenness" (ibidem: 249), but does this mean that it is a perfective attestation? And that the more perfective attestations a leftie verb has, the more aspectually unstable it is? And would that also mean that *ležati* is a bit perfective, since it occurs in aorist form, as in (34):

(34) priděta vidita město . ideže ***leža***$^{\text{aor}}$ x[ristos]ъ [*Z, M, A, Sk*]
come, see the place where He *was lying* (Matthew 28:6)[27]

In my opinion, there are several factors at play, when it comes to the grammatical profile of a verb. One important factor that determines the grammatical profile of a verb, is derivational aspect, but there are other important factors, like the lexical content of the verb and the presence or absence of alternative forms. For example, for some reason the prefixed form *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' (159 attestations)[28] is much more frequent than the prefixed forms *podiviti sę* 'become astonished' (1) and *vъzdiviti sę* (3)'become astonished'.[29] This could account for the difference between the grammatical profiles of *bojati sę* (185) and *diviti sę* (121), verbs where the aorist can also be used to indicate the start of a state. Something similar could be the case for *ležati*. Next to *ležati* there is the verb *lešti* 'lie down' (with derived *lěgati* 'lie

[27] The King James Version has 'where the Lord lay'.
[28] There is even a verb *vъzbojati sę* 'become afraid' with 6 attestations.
[29] The verb *diviti sę* might be higher on the 'continuum of terminativity' (cf. section 2.2.2) than *bojati sę*, making it easier to express the start of a state with *diviti sę*. This in turn could be the reason for the relative infrequent prefixed formations in which the start of the state is lexically expressed as well as for the different grammatical profiles.

down') in OCS, which makes it less probable that the aorist of *ležati* would be used to indicate the start of a state (there are no examples of this in OCS). Regarding the influence of the lexical content: verbs differ in terms of the extent to which they allow for a terminative construal, as I have mentioned above. This has consequences for the individual grammatical profiles of verbs as well (cf. section 8.3).

Therefore, although derivational aspect has a considerable influence on the forms a verb occurs in, the method cannot be reversed by using the forms a verb occurs in to come to a conclusion regarding the aspect of the verb, because such an approach disregards the other factors that restrict the grammatical profile of a verb. Doing so would be similar to Dostál's method where the individual attestations determine the aspect of the verb.

Apart from the issues I have discussed above, the approach by Eckhoff & Janda shows how objective statistical methods can be employed to approach verbal aspect in OCS, as opposed to the more subjective approach by Dostál (1954) in which intuitions about the aspectual nature of an utterance are ultimately decisive. In Chapter 7 I will use the same method as Eckhoff & Janda, however, I will approach the material from a different angle by analysing morphologically predefined groups (cf. Chapter 5), taking into account the issues with the approach as mentioned above.

4.4 Amse-de Jong (1974)

The approach of the verbal aspect system in OCS by Amse-de Jong in her dissertation *The Meaning of the Finite Verb Forms in the Old Church Slavonic Codex Suprasliensis* is the most coarse-grained approach of the three approaches discussed in this study, because she groups verbs based on their morphological characteristics and treats the aspectual characteristics of those groups. This differs from the approach by Dostál (1954), who concentrates on individual attestations and adds those up to draw a conclusion about the aspect of a verb, but also from that of Eckhoff & Janda, who concentrate on the grammatical profile of individual verbs. Amse-de Jong (1974: 11) remarks that: "[i]t is assumed that the formal elements in the OCS finite verb form correspond to elements of meaning". In this respect, Amse-de Jong follows the theoretical framework as laid out by Ebeling (1960), who himself, in a more recent publication, notes that his "method of research is, to a considerable extent, determined by the principle 'one form – one meaning', together with the complementary principle 'different forms, different

meanings'" (Ebeling 2006: 12).[30] Amse-de Jong takes a clear stance on the possibility of approaching the verbal aspect system from a semantic point of view, as Dostál does, or approaching it without taking into account morphological characteristics as Eckhoff & Janda do:

"It is clear that we cannot begin our description with the 'things meant' without, on the one hand, overlooking the dividing lines present in the language to be studied and, on the other hand, projecting the dividing lines of our own language onto the language to be studied. Our examination is therefore bound to begin with the formal elements as constants."

In the present study I follow the same procedure, which is why I will not extensively discuss the morphological distinctions that Amse-de Jong makes at this point; these distinctions will be discussed in Chapter 5. There are, however, a few issues in her approach that I would like to address.

First, although Amse-de Jong basically ends up with the same major categories as I do (perfective, imperfective and anaspectual)[31], I use a more fine-grained classification system resulting in many more categories. For example, the verbs *vъzalkati* 'become hungry' or *pomoliti sę* 'request/pray' which are anaspectual in the categorization by Amse-de Jong (1974: 7, 126), because of the fact that it no derived partner of these verbs is attested, form a separate category in my classification, i.e. prefixed verbs without a derived partner. As the analysis of in Chapter 7 will show, the grammatical profile of these prefixed verbs without a derived partner is very similar to that of prefixed verbs with a derived partner (and rather different from simplex verbs like *jasti* 'eat' or *viděti* 'see'). Amse-de Jong assumes that true perfectivity can only occur in an aspect pair, but fails to account for the similarity between, for example *pomoliti* 'request/pray' and *pozъvati* 'call', which has a derived partner *pozyvati* (and, again, the dissimilarity with verbs like *jasti* and *viděti*). In my opinion this is due to a lack of a control mechanism for her assumptions about which verbs express aspect and which

[30] '*Voor mij is de methode van onderzoek in aanzienlijke mate bepaald door het principe "één vorm – één betekenis", samen met het complementaire principe "verschillende vormen – verschillende betekenis*".'

[31] Amse-de Jong does not use the traditional terminology 'perfective' and 'imperfective' etc., because her view is so drastically different from the traditional views of aspect (Amse-de Jong 1974: 126). In this study, I will use 'perfective' for her term EXCLUSIVE, 'imperfective' for NONEXCLUSIVE, 'aorist' for COEXTENSIVE and 'imperfect' for NONCOEXTENSIVE. As already mentioned, Amse-de Jong uses 'non-aspectual' (e.g. ibidem: 51) for what I call anaspectual. The formal elements of derivational aspect she discerns can be found in the opposition between Ø (perfective) and *-a-* (imperfective), as in *pasti - pad-a-ti* 'fall' and *sъněsti - sъněd-a-ti* 'eat up'. Anaspectual are all verbs in which the formal elements of aspectuality are absent (cf. Chapter 5).

do not. My analysis indicates that in OCS prefixation can largely be seen as a way of perfectivizing verbs (cf. section 9.1).

Secondly, Amse-de Jong starts her study with extensive definitions of perfective, imperfective, aorist and imperfect (ibidem: 33-42), which are problematic. To demonstrate this, I will first briefly discuss her approach and the main terminology she uses. Amse-de Jong's approach of the semantics of aspect is comparable to the well-known time-relational approach by Klein (1994, 1995). Like Klein, she basically considers aspect as a relation between the *Time of the Situation* (in her terminology *Full Event Period, FEP*) and the *Time for which the Assertion is made* (*Narrated Period NP*) (Amse-de Jong 1974: 11-24).[32] The precondition for the existence of an opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect that Amse-de Jong gives is "Full Even Period limited by termini" (ibidem: 33). This is comparable to what Lindstedt (1995) and Tomelleri (2010) say about Slavic-style aspect revolving around terminative predicates. Hence, in the approach Amse-de Jong takes, the terminativity of the verb is central.

For clarity's sake, I will give a simplified version of Amse-de Jong's definition of both aspects and of the aorist and imperfect, disregarding elements that are not relevant to the present discussion. Perfective aspect means FEP=NP, imperfective aspect means FEP≠NP (Amse-de Jong 1974: 34).[33] The definition of the aorist is FEP=NP, while the imperfect does not implicate anything about the relation between FEP and NP (ibidem: 40).[34] From these definitions it becomes clear that a combination of an imperfective verb FEP≠NP is incompatible with the definition of the aorist FEP=NP (ibidem: 43). All other combinations of derivational and inflectional aspect are possible, not only according to the definitions, but Amse-de Jong also provides examples of them throughout her study.

The problematic part is the fact that the definitions rule out the existence of imperfective aorists beforehand, while there are examples of such forms in OCS manuscripts, even some in the codex *Suprasliensis* that Amse-de Jong

[32] In addition to these two factors, Amse-de Jong discerns a *Narrated Event Period* (*NEP*), the time belonging to both the *FEP and the NEP* and a *Marked Period* (*MP*), the total period of time characterized by the event. Finally, similar to Klein's *Time of the Utterance*, she has an *Orientation Point* (*OP*), but also an extra orientation point (*P*), and a *Speech event Period* (*SP*). I will not go into these factors.

[33] For perfective aspect the other condition is an orientation period that is outside of the FEP, while for imperfective aspect the orientation period is inside the NP, if there is an orientation period. I will not go into this part of the definition any further, but it has to do with a perfective event being a "completed whole" which can only be seen from an orientation point that is outside of the FEP (Amse-de Jong 1974: 34-35).

[34] For the definition of the (perfective) imperfect the Marked Period (MP) plays a role (Amse-de Jong 1974: 40).

studies, as well as in OR.[35] But examples from OCS are discarded by Amse-de Jong by her pointing at the fact that the definitions of aorist and imperfect are incompatible. She remarks for example: "As NONEXCLUSIVE (imperfective, JK) precludes the occurrence of an aorist […] this is proof that the morphological element *-a-* in *vъprašati* does not carry NONEXCLUSIVE meaning."[36] (ibidem: 150). Hence, the verb *vъprašati* 'ask', is no longer regarded as a derived imperfective of prefixed *vъprositi* 'ask', because of the fact that aorist forms of *vъprašati* are attested (ibidem: 150-153). Amse-de Jong treats *vъprašati - vъprositi* 'ask' as if it were a simplex with a prefixed verb. Even though Amse-de Jong might be right about a special position for *vъprašati* 'ask', the mere fact that a verb occurs in aorist form is not necessarily an indication that the verb is not imperfective. In Chapter 8, I will discuss a few examples of true imperfective aorists, like the following:

(35) i vьzide na gorǫ i ***prizyva***[aor] jaže samъ vъsxotě . i idošę kъ nemu [*Z*]
and He went up on the mountain and *summoned* those whom He Himself wanted, and they came to Him (Mark 3:13)

In such cases, I see no reason to assume that *prizyvati* 'summon' is no longer the derived imperfective of *prizъvati* 'summon'. Where Amse-de Jong sees a categorical incompatibility between aorist and imperfective aspect, I believe that the incompatibility is a matter of degree and that occurrences of imperfective aorists require close analysis. In some cases the conclusion may be that the meaning of an etymologically derived verb has shifted towards that of a simplex verb, while in other cases, like in the example above, other explanations for the use of this rare form can be found.[37] Similarly, imperfect forms of perfective verbs require close analysis, since they too are burdened with a load of aspectual information.[38]

Finally, Amse-de Jong (ibidem: 3, 70-72) distinguishes the morphological element *-a-* with an iterative meaning from a morphological element *-a-* with an imperfective meaning, based on a semantic characteristic of the base verb, although there is no morphological difference between them. This is a deviation from her general principle that formal elements determine meaning and not the other way around. Her idea is that if there is an attestation of the

[35] Of the latter, Amse-de Jong (ibidem: 43) gives an example, stating that the definition of the aspectual elements in OR must be different from those in OCS because of the occurrence of imperfective aorists.
[36] I transliterated the Cyrillic parts of the quote.
[37] This particular example could be explained by the fact that the Greek original has a historical present (cf. Chapter 8 for more on the translation of Greek historical presents)
[38] This is also clear from the description that Amse-de Jong (1974: 40-42) gives of the perfective imperfect and the fact that this particular form forces her to include the 'Marked Period', which she does not need for anything but the definition of the perfective imperfect.

base verb that has a durative character, which is incompatible with her definition of perfectivity (orientation point outside event period), the derived form can never express imperfectivity, since imperfectivity can only occur in opposition to perfectivity. For example, according to Amse-de Jong the verb *plěniti* 'plunder' occurs in a durative context in:[39]

(36) prěpluvъše rěkǫ rekǫmǫjǫ dunavъ . ***plěnjaaxǫ***[impf] thrakijǫ [*S*]
after they swam across the river called Danube, they *plundered* Thrace (191, 17-19)

Amse-de Jong (ibidem: 111) acknowledges that the imperfect *plěnjaaxǫ* can also be a form of the verb *plěnjati*. However, she prefers the translation 'plundered' (for some time?) over 'repeatedly plundered', which she feels to mean that this imperfect must be a form of *plěniti*.[40] This, in turn, leads her to consider the present active participle of *plěnjati* in example (37) to express iterativity, as opposed to imperfectivity, since *plěnjati* is not opposed to a perfective verb (*pleniti* cannot be perfective since it expresses a durative event in example (36)) and therefore the *-a-* element is an indication of iterativity, not of imperfectivity:

(37) ide na aravijǫ I na palestinъ sъ mnogojǫ jarostijǫ na grъky vъsǫdy ***plěnjaę***[PrsAP] . I nesьvědami pojemlę plěnniky I mnogo be zakona tvorę [*S*]
he went out to Arabia and Palestine with great cruelty towards the Greeks, everywhere *plundering [repeatedly]*, and taking masses of captives, and doing a lot of unlawful deeds (291, 27 - 292, 1; Amse-de Jong 1974: 82)

The iterative interpretation does not seems logical in this context. In my opinion the imperfect in (36) can simply be seen as a form of *plěnjati*, without the necessary interpretation of repetition (cf. Chapter 8 on the functions of the imperfective aspect). That would simply make *plěnjaaxǫ* and *plěnjaę* two forms of the same verb, *plěnjati*, the imperfective partner of *plěniti*.

Moreover, since iterativity is one of the possible functions of imperfective aspect, I believe it is not necessary to distinguish iterative verbs as a separate category based on deviating behaviour of the partner verb. Even if a

[39] Other verbs in the iterative category that Amse-de Jong discerns are verbs derived from verbs of motion (ibidem: 91).

[40] Amse-de Jong does not explicitely refer to the discussed example of the imperfect of *plěniti* (or *plěnjatî*) but given the fact that this is the only occurrence of an imperfect of this verb in OCS, while no present tense forms are attested. Hence, this is the only attestation that is a candidate for proving that *plěniti* is not perfective (Amse-de Jong 1974: 82) and she, therefore, must have based her analysis of *plěnjati* on this example of *plěniti*.

perfective verb would allow for a durative interpretation in some cases, this could be seen as a remnant of an older stage of the system, from before the derivation of the imperfective verbs, in which these verbs were simply highly terminative verbs with a 'general' aspect (cf. Maslov 1961: 192). Such a phenomenon would not necessarily result in a difference in meaning of the verbs derived from those verbs. It would just indicate that perfective verbs could in some cases express durativity.

Although the issues discussed above result in a different classification of a large number of verbs (cf. e.g. Chapter 9, sections 9.1 and 9.3, see also Table 11.2 in Chapter 11) and in a different analyses of some examples, Amse-de Jong's approach and mine share one important characteristic: in both approaches, the morphological characteristics of a verb are the starting point, leading to a categorization into three core groups: two groups of verbs that have aspectual morphology and are terminative (imperfective and perfective verbs) and one group of verbs that have no aspectual morphology and allow aterminative construals (anaspectual verbs). There are, however, a number of differences between my approach and that of Amse-de Jong. First, I use a database in which all verb forms of the major OCS codices are included, as opposed to the finite verb forms in the codex *Suprasliensis* that Amse-de Jong analyses. Secondly, I use a more fine-grained classification, resulting in many more groups than Amse-de Jong's three groups. Thirdly, this fine-grained classification allows for differentiation between the various verbs that in Amse-de Jong's classification are all regarded as anaspectual, but that in practice show rather divergent behaviour. Finally, I use a statistical method (cf. Chapter 7) and a semantic analysis of individual forms (cf. Chapters 8 and 9) as control mechanisms to test the presumed aspectual distinctions between morphologically different verbs. This makes it possible to still classify verbs that are on the basis of their morphological characteristics initially separated from the core groups as either perfective, imperfective or anaspectual, as well as to differentiate between verbs that are initially grouped together (cf. Chapter 9).

4.5 Concluding remarks

In the preceding sections, I have discussed three different approaches to the verbal aspect system in OCS.

The approach by Dostál is problematic, mainly because he is not able to establish absolute criteria to determine the aspect of a verb. These problems become especially apparent in verbs that have no clear morphological markers of aspect. When there is a clear morphological marker, like in derived imperfectives, this seems to overrule possible semantic criteria, as I have demonstrated with example (28). This points in the direction of a solution to the problem: when a verb can be recognized by its morphology as

either perfective or imperfective, it can be said to add a layer of aspectual meaning to the meaning of the utterance, independently of the context or the form it occurs in. However, the other side of the medal should then be: when a verb cannot be recognized as perfective or imperfective, it does not contribute aspectual meaning. In other words: morphological characteristics should be decisive in the categorization of verbs into aspectual categories.

The approach by Eckhoff & Janda offers a way of using objective criteria to establish the presence of aspect in OCS. The few weaknesses in the analysis can be counterbalanced by analysing morphologically determined groups of verbs, as opposed to individual verbs, which is the approach Amse-de Jong takes as well.

The main reason for taking a morphological approach is that Slavic verbal aspect is characterized by a morphological encoding, which is visible throughout the entire paradigm. An extra indication that clustering verbs based on morphological criteria makes sense follows directly from the results of Eckhoff & Janda: prefixed base verbs cluster closely together on their aspect factor. Moreover, Eckhoff & Janda (2014: 255-256) state that many of the outliers are simplex verbs and (unprefixed) determinate verbs of motion, and thus morphologically clearly discernible groups. Incidentally, the grammatical profiling method Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) use for their study of Modern Russian aspect, is similar to the approach I advocate in this study, since Janda & Lyashevskaya also take morphological groups as the basis for their grammatical profile analysis and not individual verbs.

By grouping verbs based on morphological criteria, the issues with the various approaches discussed in the preceding sections can be circumvented. First, the criteria for establishing aspect can be objectively established and are mutually exclusive, unlike the criteria Dostál uses. This will give the semantic analysis of individual attestations a clear direction; no longer is the analysis intended to establish the aspect of the verb, but it can be used to establish the functions of aspect. Secondly, the individual lexical properties of a verb are controlled for when the verb is grouped together with other verbs. This is especially important in the groups of verbs in which morphological markers of aspect are absent, since here lexical properties are an important factor in the behaviour of the verb, influencing the individual grammatical profiles. Thirdly, grouping verbs together allows for including all verbs in the grammatical profiling analysis, also the much less attested verbs, since there is no need for a threshold: even if a verb is only attested once, it simply contributes to the overall profile of the verb group. This is especially important for the inclusion of the derived verbs, which are much less attested than the verbs from which they are derived. Finally, since the groups are already predefined based on shared morphology, in this approach there is no need to draw lines separating lefties from righties: the analyses will show

which groups behave similarly and which differ from each other. So, unlike in the approach of Amse-de Jong, it is not necessary to exclude all verbs that do not show the basic aspectual morphology from the verbal aspect system beforehand. For example, the analysis in Chapters 7 and 9 will show that prefixed verbs without a derived partner (*ubojati sę* 'become afraid' or *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry') have a similar grammatical profile and similar functions as prototypical perfective verbs, just as prefixed determinate VOMs (*sъniti* 'descend'). This indicates that prefixation is a way of perfectivizing a verb, even in absence of a derived form.

5 MORPHOLOGICAL MARKERS OF ASPECT

5.0 Introduction

One of my hypotheses is that the morphological characteristics of an OCS verb are the best predictors of the aspect of the verb. They also provide a good starting point in the study of aspect in OCS since morphological markers can be determined objectively and constitute the basis on which the derivational aspect system is built, not only in OCS, but in the modern Slavic languages as well. In this chapter, I will discuss what the morphological markers of derivational aspect in OCS are and also present my categorization of the OCS verbs in various groups based on those morphological markers.

5.1 Morphological markers of aspect

The morphological characteristics of the verb and the existing opposition between base and derived form, which also form the basis for the description of the development of the aspect system by Maslov (1961), are leading in this study. Maslov (1961: 190-191) describes the role of perfectivization and imperfectivization in the development of the Slavic verbal aspect as follows: by means of prefixation, Slavic gained a category of highly terminative (*predel'nye*) verbs. An example of this is the prefixation of the simplex *jasti* 'eat' resulting in a prefixed verb *sъnĕsti* 'eat up'. This development was a necessary condition for the formation of Slavic verbal aspect; the newly formed prefixed forms constituted the basis for the derivation of imperfective verbs by means of suffixation. However, according to Maslov (1961: 191), it is only the derivation of imperfective verbs like *sъnĕdati* 'eat up' from *sъnĕsti* 'eat up', that marks the genesis of the category of aspect in Slavic (cf. Kopečný 1984; Galton 1997: 71). Alternatively, one could say: this suffixal derivation of imperfective verbs marks the genesis of a ***Slavic-style aspect system*** (cf. Dahl 1985, Tomelleri 2010, cf. also Chapter 2, section 2.2.1), a system which revolves around terminative verbs. Even though derived verbs like *sъnĕdati* are often referred to as 'secondary imperfectives', they play a vital role in the development of Slavic verbal aspect. The situation before the derivation of these imperfective verbs could probably be compared to systems in which perfective verbs are formed by means of prefixes, as discussed in Chapter 2, but which do not derive Slavic-style imperfectives (e.g. Gothic, cf. Maslov 1959, Genis 2012). In such systems, the opposition is between terminative and aterminative verbs, while in Slavic the opposition is between two terminative verbs.

The Slavic aspect system relies on visible morphological elements in individual verbs, and on pair-forming, the opposition between verb forms.

The latter means that, even though some verbs do not show visible morphological markers in their forms, they are still part of the aspect system because they have a derivational relation with another verb (cf. the -Ø- element in the theory of Amse-de Jong 1974: 33), which has consequences for their semantics. The clearest examples of this invisible element can be found in unprefixed verbs with a derived partner, in which only the derived partner has a visible morphological marker. An example is the OCS *aviti sę* 'appear', which lacks a visible morphological marker of aspect but is in opposition with *avljati sę* 'appear', which contains the OCS derivational suffix *-(j)ati, -(j)aje-* (cf. section 5.1.3.2).[1] However, in prefixed verbs the opposition plays an important role too: a prefix alone carries no information about the grammatical aspect of a verb; it is the opposition between the two prefixed partners that results in the categorization of one verb as perfective and the other one, the derived one, as imperfective. To make this even more explicit: in Modern Russian, both partners of the pair *sostavit*ᵖᶠ - *sostavljat*ⁱᵖᶠ 'compile, make up' contain the prefix *so-*, which shows that the prefix is not a distinguishing feature when it comes to the aspect of the partners. Only the imperfective partner *sostavljat*ⁱᵖᶠ, however, has an additional aspectual marker (the suffix *-ja-*) marking it as derived. Hence, one could say that the perfective *sostavit*ᵖᶠ is just as 'unmarked' as OCS *aviti sę* in terms of aspectual morphology. The only difference is that the addition of a prefix is a morphological indication of the terminativity of a verb. As I will show in Chapter 7 and 9, this has consequences for the aspectual behaviour of a verb even if no derived partner is attested.

In the sections below, I will discuss the morphological markers of aspect in OCS: prefixes, suffixes and derivational relations. Based on this, I will then present my categorization of verbs into various groups, which will form the basis for the analysis in Chapter 7.

5.1.1 Prefixes

In Old Church Slavonic there are a total of 21 verbal prefixes which are historically based on prepositions. These prefixes alter the meaning of the verb they are attached to. In some cases, like with the Russian *pisat*ⁱᵖᶠ - *napisat*ᵖᶠ 'write - write (down)' the alteration is just the addition of an inherent boundary to the lexical meaning of the verb. The prefix changes an

[1] The first suffix (*-jati*) is the aorist/infinitive stem suffix, the second (*-jaje-*) the present stem suffix (cf. section 6.1 for the two verb stems) in 3sg. I follow Schuyt (1990) in this notation (cf. section 5.1.3). Whenever I give two forms of an OCS verb, the first form is the infinitive (e.g. *avljati*) and the second form, behind the comma, is the 1sg present (e.g. *avljajǫ*), in which the present tense suffix emerges. In some, more complicated, cases I will also give a third form, the 2sg present.

aterminative verb into a terminative verb. In other cases, like *pisatʲ*ipf - *perepisatʲ*pf 'write, copy' the verb is not only made terminative, but the lexical content of the base verb undergoes a qualitative change as well.[2] Janda (2007a: 609) calls verbs like *napisatʲ*pf, which "the logical completion of the corresponding Imperfective Activity", in this case *pisatʲ*ipf, the 'Natural perfective'.[3] Verbs like *perepisatʲ*pf, which provide new semantic context she calls 'Specialized perfective'. Often a prefixed verb has a derived partner, creating a prefixed pair, for example *perepisat'* - *perepisyvat'* 'copy'.[4] By far the most aspect pairs in OCS are prefixed pairs, which emphasizes the importance of the prefix in the aspect system.

The original spatial meaning of the prefixes is often still present, like with the preposition *otъ-*'away from' in the pair *otъsěšti* - *otъsěkati* 'cut off', or the preposition *iz-* 'out of' in the pair *izlijati* - *izlivati* 'pour out'. In other cases, the prefix is used in a more abstract way to indicate, for example, a phase of an event like in *vъspěti* 'start singing', in which there is no actual spatial meaning. Such alterations of the lexical meaning of the verb in which a certain phase of the event receives emphasis is often referred to as *Aktionsart*.

Furthermore, there are prefixes that have only, or mostly, spatial meaning and do not play a role in the derivational aspect system. Comparing the frequency of the various prefixes in prefixed base and derived verbs (cf. section 5.1.3 for the morphological means involved in this derivation) with that in verbs of motion (VOMs), in which the spatial component plays a more important role, could give an idea of which prefixes are more central to the verbal aspect system and which on the other hand have a strong spatial character in OCS. In Table 5.1, the two columns on the left contain the data for the (non-motion) prefixed - derived pairs, while the two columns on the right contain the percentages for the prefixed determinate and indeterminate VOMs.[5]

[2] Obviously, there also cases in which an already terminative verb is prefixed. In that case there is no added boundary, just a qualitative alteration of the lexical content. By qualitative alteration I mean that the semantic content of the event is different. In the case of *pisatʲ*ipf - *napisatʲ*pf the event is in both cases 'write', while the prefix *pere-* in *perepisatʲ*pf not only adds boundary to the lexical context, but also changes the lexical content in a different way. It is no longer simply 'writing', but 'copying', which can be seen as a specialized manner of writing.

[3] I should note that this only concerns the occurrence of the simplex in terminative predicates. For example, *He is writing* has no 'logical completion', since there is no inherent boundary in the predicate while *He is writing a letter* has a logical completion, introduced by the discrete object *a letter*.

[4] This differs from what some authors would call a 'prefixal pair', which would be a simplex and its natural perfective, i.e. Modern Russian *pisatʲ* - *napisatʲ*p 'write - write (down)'

[5] Dickey (2010) makes a good case for treating the indeterminate verbs of motion as 'manner-of-motion' verbs. I use the traditional term 'indeterminate' here only to denote the group of motion

Prefix	*Prefixed base verb*	*Prefixed derived verb*	*Prefixed determinate VOM*	*Prefixed indeterminate VOM*
	n=377	n=455	n=57	n=67
vъ-	4.51%	4.84%	8.77%	8.96%
vъz-	7.43%	7.25%	5.26%	4.48%
vy-	0.00%	0.00%	1.75%	1.49%
do-	0.27%	0.44%	1.75%	1.49%
za-	3.71%	3.52%	1.75%	1.49%
iz-	5.84%	5.93%	15.79%	13.43%
mimo-	0.00%	0.00%	3.51%	2.99%
na-	5.04%	4.40%	5.26%	5.97%
nadъ-	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
nizъ-	0.00%	0.00%	3.51%	2.99%
o(b)-	11.41%	12.09%	3.51%	4.48%
otъ-	5.04%	4.62%	7.02%	8.96%
po-	14.06%	12.97%	5.26%	4.48%
podъ-	0.53%	0.66%	0.00%	0.00%
pri-	5.57%	6.15%	10.53%	10.45%
pro-	2.39%	3.08%	7.02%	5.97%
prě-	4.51%	5.05%	10.53%	10.45%
prědъ-	0.53%	0.66%	1.75%	2.99%
raz-	6.10%	5.49%	1.75%	4.48%
sъ-	12.47%	12.31%	5.26%	4.48%
u-	10.61%	10.55%	0.00%	0.00%

Table 5.1 Frequencies of OCS prefixes[6]

Two bar charts make comparison between the prefixed non-VOM verbs and the prefixed VOM verbs easier:

verbs of the *-xoditi/-nositi*-type, without implying these are also functionally indeterminate motion verbs (cf. section 9.4).

[6] The prefixed base verbs and determinate verbs concern only those verbs of which a derived partner is attested, just as the prefixed determinate verbs concern only those of which an indeterminate partner is attested. Derived verbs can be recognized by their suffix (see below) and a base verb need not be attested to classify a verb as derived (hence *uvraštati sę* 'turn away' is considered a derived verb, even though **uvratiti sę* is not attested). I did not count verbs with a non-aspectual prefix as extra verbs (e.g. *novoprixoditi* 'arrive freshly' was not counted as an extra attestation of *pri-*) (cf. section 5.1.2).

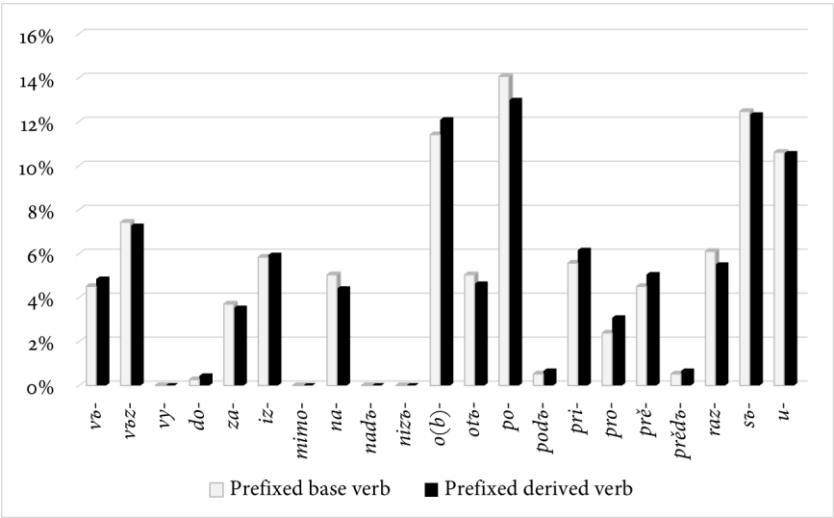


Figure 5.1 *Frequencies of OCS prefixes in non-VOM pairs*

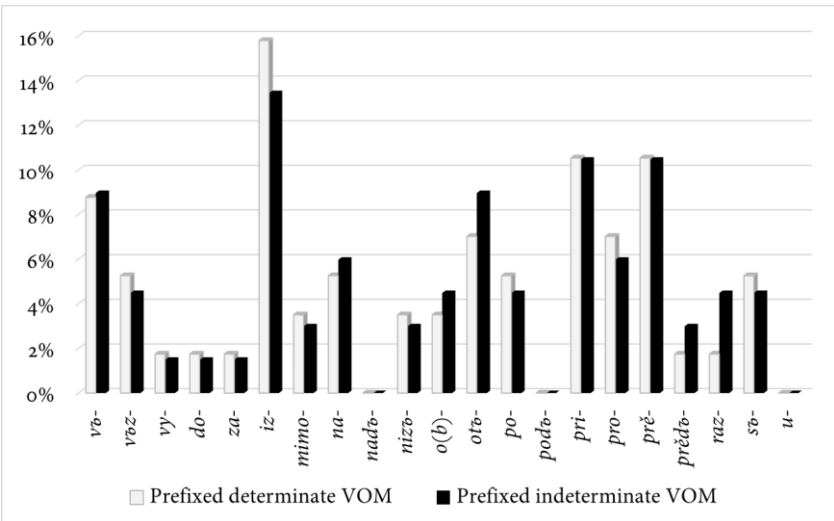


Figure 5.2 *Frequencies of OCS prefixes in VOM pairs*

It is clear that some prefixes are rather marginal within the group of prefixed-derived pairs (Figure 5.1), e.g. *do-*, *podъ-* and *prědъ-*. Others prefixes are completely absent from that group, like *vy-*, *mimo-*, *nadъ-* and *nizъ-*. Except for *nadъ-* and *podъ-* these prefixes are used with verbs of motion to indicate the direction of the motion (*mimoiti - mimoxoditi* 'pass by' or *nizъvesti - nizъvoditi* 'bring down').

Other prefixes, like *po-*, *sъ-*, *o-*, *u-*, and *vъz-* are apparently central to the aspectual derivational system of OCS; together these five prefixes occur in more than 55% of the derived verbs. The prefixed VOMs (Figure 5.2) show a completely different picture: in the prefixed indeterminate VOMs these five prefixes occur in less than 17% of the verbs, and *u-* is even not attested at all.[7] Regarding the prefix *u-*, the central role it plays in 'normal' aspectual pairs as opposed to the marginal role in VOMs, could indicate that it played an important role in the development of the aspect system as a prefix that is bleached off its spatial meaning and has become a 'perfectivizer' (Dickey, to appear). In the present study I will not go into the various contributions of the prefixes to the development of the aspect system, but the table above is useful to get a basic insight into the function of the various prefixes and shows an interesting difference between VOMs and other verb pairs.

In this study, I will treat prefixed and unprefixed verbs in different categories. VOMs will also be treated as a separate category because of their divergent suffixations patterns (see section 5.1.3 below on suffixation). The fact that the prefixation pattern is different as well, offers extra support for a separate treatment.

I should note that treating groups separately does not mean that they will by definition be classified differently with regard to their aspect. This strategy of grouping verbs together based on their morphological characteristics allows for a comparison of the grammatical profile of the various groups. In Chapter 7, I will demonstrate, for example, that prefixed VOM pairs (e.g. *otъiti - otъxoditi* 'leave, go away') show similar behaviour to prototypical prefixed aspect pairs (*ostaviti - ostavljati* 'leave, let go'), as well as unprefixed aspect pairs (*aviti sę - avljati sę* 'appear'), while unprefixed verbs of motion (*nesti - nositi* 'carry') behave differently. Such comparison would not have been possible had I not treated these verbs as separate categories.

5.1.2 Other prefixes and pseudo prefixes

Except for the prefixes with prepositional origin that originally had a spatial meaning, there are some verbs that have a prefix with a different, adverbial, origin. These do not make the verb terminative, unlike most prepositions discussed above, but only cause a qualitative alteration. Examples of such prefixes are *blago-* 'good', *bogo-*'god', *zъlo-*'bad', *novo-*'new', as in *blagodějati*

[7] The prefix *u-* is not entirely incompatible with verbs of motion, it occurs in the verbs *uběgnǫti* and *uběžati* 'run away'. These verbs are not included in this table because their derivational relationship is different and there is no derived verb **uběgati* attested (other prefixed formations of the determinate *běžati* 'flee' stand in opposition to prefixed formation of indeterminate *běgati* 'flee').

'do good', *bogosloviti* 'talk about God' *zъlotvoriti* 'treat badly', and *novojaviti* 'show for the first time'. I treat such verbs as unprefixed in this study.

Other verbs, that could be mistaken for prefixed verbs more easily, are denominal verbs like *proročьstvovati* 'prophesy' (prefix *pro-*) from the noun *prorokъ* 'prophet', or *izbytъkovati* (prefix *iz-*) 'have in abundance' from *izbytъkъ* 'abundance'. These verbs are not prefixed, they denominal verbs based on nouns with a prefix and I will treat them as unprefixed. Such verbs can often be recognized by their suffix *-ova-* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 29-33), but in some cases the suffix does not come to the rescue, like in *podobati* 'behove' from *podoba* 'manner' (Dostál 1954: 189).

Finally, there are some verbs in which the element that looks like a prefix is merely part of the lexical root of the verbs. For example *sъ* in *sъpati* 'sleep', is not the prefix *sъ-*, nor is *po* in *poiti* 'water' (1sg pres *pojǫ*) the prefix *po-* (in the infinitive of the prefixed VOM *poiti* 'go' (1sg pres *poidǫ*) the element *po* is the prefix *po-*).

5.1.3 Verb pair forming suffixes

Schuyt (1990: 16) distinguishes a number of suffixes that are used to derive imperfective verbs and one suffix, *-nǫti, -ne-*, that derives verbs that are traditionally seen as perfective. I will briefly discuss the various suffixes in the following order (see for a more elaborate discussion Schuyt 1990: 10-14, 16-33):

- *-nǫti, -ne-*
- *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-*
- *-ati, -je-*
- *-ovati, -uje-* (*-evati, -uje-*)
- *-iti, -i-*

5.1.3.1 The suffix -nǫti, -ne-

The suffix *-nǫti, -ne-* is regularly used to derive a semelfactive verb from an activity verb, thus creating a pair. It is the only type of suffixation in Slavic in which the base verb is regarded as the imperfective partner and the suffixed verb as the perfective partner. Examples from OCS are the pair *kapati, kapljǫ* 'drip' - *kanǫti, kanǫ* 'drip (once)' and *duxati, dušǫ* 'breath' - *dunǫti, dunǫ* 'blow'.[8] The verbs in *-nǫti, -ne-* are often referred to as the Leskien class II

[8] A little different are pairs like *kasati, kasajǫ* 'touch' - *kosnǫti, kosnǫ* 'touch (once)', where *kasati, kasajǫ* is not a base verb, but a derived verb itself, with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*. Such a pair actually consists of two derived verbs, while no base verb **kosati* is attested. There are two more pairs like

verbs, referring to the classification of OCS verbs into five classes as found in the grammar by Leskien (1969).

Not all verbs in Leskien's class II, however, are semelfactive verbs. In a number of cases the suffix has a different background (Schuyt 1990: 14) and there is no base verb from which the verb with the suffix is derived, like in *sъxnǫti* 'dry'.[9] In OCS this subtype of Leskien's class II verbs is not very well attested in unprefixed formations, but a number of prefixed formations with these verbs could go back to this type (Schuyt 1990: 12-13).[10]

Since the relationship between the *-nǫti, -ne-* verbs and their base verbs is different from the relationship between, for example, unprefixed verbs that have a derived partner in *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-*, like *aviti sę, avljǫ sę - avljati sę, avljajǫ sę* 'appear' (cf. section 5.1.3.2), in which it is the derived verb that is regarded as the imperfective partner and not the base verb,[11] I will treat Leskien's class II verbs and their partners as a separate category to be able to compare them to groups with other derivational patterns.

5.1.3.2 The suffix -(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-

According to Schuyt (1990: 26-27), the suffix *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-* in OCS is used in two ways. First, to derive verbs from nouns, like *igrati, igrajǫ* 'play' from *igra* 'game', *dělati, dělajǫ* 'work' from *dělo* 'work', or *rabotati, rabotajǫ* 'be a slave' from *rabota* 'slavery'. My database contains 48 such verbs in *-ati, -aje-*, which are not part of an aspect pair (including *podobati* 'behove', which I already mentioned in section 5.1.2).

that: *drъzati, drъzajǫ* 'be brave' - *drъznǫti, drъznǫ* 'take courage' and *rivati, rivajǫ* 'push' - *rinǫti sę, rinǫ sę* 'rush into'. For a more extensive discussion of this particular group see Chapter 9 (section 9.2).

[9] In Modern Russian *soxnut'* is imperfective. There is one attestation in OCS and opinions differ as to the aspectual value of the verb. Amse-de Jong (1974: 48) considers the verb to be either perfective or anaspectual, while Dostál (1954: 166) considers the verb to be imperfective. In my database Leskien's class II verbs without a partner form a (small) separate group of 7 verbs with a total of only 26 attestations, which makes it difficult to come to a serious comparison with other groups.

[10] The unprefixed forms are 'evolutive', they denote the gradual assumption of a state and are related to nouns of adjectives denoting that state (e.g.**kysnǫti* 'become sour', related to *kysělъ* 'sour', only attested in the prefixed formations *vъkysnǫti* and *vъskysnǫti*, both 'turn sour'). Cf. Modern Russian evolutive *-nut'* verbs like *soxnut'*^{ipf} 'dry' which differ from semelfactive *-nut'* verbs, that are perfective (e.g. *maxnut'*^{pf} 'wave' or *tolknut'*^{pf} 'hit').

[11] Some verbs in Leskien's class II are regarded as the base verb and have a derived partner. Examples are *minǫti, minǫ - minovati, minujǫ* 'pass by' and prefixed formations; prefixed formations of *-vinǫti - -vinovati* and the only verb in Leskien's class II that has no *-nǫti* element in the infinitive, *stati* 'stand up', with derived *stajati, stajǫ* and prefixed formations (cf. Schuyt 1990: 21). I will discuss the verbs in Leskien's class II and their partners more extensively in Chapter 9.

Secondly, the suffix *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-* is frequently used to derive a verb from another verb, mostly prefixed verbs, although there are also some unprefixed pairs that arise through this derivation, like the already mentioned pair *aviti sę - avljati sę* 'appear'. My database contains 612 verbs that are derived from another verb with this suffix.

The variation between *-ati, -aje-/-jati, -jaje-/-vati, -vaje-* is phonetically conditioned in OCS. The suffix appears as *-ati, -aje-* when the verb is derived from a base verb with a stem ending in a consonant (Leskien's classes I and V), like in *naklasti, nakladǫ - nakladati - nakladajǫ* 'put (up)on' or *sъněsti, sъněmъ - sъnědati, sъnědajǫ* 'eat up' and in a limited number of derivations of verbs in *-iti, -i-* (Leskien class IV), like *prědъložiti, prědložǫ - prědъlagati, prědъlagajǫ* 'put in front of'. The suffix appears as *-jati, -jaje-* in all other cases when the verb is derived from a Leskien's class IV verb, like *aviti sę, avljǫ sę - avljati sę, avljajǫ sę* 'appear' or *dosaditi, dosaždǫ - dosaždati, dosaždajǫ* 'insult'.[12] Finally, the suffix appears as *-vati, -vaje-* when the base verb ends in a vowel, mostly Leskien's class III verbs like *prěbiti, prěbijǫ - prěbivati, prěbivajǫ* 'break', but also Leskien class IV verbs in *-ěti*, like *poveléti, poveljǫ - povelévati, povelévajǫ* 'order' and in the derived formations of the Leskien's class V verb *byti, esmъ - byvati, byvajǫ* 'be'. Since the variation is clearly phonetically conditioned, even though there are some irregularities when it comes to the derivation from base verbs in *-iti, -i-* (Leskien's class IV), I will treat these as variants of the same suffix to which I will refer as *-ati, -aje-* from here on.

5.1.3.3 The suffix -ati, -je-

At first sight, the function of the suffix *-ati, -je-* might look the same as the function of the suffix *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje*, i.e. the derivation of imperfective verbs from a base verb. It is not, though. Most of the verbs that have this suffix are not derived verbs, but original verbs from which verbs are derived with *-nǫti, -ne-* (cf. section 5.1.3.1).

In the few cases where verbs with the suffix *-ati, -je-* are derived from another verb, there often is a triplet involved with a 'secondary suffixed' partner which has the suffix *-(j/v)ati, -(j/v)aje-*, like in prefixed formations of *-dati, -dam* 'give' which can have both derived forms *-dajati, -dajǫ* and *-davati, -davajǫ*.[13] These verbs and their derivations are treated as

[12] In such cases, the jotation that is visible in the 1sg present of the base verb is present throughout the entire paradigm of the derived verb: it is part of the stem. So while, for example, 2sg present of *dosaditi* is *dosadiši*, hence without jotation of the stem, 2sg present of *dosaždati* is *dosaždaješi*.

[13] Other examples are prefixed formation with *-jęti, -imǫ* of which there are two derived forms *-imati, -emljǫ* and *-imati, -imajǫ*, and also *-rešti, -rekǫ* with *-ricati, -ričǫ* and *-ricati, -ricajǫ*.

separate categories, since the presence of a secondary derived verb could result in different aspectual behaviour (cf. Chapter 7).

5.1.3.4 The suffix -ovati, -uje- (*-evati, -uje-*)

The suffix *-ovati, -uje-* is first and foremost a denominal suffix (Schuyt 1990: 29). There are a lot of denominal verbs derived by this suffix, like *likovati, likujǫ* 'dance' from *likъ* 'round dance' and *sъvětovati, sъvětujǫ* 'hold council' from *sъvětъ* 'council'. The suffix also occurs as *-evati, -uje-* after soft consonants, like in *vračevati, vračujǫ* 'heal' from *vračь* 'doctor'.

In a number of cases this suffix 'comes to the rescue' when a verb has two present tense stems, but only one aorist/infinitive stem (cf. Schuyt 1990: 30-33, Kamphuis 2015).[14] One example is the base verb *pokazati* 'show', which has two present tense stems, and hence two present tense forms, *pokažǫ* and *pokazajǫ*, the second one of which is clearly an *-ati, -aje-* derivation. However, this derivation is not visible in forms that are based on the present stem and it is possible that for this reason separate verbs in *-ovati, -uje-* were derived, like *pokazovati* 'show'. Verbs with two present stems are treated as a separate category in Chapter 10.

Finally, there are a few cases in which *-ovati, -uje-* functions just like the derivational suffix *-ati, -aje-*, deriving one verb from another verb. In this respect OCS, just like OR, differs from most modern Slavic languages in which derivation with *-ovati, -uje-* (or related forms like Modern Russian *-yvat', -yvae* and *-ivat', -ivae*) has become the only productive type of aspectual derivation of imperfective verbs (Schuyt 1990: 410).[15] Examples in OCS are *iskupiti, iskuplǫ - iskupovati, iskupujǫ* 'redeem' and *naznamenati, naznamenajǫ - naznamenovati - naznamenujǫ* 'signal' (in both cases there is an unprefixed pair as well).

5.1.3.5 The suffix -iti, -i-

The suffix *-iti, -i-* is the basic characteristic of Leskien's class IV verbs. Many verbs in this class are denominal, e.g. *slьziti, slьžǫ* 'cry' from *slьza* 'tear', or *strašiti, strašǫ* 'frighten' from *strax* 'fear'.

As regards derivation from other verbs, this suffix is only in use to derive indeterminate VOMs, from determinate VOMs. Examples are *nesti, nesǫ - nositi, nošǫ/nosiši* 'carry', or *vesti, vedǫ - voditi, voždǫ/vodiši* 'lead, take' and

[14] See Leskien (1969: 122), who uses the terms 'Infinitivstamm/Zweiter Stamm' (aorist/infinitive stem) and 'Präsensstamm' (present stem) and bases his classification on the latter.
[15] For the relationship between *-ovati, -uje-* and Russian *-yvat', -yvae-* and *-ivat', -ivae-* cf. Schuyt 1990: 404-408.

all the prefixed formations of these verbs. I will treat VOMs in separate categories.

5.1.4 Derivational relationships

In the OCS corpus there are five positions attested that a verb can occupy within a chain of derivationally related verbs.[16] In the table below I have given a number of possible derivational relationships:

	Unprefixed	***Unprefixed suffixed***	***Prefixed***	***Prefixed derived***	***Extra suffixed***
1	*prazdьnovati* 'spend free time'	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2	*prostiti* 'free, forgive'	*praštati* 'free, forgive'	N/A	N/A	N/A
3	*kopati* 'dig'	N/A	*iskopati* 'dig out'	N/A	N/A
4	*kryti* 'cover, hide'	N/A	*pokryti* 'cover'	*pokryvati* 'cover'	N/A
5	*pustiti* 'let go'	*puštati* 'let go'	*popustiti* 'tolerate'	*popuštati* 'tolerate'	N/A
6	*vycati*[17] 'learn'	*vyknǫti* 'learn'	N/A	*navyknǫti* 'learn'	*navycati* 'learn'
7	*vesti* 'lead, take'	*voditi* 'lead, take'	*privesti* 'bring'	*privoditi* 'bring'	*privaždati* 'bring'

Table 5.2 Possible derivational relationships

Situation 1 is clear; *prazdьnovati* is a verb that has no derivational relationship with any other verb, neither through prefixation, nor through suffixation. The verb is de-adjectival, derived from the adjective *prazьnъ* 'empty'. Situation 2 shows an 'unprefixed pair', *prostiti - praštati*. Here, the suffix *-ati, -aje-* serves to derive a new verb, with the same lexical meaning from the base simplex, a typical example of aspectual derivation with *prostiti*

[16] Actually, there are six possible positions. However, this is only relevant for the derivational chain of *iti* 'go' - *xoditi* 'go' (cf. section 9.4), which has the unprefixed extra derived form *xaždati* 'go' (cf. example 333 in Chapter 10). This results in a chain of three unprefixed forms, while there are also chains of three prefixed forms (e.g. *prěiti - prěxoditi - prěxaždati* 'cross, pass'), which together give six options. The only other extra derived unprefixed verb is *dyxati, dyxajǫ* 'blow'. However, there the simplex **dъxnǫti* is not attested and neither are suffixed prefixed forms like **izdyxati, izdyšǫ*. The only attested forms are the simplex *dyxati, dyšǫ* 'blow', prefixed formations like *izdъxnǫti, izdъxnǫ* 'breathe out' and secondary derived prefixed formations like *izdyxati, izdyxajǫ* 'breathe out'. This results in a chain with a maximum of three attested verbs.

[17] The verb *vycati* is only attested in the formation *ljubovycati*, which has just one attestation in the *Suprasliensis*, a PresAP *ljubovyčǫštǫ* 'eager to learn'.

being the perfective and *praštati* the imperfective verb. Situation 3 shows an unprefixed verb, *kopati*, with a prefixed formation *iskopati*. The prefix adds an inherent boundary, but that does not make the pair *kopati - iskopati* a Slavic-style aspect pair, because *kopati* is not inherently terminative (cf. sections 2.2.2 and 5.1). In Situation 4, there is an unprefixed verb, *kryti*, with a prefixed formation *pokryti*, which in turn is suffixed with *-ati, -aje-* to form *pokryvati*. The latter two form a 'prefixed pair'. Such pairs are prototypical aspect pairs, at least from the point of view of the modern Slavic languages (cf. section 5.3). In Situation 5, there are two pairs: an unprefixed pair *pustiti - puštati* and a prefixed pair *popustiti - popuštati*, both pairs formed by means of the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, again a case of typical aspectual derivation.[18] The unprefixed pair *vycati - vyknǫti* in situation 6 differs from the other unprefixed pairs in 2 and 5, since here it is the suffixed verb (*-nǫti, -ne-*, Leskien's class II) that is generally thought to express perfective aspect. This difference comes with consequences for the prefixed pair *navyknǫti - navycati*, in which the extra prefixed verb does not look like a prefixed formation of the suffixed simplex, as in situation 5, but shows an extra derivation (the simplex *vycati* has a present tense *vyčǫ* (it is an *-ati, -je-* verb), while *navycati* has a present tense *navycajǫ* (*-ati, -aje-*). Finally, there is situation 7 in which all fields are filled. This is a regular picture with a number of verbs of motion, a number of derivational chains with Leskien's class II verbs and a few other verbs, including the ones that occur as an unprefixed pair, in which the derived verb has the suffix *-ati, -je-*: *dati, dam - dajati, dajǫ, prědati, prědam - prědajati, prědajǫ - prědavati, prědavajǫ* (cf. Chapter 9, section 9.5). The same situation is found in derivational chains that contain unprefixed pairs in which the derived verb is from Leskien class II (although not in all those cases, see situation 6). More combinations are possible, of course. For example, in many cases a simplex is not attested, or a suffixed verb is attested, but the base verb is not. Table 5.2, though, shows the relationships that are the most important for my classification of the OCS verbs.

5.2 Database of OCS verbs

In the preceding sections I have discussed the three morphological elements that play a role in the derivational aspect system in OCS: prefixation, suffixation and derivational relationships. In my database these elements are all part of a verb entry and verbs can be grouped by searching for

[18] The verb *popuštati* could, of course, also be regarded as a prefixed form of *puštati*. There is no indication that prefixed pairs based on an unprefixed pair show different behaviour compared to those of which there is no simplex pair attested, except for prefixed pairs in which one of the partners is a Leskien class II verb (cf. Chapter 9).

combinations of elements. I will discuss the various groups in section 5.3, but first I will present the part of my database that contains this information.

In Chapter 2, I have already briefly discussed the database. Below I will show how all the information discussed in the preceding sections can be retrieved in my database and used for the classification of verbs. In Figure 5.3 part of the database entry for the verb *sɔbɒrati* 'collect' is depicted. The other half, the number of attestations per verb form, is not relevant for the morphological classification, but will be treated in Chapter 7, as this is the grammatical profile of the verb.

Below, I will briefly discuss all the fields and mention which fields are useful in the grouping of verbs with regard to morphological characteristics. Often, a field is not relevant for the particular verb, or the element in question is not present as in case of Figure 5.3 the fields 'Means of derivation' and 'Secondary suffixed' (to which I refer as 'extra derived' in this study'). In such cases the field is filled with N/A.

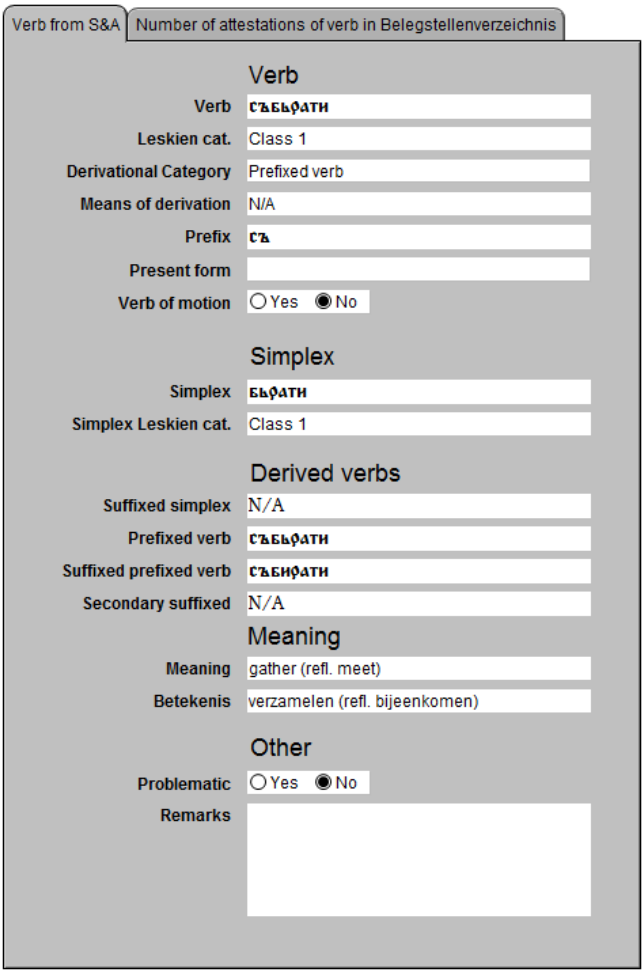


Figure 5.3 Database entry of the verb sъbьrati

The field ***Verb*** contains the lexeme, so that an individual verb can be looked up. In some cases the lexeme is followed either by a number, or by a letter. The number indicates that the verb has one infinitive stem and two present stems. If the number is 1, the entry contains the information on the underived forms (e.g. *naricati, naričǫ* 'call'); if the number is 2 the entry contains information on the derived forms (*naricati, naricajǫ* 'call'). The letter indicates a homonymous infinitive (*poiti* A 'go' and *poiti* B 'water'). The second field, ***Leskien cat.*** contains one of the five Leskien's classes. This field can, for example, be used to separate Leskien's class II verbs from other verbs, which is important in my classification, because the derivational relationship between Leskien's class II verbs and their partners differs from that of other pairs formed by suffixation. The field ***Derivational category*** allows for the five possibilities entries that can be found in Table 5.2: *unprefixed*, *unprefixed suffixed*, *prefixed verb*, *prefixed suffixed verb* and *extra derived verb*. This field makes it possible to select all prefixed verbs, or all suffixed verbs and group them together. In ***Means of derivation*** the derivational suffixes are entered; these can be found in the sections 5.1.3.2 - 5.1.3.5. The suffix *-nǫti, -ne-* is not included in this field, but can nevertheless be retrieved separately according to the Leskien classification. The field ***Prefix*** contains per verb one of the prefixes of Table 5.1: *vъ-*, *vъz-*, *vy-*, *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *mimo-*, *na-*, *nadъ-*, *nizъ-*, *o-*, *otъ-*, *po-*, *podъ-*, *pri-*, *pro-*, *prě-*, *prědъ-*, *raz-*, *sъ-*, *u-*. In case of more than one prefix, the prefixes are entered in the order that they occur in the particular verb, for example *pri, sъ, vъ* in case of *prisъvъkupiti* 'gather'. The field ***Present form*** is not filled out for most verbs. The field offers a quick way of discerning verbs with one infinitive stem and two present stems by taking into consideration the derivational suffix of the present stem (e.g. *naricati* 'call' has both *naričǫ* 'I call' vs. *naricajǫ* 'I call'). This is not a field of crucial importance, but it can be helpful for quicker processing while using the database. The field ***Verb of motion*** allows only a yes or a no. This makes it possible to separate VOMs from other verbs. The ***Simplex*** field contains the simplex on which the verb is based. In some cases, a simplex is not attested, which is then indicated with an asterisk (e.g. **kusiti* for *iskusiti* 'try'). The ***Simplex Leskien cat.*** contains the Leskien's class of the simplex, making it possible to group verbs according to the Leskien's class of the verb they are based on, which makes it possible to separate partners of verbs from Leskien's class II. Under the header ***Derived verbs*** the possible derived forms are entered.[19] By searching for the presence or absence of one of these forms it is possible to search very specifically for verbs with certain derivational

[19] The field called 'secondary suffixed' contains verbs that I call 'extra derived' (cf. Table 5.2) in this study, to avoid confusion with the well-known term 'secondary imperfective' which is in use for derived imperfectives.

relationships (e.g. prefixed suffixed verbs of which no extra derived partner is attested like *ostavljati* 'leave', of which no **ostavljavati* is attested). The header ***Meaning*** contains the English and Dutch equivalents of the OCS verb and under the header ***Other*** there is a field for remarks and an option to indicate a problematic entry that should either be looked at again, or that remains problematic for some reason. The latter category contains a small number of problematic cases like *otъvě* 'answer', which occurs only as an 3rd person aorist and cannot be related to similar paradigms like *otъveštati - otъveštavati* 'answer', or *?bivati* 'kill' which occurs only once as PresAP *bivajǫštiixъ* 'those who kill' (*Assemanianus*, Matthew 10:28, Kurz 1955: 249 fn.), but is probably a scribal error for *ubivajǫštiixъ*, a form of the derived verb *ubivati* 'kill'.

5.3 Classification of verbs on morphological grounds

By combining various characteristics in a query, the database can be used to group verbs together according to relevant morphological characteristics. An example of a query in the database is the search for unprefixed verbs that have a derived partner and neither belong to Leskien's class 2 nor are VOM: Derivational category: *Simplex* (incl) + Verb of motion: *no* (incl) + Simplex Leskien cat.: *Class 2* (excl) + Suffixed unprefixed: *N/A* (excl) + problematic: *No* (incl).[20] This results in a group of simplex verbs like *aviti sę* 'appear', *dati* 'give', *pasti* 'fall' and *jęti* 'take', that I expect to show perfective behaviour in the analysis in Chapter 7.

The core groups for this study are the groups that show typical aspectual morphology, and the one group in which this morphology is completely absent. In other words, the groups that are expected to show typical perfective and imperfective behaviour and an anaspectual group. For the sake of convenience I will, maybe a bit anachronistically and partly premature, refer to the prefixed base verbs in this group as 'perfective prefixed' (e.g. *ostaviti* 'leave' and to the suffixed verbs as 'imperfective prefixed' (*ostavljati* 'leave') verbs. Similarly, I will henceforth call the unprefixed base verbs 'perfective unprefixed' (*aviti sę* 'appear') verbs and their derived partners 'imperfective unprefixed' verbs (*avljati sę* 'appear'). Verbs in which derivational aspect morphology is absent, hence verbs that are not prefixed or suffixed and have no attested derivational partner, are categorized as 'anaspectual' (*viděti* 'see'). Table 5.3 contains the core groups with the number of verbs per group, the total number of attestations and a

[20] The search allows for the explicit inclusion (incl) or exclusion (excl) of certain categories. By excluding 'Suffixed unprefixed' in this query, I get only the simplex verbs that have a derived partner attested.

prototypical verb that I will use throughout this study to refer to the particular group it belongs to.

Name of the group	*Verbs*	*Attestations*
Perfective prefixed (e.g. *ostavitĭ*)	377	15,803
Imperfective prefixed (e.g. *ostavljatĭ*)	455	3,041
Perfective unprefixed (e.g. *aviti sę*)	44	2,929
Imperfective unprefixed (e.g. *avljati sę*)	49	613
Anaspectual (e.g. *vidětĭ*)	521	26,683

Table 5.3 Core verb groups for analysis

Except for these core groups, which should provide a basic picture of the aspect system in OCS, there are many other smaller and larger groups that will be included in the analysis. These groups can reveal more about the role of the various morphological means (e.g. prefixes, the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-*, or the existence of extra derived verbs) and the position in the aspect system of verbs that do not show the obvious aspectual morphological opposition, like VOMs and Leskien class II verbs and their partners.

Name of the group	*Verbs*	*Attestations*
Prefixed without attested suffixed (e.g. *ubojati sę*)	899	7,097
Prefixed determinate VOM with partner (e.g. *vъniti*)	57	4,977
Prefixed indeterminate VOM (e.g. *vъxoditĭ*)	59	596
Leskien II prefixed with partner (e.g. *pomanǫtĭ*)	42	1,225
Leskien II unprefixed with partner (e.g. *kanǫtĭ*)	13	354
Prefixed partner Leskien II (e.g. *pomajatĭ*)	18	123
Unprefixed partner Leskien II (e.g. *kapatĭ*)	16	75
Determinate VOM (e.g. *itĭ*)	14	1,627
Indeterminate VOM (e.g. *xoditĭ*)	11	456
Prefixed with two partners (e.g. *sъpovědětĭ*)[21]	60	3,084
Suffixed prefixed with other suffixed (e.g. *sъpovědati*)	21	460
Suffixed prefixed, other suffixed (e.g. *sъpovědovatĭ*)	25	109
byti 'be'	1	7,827

Table 5.4 Additional groups for analysis[22]

[21] In this group there are also verbs of the same 'family' of which no secondary derived verb is attested, like *zapovědĕti* 'order' of which no **zapovědovati* is attested (while in the same family *ispovědovati* 'confess', *povědovati* 'proclaim', *propovědovati* 'preach', *sъpovědovati* 'announce' are attested).

[22] The term 'additional groups' is not meant to imply that these are small groups. However, they are not prototypically perfective, imperfective or anaspectual, but should rather be compared to those prototypical groups.

Some of the groups do not contain many verbs and attestations. Such groups are therefore maybe less interesting for the analysis, because the profile can be strongly influenced by one or two larger verbs. For example, the *Unprefixed partner Leskien II* is a rather small group in which *drъzati* 'be brave' and *dvidzati* 'move' account for almost half of the attestations. However, the group *Leskien II unprefixed with partner* is a very interesting group and I have chosen to always include the so-called 'partner groups', even if it is a small group, to get a picture that is as complete as possible.[23]

Finally, in Chapter 10, I will separately discuss the verb families with one infinitive stem and two present tense stems (e.g. *sъkazati, sъkažǫ - sъkazati, sъkazajǫ* 'clarify, announce'); their specific morphological make-up does not allow for inclusion in the general analysis.

5.4 Concluding remarks

The classification as described in the preceding section will form the basis for the analyses in the following chapters. These are the groups of which I will compare the grammatical profiles (Chapter 7) and of which I will subject attestations to a semantic analysis (Chapter 8 and 9). In the remainder of this study I will use the designations for the groups as given above. In most cases, I will also mention the prototypical verb, hence 'perfective prefixed (*ostavitь*)', 'determinate VOM (*iti*)' etc.

[23] The Leskien class II family is an interesting family because there is pair forming, but the suffixed verb is thought to be the perfective partner, unlike with the suffix *-ati, -aje-* that is used to derive imperfective verbs (cf. section 9.2).

6 OCS VERBAL PARADIGM

6.0 Introduction

The discussion in the previous chapter focused on the markers of derivational aspect. Based on these markers, I arrived at a classification of OCS verbs into various groups. In Chapter 7, these groups will be statistically analysed in terms of their grammatical profile. Before doing so, however, it is important to realize what the grammatical profile consists of and how the profile could be influenced by derivational aspect. In the present chapter I will therefore discuss the inflection of the OCS verb with an emphasis on the functions of the various verb forms and demonstrate the varying compatibility of the forms with the morphologically categorized groups. It is because of these varying compatibility that groups that I defined in Chapter 5 show differences in distribution of the verb forms, which results in different grammatical profiles. Moreover, an understanding of the functions of individual verb forms is essential with regard to the semantic analysis of individual forms in Chapters 8 and 9.

6.1 Paradigm of the OCS verb

The paradigm of an OCS verb consists of many forms, all of which are based on either the aorist/infinitive stem, or the present stem.[1] Table 6.1 shows the distribution of the various verb forms over the two stems:

Aorist/infinitive stem	***Present stem***
Infinitive (Inf)	Present (Pres)
Supine (Sup)	Imperative (Impr)
Imperfect (Impf)	Present active participle (PresAP)
Aorist (Aor)	Present passive participle (PresPP)
Past active participle I (PastAPI)	
Past active participle II (PastAPII)	
Past passive participle (PastPP)	

Table 6.1 Distribution verb forms over aorist/infinitive and present stem[2]

[1] The verb *byti* 'be' has an extra set of present forms (*bǫdǫ, bǫdeši*) which I refer to as 'future' to separate it from the other present tense forms (*esmь, esi*). It also has a 'future' participle (e.g. *bǫdǫšta*) and a conditional (*bim, bi*). I will disregard these forms in the analysis in Chapter 7, as they do not occur in other verbs.

[2] There are some exceptions to the normal distribution of the forms between the stems, such as imperfects based on a present stem instead of an aorist/infinitive stem. Furthermore, there are verbs in which aorist/infinitive stem and present stem are identical. Finally, there are verbs in

The aorist/infinitive stem is the infinitive minus *-ti*, hence the aorist/infinitive stem of the verb *slyšati* 'hear' is *slyša-*. The present stem is the 3pl present minus the ending *-ǫtъ/-ętъ*. The 3pl of *slyšati* is *slyšętъ*, which makes the present stem *slyš-*.[3] This gives the following picture for the verb *slyšati*:

Aorist/infinitive stem	***slyša-***	***Present stem***	***slyš-***
Inf	*slyšati*	Pres	*slyšǫ*
Sup	*slyšatъ*	Impr	*slyši*
Impf	*slyšaaxъ*	PresAP	*slyšę*
Aor	*slyšaxъ*	PresPP	*slyšimъ*
PastAPI	*slyšavъ*		
PastAPII	*slyšalъ*		
PastPP	*slyšanъ*		

Table 6.2 Distribution of the forms of slyšati 'hear'[4]

Table 6.3 contains the number of attestations per verb form in my database, in the order in which I will discuss them below.

which the suffix *-nǫ-* (Leskien's class II) complicates matters by showing up only in parts of the paradigm.

[3] The procedure of finding the stems can be complicated, especially when consonant clusters have to be resolved, as is often the case in the infinitive. For example, the aorist/infinitive stem of *jasti* 'eat' is not **ja-*, but *jad-*. The consonant cluster *dt* appears as *st* in the infinitive: **jadti* > *jasti*. This is not the place to elaborate on these diachronic phenomena. Information can be found in various grammars, such as Diels (1963), Leskien (1969) or Lunt (1974). Lunt works with one basic verb stem for the classification of verbs, as opposed to the two-stem classification that Leskien and Diels use, but also uses the infinitive or 3pl pres to find the stem.

[4] The verb *slyšati* is attested in all categories, although not necessarily in the form I give (1sg for pres, impf and aor, 2sg for impr and Nsgm for participles).

Verb form	*Attestations*	*Percentage of total*
Pres	20,107	25.14%
Impf	5,108	6.39%
Aor	19,551	24.45%
Impr	6,041	7.55%
PresAP	9,233	11.55%
PresPP	893	1.12%
PastAPI	7,557	9.46%
PastAPII	1,397	1.75%
PastPP	2,762	3.45%
Inf	5,426	6.79%
Sup	266	0.33%
Future[5]	1,125	1.41%
Future participle	21	0.03%
Conditional	479	0,60%
Total	***79,966***	***100%***

Table 6.3 Distribution of OCS verb forms

In the sections below I will discuss the various verb forms and their function in OCS. For every form I will give the relative frequency in the five core groups (cf. Table 5.3) to get an impression of the (level of) compatibility of the verb form with the various groups. That way, the full profile of the five groups will have been presented at the end of the present chapter. I will start out with the finite forms, present, imperfect, aorist and imperative, subsequently I will discuss the various participles and finally the infinitive and supine.

Although the examples in the present chapter are mainly intended to present the verb form and get an idea of the meaning of the various forms that the OCS verb occurs in, it is impossible to separate this from the discussion of aspect. Firstly because derivational aspect has a strong influence of the forms a verb occurs in, as I will also show in the analysis in Chapter 7. Secondly, in a number of cases it is the combination with anaspectual verbs in which the meaning of the tense form emerges most clearly, because in those verbs interaction with derivational aspect is absent. Therefore, I will not only give the distribution of the various verb forms over the five core groups for each verb form (cf. Table 5.3) but also analyse possible differences in usage of the verb forms between the various groups. I will use this information in the semantic analysis in Chapter 8, which deals with the core groups.

[5] The forms in italics are not discussed in this chapter, as they are exclusive for the verb *byti* 'be'. However, I will discuss the use of the future forms of *byti* in Chapter 9, section 9.6.

Before I start my discussion of the various verb forms, I will provide a brief introduction of the model that I will use to define the tense distinctions in OCS.

6.2 Time-relational model of tense

Three of the four finite verb forms in OCS express tense, i.e. the present, the imperfect and the aorist, are jointly responsible for more than half of all verb attestations in OCS. Moreover, past and present participles express relative tense, which makes the verb forms in which tense distinctions play a role by far the majority. For a good understanding of the OCS verbal system, a good understanding of the tense distinctions is therefore indispensable. Amse-de Jong (1974) uses a model similar to Klein's time-relational model (Klein 1994, 1995) to define the tense and aspect distinctions in OCS, although her terminology differs somewhat from that of Klein. Even though I believe that the time-relational definitions of aspect that Amse-de Jong (cf. Chapter 4) and Klein (1994, 1995) use, are not capable of explaining all uses of verbal aspect, especially in cases where more levels seem to play a role (cf. the micro-level and macro-level in cases of repetition as discussed in Chapter 2), the time-relational model works well for the definition of *tense* in this study. Below, I will briefly explain the main parameters of the model and subsequently discuss the various OCS tense forms in terms of the model, for which I will use Klein's terminology.

In the time-relational model that Klein uses, tense is defined as a temporal relation between the *Time of the Utterance* (TU, moment of speech) and the *Time for which the Assertion is made* (TA) (Klein 1995: 687, cf. Klein 1994). The *Time of the Situation* (TS, the 'event itself'), which plays a role in the definition of aspect in this model, is thus not directly related to the moment of speech. In other words: a past tense form does not express that an event is past as seen from the moment of speech, but only that it is in some way related to a TA which lies before the moment of speech. The same is true of a future tense form: the TA to which the event is related lies after the moment of speech. To explain matters, Klein give the following example for Modern Russian:

(38) *Ivan rabotal*[ipf]*, rabotaet*[ipf] *i budet rabotat'*[ipf] *v Moskve.* [Ru] (Klein 1995: 687)
Ivan worked, works and will work in Moscow.

This utterance can be interpreted to refer to one and the same working event, which started in the past and is bound to continue in the future. The past tense used in this utterance only expresses that the event took place simultaneously to a TA that lies before the moment of speech, it does not express that the event lies before the moment of speech (i.e. that TS lies

before TU), because it is still going on at the moment of speech.[6] The future tense expresses that the event will take place simultaneously to a TA after the moment of speech. Both do not say anything about the relationship of the TS to the moment of speech, or to the TA, which is the territory of aspect. The relation between TA and the TS and TA and TU in combination with the relation between TS and TA as expressed by the present tense *rabotaet* implies (indirectly) simultaneity of the event with the moment of speech. Below, however, I will discuss the present tense of perfective verbs in OCS, in which the event often is not interpreted as being simultaneous to the moment of speech, but rather as a future event, which shows that also the present tense does not directly tie the TS to the moment of speech (cf. section 6.3).

Schematically, the relationship between the moment of speech and the time for which the assertion is made, could be represented as follows for example (38) (cf. Amse-de Jong 1974: 21-24):

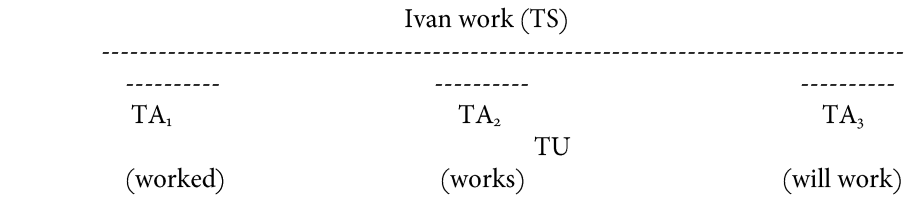


Figure 6.1 Schematic representation of time relations for tense

In this representation, the space to the left of TU is the past and the space to the right of TU is the future. The three TAs are represented by small dotted lines and TS is represented by the upper dotted line, immediately below the description of the event (*Ivan work*). In this interpretation of example (38), the TS includes past, present and future. In other words: it concerns one single event which extends in both directions beyond the moment of speech. The inflected forms of the verb *work* select a part of the timeline (e.g. *worked* selects TA_1, *works* TA_2 and *will work* TA_3), which in turn relate to the moment of speech, TU. As said, there is no direct relation between TS and TU, only between TS and TA on the one hand and TA and TU on the other hand. Figure 6.1 is, however, only one of the time-relational representation of example (38). In this case it is the representation of a single event interpretation. The example also allows different interpretations; for example, one in which there are three working events, as represented in Figure 6.2:

[6] The interpretation of simultaneity of the event with TA results from the imperfective aspect in Russian. A more precise definition would be that TA is included in TS in this example. As already mentioned, the relation between the TA and the TS is the domain of aspect.

Ivan work (TS_1)	Ivan work (TS_2)	Ivan work (TS_3)
TA_1	TA_2 TU	TA_3
worked	works	will work

Figure 6.2 Another interpretation of example (38)

In this interpretation the relation between the moment of speech and the TAs is still the same, however, now different events with the same lexical content take place at the three TAs. Even though the graphic representations can contribute to a better understanding of the relationships between TU, TA and TS, I will not use them in the remainder of this chapter for the OCS examples, because of the fact that one utterance often allows more than one interpretation. Moreover, the various interpretations have to do with the aspectual character of the event (the relation between TS and TA), which is the topic of Chapters 8 and 9. Trying to provide all possible representations for a particular utterance would no doubt be an exciting exercise, but it would probably not contribute to a better understanding of the basic meaning of the various OCS verbs form with regard to their tense distinctions. I will, however, make use of the terminological apparatus of the time-relational model of tense: TU, TA and TS.

6.3 Present tense

The relative frequencies of the present tense in the five core groups in Table 6.4 below show that the present tense is fairly well represented in all groups. However, the percentages in the imperfective groups are much higher than in the perfective groups, with the anaspectual verbs in between.

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*vidĕti*)
21.61%	37.29%	22.16%	42.09%	27.71%

Table 6.4 Relative frequency of present tense in core groups

The examples I will discuss below, show that present tense in OCS expresses, that the time for which the assertion is made (TA) is not completely before TU.[7] This definition of present tense leaves open a wide spectre of possible functions, depending on lexical aspect, derivational aspect and context, one

[7] The more complicated case of the historical present is almost absent from OCS, even though the Greek originals frequently make use of the historical present (Galton 1976: 29-30). I will get back to a solution that Klein offers for including the historical present in his model in section 8.1.2.2.

of the most salient being the future function. This definition of the present tense in OCS is similar to that of the Dutch present tense given by Ebeling (1962: 88) "an event belonging, wholly or for its later part, to the natural flow of time starting at the speech moment".

I will discuss a few examples to demonstrate the various functions of the present tense below, starting with a number of examples from the anaspectual group.

The few examples of the actual present that I found, in which the event is interpreted as actually taking place at the moment of utterance, are in the groups of the anaspectual and imperfective verbs. They only occur in direct speech and are rather rare in the OCS texts, which contain mainly narratives. Anaspectual verbs occur relatively frequently in the actual present and denote an aterminative event going on at the moment of speech:

(39) i gl[agol]aste ei ona . ženo čto ***plačeši***[pres] ***sę*** [*M, A*]
and they said to her, "Woman, why *are* you *weeping*?" (John 20:13)

(40) gl[agol]a imъ . otiděte . ne umrětъ bo děvica nъ ***sъpitъ***[pres] . i rǫgaxǫ sę emu [*Z, M, A, Sk*]
He said, "Leave; for the girl has not died, but *is asleep*." And they began laughing at Him (Matthew 9:24)

Most other occurrences of the present tense of anaspectual verbs in OCS are more abstract uses: the event is not presented as going on at TA, but rather as having relevance at TA, or being true at TA. An example where the function of the present tense is related to a past event is the anaspectual *pišetъ* '(s)he/it writes' in example (41), which refers to something that has been written a long time ago. Galton (1976: 17-19) calls this an *expository present*:

(41) ***pišetъ***[pres] bo g[ospod]ju b[og]u svoemu pokloniši sę [*Z*][8]
for it *is written*, "You shall worship the Lord your God (Matthew 4:10)

As already mentioned above, the actual present is not completely limited to the anaspectual verbs; I found one example with an imperfective verb *otrěšati* 'untie', which has a perfective partner *otrěšiti*:

(42) otrěšajǫštema že ima žrěba . rěšę g[ospo]dьe ego kъ nima . čьto ***otrěšaeta***[pres] žrěba [*Z, M*]
as they were untying the colt, its owners said to them, "Why *are* you *untying* the colt" (Luke 19:33)

[8] The present tense translates a Greek perfect. *Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga* have *pisano estъ*, a construction with a past passive participle, which is more frequent in translations of this Greek construction.

When a terminative verb like this is used, the part of the event that is referred to is clearly the part before the attainment of the inherent boundary (the change of state from being tied to being untied). Hence, in this case the most logical interpretation would be that they were busy untying the colt, but had not yet untied it, otherwise the question would have been: 'Why did you untie the colt?'.

The present tense in OCS is also used to refer to future events. An example is the future use of anaspectual verbs in Luke 17:8, where Greek uses future forms for the verbs *φάγεσαι* 'eat' and *πίεσαι* 'drink':

(43) ugotovai čьto večerějǫ . i prěpoěsavъ sę služi mi . donьdeže ěmь i pьjǫ . i potom ***ěsi***[pres] i ***pьješi***[pres] ty [*Z, M, A, Sk*]
prepare something for me to eat, and properly clothe yourself and serve me while I eat and drink; and afterward you (*will*) *eat* and *drink* (Luke 17:8, my translation)

In this case it is clear from the use of the adverb *potom* 'after that' that the present tense forms refer to a future event. Therefore, TA must be after TU. The two events here are not presented as a sequence, but can be interpreted as occurring simultaneously; no boundary is expressed. While with anaspectual verbs this is a possible interpretation, dependent on the context, it is the standard interpretation when the perfective present is used.[9] In the following example, the Greek original again has a future form of the verb *φάγεσαι* 'eat', just as in (43), but in this case the OCS translator translates the form with a prefixed perfective verb:

(44) blaženъ iže . ***sъněstъ***[pres] xlěbъ vъ c[ěsa]rstvii b[o]žii [*Z, M*]
blessed is everyone who *shall eat* bread in the kingdom of God (Luke 14:15)

This is a recurring pattern: present tense forms of prefixed base verbs often express futurity, similar to Modern Russian or Czech perfective present forms. There is, however, a difference between the perfective present in OCS and the future tense in Greek. The Greek future always expresses that TA is after the moment of speech. In OCS futurity is an *interpretation* based on the combination of tense and aspect or context, not a *meaning* with a separate morphological form, which it is in Greek. Even though perfective present forms very often express that TA is after TU, they are also used in other functions. The situation in OCS is comparable to, for example, the situation

[9] Although there are some examples of verbs from the imperfective groups that are used to translate a Greek future form. These are exceptions to the rule, to which will get back in Chapter 8, section 8.1.1.

in Czech, where a perfective present can be used in both future functions and in non-future functions, like present tense habituals:

(45) ***Vypije***[pf] jednu skleničku vodky denně. [Cz] (Dickey 2000: 52)
(S)he *drinks* a glass of vodka every day.

In this case it is the context given by the adverbial expression *denně* 'every day' that results in a habitual reading: the event is expressed as occurring regularly and completely. This is in contrast to (46), where the perfective verb has a future interpretation:

(46) ***Vypije***[pf] skleničku vodky. [Cz] (Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015: 174)
(S)he *will drink* a glass of vodka.

In OCS perfective prefixed verbs can also be encountered in generalized utterances, like the following:

(47) vsěko ubo drěvo ploda svoego ***poznaetъ***[pres] ***sę*** [*Z*, *M*]
for each tree *is known* by its own fruit (Luke 6:44)

Example (47) is a typical example of a gnomic present; the utterance expresses a general truth. This could be seen as an example of singularization (cf. section 8.1.2.1 for a more detailed discussion of singularization). In OCS most gnomic presents, however, are imperfective presents. Compare the following example:

(48) ni ***vъžagajǫtъ***[pres] světilьnika . i ***postavlějǫtъ***[pres] ego podъ spǫdomь [*Z*, *A*]
nor does anyone *light* a lamp and *put* it under a basket (Matthew 5:15)

As the relative frequencies of the present tense in the various groups show, the present tense is compatible with all groups. Interaction between tense, aspect and context provides a wide range of interpretations that all have in common that TA is never completely before TU. In Chapter 8, I will discuss more examples of the present tense with an emphasis on the function of aspect.

6.4 Aorist and imperfect

Just as it is impossible to discuss perfective aspect without mentioning or discussing imperfective aspect, it is impossible to discuss the aorist without referring to the imperfect, or the other way around. The two tenses are complementary as the relative distribution over the groups also shows.

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	Ipf prefixed (*ostavljati*)	Pf unprefixed (*aviti sę*)	Ipf unprefixed (*avljati sę*)	Anaspectual (*vidĕti*)
35.40%	1.18%	31.21%	0.16%	21.71%

Table 6.5 *Relative frequency of aorist in core groups*

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*vidĕti*)
0.15%	16.71%	0.20%	16.97%	8.75%

Table 6.6 *Relative frequency of imperfect in core groups*[10]

Overall, the aorist is much more frequent than the imperfect (24.45% of all OCS verb attestations vs. 6.39% for the imperfect). However, the difference between the groups is striking: perfective verbs have a clear preference for the aorist and imperfective verbs for the imperfect. Anaspectual verbs are somewhere in between in both cases.

Both tenses express the same relation between TA and TU: TA is completely before TU.

The difference between the aorist and the imperfect is therefore not temporal, but aspectual, as already discussed in Chapter 2. The aorist is the older of the two tenses and can be traced back to Indo-European, while the imperfect is a Slavic innovation (cf. Kortlandt 1986, Andersen 2013, see also Chapter 10). At some point, the aorist must have been the only past tense and really have functioned as an *unmarked* (the meaning of 'aorist') past tense. Although there are examples that still show which traces of this unmarkedness, the aorist in OCS is basically a perfective past tense, in which perfective is to be understood as Romance-style perfective: the aorist presents an event that is temporally bounded. The imperfect is the mirror-image of the aorist; it is expresses temporal open-endedness, or unboundedness. I will first give some examples of the aorist and subsequently of the imperfect.

Perfective verbs and the aorist go together very well, which is not surprising given the fact that both express the attainment a boundary. For perfective verbs this an inherent boundary, a complete event, while for the aorist the

[10] A problem with the imperfect is that it is often unclear whether it is derived from perfective verbs, or from their imperfective partners (cf. Amse-de Jong 1974: 104-109). For example, the form *ostavljaaše* '(s)he left' could be derived from perfective prefixed *ostaviti* or its imperfective partner *ostavljati*. However, in cases were the difference is visible (e.g. *vъprositi* - *vъpraša*ti 'ask') imperfects are very rarely attested from the perfective partner (there is no **vъprošaaše* attested, only *vъprašaaše*). In the present study the classification of the imperfects by Aitzetmüller (1977) is followed. In Chapter 10, I will get back to this particular phenomenon and link it to the emergence of derivational aspect in Slavic.

boundary is temporal. In case an aorist is used with a perfective verb, these boundaries coincide:

(49) i ***sъbьrašę***[aor] ***sę*** apo[sto]li kъ is[us]u . i ***vьzvěstišę***[aor] emu vsě . eliko ***sъtvorišę***[aor] . i eliko ***naučišę***[aor] [*Z, M, A*]
the apostles *gathered* together with Jesus; and they *reported* to Him all that they had *done* and *taught* (Mark 6:30)

The aorists *sъbьrašę sę* of the verb *sъbьrati sę* 'gather' and *vьzvěstišę* of *vьzvěstiti* 'report' express in this context two events that occur within the limits of the TA, hence the complete event is in focus. Moreover, both events are presented in a sequence: once the first event is over, the second starts. However, this is just one possible interpretation of the aorist, as the following two forms, *sъtvorišę* and *naučišę* show. These aorists of the verbs *sъtvoriti* 'do' and *naučiti* 'teach' also express a complete event, but get a different interpretation, because this concerns events that are looked back upon from the TA (introduced by *vьzvěstišę* 'reported'), which results in a pluperfect interpretation.[11] Moreover, the events are not presented as a sequence, but can be understood to have occurred simultaneously.

One could say that the aorist does not add much to the interpretations above, a neutral verb form, as the aorist once was, would have resulted in the same complete interpretation of the events, since the perfective verbs express the attainment of the inherent boundary anyway. This does not mean, though, that the aorist does not carry its own meaning of temporal boundedness. In example (49) both boundaries, inherent and temporal, are actualized in the events. However, because an event cannot continue after having reached its inherent limit, nor can reach its inherent limit if it is temporally bounded before doing so, the two bounds necessarily coincide in the combination of a perfective aspect with an aorist.[12] In examples with verbs without an inherent boundary, the aorist adds a boundary, such that the event is construed temporally bounded, as in the following example which contains the anaspectual verb *biti* 'beat':

(50) emъše že dělatele raby ego ovogo ***bišę***[aor] ovogo že ***ubišę***[aor] . ovogo že kameniemь ***pobišę***[aor] . [*M, A, Sk*]
the vine-growers took his slaves and *beat* one, and *killed* another, and *stoned* a third (Matthew 21:35)

[11] Cf. also example (51) where the aorist gets a perfect interpretation (cf. the discussion of retrospective use of the aorist in Chapter 8, section 8.2.1.1).

[12] In Chapter 8 I will discuss more complicated examples, amongst which the imperfective aorist where the event is presented as having reached a temporal boundary, while defocusing the inherent boundary.

The verb *biti* 'beat' in combination with the aorist in this sequence of events results in an interpretation of 'gave (him) a beating'.[13] Even though *biti* 'beat' is not a terminative verb, it allows this predicate to be construed as terminative. The aorist activates an underlying inherent boundary of the kind of 'a prototypical portion of the action', which is why the interpretation of the aorist of *biti* is not necessarily one of duration (e.g. '*beat for some time*'), but can be interpreted practically on a par with the aorists of *ubiti* 'kill' and *pobiti* 'stone', in which the change of situation is an inherent part of the lexical meaning.

There are also cases in which the aorist is more like Modern Russian delimitatives (e.g. *pospat'* 'sleep for a while'),[14] indicating that for a certain period of time an event occurred and that it reached a temporal boundary. An example of this can be found with the anaspectual verb *ležati* 'lie' in the following example:

(51) priděta vidita město . ideže ***leža***^{aor} x[ristos]ъ [*Z, M, A, Sk*]
come, see the place where He *was lying* (Matthew 28:6)[15]

Unlike *bišę* 'beat' in example (50), the use of the aorist with *ležati* implies a certain duration because of the kind of event it refers to, while at the same time it expresses temporal boundedness, because of the meaning of the aorist. This use, in which a past event is presented as total without reference to an inherent boundary, is sometimes referred to a 'simple denotation', which occurs in the so-called retrospective mode, but not in narratives (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.2.1.1, cf. also section 6.7 below). When used like that, the aorist expresses a TA that is simultaneous to the TU, while TS is presented as preceding TA. In other words: the event is looked back upon from the moment of speech. One could call this the 'perfect use' of the aorist (cf. section 6.7 on the perfect).

The use of the aorist contrasts with the imperfect that expresses temporal unboundedness. Compare the following example with an imperfect of the verb *biti* 'beat', with the use of the aorist of the same verb in (50):

[13] Cf. the examples of an aorist of *reign* in OCS and Greek (example (11) in section 2.2.1 and example (23) in section 2.3, which express something like 'had a reign'.

[14] In OCS, there are no delimitative verbs. In Modern Russian the productivity of the prefix *po-* in creating delimitative (perfective) verbs dates back to the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Dickey 2007: 359).

[15] The same story is told in John 20:12. However, the viewpoint there is that of Mary and there is no direct speech from the angels. Even though Greek uses the same form, an imperfect *ἔκειτο*, OCS translates with a pluperfect, like the modern English translation: *i vidě […] ideže* ***bě ležalo***^{PastAPII} *tělo is[uso]vo* [*M, A*] 'and she saw […] where the body of Jesus *had been lying*'.

(52) ***iděaše***[impf] že vь slědъ ego mъnogъ narodъ ljudii . mǫži i ženy . jęže i ***bъ̀ěaxǫ***[impf] sę i ***plakaaxǫ***[impf] sę ego . [*Z*, *M*]
and *following* Him was a large crowd of the people, and of women who were *mourning* and *lamenting* Him (Luke 23:27)

In this example, the events are not presented as chunks of events in a sequence, but rather as ongoing actions that occur simultaneously and include the TA, which lies before the TU. It must be the imperfect that is responsible for this interpretation, as aorist forms of the same verbs result in a temporally bounded construal (cf. example (50)). Examples of *ležati* 'lie' with the imperfect also result in an unbounded interpretation as opposed to the bounded event in (51):

(53) tъšta že simonova . ***ležaaše***[impf] ognemъ žegoma [*Z*, *M*]
now Simon's mother-in-law *was lying* sick with a fever (Mark 1:30)

Again the imperfect expresses an ongoing event, as in (52) and includes the TA, while an aorist would result in an interpretation in which the event is included in the TA. The verb *ležati* 'lie' is attested 23 times in the imperfect and only 5 times in the aorist; the lexical content of this verb of bodily position is apparently more compatible with an unbounded construal than with a bounded construal (cf. section 8.3.1). However, examples like (51) show that this incompatibility with the aorist is relative, not absolute.

An imperfect can even be used in a sequence of events, when the event is presented as having some duration, as is shown by the following example:

(54) i ***prikosnǫ***[aor] ***sę*** rǫcě eję . i ***ostavi***[aor] jǫ ognь . i ***vъ̀sta***[aor] i ***služaaše***[impf] emu [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
He *touched* her hand, and the fever *left* her; and she *got up* and *waited* on Him (Matthew 8:15)

Example (54) also shows that the imperfect does not always imply parallel events; it is clear that she only waited on him after she had stood up. However, it is possible that the absence of clear boundaries between the events results in a kind of overlap between the events (cf. section 8.2.1.2).

Whether the imperfect results in a progressive or iterative interpretation depends on the verb. The imperfect *plakaaxǫ sę* in (52) 'they were lamenting' results in a progressive reading, one and the same event stretched out over a period of time, while *bъ̀ěaxǫ sę,* which literally means 'they were beating themselves' , has more of an iterative reading nuance: repeatedly beating on the chest. In some instances the interpretation can only be iterative, which is often the case with strongly terminative verbs. In the following example, there is an interesting contrast between the aorist of the prefixed perfective

postъlati expressing a bounded event and the imperfect of *postilati* that expresses an ongoing, iterative event:

(55) mъnožьiše že narodi . ***postъlašę***[aor] rizy svoję po pǫti . druzii že ***rězaxǫ***[impf] větvi otъ drěva . i ***postilaxǫ***[impf] po pǫti [*M*, *Sk*]
most of the crowd *spread* their coats in the road, and others *were cutting* branches from the trees and *spreading* them in the road (Matthew 21:8)

The aorist *postъlašę* most probably expresses a repeated event given the fact that more subjects are involved, but the aorist is used to indicate that the event has reached a temporal boundary.[16] In this respect it differs from the imperfect of imperfective prefixed verb *postilati* 'spread' which expresses the repeating events in which people spread the branches in the road, which occurs intertwined with the (probably also repetitive) cutting of the branches as expressed by *rězaxǫ*, the imperfect of the anaspectual *rězati* 'cut'.

The time-relational model is not able to capture the interesting fact that all (terminative) micro-events referred to by *postilaxǫ* can be interpreted as complete, while the macro-event is unbounded (cf. Chapter 2), but it is capable of showing the unboundedness on the macro-level; just as with a progressive reading, the TA is included in the TS.

The examples I gave of the aorist and imperfect show that they are aspectually (Romance-style) different, but generally express the same relation between TA and TU i.e. TA is before TU. The main exception to that is the 'simple denotation' or retrospective use of the aorist, mainly with anaspectual verbs, where TU includes TA and TA lies after the final boundary of the TS (cf. example (51)). Given the fact that the imperfect presents the event as unbounded, it makes sense that it is not suitable for use in the perfect function (cf. section 8.2.1.1): the lack of a boundary means TS cannot be presented as bounded before TA. The main aspectual difference between aorist and imperfect is therefore clear: the aorist presents the event as temporally bounded, while the imperfect presents the event as temporally unbounded. The aorist is more compatible with perfective verbs, while the imperfect is more compatible with imperfective verbs. Anaspectual verbs allow both forms. In section 8.3, I will show that the lexical content of anaspectual verbs can result in preference for one or the other form.

[16] Interestingly, the Russian Synodal Orthodox Version translates the Greek aorist *ἔστρωσαν* 'they spread' with an imperfective past tense *postilalí*[ipf], emphasizing the repetition and presents it as unbounded. The following imperfect *ἐστρώννυον* 'they were spreading' is translated with the verb *postilalí*[ipf] as well.

6.5 Imperative

The imperative is represented in all verb groups, however, imperatives of perfective verbs occur more often than imperatives of imperfective verbs. Again anaspectual verbs take up a middle position.

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*vidĕti*)
8.59%	4.01%	10.93%	4.24%	5.84%

Table 6.7 Relative frequency of the imperative in core groups

An imperative is normally used to bring about a certain change of situation. At first sight it is understandable that such a form has affinity with the perfective aspect. Defocusing the attainment of the inherent boundary seems contradictory to this desire. However, comparative research in modern Slavic languages shows that the perfective is not the preferred choice of aspect in all Slavic languages. Fortuin & Pluimgraaff (2015) show that Modern Russian uses an imperfective imperative in almost 50% of the cases. Slovene, on the other hand, uses more perfective imperatives (70%). In Modern Russian, the imperfective aspect is often used in case of single, complete events (Fortuin & Pluimgraaff: ibidem: 218), the so-called *pristup k dejstviju*, with various pragmatic effects, while in Slovene the imperfective imperative is mainly used for durative or repeated events.

Another important factor to take into account is negation. Both in Modern Russian and Modern Slovene a negated imperfective imperative expresses prohibition, while a negated perfective imperative is restricted to the expression of prevention (*be careful not to*) (ibidem: 225). In Modern Macedonian and Bulgarian the use of perfective imperatives after negation is even more restricted; Macedonian uses constructions with *nemoj da* + perfective present (cf. *be careful not to*) while in Bulgarian negated perfective imperatives are only used in biblical language, as in *ne ubij*^{pf} 'Thou shalt not murder' (Galton 1976: 239), which otherwise is *ne ubivaj*^{ipf} 'do not murder'. According to MacRobert (2013: 286), this usage of the negated imperative is also well-attested in OCS.

It is, however, difficult to get a grip on the fine nuances of the aspect usage in the imperative in an extinct language like OCS in terms of meaning. Take for example the difference between the negated imperative of *ubojati sę* and that of *bojati sę* in the following examples.

(56) egda že uslyšite brani i nestroenьě . ***ne uboite***^{impr} ***sę***[*A*, *Sk*]
when you hear of wars and disturbances, *do not be terrified* (Luke 21:9)

In example (56) it could be the Greek subjunctive aorist, which is often translated by a perfective verb in OCS, which is responsible for the translation with the prefixed verb *ubojati sę* 'fear'. Whenever Greek has a subjunctive present in the Gospel texts (which is always imperfective in Greek), OCS has a form of the anaspectual *bojati sę* 'fear'. According to MacRobert (2013: 281-282) the difference in meaning is, that in cases where *ubojati sę* is used, the cause of fear is only potential, but not yet present, as in example (56), while in cases where an imperative of *bojati sę* is used, the cause of fear is already present:

(57) vsi bo viděvъše i . i vьzmętošę sę . onъ že abьe gl[agol]a sъ nimi . i reče imъ . drъzaite[impr] azъ esmь ***ne boite***[impr] ***sę*** [*Z*, *M*]
for they all saw Him and were terrified. But immediately He spoke with them and said to them, "Take courage; it is I, *do not be afraid*" (Mark 6:50)

This line of reasoning does not work for all examples, though. For example, Matthew 1:19 describes how Joseph plans to leave his wife Mary because she was 'found to be with child'. Clearly this situation scares Joseph off and at that moment an angel appears, saying:

(58) ***ne uboi***[impr] ***sę*** prijęti ženy tvoję marije[17] [*A*, *Sk*]
do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife (Matthew 1:20)

There are also examples in which perfective and imperfective imperatives are used in one utterance in the same context. In example (59), the imperative of the perfective simplex *dati* 'give' contrasts with the imperative of the derived verb *pomětati* 'throw'.[18]

(59) ***ne dadite***[impr] s[vę]tago psomъ . ***ni pomětaite***[impr] biserъ vašixъ prědъ sviniěmi [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
do not give what is holy to dogs, and *do not throw* your pearls before swine (Matthew 7:6)

This difference cannot be traced back to the Greek original, which has two negated subjunctive aorists (*μὴ δῶτε* and *μηδὲ βάλητε*). Galton (1976: 232) sees a stern warning in the perfective imperative *ne dadite*, but such claims are hard to substantiate in the absence of native speaker judgement. Fortuin & Pluimgraaff (2015: 219, 221) show that in Slovene a plural object can be an

[17] Note the use of the genitive *ženy tvoję marije* caused by the negation in the main clause.
[18] The verb *pomětati, pomětajǫ* 'throw' is derived from *pometati*, *pomešto*, which also has a derived partner in *pometati, pometajǫ*, resulting in a complicated derivational relationship. The derivational pattern in which a stem vocal *e* becomes *ě* can also be observed in other derivations like *-greti -grěbati* or *-tešti, -těkati*.

extra trigger for the use of an imperfective imperative (cf. Benacchio 2004: 270). This could be an explanation for the difference in aspect between the two imperatives in (59) as well.

It appears that in general commands imperfective verbs are used. This can also be seen in the following example:

(60) ***daite***$^{\text{impr}}$ i dastъ sę vamъ [*Z*, *M*][19]
g*ive*, and it will be given to you (Luke 6:38)

The same holds for imperatives referring to states like in the following example:

(61) ***pominaite***$^{\text{impr}}$ ženǫ lotovǫ [*Z*, *M*]
r*emember* Lot's wife (Luke 17:32)

Negated imperfective imperatives are likewise used in general prohibitions (MacRobert 2013: 284), like in the following examples where the Greek original has a subjunctive aorist (*μὴ κληθῆτε*):

(62) vy že ne ***naricaite***$^{\text{impr}}$ ***sę*** ravъvi [*M*,*A*]
do not be called Rabbi (Matthew 23:8)

However, in renderings of the Ten Commandments, which translate Greek future forms, codices vary in the use of perfective presents and imperatives:

(63) is[usъ] že reče emu . eže ne ***ubъješi***$^{\text{pres}}$. ne prěljubi ***sъtvorišь***$^{\text{pres}}$ ne ***ukradešь***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*M*,*A*]
is[usъ] že reče emu . ne ***ubivaj***$^{\text{impr}}$ ne prěljubi ***stvori***$^{\text{impr}}$. ne ***kradi***$^{\text{impr}}$ [*Sk*]
and Jesus said, "*You shall not commit murder*; *you shall not commit adultery*; *you shall not steal*" (Matthew 19:18)

The version in the *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* translate the Greek future forms with present tense forms of the prefixed perfective verbs *ubiti* 'kill' and *sъtvoriti*, and the prefixed verb *ukrasti* 'steal' which is consistent with the trend of translating Greek future forms with perfective presents. *Savvina Kniga*, however, uses imperatives and there is a lot of variation here that cannot be explained by the Greek original. The imperative *ubivaj* is the imperative of the prefixed imperfective *ubivati* 'kill', while *stvori* is from the prefixed perfective verb *sъtvoriti* 'do' and *kradi* from anaspectual *krasti* 'steal'. There are similar texts where OCS translates a Greek subjunctive aorists (after the negation *μὴ*):

[19] The perfective imperative would have been *dadite* (from *dati, damь*). The imperative *daite* is from the derived verb *dajati, dajǫ*.

(64) zapovědi věsi . ne ***ubi***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$. ne prěljubi ***sǫtvori***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$. ne ***ukradi***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
zapovědi věsi . ne ***ubi***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$. ne prěljubi ***stvori***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$. ne ***kradi***$^{\text{ipmpr}}$ [*Sk*]
you know the commandments, "*Do not commit adultery, do not murder, do not steal*" (Luke 18:20)

Even if it is true that general commands are normally translated with imperfective imperatives, it is not clear why the Ten Commandments would not fall into this category. Maybe the use of the negated perfective imperatives in the Ten Commandments is already archaic in OCS. As Galton (1976: 232) remarks, it seems unlikely that the aspect system had not yet crystallized with regard to the imperative. Anyway, even if the system had not crystallized in a similar fashion as the modern Slavic languages, it seems unlikely that choice of aspect did not matter, even if the reason for the particular choice of aspect cannot be established with certainty. There may also have been regional variation, of which *kradi* in (63) and (64) in *Savvina Kniga* as opposed to forms of *ukrasti* in the other Gospel codices could be an example. Galton (ibidem: 239) sees such variation also in the modern South Slavic languages with regard to aspect after a negated imperative, with Slovene being the language with the most perfective imperatives after negation and Bulgarian the language which allows the least, and between those a transitional zone with BCS and Macedonian. Moreover, variation between codices can also be the result of development of the system over time. Finally, Fortuin & Pluimgraaff (2015: 229) remark with regard to the use of aspect in imperatives in Slovene that "in case of negated imperatives, it is difficult to determine what the theory predicts". This appears to apply to OCS as well. Maybe a more detailed analyses of the use of aspect in negated imperatives in modern Slavic languages could also shed some light onto the usage patters in OCS.

6.6 Present participles

Present participles are well attested in the imperfective groups, a little less so in the anaspectual group and only to a very limited degree in perfective verbs. In this respect, present participles resemble the imperfect. The present passive participles are a much smaller group than the present active participles, but the trend is the same for both groups.

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*viděti*)
0.38%	28.05%	2.46%	27.08%	21.22%

Table 6.8 *Relative frequency of the PresAP in the core groups*

Pf prefixed (*ostavitĭ*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*viděti*)
0.21%	3.81%	0.03%	2.12%	1.5%

Table 6.9 Relative frequency of the PresPP in the core groups

The resemblance with the imperfect does not stop at the similarity in profile, the meaning of the participles is also similar to that of the imperfect, except for the fact that participles do not express a temporal relation between TU and TA. However they do express a temporally unbounded event which has a temporal relation to another event:

(65) ***běaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ že eteri otъ kъnižьnikъ tu . ***sědęšte***$^{\text{PresAP}}$. i ***pomyšlějǫšte***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ vъ srъdьcixъ svoixъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
but there *were* some of the scribes *sitting* there and *reasoning* in their hearts (Mark 2:6, my translation)

In this example, the TA is introduced by the imperfect *běaxǫ* 'there were' and lies before TU. The two PresAPs, one of the anaspectual verb *sědĕti* 'sit' and the other of a prefixed imperfective verb *pomyšljati* 'reason' refer to events that occur simultaneously and include the TA (cf. the three imperfects in example (52)). The only difference with the imperfect is thus that the events referred to by the PresAPs are only indirectly related to the TA, through *běaxǫ*, while the imperfects in (52) are directly related to the TA. Present participles do not introduce their own TA but depend on the TA as introduced by another verb forms and thus only express relative time. Another difference with the imperfect is that participles can also be used instead of a noun, in which case they do not so much express an event as they do a characteristic of the entity (often persons) they refer to:

(66) i eteri otъ ***stojęštiixъ***$^{\text{PresAP}}$. slyšavъše gl[agola]axǫ . viždь . ilijǫ glašaetъ [*Z*, *M*]
when some of *the bystanders* heard it, they began saying, "Behold, He is calling for Elijah" (Mark 15:35)

Just as with the imperfect, the PresAP can express iterativity, depending on the context and the lexical content of the verb. Especially with strongly terminative verbs, an iterative reading is often the most logical interpretation:

(67) č[lově]kъ eterъ bě bogatъ . iže iměaše pristavьnikъ . i tъ oklevetanъ bystъ kъ nemu . ěko ***rastačaję***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ iměnьě ego . [*Z*, *M*]
there was a certain rich man who had a steward, and this steward was reported to him as *squandering* his possessions (Luke 16:1)

The PresAP is often formed of anaspectual verbs, expressing the unboundedness of the event, like in (65) *sědęšte* and in (68) *jadǫšte* from *jasti* 'eat' and *pьjǫšte* from *piti* 'drink':

(68) vъ tomьže domu prěbyvaite . ***ědǫšte***[PresAP] i ***pьjǫšte***[PresAP] . ěže sǫtъ u nixъ [*Z*, *M*]
stay in that house, *eating* and *drinking* what they give you (Luke 10:7)

And with anaspectual verbs too, the PresAP is often used independently:

(69) ***ědy***[PresAP] mojo plъtъ i ***pijęi***[PresAP] mojo krъvь . vь mьně prěbyvaatъ i azъ vь nemь [*M*, *Z*, *A*]
he who eats My flesh and *drinks* My blood abides in Me, and I in him (John 6:56)

The PresPP does not differ from the PresAP in any other respect than voice, compare:

(70) i reče imъ se estъ krъvь moě . novago zavěta . ***prolivaemaě***[PresPP] za mnogy [*Z*, *M*]
and He said to them, "This is My blood of the covenant, which *is poured out* for many" (Marc 14:24)

The pouring out (of the wine) occurs simultaneously to the present tense *estъ*. Given the fact that there is only difference in voice between the two present tense participles, I will treat them as one category in the analysis in Chapter 7, like Eckhoff & Janda (2014) do as well. An advantage of grouping together these similar categories is that low cell counts (less than 5 per cell) are avoided for the rather infrequent present passive participle and hence the assumptions for the Chi-square test (Butler 1985: 122) are more easily met.

It seems logical that the meaning of unboundedness as expressed by present participles is largely incompatible with the attainment of the inherent boundary as expressed by perfective verbs, similar to the incompatibility of the imperfect and perfective aspect. In section 8.2.3, where I will discuss the perfective imperfect, I will also give some examples of the rare perfective present passive participle and discuss its function in OCS.

6.7 Past participles

OCS has three past participles. PastAPI and Past PP can be compared to PresAP and PastPP. They relate to each other as the aorist relates to the imperfect; past participles refer to temporally bounded events, just like the aorist, while present participles refer to temporally unbounded events, like the imperfect. The PastAPII is used in analytic verb constructions such as the conditional or the perfect tense. The past participles share their preference

for perfective verbs with the aorist, imperfective verbs only rarely occur in past participles. Anaspectual verbs are again in between the extremes.

Pf prefixed (*ostavitĭ*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*viděti*)
15.22%	0.46%	11.33%	0.16%	4.57%

Table 6.10 Relative frequency of the PastAPI in the core groups

Pf prefixed (*ostavitĭ*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*viděti*)
7.47%	0.43%	6.66%	0%	1.02%

Table 6.11 Relative frequency of the PastPP in the core groups

Pf prefixed (*ostavitĭ*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*viděti*)
2.90%	0.16%	4.95%	0.49%	1.52%

Table 6.12 Relative frequency of the PastAPII in the core groups

Just as with the present participles, the past participles do not introduce their own TA, but express relative time: they are related to another situation. The difference with present participles is that past participles do not express simultaneity to that situation, but precedence. In other words, the event is presented as being bounded before another situation occurs (cf. the 'perfect use' of the aorist in section 6.4). I will discuss a number of examples from three past participles below, starting with the PastAPI.

The most common function of the PastAPI is the reference to a previous temporally bounded event, often in a sequence followed by aorists as in example (50), which is repeated below as (71):

(71) ***emъše***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ že dělatele raby ego ovogo bišę$^{\text{aor}}$ ovogo že ubišę$^{\text{aor}}$. ovogo že kameniemь pobišę$^{\text{aor}}$. [*M, A, Sk*]
the vine-growers *took* his slaves and beat one, and killed another, and stoned a third (Matthew 21:35)

The English translation shows the similarity between the Greek aorist participle with the finite aorist forms by translating them all with the simple past, and the same translation fits the OCS participle of the perfective simplex *jęti* 'take' and the following three aorist forms. Galton (1976: 142) also mentions the similarity between aorist and PastAPI and calls them 'functionally equivalent'. They also share the incompatibility with imperfective verbs.

Often, a translation in which the event is even more clearly represented as temporally bounded prior to the events in the rest of the sequence could be used as well. This could also be done for example (71): 'after they had taken his slaves, they beat one etc.' In example (72), this is reflected in the English Bible translation:

(72) ***vъspěvъše***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ izidǫ$^{\text{aor}}$ vъ gorǫ eleonьskǫjǫ [*Z*, *M*]
after singing a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives (Mark 14:26)

The PastAPI has the same function with anaspectual verbs; it present the event as bounded and prior to another event:

(73) i otъpustiti$^{\text{inf}}$ ixъ ne xoštǫ$^{\text{pres}}$ ne ***ědъšь***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and I do not want to send them away *hungry* (literally: *not having eaten*) (Matthew 15:32)

In example (73) the PastAPI of *jasti* 'eat' expresses an event that has not occurred before another event (send away) occurs. Since the verb *jasti* can also be used to express unbounded events, as shown above in the examples of present participles in (68) and (69), this means that it is the past participle that is responsible for the bounded presentation in (73). Whether the temporal boundedness of the past participle is completely equivalent to that of the aorist is a question that is beyond the scope of this study. It seems clear to me that in both cases the boundary is a temporal boundary, independent of the terminativity of the verb. However, the boundary of the past participle also seems to imply a certain perspective in which the event is presented as past with regard to the subsequent event, providing the TA, while the aorist is often used in chains of events that are linked more closely together; the final boundary of the preceding event is the initial boundary of the subsequent event (cf. Galton 1976: 140-141).

Just as present participles, past participles can also be used as a noun:

(74) bě že ***ědъšiixъ***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$. ěko četyri tysǫšta . i otъpusti ję [*Z*, *M*]
and there were about four thousand *eaters*; and He sent them away (Mark 8:9, my translation)

The PastPP is a relatively frequent form in OCS, which often denotes a characteristic of an entity as the result of a prior event, like in the following utterance with a PastPP of the perfective prefixed verb *posъlati* 'send':

(75) bystъ č[lově]kъ . ***posъlanъ***$^{\text{PastPP}}$ otъ b[og]a . imę emu ioanъ [*Z*, *A*]
there came a man, *sent* from God, whose name was John (John 1:6)

Since the PastPP refers to the result of a prior event, the form does not go together well with imperfective verbs that defocus the attainment of the inherent boundary and, thus, the result that stems from attaining that

boundary. Anaspectual verb, however, which allow both unbounded and bounded construals, occur relatively often in PastPP form. The PastPP *sěti* 'sow' in the following utterance results in a bounded presentation of the event:

(76) a si sǫtъ ***sěanii***$^{\text{PastPP}}$ na dobry zemli [*Z*, *M*]
and those are the ones who *were sown* on the good soil (Mark 4:20, my translation)

The PastPP of imperfective verbs is very rare. I discuss one example in Chapter 8, example (178).

The PastAPII (sometimes referred to as l-participle) is the odd one out between the participles, since it is not used independently, unlike the other participles, but always occurs as part of analytical verb constructions. One such construction is the conditional in which the PastAPII occurs with an inflected conditional form of *byti* 'be'. The only imperfective PastAPII in the Gospel codices can be found in the translation of John 5:46, and is a form of the imperfective verb *imati* 'take' juxtaposed in the same verse to a perfective conditional of *jęti* 'take':[20]

(77) ašte bo ***biste***$^{\text{cond}}$ ***věrǫ imali***$^{\text{PastAPII}}$ mosěovi . ***věrǫ biste***$^{\text{cond}}$ ***jęli***$^{\text{PastAPII}}$ i mьně [*Z*, *M*]
for if *you believed* Moses, you *would have taken faith in* Me (John 5:46, my translation)

The difference between the two forms seems to lie in the fact that their faith in Moses is presented as generally absent (imperfect), while the faith in Jesus did not occur at a specific moment in time (perfect).

The PastAPII furthermore occurs in the perfect construction which consists of a present tense form of *byti*, *esmь* 'be' and the PastAPII. In the four Gospel codices the perfect tense is much less frequent than the aorist, with a striking exception in the second person singular. Compare the following table:

[20] Greek has the same imperfect form twice (*ἐπιστεύετε*). Interestingly *Assemanianus* has *verǫ biste iměli* 'you would have believed me', with a PastAPII of the anaspectual verb *iměti* 'have'.

Person/number	*Aorist*	*Perfect*
1sg	195	2
2sg	29	51[21]
3sg	2492	20
1pl	49	-
2pl	85	11
3pl	857	2
1du	-	-
2du	3	-
3du	79	-
Total	***3789***	***86***

Table 6.13 Perfect versus aorist in the codex Marianus (Słoński, 1926: 22)

As Table 6.13 shows, the perfect is indeed a very rare form compared with the aorist. The aorist is far more attested, yet in 2sg there are 51 attestations of a perfect and only 29 of an aorist! The difference in 2pl is also not as great as it is in all other numbers. The second person is a typical form for dialogues, and thus the difference between aorist and perfect could be based on the difference between narrative texts and dialogues.[22] Of the 86 perfect forms in the *Marianus*, only 16 are translations of Greek perfects, while a further 63 are translations of Greek aorists.[23] This means that the OCS perfect does not function as the equivalent of the Greek perfect, but mainly of the Greek aorist. Moreover, if there is variation between the Gospel codices, the alternative form is always in the aorist. All of this supports the idea that the perfect is closely related to the aorist in OCS, the difference being mainly one of narrative (and first and third person retrospective mode) against dialogue.

Interestingly, there is not only variation between codices. Even within one text with twice the same Greek verb, OCS can show variation:

[21] Słoński has 53, but I use the counting from the PROIEL-corpus (http://proiel.github.io/), codex *Marianus*, as sent to me by Hanne Martine Eckhoff, for which I am very grateful. I compared these results with the attestations in the other codices to get an idea of the possible variation (see below).

[22] This is supported by the fact that *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, which is about the same size of the *Marianus*, but contains more dialogues, has more than twice as many perfect tense forms, 195 in total, of which 158 2sg. Even after disregarding problematic examples in which OCS has a different person compared to the Greek original and other problematic forms (e.g. *ty osnovalъ estъ* with a second person pronoun and a third person verb form) there are 153 definite 2sg forms left and 27 3sg.

[23] The Greek perfect is mostly translated by an OCS aorist.

(78) i da razuměetъ vesь mirъ . ěko ty mę posьla . i ***vъzljubilъ***[PastAPII] ję ***esi***[pres] . ěkože i mę ***vъzljubi***[aor] [*A*]
so that the world may know that You sent Me, and *loved* them, even as You *have loved* Me (John 17:23)

The other codices that have this passage (*Marianus* and *Savvina Kniga*), have two perfect tenses in this example.[24] Assuming that stories about oneself or a third party are more 'owned' by the speaker than stories about the collocutor, who is the owner of his/her own stories, the perfect could be seen as a strategy of the speaker of distancing him/herself from the event and leaving the ownership of the event, maybe the "experiential ownership", to the collocutor. This could explain the frequent use of the perfect in the 2sg in OCS.[25]

The similarity with the aorist indicates that the OCS perfect can be seen as expressing a temporally bounded event (as the aorist), while the preference for the use in 2sg could indicate distance from the speaker to the event, something that is not part of the meaning of the aorist. In the Psalterium the use of the perfect is also strongly connected to speaking to God, which is a context in which a speaker is less in control and maybe expresses distance to the events in which God is involved by using a perfect. Incidentally, this happens not only in 2sg, but even in 3sg:

(79) ne po bezakonьemъ našimъ . ***sъtvorilъ***[PastAPII] ***estъ***[pres] namъ . ni po grěxomъ našimъ ***vъzdastъ***[aor] namъ [*Ps*]
He *has* not *dealt* with us according to our sins, nor *rewarded* us according to our iniquities (Psalm 103:10)

This particular example shows how difficult it is to capture the fine nuance, since both verb forms in the Greek original are aorists (*ἐποίησεν* and *ἐποίησεν*), but the OCS translator felt the need to translate the first, about the more abstract way that God behaves with a perfect form and the second, probably regarding events that he himself has experienced with an aorist. A similar distancing could be read in the following utterance by Zacchaeus who in the OCS translation seems unsure of his own fraudulent behaviour, when he was acting before his conversion:

[24] Also note the English translation that uses the simple past and the present perfect, but exactly the other way around from OCS.

[25] In Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian, the perfect is used as an evidential; the speakers distances him/herself from the event by saying that the story is hearsay, or inferred, also in first and third person. The aorist and imperfect are used when a speaker narrates from his or her own experience.

(80) i ašte ***esmъ***[pres] kogo čimь ***obidělъ***[PastAPII] . vъzvraštǫ četvoricejǫ [*Z, M, A*]
and if I *have defrauded* anyone of anything, I will give back four times as much (Luke 19:8)

Very frequent are examples with the verbs *dati* 'give', but again there is variation between codices in a number of examples:

(81) ěko gl[ago]ly jęže ***dalъ***[PastAPII] ***esi***[pres] mьně daxъ imъ [*M, A, Sk*]
ěko gl[ago]ly jęže ***dastъ***[aor] mьně daxъ imъ [*Z, Sk*][26]
for the words which You *gave* Me I have given to them (John 17:8)

The distancing effect of the perfect seems a plausible explanation of the frequent use in 2sg and in the second person in general, compared to first and third person. However, no firm rules can be deduced from the examples, which show a lot of variation between aorist and perfect.

Finally, the PastAPII is also used in pluperfect constructions, with an imperfective of the verb *byti* 'be', in the following example with the perfective verb *sъložiti sę* 'agree':

(82) sice rěste roditelě ego . ěko boěašete sę ijuděi . juže bo ***sę běaxǫ***[impf] ***sъložili***[PastAPII] ijudei . da ašte kъto ispověstъ x[rist(os)]a . otъlǫčьnъ sъnъmišta bǫdetъ [*Z, M, A*]
his parents said this because they were afraid of the Jews; for the Jews *had* already *agreed* that if anyone confessed Him to be Christ, he was to be put out of the synagogue (John 9:22)

In this example the pluperfect is a translation of a Greek pluperfect *συνετέθειντο* 'they had agreed'. The use of the pluperfect in OCS always indicates that the TS lies before TA, which lies before the TU (cf. example (49)).

Another example, already mentioned in footnote 15, can be found in John 20:12 with the anaspectual verb *ležati* 'lie':

(83) i vidě dъva anǵ[e]la vъ bělaxъ sědęšta . edinogo u glavy . i edinogo u nogu . ideže ***bě***[impf] ***ležalo***[PastAPII] tělo is[uso]vo [*M, A*]
and she saw two angels in white sitting, one at the head and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus *had been lying* (John 20:12)

[26] *Savvina Kniga* has this passage twice, once like *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* and once like *Zographensis.*

Interestingly, the Greek original has an imperfect, *ἔκειτο* 'lay' in this text, which shows that the OCS pluperfect is not always an automatic copy of a Greek pluperfect.

The use of the PastAPII in the perfect and pluperfect constructions has one joint characteristic: the event is presented as bounded with regard to the TA, which is introduced by the auxiliary. In case of the perfect this TA coincides with the TU, while in case of the pluperfect the TA lies before the TU (in the past). In both cases there is a distancing effect. The pluperfect present the event as having occurred before a past TA, while in case of the perfect the distancing effect appears to result in a kind of evidential use, in which the event is presented as distanced from the speaker's own experience.

The mentioned distancing effect is also reminiscent of the use of the PastAPI as referring to an event of which the final boundary has been reached before the occurrence of a subsequent event (e.g. example (72)). All past participles present an event as temporally bounded and are in that respect similar to the aorist. However, based on the examples that I have discussed, I have the impression that past active participles are more about looking back upon an event, as opposed to the aorist which is often used in past narratives in which the events are sequentially linked and, hence, no distance is perceived between the preceding and the subsequent event, unless this follows from the context or the language mode (i.e. retrospective mode, cf. section 8.2.1.1).

I will treat all three types of past participles as one category in the analysis in Chapter 7. Eckhoff & Janda (2014) leave the PastAPII out of the analysis and only cluster PastAPI and PastPP, but I believe the similar distribution over the core groups of the PastAPII compared to the other past participles, as well as its close functional relationship with the PastAPI, are good reasons for treating these past participles as one category.

6.8 Infinitive and supine

The infinitive and supine are rather evenly distributed over the five core groups.

Pf prefixed (*ostaviti*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*vidĕti*)
7.58%	7.83%	9.35%	6.53%	5.87%

Table 6.14 Relative frequency of the Infinitive in the core groups

Pf prefixed (*ostavitĭ*)	***Ipf prefixed*** (*ostavljati*)	***Pf unprefixed*** (*aviti sę*)	***Ipf unprefixed*** (*avljati sę*)	***Anaspectual*** (*vidĕti*)
0.50%	0.07%	0.72%	0.16%	0.30%

Table 6.15 Relative frequency of the Supine in the core groups

In principle, the distribution of infinitive and supine is complementary. Both are used as a complement to auxiliaries. The supine is used after verbs that express movement, the infinitive as a complement to all other auxiliaries. However, in OCS there are many examples where an infinitive is used instead of the expected supine. The use of the supine is not influenced by the Greek original that does not differentiate between supine and infinitive. In many contexts where a supine is expected, an infinitive is found, which indicates that the supine was on its way out in OCS. In a number of cases codices show variation:

(84) vъ ono v[rĕme] vъzvedenъ$^{\text{Pastpp}}$ bystъ$^{\text{aor}}$ is[usъ] d[u]x[o]mъ vъ pustъinjǫ . ***iskusitъ***$^{\text{sup}}$ ***sę*** ot diĕvola [*A*, *Sk*]
togda is[usъ] vъzvedenъ$^{\text{Pastpp}}$ bystъ$^{\text{aor}}$ d[u]xomь vъ pustynjǫ . ***iskusiti***$^{\text{inf}}$ ***sę*** otъ nepriĕzni [*Z*]
then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness *to be tempted* by the devil (Matthew 4:1)

It is possible that the supine had a more goal-oriented meaning (*in order to*), similar to the English translation, but such subtle nuances are hard to prove in a dead language. The fact remains that the supine is not used consistently after verbs of movement and is a relatively minor verb form; less than 0.3% of all verb attestations in OCS are supine forms.

The infinitive is used in all other contexts, e.g. after modal verbs like *iměti* 'have', *mošti* 'can', *trĕbovati* 'need', *xotĕti* 'want' or phase verbs like *vъčęti* 'begin' and *načęti* 'begin'. In some cases, these constructions translate Greek future forms, like in the following example where the construction translates the Greek future form *καταφρονήσει*:

(85) li edinogo drъžit sę , a o drudzĕamъ ***nebrĕšti***$^{\text{inf}}$ ***vъčnetъ***$^{\text{aor}}$ [*Z, M, A, Sk*][27]
or he *will* be devoted to one and *despise* the other (Matthew 6:24)

However, this practice is not comparable to the analytic future-forming in modern Slavic languages (cf. Birnbaum 1958). In most cases, the auxiliary carries an added modal meaning and the constructions also occur with verbs

[27] *Assemanianus* has *načъnetъ* which also means 'start'.

that in modern Slavic languages are not part of such constructions, like the prefixed *uslyšati* 'hear', which also occurs without an auxiliary, as shown by the following examples:

(86) ***uslyšati***[inf] že ***imate***[pres] brani [*A*, *M*]
uslyšite[pres] brani [*Sk*]
you *will be hearing* of wars (Matthew 24:6)

To my knowledge, there is one example that has an infinitive of an unprefixed perfective verb in a construction with a phase verb that indicates the start of an event.[28] The imperfective partner, which one would expect from the modern Slavic languages, can be found in the parallel texts:

(87) iždivъšju že emu vьsě bystъ gladь krěpъkъ na straně toi . i tъ ***načętъ***[aor] ***lišiti***[inf] ***sę*** [*Z*, *M*]
iždivъšju že emu vse bystъ gladъ krěpъkъ na straně toi . i tъ ***načętъ***[aor] ***lišati***[inf]***sę*** [*A*, *Sk*]
now when he had spent everything, a severe famine occurred in that country, and he *began to be impoverished* (Luke 15:14)

It is possible to view the attestations with *lišiti sę* 'be deprived' as a remnant from an older stage in the language, from before the derivation of imperfective verbs, when the only choice would have been an underived form. This could indicate that even though the choice for a derived verb seems obligatory in OCS, the change may have been relatively recent. However, this is just one example; to my knowledge there are no other examples of perfective verbs after phase verbs and maybe it must be attributed to a scribal error. The example with *lišiti sę* is unexpected, but the general rule in OCS is similar to that in modern Slavic languages: perfective verbs are incompatible with phase verbs.

Regarding the choice of aspect, the OCS infinitives follow the Greek system. This means that in case of a Greek aorist infinitive, the OCS infinitive will most likely be perfective or anaspectual, while a Greek present infinitive results in an OCS imperfective, or again, an anaspectual infinitive. I checked this for the first 10 chapters of the Gospel of Matthew. An example of an anaspectual verb translating a Greek aorist infinitive is *klęti sę* 'curse' in Matthew 5:34 (translation of Greek *ὀμόσαι*):

(88) azъ že gl[ago]ljǫ vamъ . ne ***klęti***[inf] ***sę*** vamъ . ne ***klęti***[inf] ***sę*** otьnǫdь . nebomъ . ěko prěstolъ estъ b[o]žii [*Z*]

[28] I have only found participles as complement in phase verbs like *prěstati* 'stop' and *ustati* 'stop'.

but I say to you, *make* no *oath* at all, either by heaven, for it is the throne of God (Matthew 5:34)

Other examples of non-perfective verbs translating a Greek aorist infinitive can be found with determinate verbs of motion like *iti* 'go' and *běžati* 'flee'.

In general, infinitives of imperfective verbs are used to express unbounded repetition or generalized events:

(89) nъ uvěste ěko vlastъ imatъ s[y]nъ č[lověčь]sky na zemi . ***otъpuštati***[inf] grěxy. [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][29]
but so that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth *to forgive* sins (Matthew 9:6)

(90) i se trǫsъ veli bystъ vъ mori . ěko ***pokryvati***[inf] ***sę*** korablju vlьnami [*Z*, *M*]
and behold, there arose a great storm on the sea, so that the boat *was being covered* with the waves (Matthew 8:24)

Anaspectual infinitives can also be used in a similar way:

(91) ne možetъ drěvo dobro . ploda zьla ***tvoriti***[inf] [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
a good tree cannot *produce* bad fruit (Matthew 7:18)

However, perfective verbs are used for generalized events (cf. the perfective present in Chapter 8) as well, resulting in variation between codices in the following example:

(92) ěko bez mene ne možetъ ***tvoriti***[inf] ničesože [*Z*, *M*]
ěko bez mene ne možetъ ***sъtvoriti***[inf] ničesože [*A*, *Sk*]
for apart from Me you can *do* nothing (John 15:5)[30]

The majority of perfective infinitives, however, is used to express single complete events. This is especially apparent in case of events that are not likely to be repeated or refer to general events:

(93) g[ospod]i poveli mi prěžde iti . i ***pogreti***[inf] o[tь]ca moego [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
Lord, permit me first to go and *bury* my father (Matthew 8:21)

(94) my zakonъ imamъ . i po zakonu našemu dlъžьnъ estъ ***umьrěti***[inf] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]

[29] *Savvina Kniga* had *otъdajati* 'forgive', derived from *otъdati* 'forgive'.
[30] A possible interpretation of the version in *Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga* is 'you cannot get anything done', as opposed to 'you can do nothing' in *Zographensis* and *Marianus*.

we have a law, and by that law He ought *to die* (John 19:7)

Hence, the meaning of the aspects, the attainment of an inherent boundary for perfective aspect and the defocusing of the boundary by imperfective aspect, emerge relatively undistorted in combinations with the infinitive and do not result in incompatibilities. The aspect of the infinitive, however, influences the compatibility with certain contexts, like combinations with phase verbs or other auxiliaries. Given the fact that infinitive and supine are in complimentary distribution and do not show differences in distribution over the groups, I will treat them as one category in this study, similar to Eckhoff & Janda (2014).

6.9 Concluding remarks

Based on their interaction with derivational aspect, the verb forms can be divided into three groups.

The first group are the present tense forms. The present tense is clearly compatible with both aspects, but shows strong interaction with the aspect of the verb. Present tense and imperfective show the strongest attraction, but present tense is highly compatible with perfective verbs as well. However, a combination with perfective verbs more often than not results in a future interpretation, while a combination with imperfective verbs does not.[31] With anaspectual verbs, the context provides the clues for the interpretation. Hence, there is a strong interaction between the present tense and the aspect of the verb, although it does not result in incompatibility of the present tense with either perfective or imperfective verbs, or anaspectual verbs. The interaction of the present tense with derivational aspect is probably the result of an important characteristic of the present tense, namely the flexible positioning of the TA, which appears to be sensitive to the aspect of the verb.

The second group is that of the imperative, infinitive and supine. The main characteristics of this group is that there is not much interaction between the meaning of the form and the meaning of the aspects, nor are there clear restrictions in terms of the use of these forms in relation to derivational aspect. The imperative is, in a way, similar to the present tense: it has a preference for one of both aspects. However, in case of the imperative this is the perfective aspect. It is difficult to deduce clear rules for the use of aspect in the imperative, though. The tendency seems to be that imperfective aspect is chosen to refer to progressive, iterative or generalized events, while perfective aspect is chosen to refer to a particular change of state (cf. examples (56) and (57)). There is also influence from negation on the choice

[31] I will discuss other functions of the perfective present in Chapter 8.

of aspect, yet there is much variation and no firm rules can be formulated. A clear difference in meaning between perfective and imperfective verbs in contexts with negation is difficult to establish. In this regard the imperative differs from the present tense, in which the results of the interaction between verb form and derivational aspect are clear. The infinitive and the supine are equally compatible with perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs, even though the small number of supines makes is impossible to draw firms conclusions. In combination with phase verbs indicating the start of an event, or with other auxiliaries in the translation of Greek future tense, imperfective verbs are clearly the preferred choice. The general picture is that for complete events perfective and in a number of cases anaspectual infinitives are used, while for generalized or iterative events imperfective and also anaspectual infinitives are used. In this second group, the choice of aspect is generally not determined by restrictions caused by the verb form, which means the choice of aspect is a positive choice. In other words, except for the context of phase verbs, both perfective and imperfective aspect seem to be equally eligible. In a sense, imperatives and infinitives are therefore ideal forms to establish the meaning of aspect. However, without native speaker judgement as to the differences in meaning between the perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs in these forms, this is a difficult task.

The third group consists of verb forms that are strongly restricted by the aspect of the verb. The two subgroups are the 'aoristic' forms, the aorist and the past participles, which express a temporally bounded event and the 'imperfect' forms, the imperfect itself and the present participles, expressing a temporally unbounded event. The aoristic forms are very compatible with perfective verbs, as both express boundedness, but largely incompatible with imperfective verbs since the attainment of a temporal boundary of an event of which the inherent boundary is out of focus, results in a mismatch. In combination with anaspectual verbs, the meaning of the aoristic forms clearly emerges, as the combination results in bounded events, while the verbs themselves do not express an inherent boundary. The imperfect forms express unboundedness and are therefore highly compatible with imperfective verbs, but much less so with perfective verbs that express the attainment of an inherent limit. In anaspectual verb, the imperfect is quite normal.

In Chapter 8, I will continue the discussion of the interaction of the meaning of verb forms and aspect and use the outcomes to arrive at a conclusion regarding the functions of verbal aspect in OCS. I will limit myself mainly to three verb forms that show clear interaction with aspect: the present tense,

aorist and imperfect.[32] In the discussion I will also give number of examples showing that the incompatibilities that I have pointed out in this chapter are relative and that combinations of aorist and imperfective aspect and imperfect and perfective aspect are possible and interpretable.

[32] I will give some examples of the use of participles as well.

7 GRAMMATICAL PROFILE ANALYSIS

7.0 Introduction

The general picture that emerged in the previous chapter is that some forms strongly interact with the aspectual properties of the verb, resulting in different grammatical profiles for the various groups. Hence, the aspect of a verb restricts its use in certain forms and enhances compatibility with other forms. This phenomenon constitutes the basis for the analysis in the present chapter.

In the present chapter, I will analyse the differences in grammatical profile between the various verb groups. First, I will concentrate on the statistical analysis of the profiles of the groups that I call the 'core groups': the perfective and imperfective prefixed verbs, the perfective and imperfective unprefixed verbs and the anaspectual verbs (cf. Table 5.3). I will use a correspondence analysis to provide insight into the differences and similarities between the group profiles.[1] Subsequently, I will include other groups in the statistical analysis, like VOMs and Leskien's class II verbs, to demonstrate how these groups fit in the overall aspect system.

7.1 Core groups

7.1.1 The profiles

In principle, the group profiles are no different in make-up from profiles of individual verbs, of which I gave an example in section 4.3.1.1. A group profile is simply the aggregate of the individual profiles of the verbs in the group. The profile consists of seven categories: Present, Present participles (Pres. ptcs), Imperfect, Imperative, Infinitive/supine (Inf. & Sup.), Past participles (Past ptcs) and Aorist.[2] This is the same categorization as used by Eckhoff & Janda (2013), except for the fact that in my analysis the PastAPII are grouped

[1] I use the software package for statistical analysis SPSS. Information on the correspondence analysis in SPSS can, for example, be found in Meulman & Heiser (1999: 45-54 and 147-178). I will use scatterplots to make the results of the correspondence analysis visible and more accessible to those that have no prior knowledge of this statistical analysis.

[2] I will present the verb forms in this order in the bar charts in this chapter. It helps with "reading" the profiles to keep the forms that show affinity with the imperfective group on one side, starting with the present tense, and forms that show affinity with the perfective groups on the other.

together with the other past participles and therefore are not left out of the analysis (cf. section 6.7).[3]

The largest and most homogeneous[4] groups within the core groups are the prefixed perfective and imperfective verbs, which is why I will start out with a comparison of these groups to the group of anaspectual verbs, before considering the unprefixed verbs as well. Table 7.1 below contains the profiles of the prefixed perfective and imperfective groups and the other large group, the anaspectual verbs:

	Ipf prefixed (***ostavljati***) *n=3041*	***Anaspectual*** (***viděti***) *n=26683*	***Pf prefixed*** (***ostaviti***) *n=15803*
Present	37.29%	27.71%	21.61%
Pres. ptcs	31.86%	22.72%	0.59%
Imperfect	16.71%	8.75%	0.15%
Inf. & Sup.	7.89%	6.17%	8.08%
Imperative	4.01%	5.84%	8.59%
Aorist	1.18%	21.71%	35.40%
Past ptcs	1.05%	7.11%	25.58%

Table 7.1 Profiles of the three main core groups

In Table 7.1, the difference in compatibility with certain verb forms that already emerged in the discussion of the verb forms in Chapter 6 is clear: the perfective prefixed group differs the most from the imperfective prefixed group and the anaspectual group takes up a middle position in almost all cases, showing the most even distribution of verb forms. In a bar chart the differences between the profiles becomes immediately apparent:

[3] Running the analysis leaving these relatively rare participles out, has a negligible effect on the outcomes.

[4] The imperfective prefixed group is morphologically much more homogeneous compared to the unprefixed imperfective group. All 455 prefixed imperfective verbs, except for *iskupovati, iskupujǫ* 'redeem' and *naznamenovati, naznamenujǫ* 'give a sign', share the derivational suffix *-ati, -aje-*, while in the unprefixed verbs 7 out of the 49 derived verbs have the suffix *-ati, -je-* (e.g. *imati, jemljǫ* 'take' and *dajati, dajǫ* 'give'). Moreover, the fact that the prefixed verbs (both perfective and imperfective) are attested much more frequently makes for a more stable picture, with less influence of a few large verbs on the group profile. For example, in the unprefixed group the most frequently attested verb *dati* 'give' with 1038 attestations is responsible for 35.44% of the attestations and thus 35% of the group profile, while the most frequently attested verb in the prefixed perfective group, *sъtvoriti* 'do' is responsible for 8.25% of the total attestations. When a few verbs influence the group profile that strongly, the benefit of grouping verbs together to get rid of the influence of the lexical factor (cf. Chapter 4) is obviously reduced.

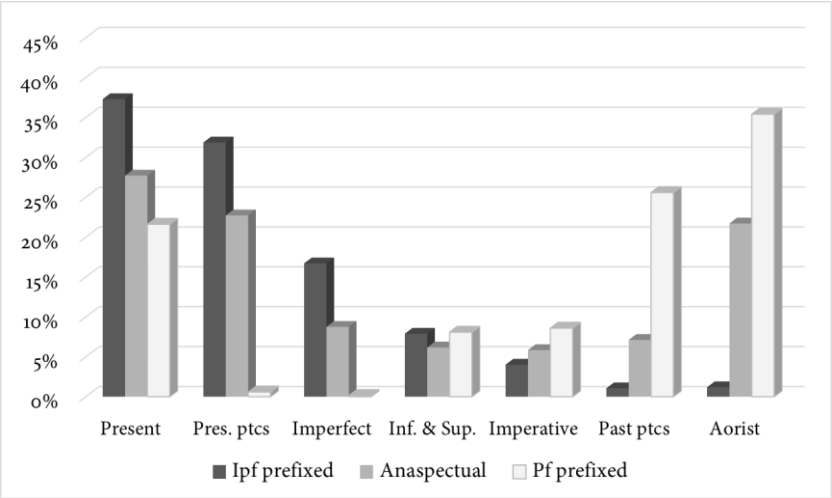


Figure 7.1 Bar chart of the profiles of the three main core groups

The relationship between the prefixed perfective and imperfective groups and the anaspectual groups now being clear, it is interesting to see how the unprefixed imperfective and perfective groups relate to the prefixed groups:

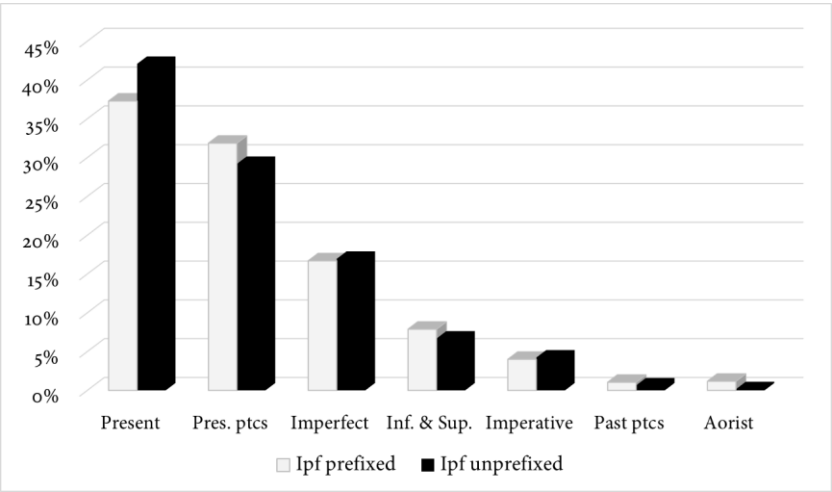


Figure 7.2 Bar chart of the profiles of the two imperfective groups

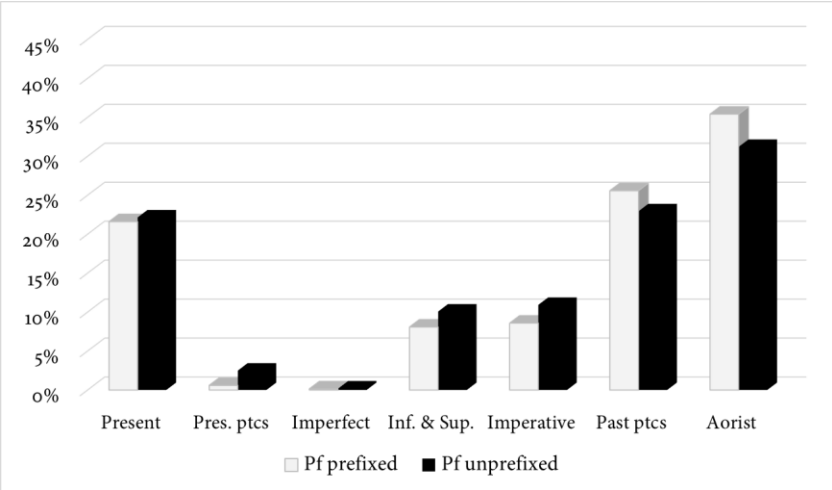


Figure 7.3 Bar chart of the profiles of the two perfective groups

As was to be expected, the profiles of the imperfective and perfective groups are very similar, with only minor differences, mostly between the two perfective groups.

The bar charts give a good impression of the differences and similarities in profiles, but become increasingly difficult to interpret when more groups are added, especially because there are seven categories involved. In the following section I will perform a correspondence analysis and present the data in a two-dimensional graphical form, allowing for an easier comparison between the groups. Moreover, I will perform pair-wise chi-square tests (cf. Butler 1985: 112-126) to determine whether profiles differ significantly from each other, and if so, how much. This is also something that cannot be determined by simply looking at the bar charts.[5]

[5] I should note that significance refers to the question whether the results that I found in my sample (my dataset of OCS verb forms) can be said to be of significance for the population (all verb forms in OCS). However, if OCS is regarded as the compilation of manuscripts as described in Chapter 1, one could say that my dataset contains the (almost) complete set of verb forms attested in OCS, hence is equal to the population, and the differences that I found are simply the differences that are present in OCS. While this puts the importance of the statistical significance into perspective, one could imagine that there are still manuscripts to be found that will be regarded as part of the OCS canon and it is almost certain that many manuscripts that would have been regarded as such have been lost forever. A such, the data in this study could also be seen as a part of a much larger, (yet) unknown corpus of texts, in which case the results could be understood as significant for this larger corpus. Moreover, the statistical method I use also provides useful insight into the effect size of the differences that I found by means of calculating Cramér's V (cf. Janda & Lyashevskaya 2011: 731, with references).

7.1.2 Correspondence analysis and pair-wise comparison

One test is particularly useful for the purpose of getting a general idea of the difference and similarities between the various groups. This is the correspondence analysis (CA), a test also used by Eckhoff & Janda (2014) to establish the aspect of OCS verbs based on their grammatical profile, as discussed in Chapter 4. As said, unlike Eckhoff & Janda, I will perform the CA on group profiles and not on individual profiles, for reasons already explained in Chapter 4. In this respect, my approach is more similar to that of Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011), who analyse profiles of groups of verbs in Modern Russian.

The CA that I perform on the profiles of the five core groups reduces the number of factors that explain the difference between the groups to 4.[6] Of these four factors, the largest factor accounts for 96.5% of the variance and the second largest factor accounts for only 3.0% of the variance. The other two factors account for a mere 0.4% of the variance. The scatter plot in Figure 7.4 is based on the two largest dimensions; the largest on the x-axis, and the second largest on the y-axis.

[6] This is the maximum number of dimensions given that the formula for the maximum number of dimensions in a correspondence analysis is *min*(row,column)-1, which in this case is *min*(5,7)-1 = 4. (5 is the number of groups in the analysis, 7 is the number of verb form categories; the maximum number of dimensions is one less than the smallest of those two, hence 4).

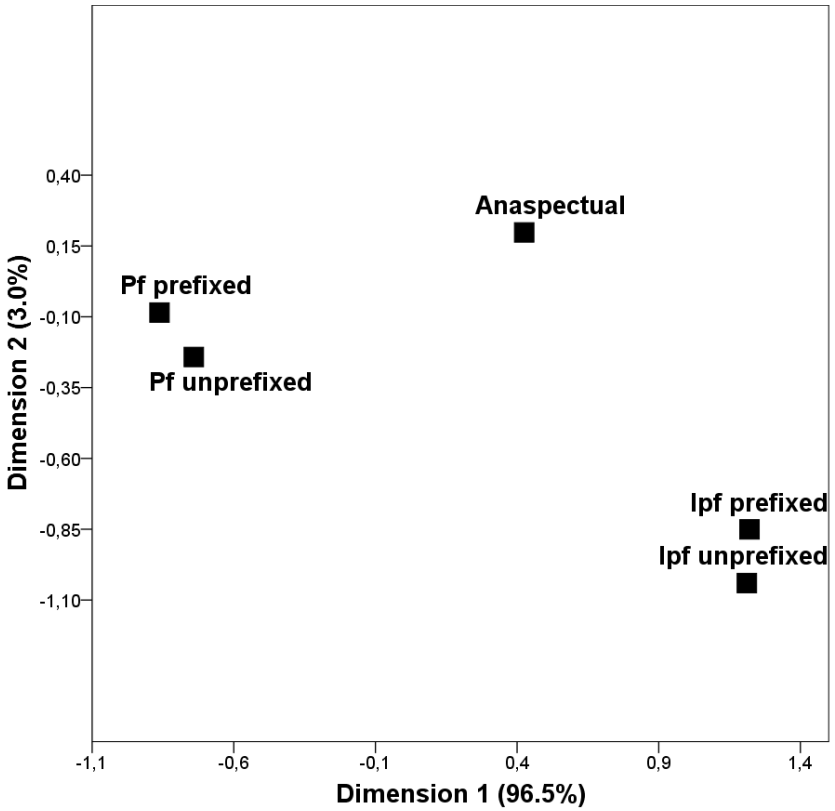


Figure 7.4 Scatter plot based on the two largest factors in the CA

The correspondence analysis also calculates the position of the verb forms on the same dimensions, which makes it possible to plot verb forms and groups in one scatter plot. The affinities between the various groups and verb forms that have already been discussed in Chapter 6 emerge in the representation in Figure 7.5:

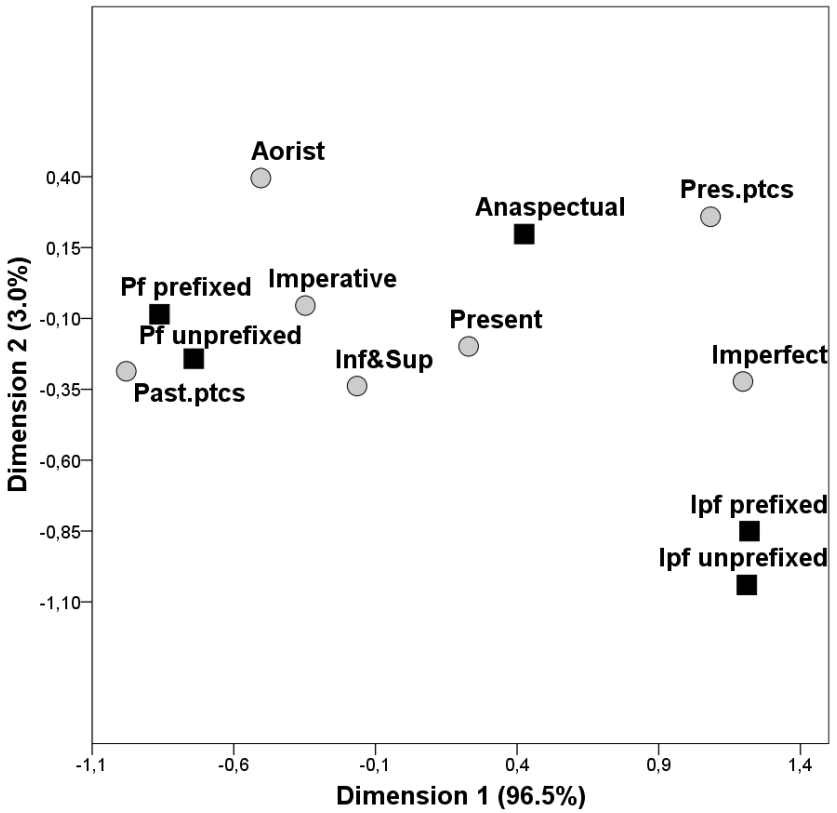


Figure 7.5 Scatter plot including verb forms

Unsurprisingly, the aorist and past participles cluster together with the perfective groups, while the imperfect and present participles cluster together with the imperfective groups.

The largest factor, Dimension 1 on the x-axis, separates the perfective groups on the right side from the imperfective groups on the left side, with the anaspectual verbs in between. Therefore, it seems reasonable to call this dimension the 'Aspect dimension'. In fact, this dimension is responsible for such a large proportion of the variance that the differences between the verb groups could even be meaningfully plotted one-dimensionally, disregarding the other factors:



Figure 7.6 One-dimensional representation, Aspect dimension

Figure 7.6 shows that, when considering just one dimension, the profiles of the imperfective groups are (almost) identical, while there is some difference between both perfective groups. The anaspectual group is positioned in between those two extremes, albeit a little closer to the imperfective groups. To determine whether the differences between the groups are significant, I used a chi square test of independence. I tested the groups pairwise, the null hypothesis being that the profiles and the groups are independent (there is no significant difference between the groups) and the alternative hypotheses that profiles and groups are not independent (there is a significant difference between the groups). The tests showed significant differences between all pairs of groups, except for the two imperfective groups.[7]

Given the large amount of data used in this study, the probability of a significant result is very high. This does not reveal much about the size of the difference, though. For instance, in Figure 7.6 it is clear that the distance between the anaspectual group and the perfective prefixed group is greater than the distance between the two perfective groups, even though in both cases the difference between the profiles is significant. To assess the size of

[7] The results of the pairwise χ^2 tests are as follows:

Group 1	Group 2	χ2 results		
Pf prefixed	Ipf prefixed	8945.18	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Pf prefixed	Ipf unprefixed	5562.70	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Pf prefixed	Pf unprefixed	148.12	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Pf unprefixed	Ipf prefixed	2879.20	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Pf unprefixed	Ipf unprefixed	1395.78	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Ipf unprefixed	Ipf prefixed	11.36	df = 6	$p = 0.079$ (n.s.)
Pf prefixed	Anaspectual	8102.60	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Pf unprefixed	Anaspectual	1831.24	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Ipf prefixed	Anaspectual	1134.37	df = 6	$p < 0.001$
Ipf unprefixed	Anaspectual	270.34	df = 6	$p < 0.001$

When one tests more hypotheses (like I do by the pairwise testing), the chance of encountering a rare event increases. Lowering of the significance level (α) by dividing it by the number of hypotheses tested, the so-called Bonferroni correction, is a way of counteracting this. In this case that results α=0.01/10= 0.001.

the effect, I calculated the Cramér's V value for all pairwise comparisons. I use the same customary rule of thumb for the interpretation of the Cramér's V value as Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011: 731, with references) in their study of grammatical profiles of Modern Russian verbs: 0.1 is a small effect size, 0.3 is a medium effect size and 0.5 is a large effect size. Based on the correspondence analysis and the bar charts, I expect to find large effect sizes when comparing perfective and imperfective groups, small effect sizes when comparing the perfective and imperfect groups among themselves and medium effect sizes when comparing the anaspectual group with the imperfective and perfective groups.[8] Table 7.2 lists the Cramér's V values for the tested pairs:

Group 1	***Group 2***	***Cramér's V***[9]
Pf prefixed	Ipf prefixed	0.717
Pf prefixed	Ipf unprefixed	0.744
Pf prefixed	Pf unprefixed	0.102
Pf unprefixed	Ipf prefixed	0.694
Pf unprefixed	Ipf unprefixed	0.709
Ipf unprefixed	Ipf prefixed	0.083 (n.s.)
Pf prefixed	Anaspectual	0.472
Pf unprefixed	Anaspectual	0.433
Ipf prefixed	Anaspectual	0.380
Ipf unprefixed	Anaspectual	0.407

Table 7.2 Cramér's V values for the pairwise chi square tests

The Cramér's V values show that even though there are significant differences between all groups except the two imperfective groups, the size of the effect differs greatly. The effect size for the tests in which perfective and imperfective groups are compared is around 0.7. As expected, this is the largest effect size in this dataset. The effect sizes that emerge from the pairwise tests of the perfective and imperfective groups with the anaspectual group, all give an effect size of around 0.4, which, in this dataset, is a medium

[8] In the case of the insignificant difference between the two imperfective groups, the effect size can be ignored, since it is a value for a non-significant difference.

[9] I found that the Cramér's V value tends to be smaller with increasing differences in group size. Since in this study some of the groups differ greatly in size, I corrected for the unequal group size in a simulation where the ratio between the groups was made to be 1:1, by reducing the size of the largest group to the size of the smallest group. As long as the ratio between the groups is the same, N does not influence the Cramér's V value. I will use corrected Cramér's V values throughout the remainder of this chapter. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any information in the literature regarding this specific problem of decreasing Cramér's V values with increasing differences in group sizes.

effect. The effect size in the test of the two perfective groups is small, 0.1, and close to the effect size found for the insignificant difference between the two imperfective groups. The Cramér's V values correspond to the differences in distance between the groups as seen in Figure 7.4, Figure 7.5 and Figure 7.6, showing that those graphical representations are a reliable depiction of the relationship between the grammatical profiles of the five groups.

The basic picture that emerges from the tests with the five core groups is the following: the CA of the grammatical profiles of the group results in an aspect dimension that can explain 96.5% of the variance in the data. On this aspect dimension the perfective and imperfective groups are on the opposite sides with the anaspectual group in between. The verb forms are posited on the same dimension, with imperfect and present participles showing attraction to the imperfective side of the dimension and aorist and past participles a similarly attraction to the perfective side of the dimension, followed by the imperative. This is all in line with the analysis of the verb forms in Chapter 6.

I should note that the dimension I call aspect dimension does not reveal whether a group expresses Slavic-style aspect or not. The mere fact that the aorist is also on the right hand side, while it does not express Slavic-style perfective aspect, shows that the aspect dimension is not limited to Slavic-style aspect. Temporal boundedness and the attainment of an inherent boundary are closely related concepts (cf. Lindstedt 1995: 241) and this emerges from the analysis as well. Without closely studying individual examples it is not possible to confirm the hypothesis that the morphological characteristics of a verb are a good indicator of its Slavic-style aspect. Therefore, I will give a semantic evaluation of the core groups in Chapter 8 to determine the role of the main lexical factor underlying Slavic-style aspect, terminativity, in those groups.

7.2 Inclusion of the other groups in the analysis

Now that the basic picture of the aspect dimension is clear, it is time to include other groups into the analysis. For the analysis with the other groups I performed the same test, a CA from which the aspect dimension again emerged, accounting for 91% of the variance, very similar to the aspect dimension in the analysis of the core groups. In Table 7.3 below are the scores for all groups (including the five core groups) on the aspect dimension in this correspondence analysis,[10] starting with the groups that are on the extreme

[10] I entered *byti* 'be' as a so-called supplementary category, which means that its position is calculated with regard to the other groups, but the profile is not factored in, in the analysis. There are two reasons for this: first, the profile of *byti* includes three forms (future, future participle and conditional) that are not included in the analysis, which makes a fair comparison of *byti* with the other groups difficult. Secondly, in a simulation the inclusion of *byti* in the analysis distorted the

perfective side of the aspectual dimension and ending with the groups that are on the extreme imperfective side.

Name of the group	***Aspect dim. score***
Leskien II unprefixed with partner (*kanǫti*)	-0.819
Prefixed determinate VOM with partner (*vъniti*)	-0.781
Leskien II prefixed with partner (*pomanǫti*)	-0.722
Perfective prefixed (ostaviti)	***-0.717***
Perfective unprefixed (aviti sę)	***-0.601***
Prefixed with two partners (*sъpověděti*)	-0.592
Prefixed without attested suffixed (*ubojati sę*)	-0.413
Determinate VOM (*iti*)	0.023
Anaspectual (viděti)	***0.585***
Suffixed prefixed with other suffixed (*sъpovědati*)	0.687
byti 'be'	0.740
Unprefixed partner Leskien II (*kapati*)	1.073
Suffixed prefixed, other suffixed (*sъpovědovati*)	1.337
Imperfective unprefixed (avljati sę)	***1.366***
Imperfective prefixed (ostavljati)	***1.390***
Indeterminate VOM (*xoditi*)	1.423
Prefixed partner Leskien II (*pomajati*)	1.487
Prefixed indeterminate VOM (*vъxoditi*)	1.587

Table 7.3 Scores on the aspect dimension[11]

The scatter plot based on the CA shows that a number of clusters can be discerned. To keep the scatter plot readable, I will use the exemplary verbs included in Table 7.3 as a designation for the total group in the scatter plot:

graphic representation on dimension 2 on the y-axis, even though the aspect dimensions scores were very similar after the inclusion of *byti*.

[11] Core groups are printed in boldface.

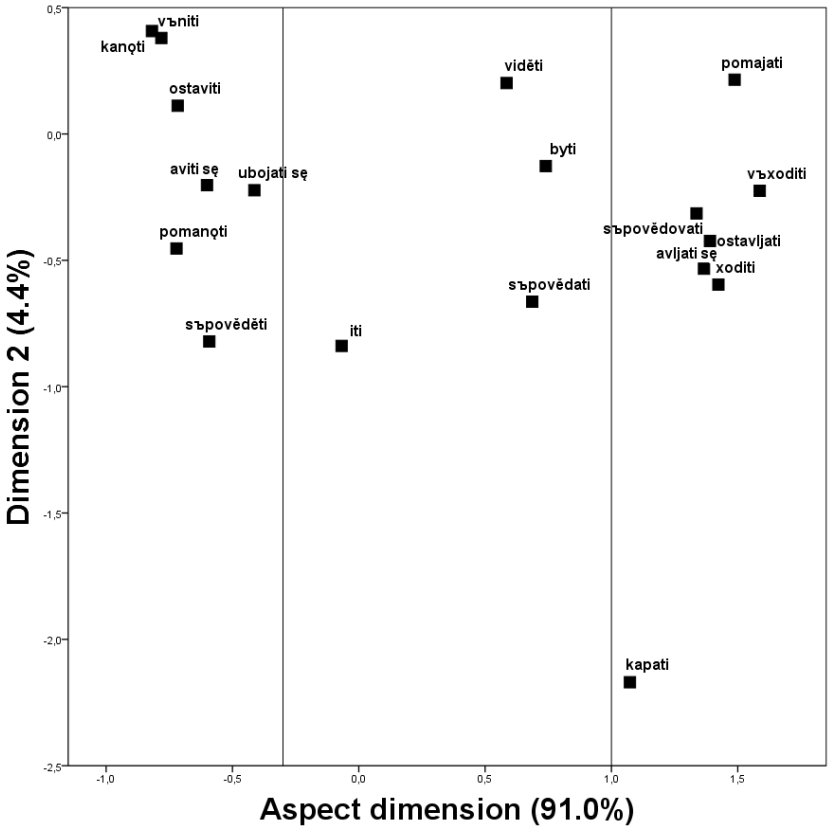


Figure 7.7 Correspondence analysis including other groups[12]

Concentrating on the aspect dimension, I drew two lines in the scatter plot to make the three clusters that I discern based on morphological characteristics visible. The lines are just as arbitrary as the line that Eckhoff & Janda (2014: 238) draw at zero and have no consequences for the final assessment of the aspect of the verbs in the group. They are only there as a visual aid. In the discussion it will become clear that the position in one of the three clusters reveals much about similarities and dissimilarities of the verbs in the various

[12] The picture is somewhat distorted because of changes on Dimension 2 compared to the first CA, probably mainly caused by the imperative, which scores low on that dimension. The *kapati*--group has 31% imperatives, which is a relatively high percentage thanks to the verb *drъzati* 'be brave', which is frequently used in the imperative (21 times, 84% of the total attestations of the verb). This explains the great distance between *kapati* and the rest of the groups on Dimension 2. However, Dimension 2 is still only responsible for 4.4% of the variation, and is dwarfed by the Aspect dimension with 91.0%.

groups with the verbs in the five core groups, and thus about the aspectual character of those verbs. However, the semantic analysis of individual examples of the non-core groups in Chapter 9 also reveals that there is no one-to-one relationship between the position of the group on the aspect dimension and the aspect of individual members of that group (cf. the difference between terminative and aterminative prefixed verbs in section 9.1, or the discussion of unprefixed verbs of motion in section 9.4). This shows that more levels of analysis are necessary to draw a final conclusion about the aspect of individual verbs.

The three clusters that can be discerned in Figure 7.7 are: the perfective cluster on the left side, starting with the group *kanǫti* and ending with *ubojati sę*. Then there is the group *iti*, which is rather close to the perfective side, but which also can be seen as part of a large anaspectual cluster in the middle together with the groups *viděti*, *byti* and *sъpovědati*. Finally, there is the imperfective cluster on the right side, starting on the far right with the group *vъxoditi* and ending with *kapati*.

The scatter plot shows that Dimension 1 is not distorted by the inclusion of the other groups, which is why I still call it the Aspect dimension. Aspect is clearly the main factor when it comes to the differences in grammatical profile between the various morphologically defined groups. Moreover, the aspect dimension still accounts for 91.0% of the variance in the data.

7.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have demonstrated that verbs that are classified based on the morphological characteristics of prefixation, suffixation and derivational relationship score differently on the aspect dimension. As expected, the perfective and imperfective verbs differ the most and the anaspectual verbs take up a position in the middle. The basic picture, emerging from the analysis of the grammatical profiles of the core groups, perfective, imperfective and anaspectual, shows that anaspectual verbs have a more even distribution of verb forms than the perfective and imperfective verbs. The perfective verbs, on the other hand, have an uneven distribution and are the most compatible with aorist and past participles, while imperfective verbs also have an uneven distribution and show compatibility with the imperfect and present participles. This is the first step in the confirmation of the hypothesis that the morphological characteristics of a verb are a good indicator of its aspect.

In the following chapter, Chapter 8, I will first discuss the core groups. Subsequently, in Chapter 9, I will discuss the status of the additional groups.

8 THE FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL ASPECT IN OCS

8.0 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I discussed the characteristics of verbal aspect in Slavic and the differences between Slavic-style aspect and Romance-style aspect. In the subsequent chapters, I laid out my morphological approach of verbal aspect in OCS and compared it to the varying approaches in previous studies. By means of the correspondence analysis in Chapter 7, I was able to demonstrate that the differences between the profiles can, for the largest part, be explained by one factor, or dimension. On this 'aspect dimension', imperfective verbs and perfective verbs show up on opposite sides. Anaspectual verbs are posited in between the two. Other than this relatively clear outline, the statistical analysis did not yield any basis to say much about the functions of aspect in OCS.

In the present chapter I will perform a semantic analysis of examples of verbs from the core groups: perfective, imperfective and anaspectual. I will describe the main functions of perfective and imperfective aspect and compare these to the functions of anaspectual verbs. For this purpose, I will mainly concentrate on three verb forms that show strong interaction with aspect: present, aorist and imperfect.[1]

At the basis of the discussion lies the idea that the OCS derivational aspect system is a Slavic-style system. Basically, the difference between perfective and imperfective verbs is the difference between actualizing the inherent boundary as opposed to defocusing this boundary. The particular uses of the perfective and imperfective aspect are not logically deducible from this basic distinction, as is shown by the differences in aspect choice between the modern Slavic languages (cf. Stunová 1993, Dickey 2000, Barentsen 2008) even though all have a Slavic-style aspect system.

The goal of this chapter is to establish how verbal aspect in OCS functions in various contexts in order to establish a basic meaning for both aspects. So the purpose is a synchronic description. However, in the concluding chapter I

[1] Where it benefits the discussion, I will give examples of participles. Infinitives are left out of the consideration because of the extra complicating factor of the construction with a finite form. The relationship between aspect and the imperative is also rather complex, as I have shown in Chapter 6, especially when negation comes into play. These forms would no doubt provide useful information for the study of verbal aspect in OCS, but I believe that by concentrating on the major three finite verb forms, I will be able to lay a basic foundation that could be used to study these more complicated cases in a subsequent study.

will briefly discuss OCS verbal aspect in a diachronic perspective, based on the results from the present chapter. This diachronic comparison is meant to establish whether the OCS verbal aspect system revolves around totality, like Czech, or whether an additional element of sequential connection plays a role, like in Russian (cf. Chapter 2, Barentsen 1995, 1998, 2008, Dickey 2000).[2]

During the discussion of the aspectual forms, I will also provide examples with anaspectual verbs. An important factor in the behaviour of anaspectual verbs and their relationship to the aspect system lies in the 'terminativizability' of the verb: whether or not its usage in a terminative predicate is allowed and if so, under which circumstances. I will return to that in more detail after the discussion of the main functions of the perfective and imperfective verbs.

Finally, I will also pay attention to some verbs that show deviating profiles and behaviour compared to other verbs in their group. These verbs show the importance of the individual analysis of each verb and its attestations instead of only relying on a formal morphological classification.

8.1 Present tense

The present tense is compatible with both aspects. Characteristic of the present tense is that the time of assertion (TA) is not situated entirely before the time of utterance (TU), as discussed in Chapter 6. In essence, the two main options that this leaves are TA (partly) simultaneous to TU (present) and TA after TU (future). These two options are divided rather neatly over both aspects. Greek future forms are normally translated with OCS perfective presents while Greek indicative presents are normally translated with OCS imperfective presents. Anaspectual verbs are used in both functions. Below I will start out discussing this major division in the use of the present tense and subsequently discuss a number of other functions of aspect in combination with the present tense.

[2] Since the corpus of OCS texts is relatively small and contains mainly narratives, it is probable that not all functions of verbal aspect are attested in all contexts or verb forms. For instance, the conative use of the imperfective aspect is only attested a few times in the imperfect and examples in the present tense are absent or at least multi-interpretable. However, a comparison of the few available OCS examples to modern Slavic languages demonstrates that the conclusion that imperfective aspect in OCS can be used in a conative function is justifiable. Other functions, such as running instructions one finds in recipes, like *now you add the salt* (cf. Dickey 2000: 155-174) are almost absent from OCS (the one I know of, one folio in *Psalter Dimitrijs* (Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 185-186) uses infinitives like *ispiti* 'drink up', *variti* 'cook'). A comparison to modern Slavic languages will therefore always be only partial and the lack of native informants makes it hard to find the limits of the possibilities.

8.1.1 Future reference

As mentioned before, an important function of the perfective aspect in the present tense in OCS is the expression of futurity. In terms of the time-relation model this means that the TA lies after TU. It appears that attainment of an inherent boundary is more compatible with an interpretation in which that boundary is reached at some point in time before (e.g. aorist) or after the moment of utterance (future function), than that the attainment is simultaneous with the TU. In the modern Slavic languages this becomes apparent from the fact, for example, that a perfective present is never used in the actual present (an event going on at the TU). However, in a number of other contexts Slavic languages allow coincidence of a complete event and TU to various degrees (cf. Dickey 2000). As I will demonstrate below in the section on other uses of the present tense (section 8.1.2), this is also the case in OCS.

To get an idea of the difference between perfective and imperfective verbs with regard to the expression of futurity, I collected all indicative future forms in the Greek Gospel texts and compared those forms to the OCS translations. This resulted in 960 forms in the Greek original, with 2849 equivalents in the four OCS Gospel codices.[3] Table 8.1 below shows the frequencies of the translations of the future tense forms for the four main aspectual groups and, for comparison purposes, also for VOMs and Leskien's class II verbs with partners, which I will treat separately in Chapter 9. I have given the frequencies pair-wise: on the left side the groups that are positioned more on the perfective side of the aspect dimension (cf. Chapter 7, Figure 7.7) compared to their counterpart, on the right side their partners that are positioned on the imperfective side:

[3] For counting the future forms in Greek original I used the morphological search function of the Bible software program *BibleWorks 9*. I compared the future forms that I found in Greek by hand with the OCS translations in my Parallel Corpus of OCS Gospel texts.
Interestingly, there are only 40 cases of periphrastic constructions with *vъčęti* 'start', *načęti* 'start' and *iměti* 'have' (cf. Birnbaum 1958) translating a Greek future form in the four OCS Gospel codices. Another more frequently used construction (91 attestations) consists of a future tense form of *byti* with a passive participle, which often is perfective, although a few anaspectual verbs also occur (e.g. perfective *prědanъ bǫdetъ* 'he will be delivered' or anaspectual *bьeni bǫdete* 'you will be scourged') (cf. Birnbaum 1958: 21-26). Constructions with *xotěti* are not attested in the four Gospel codices as translation of a Greek future form.

Perfective side		***Imperfective side***	
Perfective prefixed	914	Imperfective prefixed	22[4]
Perfective unprefixed	222	Imperfective unprefixed	4[5]
Prefixed determinate VOM	159	Prefixed indeterminate VOM	2
Determinate VOM	44	Indeterminate VOM	0
Leskien II prefixed	76	Leskien II prefixed partner	5
Leskien II unprefixed	17	Leskien II unprefixed partner	0
Total	***1432***	***Total***	***38***

Table 8.1 Frequencies of translation of Greek future forms (pair-wise)

In this table the division of the future function between the partners of a pair is quite clear: the verbs in the groups on the perfective side are the standard translation for Greek future forms, while the verbs in the groups on the imperfective side rarely occur in that function. When a perfective present is used, the usual interpretation is that it concerns a future event, like in the following examples of both prefixed and unprefixed perfective verbs (and I could add numerous others):[6]

(95) i reče se ***sъtvorjǫ***[pres] . ***razorjǫ***[pres] žitьnicǫ mojǫ . i bolьšǫ ***sъziždǫ***[pres] . i ***sъberǫ***[pres] tu žita moě . i dobro moe [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
then he said, "This is what I *will do*: I *will tear down* my barns and *build* larger ones, and there I *will store* all my grain and my goods" (Luke 12:18)

[4] Two of these concern a PresAP and one is a periphrastic construction with (*ne*) *iměti* 'have'.

[5] Two of these concern a periphrastic construction with *načęti* 'start' + infinitive.

[6] I found the same association between perfective present and future reference with two present participles of the perfective verbs *roditi sę* 'be born':
da poznaetъ rodъ inъ . s[y]novi ***rodjęštei***[PresAP] ***sję*** . i vъstanǫtъ pověděti ě s[y]nomъ svoimъ [*Ps*]
that the generation to come might know, even the children *yet to be born*, that they may arise and tell them to their children (Psalm 78:6)
In Psalm 21:32 there is a similar example of a present participle of *roditi sę* 'be born' translating a Greek future participle. There are also five examples of present participles of *roditi sę* translating a Greek present participle. An example can be found in *Suprasliensis* 238, 1, where it translates *γεννώμενος*. Interestingly, it has the same future meaning there, namely 'the one that is to be born', in this case Jesus. However, I have found no examples of PresAPs translating a Greek future participle with other perfective verbs in OCS. I should note that the Greek future participle is rather rare; in the Gospel texts I found only three attestations (Matthew 27:49, Luke 22: 49 and John 6:64). In the Book of Psalms there are 6 examples, 4 of which are Greek translations of the Hebrew word for 'choir director', *ἀλλοιωθησομένων*.
Regarding the verb *roditi sę*: this verb is a special case if one considers some cognates in modern Slavic languages that are regarded as imperfective (Polish) or biaspectual (Russian). However, in OCS there is no reason to regard this as anything other than a perfective verb, just as in modern BCS, Bulgarian and Macedonian. It has a derived partner (*ražđati sę*) and individual attestations do not give rise to an anaspectual or imperfective interpretation either (Dostál 1954: 87).

(96) o male bě věrьnъ . nadъ mnogy tę ***postavlǫ***^{pres} [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
you were faithful with a few things, I *will put* you in charge of many things (Matthew 25:21)

(97) i tъgda ***avitъ***^{pres} ***sę*** znamenie s[y]na č[lověčь]skago [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and then the sign of the Son of Man *will appear* in the sky (Matthew 24:30)

(98) nyně věmь . ěko egože koližьdo . prosiši otъ b[og]a ***dastъ***^{pres} ti b[og]ъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
even now I know that whatever You ask of God, God *will give* You (John 11:22)

In the few examples of imperfective present tense forms translating a Greek future form, it often concerns generalized utterances, like in the following example with a future form of *byti* 'be' and two imperfective present tense forms, one of *poimati sę* 'be taken' and one of *ostavljati sę* 'be left':[7]

(99) gl[agol]jǫ že vamъ . vъ tǫ noštь ***bǫdete***^{fut} dъva . na loži edinomь . edinъ ***poemletъ***^{pres} ***sę*** a drugy ***ostavlěetъ***^{pres} [*Z*, *M*][8]
I tell you, on that night there *will be* two in one bed; one will be taken and the other will be left (Luke 17:34)[9]

In example (99) (which is example (28) in Chapter 4), the theme is not one particular event, but rather a general rule of how life will be at that point, a context that is very compatible with imperfective aspect such as it is in modern Slavic languages (cf. also the difference between exemplary use of the perfective present and generalized use of the imperfective present in OCS, section 8.1.2.1).

Often, examples with imperfective verbs translating Greek future forms show variation between codices, which could indicate that the imperfective forms are not the original translation, but replace perfective forms in an environment that seems to be more fitting with the general meaning of imperfective aspect. An interesting example can be found in Matthew 7:8

[7] In my interpretation the reflexive pronoun *sę* is 'shared' by the two imperfective verbs. The verb *poimati sę* is part of an interesting group of verbs (cf. Chapter 9, section 9.5). It appears to behave as the imperfective partner of *pojęti sę*.

[8] Based on the analysis in Chapter 9 (section 9.5) I treat prefixed forms of *-jęti, -imǫ* 'take' as perfective and prefixed forms of *-imati, -jemljǫ* 'take' as imperfective in this and the following example, even though they do not show the prototypical derivational opposition in which the derived verb has the suffix *-ati, -aje-* and extra derived forms on *-imati, -imajǫ* are attested as well.

[9] In the following two verses there are more examples of a present tense of *ostavljati* 'leave' translating a Greek future form in a similar context.

where the Greek original uses two present tense forms (*λαμβάνει* and *εὑρίσκει*) and subsequently a future tense form (*ἀνοιγήσεται*) in a generalized utterance, i.e. and utterance in which the event is not presented as a single event. This results in the following three OCS translations:

(100) vьsěkъ bo prosęi ***priemletъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i ištęi ***obrětaetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i tlъkǫštumu ***otvrъzetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** [*Z*, *A*]
vьsěkъ bo prosęi ***priemletъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i ištęi ***obrětaatъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i tlъkǫštjumu ***otvrъzaatъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** [*M*]
vsakъ bo prosęi ***priemletъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i ištęi ***obrękštetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i tlъkǫštjumu ***otvrъzǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** [*Sk*]
πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν ***λαμβάνει***$^{\text{pres}}$ καὶ ὁ ζητῶν ***εὑρίσκει***$^{\text{pres}}$ καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ***ἀνοιγήσεται***$^{\text{fut}}$
for everyone who asks *receives*, and he who seeks *finds*, and to him who knocks it *shall be opened* (Matthew 7:8)

Zographensis and *Assemanianus* translate the Greek present forms with a present tense of the imperfective verbs *priimati* 'receive' and *obrětati* 'find' and the future form with a present tense of the perfective verb *otvrěsti* 'open'. This is the expected translation. However, the Greek original uses the two present tense forms in a similar generalizing function as the future tense form. This could be the reason why the version in the *Marianus* uses the present tense of *otvrъzati* 'open', thus straightening out the aspectual difference between the three events and presenting all three of them as generalized events. *Savvina Kniga*, on the other hand, straightens out the aspectual difference between the second and third form the other way around and uses a present tense form of the perfective verb *obrěsti* 'find' instead of a present tense form of the imperfective verbs *obrětati* 'find' as found in the other codices. This shows that the difference between perfective and imperfective present in OCS is not equal to the difference between future and present in Greek. Aspectual considerations can be a reason to use an imperfective present where Greek uses a future form.

There are some instances in which the use of the imperfective forms is not the result of a generalizing context. Examples of this can be found with the verbs *osramljati sę* and *posramljati sę* 'be ashamed' (6 times in total):

(101) ešte že iměaše edinogo s[y]na . vъzljubenaago svoego . posъla i togo kъ nimъ poslědi g[lago]lę ěko ***posramljajǫtъ***[pres] ***sę*** s[y]na moego [*Z*, *M*]
he had one more to send, a beloved son; he sent him last of all to them, saying, "They *will respect* my son" (Mark 12:6)[10]

Here, the imperfective verb, expressing the terminative event of 'becoming ashamed' refers to a single specific situation, a generalized interpretation must therefore be ruled out. A possible reason for not using the perfective *posramiti sę* is that the event is presented as distributive; the subject is plural, and the interpretation could be that all of them will become ashamed one by one when seeing the son. It is also possible that an earlier *posramętъ sę* 'they will respect' was later changed by a scribe who interpreted this as a more generalized utterance 'they respect my son'.[11]

Examples like (99), (100) and (101) show that there is no firm rule that a Greek future tense can only be translated with a perfective present, or that an imperfective present could not express futurity. Other than that, however, the trend is clear: if there is a choice between a perfective and an imperfective verb to translate a Greek future tense, the perfective verb is the standard translation. The choice of an imperfective verb requires an additional explanation, even though it is not always easy to find one (cf. example (101)). It is interesting to see that the unprefixed VOMs fit nicely into this system, even though they are clearly not a Slavic-style aspect pair. I will discuss this situation more in detail in Chapter 9.

A large number of translations of Greek future forms in the gospel codices are accounted for by verbs that are not part of a derivational pair, as shows Table 8.2:

Group	
Prefixed without derived partner	417
byti	373
Anaspectual verbs	250

Table 8.2 Frequencies of translation of Greek future forms (no pair)

[10] Similar examples can be found in Matthew 21:37 [*M*, *A*] (where *Savvina Kniga* has a prefixed verb *postydati sę* 'be ashamed' of which no derived partner is attested) and Luke 20:13 [*Z*, *M*]. All these texts concern the same parable.

[11] Unfortunately there is only one attestation of a present tense of *posramiti sę* in OCS, in an optative construction (with the particle *da*) translating a Greek imperative aorist: *da […] posramjętъ sę i pogybnǫtъ* [*Ps*] '*let them be humiliated* and perish' (Psalm 82: 18), so I cannot give a minimal pair.

Prefixed verbs without derived partner and the verb *byti* will be discussed in Chapter 9. The interesting category for the present chapter is the anaspectual group. Even though the frequency of future translations is not as high as in the perfective verbs, anaspectual verbs are quite often used to translate Greek future forms. There are many examples:

(102) slovo eže g[lago]laxъ to ***sǫditъ***[pres] emu . vъ poslědьni dьnь [*Z*, *M*]
the word I spoke is what *will judge* him at the last day (John 12:48)

(103) do kolě sъ vami bǫdǫ[fut] do kolě ***trъpljǫ***[pres] vasъ [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
how long shall I be with you? How long *shall* I *put up* with you? (Matthew 17:17)

(104) ne p'čete sę ubo na utrěi . otrьni bo dnь sobojǫ ***pečetъ***[pres] ***sę*** [*Z*, *M*, *Sk*]
so do not worry about tomorrow; for tomorrow *will care* for itself (Matthew 6:34)

Even though all these verbs are anaspectual, there is an interesting difference between the predicates. In (102) the predicate could be seen as referring to a single complete terminative event, just like a predicate with a perfective verb would do, while in (103) and (104) the event referred has no clear inherent boundary. To the best of my knowledge, verbs like *trъpěti* 'be patient' and *pešti sę* 'care' are only attested in aterminative predicates, just like, for example, *ležati* 'lie' and *alъkati* 'be hungry'. Even on the rare occasion that these verbs occur in the aorist, which is a form that expresses a temporally bounded event, the predicate can still only be interpreted as aterminative:

(105) i tebě ***trъpěxъ***[aor] vesъ denъ [*Ps*][12]
and I *have waited* for you all day (Psalm 24:5)

Verbs like *sǫditi* 'judge' occur in both terminative and aterminative predicates. One could say that, although these anaspectual verbs do not automatically express a terminative event, in the right context (verb form, object and wider context) a submerged inherent boundary is uncovered. In other words: these verbs are 'terminativizable'. In (102) the inherent boundary is clearly present, introduced by the discrete object *emu* 'him'. In section 8.3.2 I will come back to the issue of terminativizability of anaspectual verbs.

In fact, I found that verbs that allow a terminative construal, show competition with prefixed perfective formations in future use in a terminative context, which on occasion emerges as variation between codices:

[12] The same phrase can also be found in *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (78b 18).

(106) otъ ustъ tvoixъ ***sǫždǫ***^{pres} tę [*M, A*]
otъ ustъ tvoixъ ***osǫždǫ***^{pres} tę [*Z*]
by your own words I *will judge* you (Luke 19:22)

(107) nъ si vьsě ***tvorętъ***^{pres} vamъ za imę moe [*Z*]
nъ si vьsě ***sъtvorętъ***^{pres} vamъ za imę moe [*M, A, Sk*]
but all these things they *will do* to you for My name's sake (John 15:21)

(108) kako vsę pritъčę ***uměete***^{pres} [*Z*]
kako vьsę pritъčę ***razuměete***^{pres} [*M*]
how *will* you *understand* all the parables (Mark 4:13)

(109) eiže ne ***vъzmogǫtъ***^{pres} protiviti sę i otъvěštati . vsi protivljějǫštei sę vamъ. [*Z, M, A*]
eiže ne ***mogǫtъ***^{pres} protiviti sę i otъvěštati . vsi protivljějǫštei sę vamъ. [*Sk*]
which none of your opponents *will be able* to resist or refute (Luke 21:15)

In other cases the competition is not between morphologically related verbs, but between semantically related verbs, like anaspectual *viděti* 'see' and perfective prefixed *uzьrěti* 'see, catch sight of':

(110) da idǫtъ vъ galilejǫ i tu mę ***vidętъ***^{pres} [*Z, M, A*]
da idǫtъ vъ galilejǫ i tu mę ***uzьrętъ***^{pres} [*Sk*]
to leave for Galilee, and there they *will see* Me (Matthew 28:10)

These examples show that the fact that there is an aspect system as well as the fact that functions have been divided between the perfective and imperfective partners, affects the functioning of the anaspectual verbs as well. The frequent use of anaspectual verbs to translate Greek future forms, indicates that the division of labour between prefixed perfective verbs and anaspectual verbs is not the same as between perfective and imperfective verbs. However it seems reasonable to assume that the more the future context became associated with perfective verbs, the less it became compatible with other types of verbs, like the anaspectual verbs. In some cases it seems that in OCS the association between futurity and perfective aspect is so strong that a prefixed verb is used, simply to fulfil the condition of the use of a perfective verb to translate a Greek future tense.[13] This is how I interpret the following example (already given as example (44) in Chapter 6) as well:

[13] Cf. the use of delimitative verbs in sequences of events in Russian.

(111) blaženъ iže . ***sѣněstѣ***[pres] xlěbъ vъ c[ěsa]rstvii b[o]žii [*Z, M*]
blessed is everyone who *shall eat* bread in the kingdom of God (Luke 14:15)

There are more than enough examples of *jasti* translating a Greek future tense, but examples like this show that expressing futurity is strongly associated with the perfective aspect in OCS. In some cases, the use of prefixed forms in OCS even leads to difficulties in interpretation:

(112) prědadętъ[pres] bo vy na sъnъmy . i na sъnъmištixъ vašixъ . ***ubѵjǫtѣ***[pres] vy [*Z, M*][14]
they will hand you over to the courts and *scourge (kill*? JK) you in their synagogues (Matthew 10:17)

The prefixed verb *ubiti* is normally used in the meaning of 'kill'. In this particular example, however, the OCS translation uses the prefixed form of *biti* to express a future scourging event, translating the Greek future form (*μαστιγώσουσιν*). It is difficult to see how a difference in meaning between scourging and killing could be made in this case. In similar attestation the simplex *biti* is used to translate a future form of the same Greek verb. In the following example this could be because of the fact that *ubiti* is used in the same utterance in the meaning 'kill':

(113) otъ nixъ ***ubiete***[pres] . i propьnete[pres] . i otъ nixъ ***bѵete***[pres] na sonьmištixъ vašixъ . i iždenete[pres] otъ grada vъ grada [*M, A*][15]
some of them you *will kill* and crucify, and some of them you *will scourge* in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city (Matthew 23:34)

8.1.1.1 Special case: the verbs rešti and glagolati

A large part of the future translations of anaspectual verbs are accounted for by the verb *rešti* 'say' (82 attestations). Dostál (1954: 65-69) discusses the verb and comes to the conclusion that *rešti* was probably biaspectual in Proto-Slavic, based on the attestations of present participles of *rešti* in OCS. However, he considers the verb to express perfective aspect in OCS as a result of the already established aspect system in combination with its opposition to *glagolati* 'speak, say', which Dostál considers to be imperfective. In my classification, *rešti* and *glagolati* are both anaspectual verbs, being unprefixed

[14] *Assemanianus* has *utepǫtъ* from *uteti* which in OCS is only attested 4 times, all 4 times in the meaning of 'beat up'. In Modern Bulgarian and in Modern Macedonian dialects this verb means 'kill'.
[15] *Assemanianus* has a present tense form of anaspectual *teti* 'scourge' instead of a present tense of *biti*.

without a partner. When it comes to the translation of Greek future forms, the verb *glagolati* is also opposed to *vъzglagolati*, in its meaning of 'speak'. In the following example, there are forms of all three verbs; *glagolati* translating an aorist of the Greek verb *λαλέω* 'speak', *rešti* translating a subjunctive aorist of the verb *λέγω* 'say' and *vъzglagolati* translating a subjunctive aorist of *λαλέω* again.

(114) ěko azъ o sebě ne ***g[lago]laxъ***^{aor} . nъ posъlavy mę o[tь]cь . tъ mьně zapovědь dastъ čьto ***rekǫ***^{pres} i čьto ***vъzglagolǫ***^{pres} [*Z*, *M*]
for I *did* not *speak* on My own initiative, but the Father Himself who sent Me has given Me a commandment as to what to *say* and what to *speak* (John 12:49)

In this example, only *glagolati* is used in an aterminative sense, while both *rešti* and *vъzglagolati* occur in a terminative predicate. The difference between *rešti* and *vъzglagolati* is lexical, similar to the difference between English *say* and *speak*. The verbs *glagolati* and *vъzglagolati* both translate the same Greek verb, *λαλέω* 'speak', and do not express a lexical difference. Their relation can be compared to that between *sǫditi*, which occurs in both terminative and aterminative predicates and *osǫditi*, which can only be used in terminative predicates. I have also found variation between codices in which *glagolati* occurs in a periphrastic future construction in one codex, while other codices have *vъzglagolati* or simply a present tense of *glagolati*, again reminiscent of the variation found between anaspectual verbs and prefixed formations in the examples (106) - (110):

(115) egda že prědadętъ vy . ne pečte sę kako li čьto ***vъzg[lago]lete***^{pres} . dastъ bo sę vamъ vъ tъ časъ . čьto ***g[lago]lete***^{pres} [*Z*, *M*]
egda že prědadętъ vy . ne pečte sę kako li čьto ***imate***^{pres} ***g[lago]lati***^{inf} . dastъ bo sę vamъ vъ tъ časъ . čьto ***g[lago]lete***^{pres} [*A*]
but when they hand you over, do not worry about how or what you *are to speak*; for it will be given you in that hour what you *are to speak* (Matthew 10:19, my translation)

Hence, when it comes to the translation of forms of *λαλέω* 'speak', OCS usually uses either a form of *glagolati* or of *vъzglagolati*. This is consistent with the classification of *glagolati* as an anaspectual verb. However, the translation of the present tense of *λέγω* 'say' is the domain of *glagolati* as well, and when *λέγω* is the Greek original, there is an opposition with *rešti* that is strongly reminiscent of an aspect opposition: the present tense of *rešti* is used to translate subjunctive aorist forms of *λέγω* 'say' (has no future form) or future forms of *ἐρέω* which also means 'say'. In this sense, the usage of *glagolati* is always terminative, the inherent boundary is formed by the

message, while in the sense 'speak' it expresses no inherent boundary. An example of this terminative use of *glagolati* is:

(116) sego radi ***g[lago]ljǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ vamъ . ne p'cěte sę d[u]šejǫ svoejǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
for this reason I *say* to you, do not be worried about your life (Matthew 6:25)

The verb *rešti* is used in the same sense, normally with future meaning. In example (117) it is a translation of a future form of *ἐρέω*, while in (118) the Greek original has a subjunctive aorist of *λέγω*:

(117) vъstavъ idǫ$^{\text{pres}}$ kъ o[tь]cju moemu . i ***rekǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu . o[tь]če sъgrěšixъ na n[e]bo i prědъ tobojǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
I will get up and go to my father, and will say to him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in your sight" (Luke 15:18)

(118) vъprošǫ$^{\text{pres}}$ i azъ vy edinogo slovese . otъvěštaite mi . i ***rekǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ vamъ koejǫ oblastijǫ se tvorjǫ [*Z*, *M*]
I will ask you one question, and you answer Me, and then I *will tell* you by what authority I do these things (Mark 11:29)

There are some exceptions to the general rule as well, in which a present tense of *rešti* is used to translate a Greek present (27 attestations in the material of Dostál 1954: 65):

(119) tъgda ***rečetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. vъzvraštǫ sę vъ xramъ moi . i prišьdъ obrętetъ$^{\text{pres}}$ prazdьnъ [*Z*, *M*]
then it says, "I will return to my house from which I came"; and when it comes, it finds it unoccupied (Matthew 12:44)

In this example a present tense forms of Greek *λέγω* is translated by a present tense form of *rešti*, and the subsequent present tense form, from the perfective verb *obrěsti* 'find' also translates a Greek present tense form *εὑρίσκει*.[16] Both events do not refer to a specific event, but rather to exemplary event, as shown by Matthew 12:43, where the story starts with 'Now when the unclean spirit goes out of a man [...]'. In section 8.1.2.1, I will show that perfective present forms regularly occur in such exemplary use. Hence, even if the opposition between *rešti* and *glagolati* is not completely equal to that of the core aspect pairs, the division of labour in these cases is equal to that of an aspect pair. In section 9.4 I will demonstrate that the unprefixed VOMs show

[16] I do not consider the perfective present *vъzvraštǫ* here, because it is part of the quoted utterance in direct speech.

a similar division of labour, even though these verbs cannot be regarded as an aspect pair.

In the following sections, I will discuss some more examples of *rešti* to show how it behaves in other contexts and analyse some of the attestations that Dostál considers to show the original biaspectuality of the verb.[17] The opposition between *rešti* and *glagolati* will get more attention in section 8.2.2.2 where I discuss the imperfective aorist and in section 8.3.4 where I discuss a number of dubious anaspectual verbs.

8.1.2 Other uses of the present tense

8.1.2.1 Multiple or generalized events

The use of imperfective verbs translating a Greek future tense is rare. The few examples that I discussed above show that imperfective verbs are used in unbounded predicates. This unboundedness often results in a generalized interpretation; when a terminative verb is used the predicate does not refer to the occurrence of a single complete event at the micro-level, but to unboundedness at the macro-level (cf. Chapter 2). However, perfective verbs may occur in similar utterances as well. Example (119) in the preceding section shows such a case, with the verb *obrěsti* 'find'. This use of perfective verbs can be compared to what Forsyth (1970: 173) calls 'singularization', or exemplary use, for Modern Russian: a single complete event is singled out as an example of a general rule. With such generalized utterances the implication is not so much that the event occurs on more occasions, but rather that the event will occur when the right circumstances occur. Compare the following example in which OCS (again, as in (119)) translates Greek present tense forms with perfective present tense forms:[18]

(120) i g[lago]ljǫ . semu idi$^{\text{impr}}$. i idetъ$^{\text{pres}}$ i drugumu pridi$^{\text{impr}}$. i ***prideto***$^{\text{pres}}$. i rabu moemu sъtvori$^{\text{impr}}$ se i ***sǫtvorito***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and I say to this one, "Go!" and he goes, and to another, "Come!" and he comes, and to my slave, "Do this!" and he does it (Matthew 8:9)

An English translation with 'will' probably comes closest to the OCS version here: '[…] "Come" and he *will* come, and to my slave, "Do this" and he *will*

[17] Since *rešti* is a very frequent verb, with 3878 attestations in my database, I reran my CA of the five core groups, now with the anaspectual group without the verb *rešti*. In this test, the aspect dimension accounts for 98.9% of the variance and the anaspectual group moves a little further towards the imperfective side of the aspect dimension. However, the difference with the imperfective groups is still significant with a medium effect size. $\chi 2$ (6) =636.89, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.288.

[18] The verb *priiti* is a prefixed VOM, of which I will demonstrate in Chapter 9 (section 9.3) that it behaves like a perfective verb.

do it'. This shows that in English too the same form can be used for future reference and for generalized utterances.[19]

Other constructions in which perfective verbs are often used in generalized expressions are constructions starting with 'whoever …' or 'everyone who …', like the following example, where the present tense of perfective *vъzьrěti* 'look' translates the Greek present active participle *ὁ βλέπων*:

(121) azъ že g[lago]ljǫ vamъ . ěko vьsěkъ iže ***vъzьritъ***[pres] na ženǫ sъ poxotijǫ . uže ljuby sъtvori[aor] sъ nejǫ . vъ srьdьci svoemь [*Z*, *M*]
but I say to you that everyone who *looks* at a woman with lust for her has already committed adultery with her in his heart (Matthew 5:28)

The use of constructions like 'everyone who' as in (121) "creates a kind of singular representative instance" (Dickey 2000: 74), hence a context in which, once again, the event is exemplary.

In all these uses, the perfective verb refers to a single complete event, emphasizes the totality on the micro-level, while the context gives the information that it concerns a generalized event.[20] There are also cases, however, in which the perfective aspect refers to multiple complete events, while expressing totality on both the micro-level and the macro-level. These are cases of so-called bounded repetition:

(122) prěžde daže kokotъ ne ***vъzglasitъ***[pres] dъva kraty . ***otъvrъžeši***[pres] sę mene tri kraty [*M*, *Z*]
before a rooster crows *twice*, you will *deny* Me three times (Mark 14:72)

In this example the present tense of the perfective verb *vъzglasiti* 'call out' refers to two complete events and, hence, to a bounded series of repetition. The present tense of this prefixed verb is used to express bounded repetition; it refers to three complete events of denying and expresses that those three

[19] Comparison with the modern Slavic translation is also very interesting. There is much variation: some languages, like BCS and Czech, behave as OCS and have perfective presents, while other languages, like Russian, Bulgarian and Macedonian, have imperfective (and anaspectual?) presents instead of perfective presents (e.g. Russian *prixodit* and *delaet*). This fits with Dickey's (2000) idea that the languages in the eastern group of Slavic put more restrictions on the use of the perfective present in habitual expressions than languages from the western group, or the transitional zones.

[20] Given the fact that the use of the perfective aspect in habitual expression in the eastern group is much more restricted, it is possible that 'singularization' is a more marked function in e.g. Russian as compared to Czech, or OCS, where the use of perfective aspect in habitual expressions is relatively wide-spread. However, I believe that the mechanism is the same: one event is used as a representation for a general rule.

times makes up the complete series of repetitive events. This is the main difference with imperfective verbs that refers to unboundedness on the macro-level. The verb *vъzglašati*, the imperfective partner of *vъzglasiti* provides a good example of the difference:

(123) podobenъ estъ dětišemъ . sědęštemъ na trъžištixъ . iže ***vъzglašajǫtъ***[pres] drugomъ svoimъ [*Z*, *M*]
it is like children sitting in the market places, who *call out* to the other children (Matthew 11:16)

In this example the calling out to their peers is not restricted to a fixed number of repetitions, but rather refers to the regularity of the occurrence of the event (cf. Carlson 2012: 829). The individual micro-events are interpreted as complete in this context, otherwise one would get a series of conative events, which does not make sense here. However, the imperfective verb itself does not express anything about that totality; in other contexts, however, the unboundedness results exactly in a conative reading, as I will demonstrate below in section 8.1.2.2 and 8.2.1.2.

In constructions with 'whoever …' or 'everyone who …', imperfective presents (as well as the anaspectual present, e.g. in this example *slyšati* 'hear') also occur regularly, just like perfective presents (cf. (121)):

(124) vsěkъ iže ***slyšitъ***[pres] slovesa c[ěsa]r[ьstvi]ě . i ne ***razuměvaetъ***[pres] . ***prixoditъ***[pres] nepriězny . i ***vъsxyštaetъ***[pres] sěanoe vъ srъdьci ego [*Z*, *M*]
when anyone *hears* the word of the kingdom and *does* not *understand* it, the evil one *comes* and *snatches* away what has been sown in his heart (Matthew 13:19)

When imperfective verbs are used like this, instead of perfective verbs, there are two differences with the use of perfective present in the same context. First, the emphasis lies on the unboundedness at the macro-level, and not at the level of an individual complete event. So the event is not 'singled out', but presented as a regularity. Secondly, since the events are not explicitly presented as complete, an interpretation in which the events on the micro-level overlap is possible.

Imperfective verbs are used in a similar vein to express a general truth:

(125) ni ***vьlivajǫtъ***[pres] vina nova . vъ měxy vetъxy [*M*]
nor do people *put* new wine *into* old wineskins (Matthew 9:17)

This gnomic present is clearly based on the habits of people, but abstracts away from those habits to a general rule. It is often difficult to distinguish between an imperfective verb used in a generalized context and one in a habitual utterance, however, the following example is a clear example of a habitual utterance, referring to the habits of Jesus' disciples:

(126) po čьto učenici tvoi ***prěstǫpajǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. prědaanie staŕьcь . ne ***omyvajǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ bo rǫkъ svoixъ . egda xlěbъ ***ědętъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*]
why do Your disciples *break* the tradition of the elders? For they *do* not *wash* their hands when they *eat* bread (Matthew 15:2)

Sometimes the repetition is even more strongly connected to a particular moment in time, like the lamps going out one by one in the following example:

(127) dadite namъ otъ oleě vašego . ěko světilьnici naši ***ugasajǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
give us some of your oil, for our lamps *are going out* (Matthew 25:8)

When used like this, the imperfective verbs come close to expressing a single process, since the event is so clearly connected to a specific point in time. There are two possible interpretations here: an iterative/distributive situation in which the lamps are already going out one by one, but not all lamps have gone out yet, or an imminent situation: the lamps are not out yet, but in all of them the oil is almost finished. In both cases the interpretation has a durative component; the event unfolds itself in the direction of an inherent boundary and can be seen as an instance of an actual present (cf. examples (128) and (129)).

I have shown that in OCS both perfective and imperfective verbs are used to refer to generalized events or multiple events. When perfective verbs are used in such contexts, either a single complete event is presented as exemplary for other events and the boundedness on the micro-level is in focus, or it concerns a bounded number of repetitions. Imperfective verbs are used to focus on the unboundedness on the macro-level, while the attainment of the inherent boundary on the micro-level is implicit, or stays unclear. In the next section I will discuss examples in which the inherent boundary on the micro-level is explicitly denied (conativity).

8.1.2.2 Single events

While perfective verbs in the present tense always express a single event, the imperfective present is also used to refer to single events. The difference with perfective verbs is that imperfective presents are used when for some reason there is a need to defocus the inherent boundary of the verbs. Below, I will discuss a number of contexts in which imperfective presents refer to single events.

The first context is the actual present, a present tense used to refer to an event that is going on at the TU (cf. also example (127)). This use is relatively rare in OCS, because most of the texts are narratives and the actual present only occurs in direct speech. However, there are some attestations, often in

questions like 'why are you …ing'. I have given some examples of this phenomenon in Chapter 6 already, showing that both anaspectual verbs and imperfective verbs occur in the actual present. Compare the present tense of anaspectual *sъpati* 'sleep' in (128) and imperfective *otrěšati* 'untie' (also given as example (42) in Chapter 6) in (129):

(128) i reče imъ čьto ***sъpite***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z, M*]
and said to them, "Why *are* you *sleeping*" (Luke 22:46)

(129) otrěšajǫštema že ima žrěba . rěšę g[ospo]dьe ego kъ nima . čьto ***otrěšaeta***$^{\text{pres}}$ žrěba [*Z, M*]
as they were untying the colt, its owners said to them, "Why *are* you *untying* the colt" (Luke 19:33)

The difference between anaspectual verbs and imperfective verbs in the actual present is subtle; anaspectual verbs express an event that has no inherent boundary, while imperfective verbs are inherently terminative and in the actual present focus on the process before the attainment of the boundary. The subtlety of the difference is emphasized by variation between codices in this context, with in the following example a present tense of anaspectual *mysliti* 'think' and imperfective *pomyšljati* 'think, consider':

(130) i viděvъ is[usъ] pomyšlenię ixъ . reče . vъskǫjǫ vy ***myslite***$^{\text{pres}}$ zьlo vъ srъdьcixъ vašixъ [*Z, M*]
i viděvъ is[us]ъ pomъišlenię ixъ reče . vъskǫjǫ vy ***pomyšlěete***$^{\text{pres}}$ zьlo vъ srdcixъ vašix [*A, Sk*]
and Jesus knowing their thoughts said, "Why *are* you *thinking* evil in your hearts" (Matthew 9:4)

The anaspectual verb refers to the actual thought process at the moment of utterance, while the imperfective verbs may carry the nuance of a more generalized event or iterativity. A possible interpretation is therefore 'why are you always thinking (making up?) evil thoughts in your hearts', in which case it is no longer an actual present, of course, but a generalized event.

Anaspectual verbs can also be used to express states that hold at the moment of speech. In (131) this concerns a transitory state that holds specifically at the moment of utterance, like with the verb *iměti* 'have', in (133) it concerns a permanent state (cf. Croft 2012: 58):

(131) g[lago]la že imъ is[usъ] . děti . eda čьto sъnědьno ***imate***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z, M, A, Sk*]
so Jesus said to them "children, *do you have* something to eat"(John 21:5)

(132) otъvěšta imъ is[usъ] . nyně li ***věruete***[pres] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
Jesus answered them, "Do you now *believe*" (John 16:31)

Imperfective verbs can also be used to refer to single events is in a conative function. With conativity, the terminativity of the verb is not a hindrance, but rather a prerequisite in OCS, since it is exactly the defocusing of the inherent boundary that results in a conative interpretation. Anaspectual verbs do not have an inherent boundary and, hence, cannot be used to defocus such a boundary either. Although there are not many examples of conative use in the present tense (there are more examples in the imperfect, see the end of section 8.2.1.2), I believe the following examples could be interpreted as referring to a failed attempt:

(133) razuměvъ že is[usъ] . lǫkavьstvo ixъ reče . čьto mę ***okušaate***[pres] üpokriti [*M, A*, *Sk*]
but Jesus perceived their malice, and said, "Why *are you trying to tempt* Me, you hypocrites" (Matthew 22:18, my translation)

The example could also be translated as 'why are you testing me', as in the English translation. Whichever way it is translated, the test clearly fails, since Jesus 'perceived their malice'. Also, an iterative interpretation cannot be ruled out: 'why are you testing me all the time'.

A third context in which an imperfective present refers to a single event is on the rare occasion that a historical present is attested in OCS, almost always imitating the Greek original (Galton 1976: 29-30):

(134) i ***posylajǫtъ***[pres] kъ nemu učeniky svoję [*M*, *A*][21]
and they *sent* their disciples to Him (Matthew 22:16)

In this example an imperfective verb is used to refer to a single complete event, which is normally the domain of perfective verbs. However, there is a clash between on the one hand the totality of the event as it is known from the past and the way the event is presented as if it were occurring at the moment of speech. It is the simultaneity with the TU that in this OCS example is probably responsible for the choice for imperfective aspect.

For the historical present or narrative present and other atypical tense uses (e.g. backchecking), Klein (1994: 139) distinguishes between a 'real' time of the situation (which is when the event really obtains) and the 'imagined' time of the situation, which is the event as it is presented in relation to the chosen topic time. According to Klein the speaker chooses either, or may even switch to create particular connotations. In OCS the choice of imperfective aspect in

[21] Note that *Savvina Kniga* has an aorist *posъlašę* of the perfective verb *posъlati*.

the historical present, as in (134) may be explained by the choice of the imagined time of the situation: the event is presented as if it takes place at the moment of utterance. It is, however, problematic that this concerns an achievement, hence a verb without a process phase. It is not entirely clear to me how such an event would be visualized as actually taking place. Another explanation of the historical present is that it is used to highlight an important event in a series of past events. Rijksbaron (Lallot, Rijksbaron, Bernard & Buijs 2011: 4-10) discusses the functions and semantic features of the historical present in Classical Greek and claims that the function of the historical present is to highlight 'decisive events', which are almost always exclusively accomplishments or achievements. This could be an explanation for the use of the historical present in Matthew 22:16 as well. However, the extra complication in OCS, as compared to Greek, is that this still does not explain why an imperfective form is used, as opposed to a perfective form. Maybe perfective presents are only used in sequences of historical presents. The one example I found contains present tense forms of the perfective *aviti sę* 'appear' and the prefixed verbs without a derived partner *uslyšati* 'hear', translating the Greek present tense forms *ἀποκαλύπτεται* and *ἀκούει*:

(135) i abьje tomužde ***avitъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** ep[isko]pu . i glas[ъ] ***uslyšitъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ pritranъ glagolǫštь k nemu [*S*]
and immediately he *appears* to the same bishop, and he *hears* a clear voice saying to him (530, 10-11)

It is noteworthy that these present tense forms appear after the adverb *abьje* 'immediately'. Modern Czech uses perfective present forms in the historical present after such adverbs, denoting a sudden change of situation (Stunová 1993: 178). In this respect, Czech deviates from Russian, which uses perfective present only under much stricter conditions in narrative contexts (Stunová 1993: 191, Dickey 2000: 154). The small number of examples of historical present in OCS, does not allow for a more detailed analysis.

Finally, imperfective verbs also refer to single complete acts in performative language, in which the utterance itself constitutes an event, a so-called 'speech act' (cf. Austin 1962). In this context there is competition between imperfective and perfective verbs again. Compare the following two examples, both translating a Greek present tense form *δίδωμι* 'I give'; the first one uses a present tense of the imperfective *dajati* 'give', the second a present tense of perfective *dati* 'give':

(136) zapovědь novǫ ***dajǫ***[pres] vamъ [*Z, A, Sk*][22]
a new commandment I *give* to you (John 13:34)

(137) se polъ iměniě moego g[ospod]i . ***damь***[pres] ništiimъ [*Z, M, A*][23]
behold, Lord, half of my possessions I *give* to the poor (Luke 19:8, my translation)

The variation in the translation of *δίδωμι* is substantial, apart from the example of present tense of *dati* and *dajati* there is an example with a present tense of *prědati*, and an example showing variation between an aorist of *dati* and the present tense of *dajati*:

(138) ěko mьně prědana estъ . i emuže ašte xoštǫ ***prědamь***[pres] jǫ [*M*]
for it has been handed over to me, and I *give it* to whomever I wish (Luke 4:6)

(139) se ***daxъ***[aor] vamъ vlastь . nastǫpati na zmьję . i skorъpiję [*Z, A, Sk*]
se ***dajǫ***[pres] vamь vlastь nastǫpati na zmiję i skorъpiję [*M*]
behold, I *give* you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions (Luke 10:19, my translation)

I should note here that the critical text (as established by the United Bible Societies) of Luke 10:19 has a perfect *δέδωκα*, while the Byzantine text on which the OCS translation is based has the present tense *δίδωμι*. Whichever form is used, the word *ἰδού* 'behold', in OCS *se*, shows that this is still performative language: by speaking those words Jesus transfers his authority. Interestingly, Greek shows this variation between perfect and present tense more often in performatives. I found an example in Matthew 9:2, where the critical text has a present passive *ἀφίενται*, while the Byzantine text has a perfect passive *ἀφέωνται*.[24] It is not clear to me whether this variation is the cause of the variation between the OCS codices, or that both Greek and OCS allow different forms in such performative utterances. In this case only *Savvina Kniga* uses a perfective present and the three other codices an imperfective present:

[22] *Marianus* has *povědajǫ*, a present tense of *povědati* 'proclaim, announce, show' (cf. Chapter 9, section 9.5).
[23] This could also be interpreted as an intention, and not the actual event of giving. However, the Greek original has a present tense form, *δίδωμι*, which in my opinion sanctions a performative reading.
[24] In the critical text both forms occur. For example, in Luke 5:20 the perfect *ἀφέωνται* is used. In the Byzantine text I found no examples of *ἀφίενται*.

(140) drъzai čędo ***otъpuštajǫtъ***[pres] ti ***sę*** grěsi tvoi [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
naděi sę čędo . ***otъdadętъ***[pres] ti ***sę*** grěsi [*Sk*]
take courage, son; your sins *are forgiven* (Matthew 9:2)

The variation between the codices in OCS in this context is interesting given the fact that choice of aspect in performatives differs strongly between modern Slavic languages (cf. Dickey 2000, Žagar 2011, Kamphuis 2012). The paradox with performatives is that the event that is expressed is tantamount to the utterance itself and, therefore, simultaneous to the moment of speech, much like ordinary actual presents, but at the same time it is perceived as a complete event (cf. Koschmieder 1930). A choice for the imperfective aspect is a choice for emphasizing that the event occurs simultaneous to the moment of speech, while the choice for perfective aspect emphasizes the fact that the effect of the performative is instantaneous: the event is complete. The choice also depends on the specific meaning of the aspect in a specific language. As Dickey (2000: 201) puts it "the more limited degree of coincidence in the east results from the greater incompatibility of the concept of temporal definiteness with present situations, including those that can be identified as totalities more or less simultaneous to the moment of utterance".[25]

The examples above may have given the impression that the choice for either perfective or imperfective aspect is completely free in OCS. However, in OCS imperfective verbs are more frequent in this context. For example, *Savvina Kniga* has a form of imperfective *otъdajati* 'forgive' in Matthew 9:5, three verses after the verse in example (140), and all other translations of Greek *ἀφέωνται* are translated by *otъpuštajǫtъ sę* in all four codices (Mark 2:5, 2:9, Luke 5:20, 5:23, 7:47, 7:48). Given the fact that derived verbs are the 'new kids on the block', this division of labour indicates that they had largely taken over in this context in OCS, just as perfective verbs had become the standard choice in future contexts.

Anaspectual verbs also occur in performatives, like the following:

(141) otvrěsę že sę usta ego abie . i jęz[y]kъ ego . i g[lago]laaše ***bl[agoslovl]jǫ***[pres] b[og]a [*A*][26]
and at once his mouth was opened and his tongue loosed, and he began to speak, "I *praise* God" (Luke 1:64, my translation)

There are also very frequent examples of the verb *glagolati* in such contexts, even though it may not be a prototypical performative verb:[27]

[25] Dickey (2000) discusses performatives and other verbs that refer to a complete event that are simultaneous to the moment of utterance as cases of 'coincidence': event and utterance coincide.
[26] The other codices follow the Greek original with a present active participle.

(142) amin' ***g[lago]ljǫ***[pres] vamъ [*Z*, *M*]
truly I *say* to you (Mark 14:9)

I have not found examples of *rešti* 'say' in this context, however, in Chapter 10 I will discuss an instance of the use of the perfective present *sъkažǫ* 'I (will) tell' in a performative context:

(143) ***sъkažǫ***[pres] že vamъ kogo uboite sę . uboite sę . imǫštaago vlastь . po ubienii vъvrěšti vъ ġeonǫ . ei g[lago]ljǫ vamъ . togo uboite sę [*A*]
but I *will warn* you whom to fear: fear the One who, after He has killed, has authority to cast into hell; yes, I tell you, fear Him (Luke 12:5)

Similar variation between perfective and imperfective *verba dicendi* is, again, also found in modern Slavic languages (cf. Dickey 2000: 177-188).

8.2 Aorist and imperfect

As I already remarked in Chapter 6, in most cases aorist and imperfect express the same relation between TU and TA: TA lies before TU, in other words: they are both past tenses.[28] The difference between them is aspectual: aorist presents an event as temporally bounded, while the imperfect defocuses any boundaries of an event. Galton (1976: 140-141) describes the (perfective) aorist as follows:

"[…] each occurrence is quite schematically characterized by "was not - was - was over"; its "was not" is the "was over" of its predecessor, its "was over" is the "was not" of its successor."

In other words, the aorist moves the narration ahead by sequentially ordering past events. Below, I will also discuss non-narrative use of the aorist which occurs in the so-called retrospective mode.The imperfect is best understood in opposition to the aorist and, according to Galton (1976: 141) the imperfective imperfect "give[s] us a chance to pause and consider, to reflect and depict, wearied as we are by the eternal flow" and "can never by itself constitute a story" (ibidem: 167), but needs explicit or implicit support from (an)other event(s) (ibidem: 144). The imperfect only refers to the "was", but

[27] *Verba dicendi* probably better fit the definition of coincidence than that of performatives, but this does not make a difference for this discussion. Note (to make this even more complicated): coincidence is actually only used for perfective presents that refer to events that transpire simultaneously to the moment of utterance. Hence, *glagoljǫ* in example (142) is in fact not a case of coincidence, while *sъkažǫ* in example (143) is.

[28] In retrospective mode the aorist expresses simultaneity of TU and TA and TS as bounded before TA (cf. section 8.2.1.1).

not to the "was not" and "was over" and does not localize an event within the sequence of narrated events. The imperfect makes contact with the event(s) supporting it, but not by means of its boundaries, rather the actual event (cf. Barentsen's Y in Figure 2.6, Barentsen 1985: 61, 1995: 17) coincides with another event.

It is important to note once more that the aorist can be used to present an aterminative event as temporally bounded; the aorist in OCS is not concerned with an inherent boundary, but it expresses a temporal boundary, which is why the inflectional opposition aorist-imperfect in OCS can be regarded as a Romance-style aspect opposition. For example, the verb *plęsati* 'dance' does not express an inherent boundary and is thus aterminative. However, in OCS, as in Greek, a dancing event can be presented as a temporally bounded event by using the aorist:

(144) dьne že byvъšju . roždьstva irodova . ***plęsa***[aor] dъšti irodiědina posrědě . i ugodi irodu [*Z*, *M*]
but when Herod's birthday came, the daughter of Herodias *danced* before them and pleased Herod (Matthew 14:6)

Of course, one could translate this with a terminative predicate, something like 'performed her dance', but that is not exactly what *plęsa* expresses, it is simply the reference to an activity that lasted for some time and then stopped, which is what the English translation *danced* also expresses. So even though one could refer to the predicate in (144) as expressing a total event, this is a Romance-style totality, not a Slavic-style totality.

Galton (1976: 141, 154-155) remarks that aorists like *plęsa*, which he calls imperfective aorists, have a sequencing function, just as the perfective aorists, and do not make us sojourn like the imperfect does. In other words, these forms carry the story forward as well, no inherent boundary is needed for that.

From the description by Galton it becomes clear why the aorist is so compatible with perfective verbs. Perfective verbs in OCS are all terminative verbs, lexically made up of the sequence 'was not - was - was over' and always express this complete sequence (cf. Chapter 2), and the aorist fits perfectly into that mould. One could even say that the aorist is the unmarked past tense for perfective verbs (cf. Galton 1976: 142): it does not add anything to the meaning of the perfective verbs, it only places the perfective event in the past (TA before TU).

For the same reason that the aorist is highly compatible with perfective aspect, however, the imperfect is not very compatible with perfective aspect. The perfective aspect expresses the totality of a single terminative event (or a well-defined number of such events) while the imperfect defocuses the

boundaries of an event. This is why perfective aspect and imperfect are largely incompatible and only occur in very specialized contexts.

Imperfective verbs, which lexically also consist of the chain 'was not - was - was over', since they are terminative (cf. Chapter 2), are a misfit for the aorist, since the imperfective aspect that these verbs express functions as a way of defocusing the change of state from 'was not' to 'was over', which clashes with the meaning of the aorist, which refers to a temporally bounded event. While in perfective verbs the inherent boundary provides a natural landing spot for a temporal boundary, the defocusing of the inherent boundary in imperfective verbs leaves little room for the placement of a temporal boundary. Therefore, the imperfective aspect of the verb results in a restriction of its use in the aorist. Amse-de Jong (1974: 43) even considers this restriction as being absolute in OCS; in her opinion a combination of an imperfective verb with the aorist is impossible. Below, however, I will discuss some examples of aorists of imperfective verbs that show that even though aorist and imperfective aspect are largely incompatible, they do seem to occur in very specialized types of usage in OCS.

The imperfect, on the other hand, fits perfectly into the imperfective mould. Both are used to express an unbounded event, not the change of one state into another. Amse-de Jong (1974: 44) remarks that the imperfect does not add anything to the meaning of an imperfective verbs, except for the past tense reference. In this regard the relationship between the imperfect and imperfective verbs is reminiscent of that of the aorist and perfective verbs; the imperfect could be seen as the unmarked past tense for imperfective verbs.[29]

At first sight the imperfect seems incompatible with the perfective aspect. How could a form express unboundedness and the attainment of an inherent boundary at the same time? However, there are clear examples of perfective imperfects in OCS and their occurrence is not controversial, unlike that of imperfective aorists. Still, in my opinion the incompatibility between the two is comparable to that of imperfective aorists.

Below I will first discuss the 'normal' combinations: perfective aorist and imperfective imperfect and, where necessary, compare them to aorists and imperfects of anaspectual verbs. After this, I will turn to the more specialized uses that the imperfective aorist and perfective imperfect occur in.

[29] Since I have not found any evidence of the imperfect being used in retrospective mode, I could add here that the imperfect restricts the use of the verb to narrative mode, in which it always needs the support of (an)other event(s). This is not the case with the imperfective aspect, which can be used, for example, in a generalized statement in the present tense without the need for support of another event.

8.2.1 Perfective aorists and imperfective imperfects

There are basically two types of past tense modes: narrative and retrospective (cf. Barentsen 1992: 14, 2003b: 426-428). In the narrative mode the events are presented as connected with other events, while in the retrospective mode the events are presented as connected to the moment of utterance. When verb forms are used in the retrospective mode, this can be called the 'perfect use' of that form (cf. Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015: 189-190). Maslov (1990) defines the perfect as follows:

"[A]n aspecto-temporal form of the verb, expressing a present state as a result of a preceding action or change, and / or expressing a past action, event or state that is somehow important to the present and is considered from the present point of view, detached from other past facts."[30] (Translation Lindstedt 2000: 365-366)

Some usage types of aspect are typical of one of the types. For example, the general factual (cf. section 2.2.1) is typical of the retrospective mode. I will discuss a number of typical usages of aspect in both modes below.

8.2.1.1 Retrospective mode

The perfective aorist always refers to a complete event. In retrospective mode, the complete event is looked back upon from the moment of speech, which I call the 'perfect function' of the aorist, while in narrative mode the aorist is used to chain the events together, the 'was over' of one event being the 'was not' of the next. Examples of the perfective aorist in retrospective use are:

(145) o[tъ]če . ***sъgrěšixъ***[aor] na n[e]bo i prědъ tobojǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
Father, I *have sinned* against heaven and in your sight (Luke 15:21)

(146) pokaite sę . ***približi***[aor] bo ***sę*** c[ěsa]r[ь]stvo n[e]besьnoe [*A*, *Sk*]
repent, for the kingdom of heaven *is at hand* (Matthew 3:2)

In the English Bible translation, the perfect of the Greek original in example (146), *ἤγγικεν*, is translated with a present tense form, thus expressing the relevance of the nearing of the kingdom of heaven for the moment of utterance. In OCS it literally says that the kingdom *has come near*, which puts more emphasis on the past arriving event, while the retrospective context, at the same time, is responsible for the connection of the event to the moment of utterance.

[30] Maslov refers to the perfect as a specific *verb form*. The definition is, however, applicable to the OCS aorist in retrospective use as well.

In Chapter 6, section 6.7, I discussed the perfect in OCS and the fact that it is difficult to find a difference in meaning between the aorist and the perfect. The only clear difference I found, is that the perfect in OCS is never used in narrative mode, unlike the past tense in most modern Slavic languages that has the same morphological background. So the perfect in OCS is a true perfect, while in most modern Slavic languages that what was originally a perfect, is now only a past tense, which is used in narrative mode as well. As Lindstedt (2000: 371) puts it: "when a perfect can be used as a narrative tense […] it has ceased to be a perfect". So while the original perfect is the most versatile (and often the only) past tense in many modern Slavic languages, in OCS the aorist has that role, occurring in both retrospective and narrative mode. An example of a perfective aorist and perfect in a single retrospective utterance can be found in John 12:40:

(147) ***oslěpi***$^{\text{aor}}$ oči ixъ . i ***okaměnilъ***$^{\text{PastAPII}}$ ***estъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ srdca ixъ [*M*, *Z*, *A*]
He *has blinded* their eyes and He *hardened* their heart (John 12:40)[31]

In this retrospective example the perfective verbs are not ordered sequentially, as they would be in narrative mode, but both perfective verbs are connected to the moment of speech.

Anaspectual aorists also occur in retrospective mode. In a terminative construal there is little difference with the perfective aorist, the attainment of the (temporal) boundary is relevant to the moment of utterance, like in the following example:

(148) ěko viděvъ mę ***věrova***$^{\text{aor}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
because you have seen Me, *have* you *believed* (John 20:29)

The aorist *věrova* 'you believed', translating the Greek perfect *ἑώρακάς*, refers to the moment that Thomas saw Jesus and took faith in the fact that He had indeed risen from the death. The predicate could thus be interpreted as terminative. In modern Slavic it is often translated with a perfective past tense, e.g. *ty poveril*$^{\text{pf}}$ in Russian, *povjerovao*$^{\text{pf}}$ *si* in Croatian, or *uvěřil*$^{\text{pf}}$ *jsi* in Czech, to express the fact that it is the resulting state of taking faith that the verb refers to.[32] Other anaspectual verbs, that are less easily construed as terminative, simply denote the occurrence of the event at some point before the moment of utterance (cf. Chapter 2):

[31] What makes this example even more interesting is that it does the opposite of the Greek original, which starts with the perfect *τετύφλωκεν* 'he has blinded' and subsequently has an aorist *πεπώρωκεν* 'he hardened', as can also be seen in the English translation of the example.
[32] Bulgarian (*povjarva*) and Macedonian (*poveruva*) use perfective aorists, showing that this retrospective use of the aorist is still alive and kicking in the modern Slavic languages.

(149) ***sviraxomъ***[aor] vamъ i ne ***plęsaste***[aor] . ***plakaxomъ***[aor] ***sę*** vamъ i ne ***plakaste***[aor] [*Z*, *M*][33]
we *played* the flute for you, and you *did* not *dance*; we *sang* a dirge, and you *did* not *weep* (Luke 7:32)

(150) azъ vьsegda ***učixъ***[aor] na sъnъmišti . i vъ crьkъv(e) ideže vьsi ijuděi sъnemlǫtъ sę . i tai ne ***g[lago]laxъ***[aor] ničesože [*Z*, *A*]
I always *taught* in synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and I *spoke* nothing in secret (John 18:20)

This kind of 'simple denotation', referring to a single past event without reference to any inherent boundary appears to be closely connected to the aorist, mainly of anaspectual verbs. Perfective verbs are excluded from this context based on the fact that they always express the actualization of the inherent boundary, which is contradictory to simple denotation in OCS. Given the incompatibility between the aorist and imperfective verbs, it will come as no surprise that I have also not found many imperfective verbs in this function. However, there are some examples of an imperfective verb in retrospective mode, which I will discuss when I treat the imperfective aorist (in section 8.2.2.2).

I have not found convincing examples of the imperfect tense in retrospective mode, which suggests that the imperfect in OCS is a typical narrative form. Hence, in my opinion, even in contexts where retrospective mode is an option, the use of the imperfect changes the utterance into a narrative utterance. Thus, in the following text, where a Greek imperfect *ἐζητοῦμέν* 'we were looking' is translated, the *Zographensis* and *Savvina Kniga* present the event in a retrospective manner, while *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* present the event as part of a narrative:

[33] Interestingly there is again an example of the verb *plęsati* 'dance' in this example. The verb is attested 9 times in the OCS corpus, 6 times in the aorist and 3 times in the PastAPI. If one would take the grammatical profile of this verb to be the final indicator for its aspect, the judgement would be that *plęsati* is perfective. However, morphologically it falls into the group of anaspectual verbs and lexically it fits there perfectly since it clearly is an aterminative verb. This is a good example of how an individual verb profile can be misleading.

(151) čędo čьto tvori nama tako . se o[tь]cь tvoi . i azъ skrъbęšta . ***iskaxově***[aor] tebe [*Z*, *Sk*]
son, why have You treated us this way? Behold, Your father and I *have been* anxiously *looking* for You (Luke 2:48)
čędo čto sътvori nama tako . se otecь tvoi i azъ . skrъbęšta . ***iskaaxově***[impf] tebe [*M*, *A*]
son, why have You treated us this way? Behold, Your father and I *were* anxiously *looking* for You (Luke 2:48, my translation)

In the following verse, only the *Savvina Kniga* has a retrospective perspective:

(152) i reče kъ nima . čto jako ***iskasta***[aor] mene [*Sk*]
and He said to them "Why *have* you *been looking* for Me" (Luke 2:49, my translation)
i reče kъ nima . čto ěko ***iskašeta***[impf] mene [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and He said to them "Why is it that you *were looking* for Me" (Luke 2:49)

I should note that *iskaxově* in example (151) could be seen as a contracted imperfect and that *iskasta* in example (152) could be seen as an imperfect with a 'secondary' ending, which is equal to the aorist ending (cf. Diels 1963: 235). It would be interesting to see whether contraction and these secondary endings occur more often in contexts that allow for a retrospective reading.

Although aorists generally refer to single events, example (150) shows that the aorist is also compatible with the expression of repetition, or habituality, as indicated by adverbs like *vьsegda* 'always'. The aorist is used to indicate that the teaching and speaking are over, the words are spoken when Jesus is already brought before the high priest, at the end of his life. Interestingly, *Savvina Kniga* has the (contracted) imperfect *učaxъ*, which does not have the finalized nuance, but rather emphasizes habituality of the event.

I also found an example of an aorist of a prefixed verb without a derived partner *vъvrěšti* 'throw into' that is used to refer to an event that has occurred more than once:

(153) i množicejǫ i vъ ognь ***vъvrъže***[aor] . i vъ vodǫ . da i bi pogubiłъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
it has often *thrown* him both *into* the fire and into the water to destroy him (Mark 9:22)

The aorist itself does not express the repetitive occurrence of the event, which is done in this instance by the adverb *množicejǫ* 'many times', which 'multiplies' the event. So the aorist is not incompatible with repetition, although it does not express this itself, unlike the imperfect in the narrative

mode. The use of the aorist *vъvrъže* in (153) is similar to the use of the perfective present in (122) in that it refers to a bounded number of events.

8.2.1.2 Narrative mode

In narratives the aorist is used to refer to the events that push the story forward, it chains the events together into a narrative sequence. I have shown examples of this in Chapter 6, both with perfective and anaspectual verbs. Imperfects, on the other hand, usually provide background information, paint the backdrop against which the story evolves, like the following imperfective imperfect *vъzmoštaaše* 'stirred up' and the imperfect of the prefixed suffixed VOM *sъxoždaaše* 'went down':

(154) ang[e]l[ъ] bo g[ospodin]ь na vьsě lěta ***sъxoždaaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ vъ kǫpělь . i ***vъzmǫštaaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ vodǫ [*M*]
for an angel of the Lord *went down* at certain seasons into the pool and *stirred up* the water (John 5:4)

These imperfective imperfects are used to describe the situation, in this case the habitual events that form the background for the following situations. The backdrop is further painted by a sentence about a man who had been (*bě*$^{\text{impf}}$) present for thirty-eight years, after which the story line starts unfolding with past participles and aorists:

(155) sego ***viděvъ***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ is[usъ] . i ***razuměvъ***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ ěko mъnoga lěta juže iměaše . ***g[lago]la***$^{\text{aor}}$ emu xošteši li živъ byti [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
when Jesus *saw* him, and *knew* that he had already been a long time in that condition, He *said* to him, "Do you wish to get well" (John 5:6, my translation)

There are, however, also examples of the imperfect in a sequence of events (cf. example (54), Chapter 6). This can be compared to what Dickey (2000: 203) in his comparison of the modern Slavic languages, calls the 'contextually conditioned imperfective past (CCIP)'. The occurrence of the CCIP in OCS is of importance, because modern Slavic languages show aspectual variation in this context (cf. Ivančev 1961, Galton 1976, Stunová 1993, Dickey 2000). In OCS the use of non-perfective verbs in sequences of events occurs both with anaspectual imperfects and imperfective imperfects.[34] Compare the following examples with anaspectual verbs:

[34] Many of the examples of imperfective verbs in sequences of events that Dickey (2000: 203-233) and also Stunová (1993: 105-167) give, would be anaspectual in this study, which is why I speak of non-perfective verbs in sequences of events.

(156) i vъnidošę[aor] vъ kaperъnaumъ . i abье vъ sǫboty . na sъnъmišti ***učaaše***[impf] [*Z*, *M*]
they went into Capernaum; and immediately on the Sabbath He *began to teach* in the synagogue (Mark 1:21, my translation)

(157) togda ostavi[aor] ego diěvolь . i se a[n]ǵ[e]li pristǫpišę[aor] i ***služaaxǫ***[impf] emu [*Z*, *A*, *Sk*]
then the devil left Him; and behold, angels came and *began to minister* to Him (Matthew 4:11)

(158) i pristǫpь[PastAPI] otъvali[aor] kamenь . otъ dvьri groba . i ***sěděaše***[impf] na nemь [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and came and rolled away the stone and *sat* upon it (Matthew 28:2)

The English translations of (156) and (157) show that a possible interpretation of the imperfect in this context is ingressive. The events in the imperfect are presented as occurring in a chain. However, the imperfect leaves any boundaries of the event out of the focus, which necessarily results in a contact between the "events themselves" (cf. the Y in Figure 2.6 in section 2.2.3), which makes it a different kind of ingressivity than expressed by verbs like *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' of *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry'.

Interestingly, the verb *sěděti* 'sit' never means 'sit down', which makes it hard to interpret *sěděaše* in (158) as ingressive; the event appears to be presented *in media res*.[35] Given the fact that the boundaries of the events are left out of the focus in (156) and (157) as well, there is no fundamental difference with (158); in all cases the "event itself" is in focus. Not only anaspectual verbs occur in this kind of context; there are examples with imperfective verbs as well:

(159) načętъ[aor] močiti nozě ego slьzami . i vlasy glavy svoeję ***otiraaše***[impf] . i oblobyzaaše[impf] nozě ego . i mazaaše[impf] m'üromь [*Z*, *A*, *Sk*]
she began to wet His feet with her tears, and *kept wiping* them with the hair of her head, and kissing His feet and anointing them with the perfume (Luke 7:38)

[35] On a more speculative note: the imperfect of both *sěděti* 'sit' and *sěsti* 'sit down' is *sěděaxъ*, even though the imperfects are always ascribed to *sěděti* (Aitzetmüller 1974) and *sěsti* is considered to not occur in the imperfect. Of the 6 occurrences of Greek imperfect *ἐκάθητο* in the meaning of 'sit down' in the Gospels, OCS only translates with an aorist *sěde* once (Matthew 15:29, *Z*, *M*); the five other occurrences are all translated with the imperfect *sěděaše* (e.g. Matthew 13:1 and John 6:3), just as in the 4 instances in Greek in which the form means 'was sitting' (e.g. Matthew 26:69, Mark 10:46). It is possible that the imperfect in OCS had both meanings and formed a kind of 'bridge' between *sěsti* and *sěděti*. See also Chapter 10 on the bridging function of the imperfect.

(160) idoste[aor] že i obrětoste[aor] žrěbьcь privęzanъ . pri dvьrexъ . vьně na paspǫtii . i ***otrěšaašete***[impf] i [*Z*, *M*]
they went away and found a colt tied at the door, outside in the street; and they *untied* it (Mark 11:4)

In example (159) the three imperfects (*otiraaše, oblobyzaaše, mazaaše*),[36] translating three Greek imperfects, most probably refer to three parallel or overlapping events, following the onset of the story, *načętъ*. So while the step from 'began to wet' to these tree parallel events is a step forward in the story, the three events themselves do not push the storyline any further. The most obvious interpretation is a series of intertwined wiping, kissing and anointing, hence the imperfective aspect results in an iterative reading. In example (160) the use of the imperfective imperfect *otrěšaašete* appears to emphasize the fact that the untying had some duration, it focuses on the process phase of the untying.[37] This fits in with the part of the story that follows, which is now presented as overlapping with the untying:

(161) i eteri otъ stojęštiixъ tu . g[lago]laaxǫ ima . čьto ***děeta***[pres] ***otrěšajǫšta***[PresAP] žrěbьcь [*Z*, *M*]
some of the bystanders were saying to them, "What *are* you *doing*, *untying* the colt?" (Mark 11:5)

The examples of anaspectual and imperfective imperfects in sequences of events show that the imperfect and imperfective verbs are not only used for background information in a narrative, but can be used to move a narrative forward as well. In most cases, however, the sequence of events does not proceed beyond the imperfective imperfect in the same utterance, which shows that it differs from the aorist that is often used as an onset for a following event in the same utterance. The few examples that I found of an imperfect with a subsequent aorist in the same utterance are with anaspectual verbs, but I see no reason why imperfective verbs could not have been used in a similar vein. The following examples demonstrate the use of an imperfect with a subsequent aorist:

[36] The verb *oblobyzati*, *oblobyžǫ* 'kiss' does not belong to the core imperfectives. It is not derived by means of *-ati*, *-aje-* and an extra derived verb *oblobyzati, oblobyzajǫ* 'kiss' exists. The underived verb is *oblobъzati*, *oblobъžǫ* 'kiss'

[37] The use of the imperfect may also have been influenced by the Greek original, which has a historical present, *λύουσιν*. In the discussion below, I will argue that a possible translation of a Greek historical present in OCS is an imperfective aorist. However, this rare form may have been lost in the process of copying resulting in either perfective aorists or imperfective imperfects. The original form could have been the imperfective aorist *otrěšaste*, which may have felt like a strange form to a copier who did not have the Greek original at his disposal. On the other hand, the translators could also simply have chosen the imperfect to create the feeling of overlap with subsequent events, which is also compatible with the Greek historical present.

(162) is[usъ] že ***mlъčaaše***[impf] . otъvěštavъ ar'xierei ***reče***[aor] emu . zaklinajǫ tę b[ogo]mь živimь . da rečeši namъ . ašte ty esi x[ristos]ъ s[y]nъ b[o]žii [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
but Jesus *kept silent.* And the high priest *said* to Him, "I adjure You by the living God, that You tell us whether You are the Christ, the Son of God." (Matthew 26:63)

(163) onъ že ***reče***[aor] pridi . i izlězь is korablь petrъ . ***xoždaaše***[impf] na vodaxъ . i ***pride***[aor] ky is[uso]vi [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and He *said*, "Come!" And Peter got out of the boat, and *walked* on the water and *came* toward Jesus (Matthew 14:29)[38]

In (162), the use of the imperfect is easily explained as it indicates the continuation of a state. In the preceding verse, Matthew 26:62, the last event is coded by the aorist *reče* 'he said', as the high priest asks him why he does not answer. From that question is can be inferred that Jesus was silent before, did not respond to the accusations and also does not respond to the question posed by the high priest. However, his keeping silent is more than simple background information: the fact that Jesus keeps silent even after the high priest asks him why he does not answer, as well as the fact that his keeping silent elicits a reaction from the high priest push the story forward. In (163) the imperfect *xoždaaše* of the indeterminate VOM *xoditi* 'walk' (cf. example (281), Chapter 9) is completely surrounded by aorists and is itself a translation of a Greek aorist, *περιεπάτησεν*. It seems unlikely that Peter was just walking around a bit on the water, the walking on water event is simply one in a sequence of events. The use of the imperfect, however, draws attention to the event, maybe slows down the pace of the story to zoom in on the most unbelievable part of it. This also fits with Dickey's (2010) theory that the partners of the VOMs where manner-of-motion verbs in OCS; the imperfect *xoždaaše* emphasizes the fact that Peter's coming towards Jesus is done *walking* (cf. section 9.4).

Various interpretations of the use of non-perfective (hence, imperfective and anaspectual) verbs in sequences are possible, such as ingressive, durative, iterative, *in media res*, or maybe simply drawing attention to the event by slowing down the pace of the story like in (163). The CCIP (see the explanation above example (156)) also occurs in Modern Slavic, e.g. in Czech. Stunová (1993: 112) describes for Czech that events in a sequence that are expressed by imperfective verbs are felt to be partly overlapping. They create

[38] I have not marked the Past Active Participle I *izlězъ*, but it seems to function no differently from the aorists and could be seen as the second event in the sequence, just as in the English translation 'got out'.

an effect of smooth transition or continuity of the action (cf. Galton 1976: 70, Dickey 2000: 217). Berger (2013) also discusses the use of imperfective verbs in sequences of events in Czech and regards it as a way of 'slowing down the action' (ibidem: 40). All these effects can be explained by the fact that the imperfect does not focus on the change from one situation to another, which is the normal way of narrating events, also in OCS. Without native informants it is impossible to gain absolute certainty regarding the specific pragmatic effects in OCS, but the examples above demonstrate beyond doubt that the CCIP occurs frequently in OCS.

Finally, the imperfective imperfect also occurs in a conative function. I have found three examples in the Gospel texts of an imperfective imperfect being used to refer to a failed attempt:[39]

(164) ioanъ že ***vъzbraněaše***[impf] emu gl[agol]ę . azъ trěbujǫ otъ tebe krьstiti sę . a li ty kъ mně grędeši . otъvěštavъ že is[usъ] reče kъ nemu . ostani nyně [*A*, *Z*, *Sk*][40]
but John *tried to prevent* Him, saying, "I have need to be baptized by You, and do You come to me?" But Jesus answering said to him, "Permit it at this time" (Matthew 3:14-15)

(165) i ***daěxǫ***[impf] emu . piti ocьtъno vino . onъ že ne prijętъ[aor] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
they *tried to give* Him wine mixed with myrrh; but He did not take it (Mark 15:23)

(166) i bystъ vъ osmy dьnь . pridǫ[aor] obrězatъ[sup] otročęte . i ***naricaaxǫ***[impf] e . imenemь . o[tь]ca svoego zaxariję . i otъvěštavъši m[a]ti ego reče . ni . nъ da narečetъ[pres] sę imę ioanъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and it happened that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child, and they *were going to call* him Zacharias, after his father. But his mother answered and said, "No indeed; but he shall be called John." (Luke 1:59-60)

In all three examples the success of the attempt depends on a third party that has the power to prevent the successful change of state. And while the first two examples allow for a durative interpretation, in example (166) it is really only the non-attainment of the inherent boundary that results in the use of an imperfect. Hence, it is the imperfective aspect that is used to defocus the

[39] All three examples are translations of a Greek imperfect.
[40] The imperfect imperfect *vъzbraněaše* cannot be morphologically distinguished from the imperfect that would be formed from the perfective *vъzbraniti* 'prevent' (cf. Amse-de Jong 1974: 104 ff., Aitzetmüller 1977: V), however there is no reason to assume that in this case it concerns a perfective imperfect (see also section 8.2.3).

inherent boundary, which is responsible for this effect. This can also explain why there are no examples of anaspectual imperfects in a conative function.

8.2.2 Imperfective aorist

According to Dostál (1954: 600), 40% of all attested cases of aorist use in OCS are imperfective. Dostál arrives at this rather high percentage because his count includes the instances of the aorist of verbs that I have categorized as anaspectual aorists, like *plęsa* in example (144). In my categorization, in the imperfective groups there are only 37 attestations of the aorist out of a total of 3,654. Moreover, these attestations are found in only 18 verbs of the total of 504 and only a few of them are clear-cut cases of the imperfective aorist, as I will demonstrate below. Hence, the imperfective aorist is an extremely rare form, which makes it hard to draw a final conclusion on its functions in OCS. Below, I will attempt to demonstrate in which way the defocusing of the inherent boundary (imperfective aspect) is compatible with presenting the event as temporally bounded (aorist).

8.2.2.1 Some complicated verbs

The imperfective verb with the most aorist attestations in OCS is *vъprašati* 'ask'. Amse-de Jong (1974: 150-154) does not regard this as an imperfective verb, because of its attestations in the aorist and treats it like a simplex, even though in her formal categorization it should be classified as an imperfect in opposition to *vъprositi*. In her opinion, however, the prefix *vъ-* no longer makes the verb terminative; it rather belongs to the root, like in *vъprosъ* 'question'. The examples Amse-de Jong gives include the following example:

(167) tače ***vъpraša***[aor] asklipiada polemonъ . i li ty krьstijanъ jesi . asklipijadъ reče ei [*S*]
then Polemon *asked* Asclepiades, "Are you a Christian too?" Asclepiades said, "Yes." (132, 26-28)

In my opinion, the use of *vъprašati* in such utterances is similar to that of *glagolati* in the sense of 'say'; the message, in case of *vъprašati* the question, makes the predicate terminative, introducing an inherent boundary. The aorist of *vъprašati* in example (167) is a translation of the Greek aorist *ἐπηρώτησε* 'he asked'. Aorist forms of the same Greek verb are also translated by aorists of anaspectual *prositi* 'implore, ask' and perfective *vъprositi* 'ask':

(168) i pristǫpьše fariseі . i sadukei . iskušajǫšte i . ***prosišę***[aor] znamenіě sъ n[e]b[e]se pokazati imъ [*Z, M*]
the Pharisees and Sadducees came up, and testing Jesus, they *asked* Him to show them a sign from heaven (Matthew 16:1)

(169) i ***vъprosi***[aor] otъ nixъ . zakonoučitelь iskušajęi i gl[agol]ę [*M*]
one of them, a lawyer, *asked* Him a question, testing Him (Matthew 22:35)

It is difficult to determine what motivates the choice of either verb, especially since in (167) and (169) the situations are similar: a single question is being asked. There is also an example of variation between codices concerning one and the same passage, where one codex has an aorist of *vъprositi* while the other has an imperfect of *vъprašati*:

(170) i pridjǫ[aor] sakukei kъ nemu iže gl[a]g[o]ljǫtъ ne byti vьskrěšeniju i ***vъprosišę***[aor] i gl[agol]jǫšte [*M*]
i pridošę[aor] sakukei kъ nemu . iže gl[agol]jǫtъ ne byti vъskrěšenьju i ***vъprašaaxǫ***[impf] i gl[agol]jǫšte [*Z*]
some Sadducees (who say that there is no resurrection) came to Jesus, and *began questioning* Him, saying (Mark 12:18)

The interesting thing about this example is that the Byzantine Greek text, on which the OCS translation is based, has an aorist *ἐπηρώτησαν*, while the critical text has an imperfect *ἐπηρώτων*, which is what the English translation is based on. With the aorist it seems that a normal sequence of events is expressed 'they came and questioned him', while the use of the imperfect is a case of CCIP in which the questioning is presented as an iterative event (questioning implies asking a number of questions), or maybe ingressive 'they came and started questioning him', like in the English Bible translation (cf. section 8.2.1.2). With regard to terminativity: in the sense of 'question' *vъprašati* could be seen as aterminative, just like *glagolati* in the sense of 'speak'. There is a similar example in Luke 3:14, where the Greek original has an imperfect:

(171) ***vъprašaaxǫ***[impf] že i . i voini gl[ago]ljǫšte . i my čьto sъtvoritmъ . i reče kъ nimъ . nikogože obidite . ni oklevetaite . i dovolьni bǫděte obroky vašimi [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
vъprašašę[aor] že i voini gl[ago]ljǫšte . i my čьto sъtvoritmъ i reče kъ nimъ . nikogože ne obidite ni oklevetaite . i dostoini bǫděte obręštanii vašimi [*Sk*]
some soldiers *were questioning* him, saying, "And what about us, what shall we do?" And he said to them, "Do not take money from anyone by force, or accuse anyone falsely, and be content with your wages" (Luke 3:14)

The choice of *vъprašati* could maybe be explained by the fact that questioning is a longer lasting event in which a number of questions are asked. The verb *vъprositi* summarizes this into a single complete event, in

which the difference between questioning and asking is lost. The aorist is used here because the event occurs in a sequence of events, much like an anaspectual aorist, while the imperfect is, again, a case of CCIP. However, in other cases the imperfect of *vъprašati* simply means 'ask':

(172) ***vъpraša**aaše*[impf] že časa otъ nixъ . vъ kotory sulěe bystъ . rěšę že emu . ěko vъčera vъ časъ sedmy ostavi ognь [*Z*, *A*][41]
vъpraša[aor] že godiny otъ nixъ . vъ kǫjǫ sulěe emu bys[tъ] rěšę že emu . ěko vъčera vъ godinǫ sedmǫjǫ ostavi i ognь [*M*]
so he *inquired* of them the hour when he began to get better. They said therefore to him, "Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him" (John 4:52)

(173) i ***vъpraša**aaše*[impf] i . kako ti estъ imę . i gl[agol]a emu . leǵeonь mьně imę estъ [*Z*, *M*]
and He *asked* him, "What is your name?" And he said to Him, "My name is Legion" (Mark 5:9, my translation)

It is difficult to see why the OCS translators would choose an imperfective verb in this context. The use of the imperfect can in some cases be influenced by the Greek original, which has an imperfect in (171) and (173), but an aorist in (172).

It is probably also no coincidence that *vъprašati* is attested in the PastAPI three times as well, given the fact that aorist and past participles are so closely connected:

(174) ***vъprašavъše***[PastAPI] že kto jestъ otъ nixъ iskomyi imi savinъ […] jedinogo sъvęzašę [*S*]
and *after asking* who of them was their wanted Savin […] they tied one up (146, 2-4)

The PastAPI is a translation of the Greek aorist participle *ἐπερωτήσαντες*. It is possible to interpret this as a longer lasting event 'after they interrogated them as to who of them was …', but there is no other clue for this interpretation except for the use of the imperfective verb *vъprašati*.

All this variation, even between and within the Greek versions, makes it hard to deduce strict rules as to when a certain form (or verb, think of *prositi* and *vъprositi*) was used. It is clear that the imperfective *vъprašati* often refers to a single question and is not used in a conative function; in examples (171) through (173) the questions are clearly answered, nor is there any iterativity involved. The solution Amse-de Jong (1974: 150-154) proposes of seeing

[41] *Assemanianus* has *ostavi i ognь*, like *Marianus*.

vъprašati as an anaspectual verb, feels somewhat ad hoc, but solves the problem of the unusual choice of an imperfective verb in contexts where there seems no reason to defocus an inherent boundary. Examples (170) and (171), where the verb is used more in an 'interrogating' sense can be seen as aterminative examples of *vъprašati* (cf. *glagolati* in the meaning 'speak'). This could also mean that the terminativity in the other examples is not due to the inherent terminativity of *vъprašati*, but to other factors, like the context or the verb form it occurs in. However, I do not concur with her line of reasoning that the fact that this verb is attested in aorist forms makes it automatically anaspectual, since there are other examples of imperfective aorists, as I will demonstrate below.

Except for aorists of *vъprašati*, Amse-de Jong (1974: 163-171) mentions some other complicated cases. The verb *izvěštati* 'proclaim', for example, the derived partner of *izvěstiti* 'proclaim', with 5 aorist attestations, is a difficult case in which various derivational patterns coincide (cf. Amse-de Jong 1974: 167-169).[42]

In some cases the imperfective aorist is the result of an obvious copying mistake:

(175) arxieręi ***zaklinašę***[aor] b[o]gomь živymъ . ty li esi g[lago]lę s[yn]ъ b[o]žei [*Es*]
the high priests *swore* by the living God, "Are you the one saying that he is God's son?" (48b, 11-13)

The form aorist *zaklinašę* is a third person plural aorist, which makes no sense in this context, while a third person imperfect *zaklinaše* would. The fact that the nasal *ę* occurs more often instead of *e* in *Euchologium Sinaiticum* supports the hypothesis that this is in fact a mistake (Nahtigal 1941: 115 fn.). This could be the result of the process of denasalization of vowels, which is a phenomenon the results of which occur rather frequently in younger OCS codices of the Late Old Church Slavonic recension (Schaeken & Birnbaum 1999: 24, cf. Chapter 1).

[42] There is a simplex *věštati* 'speak' with a derived partner *věštavati* 'speak'. Prefixed verbs of this unprefixed pair form prefixed pairs (e.g. *otъvěštati - otъvěštavati* 'answer'). Of these verbs no prefixed forms with *-větiti* exist (e.g. **otъvětiti*). There are also two pairs *izvěstiti - izvěštati* 'confirm' and *vъzvěstiti - vъzvěštati* 'proclaim'. Of these forms there is no derived form on *-věštavati* (e.g. **izvěštavati*). There is, however, a verb *izvěstovati* 'inform, confirm', which appears to be denominal of *izvěstь* 'real, true'. The complication is that some of the verbs ending in *-věštati* are the perfective partner to a derived verb on *-věštavati*, while others are the imperfective partner, derived from verbs on *-věstiti*. As such, *izvěstovati* could even be regarded as a form for disambiguation (cf. the prefixed forms of *-vědovati* discussed in Chapter 9, section 9.5).

I will not discuss all the individual cases in which the status of the imperfect aorist is uncertain; the reader is referred to Amse-de Jong for a detailed discussion of most of the forms in the *Suprasliensis*. Below, I will concentrate on some of the more convincing examples of imperfective aorists, to demonstrate that the forms do in fact occur in specific functions.

8.2.2.2 Examples of the imperfective aorist

After eliminating the most dubious and complicated forms, I believe there are still some forms left that need to be accounted for and that can be seen as imperfective aorist.

It is interesting that Amse-de Jong does not discuss the 3 examples of the aorist of the imperfective verb *ožidati* 'expect' in the *Suprasliensis*, not even as problematic cases.[43] It could be that she considers the verb *ožidati* to be similar to *vъprašati* in that it is aterminative. In that case the aorist attestations would simply be anaspectual aorists, expressing a temporally bounded activity. It is also possible that she considers the attested forms to be contracted imperfects (*ožidaaxъ* > *ožidaxъ*), which in this case is identical to the aorist. In such cases, where it is not possible to distinguish between aorist and imperfect on morphological grounds, it is especially interesting to take a look at the Greek original. In all three instances, the Greek parallel text of the 1982 edition of the *Suprasliensis* has an aorist form (12, 11 *ἠνεσχόμην* 433, 28 and 436, 1 *ἔμεινα*). This gives me the impression that the aorist forms should be taken at face value, like in the following example (translating Greek *ἔμεινα* 'I expected'):

(176) ***ožidaxъ***[aor] sъtvoriti vino . sъtvori že trьnije [*S*]
I *expected* it to produce grapes, but it produced thorns (433, 28-29)

If this form should really be understood as an imperfective aorist and not as anaspectual aorists, my interpretation would be that the imperfective verb is used here to express that the expected grapes were not produced, hence in a conative function. The aorist expresses that the event has finished and connects the event to the subsequent producing of the thorns, which is the reason why the event is cut off before the reaching of an inherent boundary. Had the OCS translator used an imperfect of *ožidati*, the contrast between the expected result and the practical result would have been different; the

[43] No perfective partner **ožьdati* is attested in OCS. However, the verbs *dožьdati* 'wait for, persist' and *požьdati* 'wait for, expect', both prefixed formations of *žьdati* 'wait, expect' are attested. Moreover, in Old Russian the perfective partner *ožьdati* is attested (Sreznevskij 1893-1906). The Modern Russian equivalents given by Sreznevskij are: *obožděat'* 'wait for a while' and *doždat'sja* 'wait until the end'. This gives the impression that also in OCS *ožidati* must have been derived from **ožьdati*, a perfective prefixed formation of the simplex *žьdati* 'wait'.

interpretation would have been something like *'I was expecting it to produce grapes, but it produced thorns'*, in which the expecting event is partly overlapped by the producing of the thorns, but not cut off by it.

Another example of an imperfective aorist can be found in the *Marianus*. It concerns the aorist of the imperfective verb *posylati* 'send' (translation of the Greek aorist *ἀνέπεμψα* 'I sent'), while *Zographensis* has the aorist of perfective *posъlati*:[44]

(177) nъ ni irodъ . ***posylaxъ***[aor] bo i kъ nemu . i se ničьtože {sь} dostoino sъmrьti sъtvoreno estъ o nemь [*M*][45]
nъ ni irodъ . ***posъlaxъ***[aor] bo i kъ nemu . i se ničьtože dostoino sъmrьti tvoreno estъ o nemь [*Z*]
but neither Herod: I *sent* him to him (and he has returned him); and behold, nothing deserving death has been done by him (Luke 23:15, my translation)

This utterance by Pilate concerns Jesus whom he had sent to Herod, but who was now returned to him by Herod. So Jesus is standing in front of him while Pilate tells the people that he sent Jesus to Herod. The imperfective aorist in the *Marianus* may have been used here to express the roundtrip that Jesus made; the initial attainment of the boundary of Jesus being sent away has been undone by the subsequent event of Herod sending him back. This is the reason why the Russian Synodal Orthodox Version also uses an imperfective verb *ibo ja posylal*[ipf] *Ego k nemu*. By contrast, the Czech translation has *jsem poslal*[pf]. The aorist in OCS means that the event is temporally bounded which, in this case, results in the interpretation of the event as total, notwithstanding the fact that the change of situation has been undone. *Zographensis* has an aorist of perfective *posъlati*, *posъlaxъ*, which does not express the roundtrip meaning. Hence, the use of the imperfective aorist is not obligatory in OCS in this situation, unlike in Modern Russian.

The imperfective aorist in (177) is an example of a true imperfective verb used in retrospective mode in OCS and as such is connected to the 'simple denotation' function of anaspectual aorists as discussed in section 8.2.1.1. It refers to the occurrence or relevance of a past event, without focus on the result.

[44] One could object to this form being analysed as an aorist and argue that it is a contracted imperfect instead. However, the codex *Zographensis* has an aorist as well (*posъlaxъ*), just as the Greek original. I think it is more reasonable to assume that a scribe felt the need to smoothen out the rare imperfective aorist in the *Zographensis*, than to assume that a scribe decided to change a perfective aorist into a contracted imperfective imperfect.

[45] The Byzantine version of the Gospels, and hence the OCS translation, differs somewhat from the modern critical text, which has a 3rd person aorist here.

Incidentally, I found an example of a PastPP of *posylati* as well, again with variation between the codices:

(178) ier[u]s[a]l[i]mъ izbivъšiě pr[o]r[o]kъi . i kameniemъ pobivajǫšti . ***posylanyję***[PastPP] kь tebě [*A*]
i[e]r[usali]me . izbivy pr[oro]ky . i kameniemь pobivaję . ***posъlanyję***[PastPP] kъ tebě [*M*]
Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and stones those *who are sent* to her (Matthew 23:37)[46]

The use of the imperfective participle *posylanyję* possible refers to the repeated sending of people to Jerusalem.[47]

An example similar to (177), in which the change of state is undone at the moment of utterance, can be found with an aorist of *obnažati* 'become naked' (translation of Geek aorist *ἐγυμνώθησ* 'you became naked'):

(179) nъ ašte ty adame pomęneši . jegda vъ porodě ***obnaža***[aor] kojego dǫba listvije vьzьmъ i sъšivъ sebě si odeždǫ sъtvori [*S*]
but do you remember Adam when he *became naked* in paradise, from which tree he took leaves and made clothes for himself by sewing them together (347, 27-30)

The additional benefit of the form *obnaža* in example (179) is that it cannot be interpreted as a contracted imperfect, since the ending is an exclusive aorist ending. The examples (176) - (179) share the fact that for some reason the inherent boundary is defocused, while the event is presented as temporally bounded, or total. However, there are also examples of the imperfective aorist that are harder to interpret, like in the following example from the *Clozianus* (translating the Greek aorist *ὑπέστωσαν* 'they spread out':

(180) dьnesь že vъ staryxъ město nesъmyslьnyxъ otroci sъrětǫ s[ъ]p[a]sitelě ěko symeonъ i větve ***postilašę***[aor] [*C*]
but today instead of short-sighted elderly people, children met the saviour like Symeon, and *spread out* branches (1a 34-36)

In the *Suprasliensis* this text is also attested and there a perfective aorist is used (*postьlašę* of *postьlati* 'spread out'). A possible interpretation of the

[46] The translation of the version in codex *Marianus* is 'Jerusalem, you who kills …' because of the vocative *ierusalime*.

[47] The PastPP occurs only very sporadically in imperfective verbs and is difficult to interpret. For example, the PastPP of the verb *opravьdati* 'justify', occurs in Luke 18:14 in all four Gospel codices and once in Psalm 18:10. Dostál (1954: 555) remarks because of these attestations that the aspect of *opravьdati* is not clear. In any case, it is difficult to interpret the imperfectivity of these forms, even more so since there are no examples of PastPP of the perfective partner *opravъditi* 'justify'

version in the *Clozianus* is that the spreading of the branches on the road is presented as an iterative event, hence with emphasis on the unboundedness on the macro-level 'they have been spreading out branches' (cf. also example (55) Chapter 6), an event which stops (hence, is temporally bounded) at the moment Jesus passes by.

In the *Zographensis* one example of an imperfective aorist is attested. It concerns a form of the imperfective verb *prizyvati* 'summon', derived from *prizъvati* 'summon' (*Marianus* has *priъva*, an aorist of perfective *prizъvati* 'summon'):

(181) i vьzide na gorǫ i ***prizyva***[aor] jęže samъ vъsxotě . i idošę kъ nemu [*Z*]
i vьzide na gorǫ i ***prizъva***[aor] jęže samъ xotě . i idǫ kъ nemu [*M*]
and He went up on the mountain and *summoned* those whom He Himself wanted, and they came to Him (Mark 3:13)

The OCS aorist is the translation of a Greek historical present *προσκαλεῖται* 'he summons'. I have already mentioned that the historical present is almost completely absent from OCS. Greek historical present forms are normally translated with aorists, which is also the case here. However, the particular choice of aspect, the prefixed imperfective verb *prizyvati* may be influenced by the fact that the translator translated a Greek present tense.[48]

As mentioned above, in cases of historical present, Klein (1994: 139) distinguishes between the real time of the situation and the imagined time of the situation, either of which may be chosen, or between which a speaker may switch to create particular connotations. Applying this theory to OCS the imperfective verb could have the effect that the imagined time of the situation is in focus, while a perfective verb is a choice for a focus on the real time of the situation. Maybe the form *prizyva* in (181) is a way of doing both: by using an imperfective verb, the imagined time of the situation is focused, presenting the event as taking place at the moment of utterance, while the use of the aorist indicates that this concerns a total event, which can be seen as a choice for the real time of the situation. Alternatively, the use of the historical present is explained as highlighting decisive events. This explanation has the benefit of not having to zoom in on an event that does not have a process phase to zoom in on, like *posylajǫtъ* in (134) as well as *prizъiva* in (181). In that case, the use of the imperfective aorist could also be explained as drawing attention to the decisive event in a series of events.

[48] Note that this does not explain why the first Greek present tense form, *ἀναβαίνει*, does not get this special treatment and is simply translated with an aorist of a prefixed determinate VOM, *vъzide*, which can be regarded as a perfective aorist (cf. section 9.3).

The fact that the *Marianus* has the perfective aorist *prizъva*, of the verb *prizъvati* 'summon', can be explained by the scribe not necessarily having the Greek original at his disposal and thus regarding the highly specialized imperfective aorist as a scribal error, or a translation error. Or he could have simply misread or misheard *prizyva* for *prizъva*, of which the latter was quite a common form in OCS, contrary to the former. Interestingly, in the codex *Zographensis*, the letter *i*, which makes up the second part of the letter *y* (*ъi*), is added supralinearly, which shows that this was a mistake that was all too easily made. Moreover, the fact that the mistake was rectified gives the strong impression that the imperfective aorist was indeed an acceptable form and was interpretable, otherwise such a correction would not have made sense.

There are no other examples exactly like (181). There is on example of an aorist of *vъzyvati* 'call', which can be found in *Euchologium Sinaiticum* and *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, in the second verse of Psalm 4. However, this time it is a translation of a Greek present infinitive, *ἐπικαλεῖσθαί* 'I call', which is followed by an aorist *εἰσήκουσέν* 'you answered':

(182) vnegda ***vъzyvaxъ***[aor] uslyša[aor] mę b[o]že pravъdy moeję [*Es*][49]
vъnegda ***vъzyvaxъ***[aor] uslyša[aor] mję b[o]že pravъdъi moeję [*Ps*]
when I *called* you, you answered me, o God of my righteousness [Psalm 4:2]

In this case the imperfective aspect could have been used to express iterativity, while the aorist links together the calling with the answering. The translation of the version in *Euchologium Sinaiticum* could be read as 'whenever I called you', while the version in *Psalterium Sinaiticum* misses that iterative nuance and simply connects a single calling event with a single answering event.

Admittedly, the hypothesis of using an imperfective aorist as a translation strategy for the Greek historical present is rather speculative. There is a clue, however, which also points in the direction of a specialized translation of Greek historical present forms and it concerns *verba dicendi*. Greek historical present forms are normally translated by OCS aorist and this is no different with aorist of *λέγω* 'say'. However, while the aorist of *λέγω* is translated by an aorist of *rešti* 'say', the historical present of *λέγω* is normally translated by an aorist of *glagolati*.[50] The following examples show this function of the aorist of *glagolati*:

[49] Unlike the form in the *Zographensis*, which can only be an aorist because of the unique ending, this could be seen as a form of a contracted imperfect.

[50] I counted all translations of 3sg indicative present *λέγει* in the four Gospel codices in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. There were 264 translations with the aorist *g[lago]la* and 32 with the aorist *reče*.

(183) ***g[lago]la***^{aor} imъ . otiděte . ne umrětъ^{aor} bo děvica nъ sъpitъ^{pres} . i rǫgaxǫ^{impf} sę emu [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
He *said*, "Leave; for the girl has not died, but is asleep." And they began laughing at Him (Matthew 9:24)

(184) i ***g[lago]lašę***^{aor} emu ěko niktože nasъ ne najętъ . ***g[lago]la***^{aor} imъ iděte i vy vъ vinogradъ moi . i eže bǫdetъ pravъda priimete [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
they *said* to him, "Because no one hired us." He *said* to them, "You go into the vineyard too, and you will receive what is right" (Matthew 20:7, my translation)

This use of the aorist of *glagolati* contrasts with the aorist of *rešti*, which is normally used to translate the Greek aorist:

(185) is[usъ] ***reče***^{aor} ima . čьto xošteta sъtvorǫ vama [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and He *said* to them, "What do you want Me to do for you" (Mark 10:36)

Although the association between the historical present of *λέγω* and the aorist of *glagolati* is not absolute, the frequency with which it occurs points at a translating strategy. In the discussion of the present tense of *rešti* and *glagolati* I already pointed out that there is a division of labour between these verbs that is reminiscent of the division in aspectual pairs. Maybe this translating strategy is another hint in that direction. It is possible that forms like *prizyva* where straightened out in the copying process, because of their strong resemblance to the perfective aorist, while the aorist of *glagola* survived because it did not look or sound at all like the aorist of *rešti*. Moreover, the rather frequent occurrence of *glagolati* and *vъprašati* in the aorist in sequences of events could indicate that *verba dicendi* have some specialized aspectual functions. A study of aspect use in all *verba dicendi* in OCS may clarify the specific behaviour of *glagolati* and *vъprašati* and the verbs they have a relationship with.

At first, I tried to ignore or explain away all possible examples of the imperfective aorists and follow Amse-de Jong and her rather attractive model in which imperfective aorists are simply logically impossible. However, the examples I presented above indicate that imperfective aorists do actually occur in OCS, albeit rather sporadically, and that their use results in interpretable utterances. The low frequency of examples of imperfective aorists in the OCS corpus may partly be due to losses in the copying process and makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions, but the common denominator in all the examples is the defocusing of the inherent boundary, while at the same time the event is presented as temporally bounded, or total. It makes sense that forms with such complicated semantics are rare.

However, the existence of these forms is yet another reason to not consider the aorist a diagnostic of Slavic-style perfectivity.

8.2.3 Perfective imperfect

The two meaning elements that clash in the imperfective aorist, the inherent boundary and the temporal boundary, clash in the perfective imperfect as well. A perfective verb expresses the attainment of an inherent boundary, while the imperfect expresses unboundedness. Below I will show in which contexts OCS uses this combination.

Of all attestations of perfective verbs, a total of 18,732, only 29 attestations are clearly perfective imperfects. It is possible that there are more examples, but these cannot be distinguished from imperfective imperfects, as perfective and imperfective imperfects are homonymous for many verbs (Amse-de Jong 1974: 104 ff., Aitzetmüller 1977: V). However, also in cases where the forms can be distinguished (e.g. perfective 2/3sg impf *daděaše* from *dati* 'give' vs. imperfective 2/3sg impf *dajaše* from *dajati* 'give') there are still only very few examples of the perfective imperfect. Despite the rareness of the form, it has been discussed rather extensively in literature (e.g. Dostál 1954, Amse-de Jong 1974, Galton 1976, Kalsbeek 2012), unlike the imperfective aorist.[51] I will therefore only briefly discuss a number of examples to show the basic function of this form, namely the expression of habitual-correlative events (Kalsbeek 2012: 345):

(186) ašte se sъlučaaše[impf] ne iměti ničьsože dati sebě . to kotygǫ sьvlěkъ sъ sebe ***daděaše***[impf] ništuumu [*S*]
if it so happened that he had nothing to give, he *would* take off his undergarment and *give* it to the poor man (207, 12-15)

(187) tamo ubo iže sniděaše[impf] po prьvěěmъ uže ne ***icělěaše***[impf] [*S*]
but there, he who would descend after the first, *would* not *heal* (496, 15-16)

In both examples there is a condition that, when fulfilled, automatically leads to the following event. In example (186) the condition is presented by the imperfect *sъlučaaše* 'it happened' that can be considered to be a form of the imperfective *sъlučati*, or of the perfective *sъlučiti*. The result is of the fulfilment of the condition is expressed by the perfective imperfect *daděaše*. In (187) the condition is given by an imperfect of the prefixed determinate VOM *sъniti*, of which I will show that it behaves as a perfective verb in Chapter 9 (section 9.3). So in example (187) the chain of events can be said to

[51] At least the imperfective aorist in the strict sense of the term, hence, no anaspectual aorists.

consist of two perfective imperfects, while in (186) there is no way to establish the aspect of *sъlučaaše*. There is an example of an imperfect of a prefixed Leskien's class II verb, of which I will argue in section 9.2.3 that they can be regarded as perfective verbs, in which the condition is expressed by an imperfective imperfect, *proklinaaše*:

(188) proklinaaše[impf] smokъvnicǫ i ***isъxněaše***[impf] [*S*]
if he cursed a fig tree, then it was *bound to wither* (476, 23-24)

In yet another example the condition is introduced by present participles:

(189) isxoždaaxǫ[impf] že běsi otъ mъnogъ . vъpijǫšte[PresAP] i gl[agol]jǫšte[PresAP] . ěko ty esi x[ristos]ъ s[y]nъ b[o]žii . i zaprěštaję ne ***daděaše***[impf] imъ g[lago]lati . ěko věděaxǫ g[ospod]ě samogo sǫšta [*Z*]
demons also were coming out of many, shouting, "You are the Son of God!" But rebuking them, He *would* not *allow* them to speak, because they knew Him to be the Lord himself (Luke 4:41, my translation)[52]

Sometimes the condition is implicit, as in the following example:

(190) i ***nazьrěaxǫ***[impf] i kъnižьnici i fariseі ašte vъ sobotǫ iscělity i [*M*][53]
the scribes and the Pharisees *would watch* Him closely to see if He healed him on the Sabbath (Luke 6:7, my translation)[54]

It is good to mention that *Marianus* in Luke 4:41 (example (189)) has *dajaše* from imperfective *dajati* and that *Zographensis* and *Assemanianus* have *naziraaxǫ* in Luke 6:7 (example (190)). I think the difference between a perfective imperfect and an imperfective imperfect in this habitual function can be compared to the difference between a perfective and an imperfective present in generalized utterances. I have demonstrated that a perfective present can be used to exemplify a recurring phenomenon in OCS. Forsyth (1970: 174) argues that the perfective present in Russian expresses the event in such cases as a contingency: the event occurs from time to time when the

[52] The English translation follows the Greek and has "[…] knew him to be the Christ", which is also the version of the *Marianus*.
[53] *Assemanianus* and *Zographensis* have *iscělitъ*, the form *iscělity* can be attributed to the following *i*, resulting in *iscělitъi-i*.
[54] The OCS utterance is somewhat cumbersome. The first part of the sentence seems to refer to a general event: the scribes and the Pharisees were in the habit of watching Jesus closely on the Sabbath. The second part, with the direct object *i* 'him', refers to the specific event on that specific Sabbath, not to a habitual event. The direct object is not present in the Greek original and might thus be a later addition, perhaps connected to the use of the perfective *icěliti*, which normally requires an object, but can be explained here as well by pointing at the Greek future *θεραπεύσει* in the Byzantine version.

appropriate circumstances occur (cf. Barentsen 1995: 21). [55] These circumstances do not always have to be mentioned explicitly (cf. Dickey 2000: 57, Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015: 176-177). This is comparable to the use of the perfective imperfect in OCS. In a generalized context, the perfective imperfect is used to explicitly indicate that the event occurs on more than one occasion, but the imperfective imperfect simply expresses that an event occurs regularly, without referring to the emergence of the appropriate circumstances, just as the imperfective present.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the combination of perfective aspect with present passive participles also results in a modal interpretation. A closer look at these rare forms reveals that they have a specific 'potential' semantics. Most of them are negated, like *nepobědimъ* 'invincible' from perfective *poběditi* 'conquer', *neugasimъ* 'inextinguishable' from perfective *ugasiti* 'extinguish', *nerazorimъ* 'unbreakable' from perfective *razoriti* 'destroy' and *neutěsimъ* 'inconsolable' from perfective *utešiti* 'comfort'. However, I also found 'positive' formations like *icělimъ* 'curable', next to *neicělimъ* 'incurable both connected to perfective *icěliti* 'heal'. A comparison of *icělimъ* and *neicělimъ* is useful to show how conditionality plays a role in these formations, a conditionality which is reminiscent of the conditionality as expressed by perfective imperfects. The positive variant *icělimъ* refers to the fact that an affection can be cured, when the right circumstances occur, which clearly makes it a conditional event. The negated variant excludes the possibility of any circumstances in which the illness can be cured. Examples are:

(191) o vele velikoe ***neicělimoje***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ užestočenije [*S*]
o great *incurable* bitterness (339, 5-6)

(192) sь jestъ […] g[ospod]ь silenъ i krěpъkъ i ***nepobědimъ***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ vъ branexъ [*S*]
this is […] a powerful and strong God and *invincible* in battle (466, 28-30)

Similar participles of perfective verbs can be found in Modern Russian as well. These are often negated, like *nepobedimyj* 'invincible' connected to perfective *pobedit'* 'conquer' and *nepogrešimyj* 'infallible' from perfective *pogrešit'* 'sin, err', but positive formations also exist, e.g. *obozrimyj* 'visible' connected to perfective *obozret'* 'survey, view'. It would be interesting to compare these perfective present passive participles more in detail to

[55] Kalsbeek (2012) argues that this conditional function of the perfective imperfect can be connected to the loss of the perfective imperfect in BCS and the rise of the conditional to denote repeated events in the past.

imperfective present passive participles, but space considerations do not allow me to go deeper into this matter. I would guess, however, that in most cases the imperfective participles will not have the potential reading of the perfective, as the following example indicates (cf. example (70) in Chapter 6):

(193) i vsi gospodьnǫ blagodatьǫ ***icělaemi***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ otъxoždaaxǫ [*S*]
and all *who were being healed* by the grace of God went away (518, 26-27)

8.3 Anaspectual verbs

The rarity of the imperfective aorist and the perfective imperfect (as well as the perfective present passive participles) and their specialized usage, reflects an overall incompatibility of imperfective aspect with boundedness and of perfective aspect with unboundedness. The group of anaspectual verbs does not show this kind of general incompatibility. Still, verbs within the anaspectual group do not all have similar profiles and behaviour.

When it comes to compatibility with forms that express a specific kind of temporal boundedness (aorist and past participles), 198 out of 521 verbs in the anaspectual category are attested at least one time in such a form. The number of forms that express unboundedness (imperfect and present participles) is 386 out of 521. A total of 145 anaspectual verbs have attestations from both groups. It is important to note that these 145 verbs account for 23,505 anaspectual attestations, out of a total of 26,683. This means that at least some of the absence of either aoristic or imperfect attestations in the other verbs must be attributed to chance. A good example is the verb *plęsati* 'dance', which is only attested in the aorist and past participles, but which almost certainly must have been used in the imperfect and present participles as well. However, there are other factors influencing the profile and the behaviour of individual verbs, the most important of which being the lexical content of the verb. One of those factors is the relationship that anaspectual verbs have with other verbs (e.g. a prefixed formation, like with *alъkati* 'hunger' and *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry') that 'fill in' for them in certain contexts, like in the translation of Greek future forms, which logically, reduces their presence in such contexts. Below, I will first discuss two main groups of anaspectual verbs and subsequently the relationship of anaspectual verbs with other verbs.

8.3.1 Inherently aterminative anaspectual verbs

A closer look at the anaspectual verbs reveals that are two main groups of anaspectual verbs. The first group is the group that does not allow a terminative construal. This makes them less compatible with the aorist, which is the standard past tense for terminative events of which the boundary is presented as attained.

Clear examples of this are the verbs of bodily position *ležati* 'lie', *stojati* 'stand' and *sědĕti* 'sit', verbs in which the stative *-ě-* is visible, after patals *-a-* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 15). Still, all of these verbs are sporadically attested in the aorist, (often with one or more codices having an imperfect), which means they are presented as being somehow bounded. In Matthew 26:55 there is an example of the aorist of *sědĕti*:

(194) po v'sę d'ni ***sědĕxъ***[aor] sъ vami . vъ crkъve učę . i ne jęste mene [*Z*, *Sk*]
po vьsę dьni ***sědĕaxъ***[impf] pri vasъ vъ crkve i ne jęste mene [*M*, *A*][56]
every day I *used to sit* in the temple teaching and you did not seize Me (Matthew 26:55)

The example in *Zographensis* and *Marianus* shows a strong resemblance to example (150) where the aorist *učixъ* is used in a retrospective utterance with a simple denotation function. The only difference is that the Greek original has an aorist there and an imperfect in case of example (194), and the form *sědĕxъ* could also be seen as a contracted imperfect, unlike *učixъ*. However, the use of the OCS aorist seems perfectly natural in this example as well: the verb refers to a total event that has no inherent boundary. The translation of *sědĕxъ* as a retrospective form as in *Zographensis* and *Marianus* would be 'I have been sitting'. The imperfect in the *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* does not express this nuance of totality or boundedness, but rather emphasizes the habituality of the event, as does the English translation as well as the imperfect of the Greek original.

The few examples of the aorist of *stojati* also indicate a bounded event that does not express an inherent boundary. In example (195) the function of the aorist is again that of simple denotation, indicating an event that is now in the past, without any reference to a result, translating the Greek aorist *ἔστησαν* 'they stood', while in (196) the event is part of a narrative, translating the Greek pluperfect *εἱστήκει*.

(195) poklonimъ sję na městě . ideže ***stoěste***[aor] nodzě ego [*Ps*]
let us worship at the place where his feet *stood* (Psalm 131: 7)

(196) petrъ že ***stoja***[aor] prědъ vraty vьně . izide že učenikъ tъ . iže bě znaemъ arxiereovi . i reče vratarevi vъvedi petra [*Sk*]
petrъ že ***stoěše***[impf] pri dvьrexъ vьně . izide že učenikъ tъ . iže bě znaemъ arxiereovi . i reče dvьrьnici vъvede petra [*Z*, *A*]
but Peter *was standing* at the door outside. So the other disciple, who was known to the high priest, went out and spoke to the doorkeeper, and brought Peter in (John 18:16)

[56] *Assemanianus* has *vъ crkve učę*, like *Zographensis* and *Savvina Kniga*.

The aorist in (196) is probably used to indicate that Peter was not simply standing around there, but that for some reason he was stopped on his way in and from then on had been standing there, hence the temporal boundary lies at the beginning of the event. This fits with the preceding text *Simon Peter was following Jesus, and so was another disciple. Now that disciple was known to the high priest, and entered with Jesus into the court of the high priest* (John 18:15).

Other frequent inherently aterminative verbs with attestations in the aorist are *plęsati* 'dance' (cf. example (144), *trъpěti* 'endure' (cf. example (105)) *iskati* 'search'[57], *mysliti* 'think' and *bljusti* 'guard' (see below for examples of the latter three verbs). The aorist of *iskati* in the following example is a translation of the Greek aorist *ἐζήτησαν*:

(197) ti že vъsue ***iskašę***[aor] d[u]ša moejǫ . da vъnidǫtъ vь prěispodьnějǫ zemli [*Ps*]
but those who, to no avail, *have been seeking* my life to destroy it, will go into the depths of the earth (Psalm 63:9, my translation)

The aorist is again used to indicate a total event, even though the predicate does not express an inherent boundary. Compare also the following example of the aorist of *mysliti*:

(198) i lixo sъtvorixъ[aor] . i lixo ***myslixъ***[aor] [*Es*]
and I have done worse and *thought* worse (72a, 9-10)

Examples (197) and (198) are again retrospective examples, but the aorist of aterminative activity verbs is also regularly used in a sequence of events to indicate that the event took place for a limited period of time, like in the following example of *bljusti*, translating the Greek aorist *ἐφύλαξαν*:

(199) oni že sъtvorišę tako . i ***bljudišę***[aor] jego sъ straxomъ velikomъ . ostavivъše i tu do světa [*S*]
and they did like that and guarded him with great fear, leaving him here until the light of day (261, 11-13)

The aorist of *bljusti* indicates that the event took place for some time, before it was cut off by the 'light of day'.

In some cases the aorist comes close to indicating the start of an event:

[57] Bermel (1997: 55-56) calls *iskati* a conative verb, since it can never express the attainment of an inherent boundary.

(200) i išьdъ vъnъ ***plaka***[aor] ***sę*** gor'ko [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][58]
and he went out and *wept* bitterly (Matthew 26:75)

The main difference with the perfective ingressive *vъsplakati* 'start crying' is that the event is still presented as unbounded, which leads me to interpret it as having some duration (cf. Hercigonja 1961: 96-97). With *vъsplakati* the focus would only be on the change of state from not crying to crying, while here the event in its totality is in focus.

Yet other verbs in this category of inherently aterminative anaspectual verbs are not attested at all in aorist forms. This concerns verbs like *podobati* 'behove' and *alъkati* 'be hungry', *pešti sę* 'be engaged with'.

It is difficult to draw an exact line between events that allow a terminative construal and events that do not. Differences in profile between verbs are not always decisive. I have mentioned the case of the verb *plęsati* 'dance', (9 attestations in OCS), which is not a terminative event, but which is still attested 6 times in the aorist and 3 times in the PastAPI. Sometimes, verbs that appear to have the same lexical type, like the states *bojati sę* 'be afraid' and *alъkati* 'be hungry', show deviating profiles: the aorist of *bojati sę* can be used to indicate the start of a state of being afraid, competing with *ubojati sę* 'become afraid', while *alъkati* is not attested in this context as competing with *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry'. Given the relatively small body of material, it is hard to say whether this means that *alъkati* really could not be used in terminative predicates to indicate the beginning of a state. However, the fact remains that it is not attested in such predicates in OCS.

In short, there are a number of verbs in OCS that are never used in a terminative predicate. This concerns stative verbs, like verbs of bodily position, and aterminative activities that do not allow a terminative construal, or are at least not attested in a terminative predicate. Since events like this are never presented as having attained an inherent boundary, for which the aorist would be the unmarked past tense, they are less often attested in the aorist and therefore show a profile which is rather similar to imperfective verbs. However, the combination of the aorist with these verbs does not result in two levels of boundedness and the very specialized meanings that I have demonstrated for the aorist of imperfective verbs.

[58] In Luke 22:62, describing the same event, where the Greek has the same aorist form, *ἔκλαυσεν*, *Zographensis* has an imperfect *plakaaše sę*, while *Marianus* still has an aorist *plaka sę*.

8.3.2 'Terminativizable' anaspectual verbs[59]

Because of the issues mentioned, the other group of anaspectual verbs, the verbs that can be used in terminative predicates, cannot be exactly defined either. Had there been more texts, perhaps the difference between inherently aterminative anaspectual verbs and terminativizable anaspectual verbs would emerge more as a continuum. However, I must work with the material I have and splitting the group of anaspectual verbs up into two according to their terminativizability seems like a good way to demonstrate why profiles and behaviour differ among the anaspectual verbs. Hence, I will discuss the group of anaspectual verbs that are attested in terminative predicates below. I will show that when they occur in the aorist in terminative predicates, these verbs often express meanings that are not very different from those expressed by perfective aorists. This characteristic makes them very different from imperfective verbs, which always defocus the inherent boundary.

Just like in the inherently aterminative group, where there are two main groups, namely the stative verbs of bodily position and aterminative activities, subdivisions can also be made within the terminativizable group. First there are activities like *jasti* 'eat' and *piti* 'drink', which occur in terminative predicates with the addition of a discrete object, e.g. 'he drank *the wine*', but also occur freely without an object to refer to an activity (much like *plęsati* 'dance' or *plakati* 'cry'), e.g. 'he was drinking'. A verb like *tvoriti* 'make, do', which is also an activity, is more prone to take a terminative construal, because the association of this verb with an object is stronger; one is normally not just engaged in 'doing', while one can be engaged in 'eating' (but see example (205)). Even though these activities are compatible with terminative construals, they are often still used to refer to aterminative activities, even when they are presented as temporally bounded by means of an aorist. Verbs of perception like *viděti* and *slyšati*, which in a way always indicate the attainment of a boundary (one cannot see an apple without having seen it, but one can eat an apple without having eaten it), can also refer to an aterminative activity, for example in the imperfect or present tense. However, with these verbs it is harder to find convincing examples in the aorist in an aterminative predicate. Finally, verbs like *diviti sę* 'marvel', *bojati sę* 'be afraid', *věrovati* 'believe', also occur in aterminative predicates in the present tense or in the imperfect, but in combination with the aorist are

[59] I think the term 'telicizable' sounds much better. However, I have to be consistent and my choice for 'terminative' instead of 'telic' (cf. section 2.1.4) precludes the use of 'telicizable'. Moreover, some of the aorist of these aterminative verbs would not express telicity in the narrow sense of the meaning 'goal oriented activity'. Compare the aorists of stative verbs *diviti sę* 'marvel' or *bojati sę* 'see' that indicate the beginning of a state (examples (215) - (217)).

automatically terminative.[60] When these verbs occur in an aterminative predicate they refer to a state, while in a terminative construal they refer to the start of the state (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.5.1).

In the verbs like *jasti* and *piti*, the aorist often occurs in aterminative predicates with a simple denotation function, like in the following examples translating Greek aorists:

(201) tъgda načętъ g[lago]lati ***ěxomъ***[aor] prědъ tobojǫ i ***pixomъ***[aor] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
then you will begin to say, 'We *ate* and *drank* in Your presence (Luke 13:26)

(202) ide popelъ ěko xlěbъ ***ěsъ***[aor] . i pitьe moe sъ plačemъ rastvarěaxъ[impf] [*Ps*][61]
for I *have eaten* ashes like bread and mingled my drink with weeping (Psalm 102:9)

However, I found an example of the aorist of *jasti* expressing a terminative event of which the boundary is reached:

(203) kako vьnide vъ domъ b[o]žii . i xlěby prědъloženьě ***ěstъ***[aor] . i dastъ sǫštimъ sъ nimъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
how he entered the house of God, and *ate* the consecrated bread and gave it to his companions (Luke 6:4, my translation)

Here it is clear that David, the subject of this predicate, is said to have eaten the consecrated bread (not just *of* the bread). In other versions of the same story, with the same Greek original aorist, *ἔφαγεν* (Matthew 12:4, Mark 2:26), OCS uses an aorist of the perfective verb *sъněstъ* 'eat up', showing how close the meaning of the simplex in this predicate is to that of the perfective verb:

(204) kako vьnide vъ xramъ b[o]žii i xlěby prědloženiě ***sъněstъ***[aor] […] i dastъ i sǫštimъ sъ nimъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
how he entered the house of God and *ate* the consecrated bread […] and gave it to his companions (Matthew 12:4, my translation)[62]

[60] That is, I have not been able to find aterminative predicates with an aorist of these verbs.

[61] In addition to this interesting use of the aorist of *jasti*, the text has another interesting feature: the last *a* in *rastvarěaxъ* 'I have mingled', is added supralinearly. This could mean that the copier meant to use an imperfective aorist in a context of simple denotation, just as the aorist of *jasti*, after which he was corrected, or corrected himself. The Greek original has an imperfect *ἐκίρνων*, which makes it logical to presume that the original OCS translation also had an imperfect. Moreover, the form *rastvarěxъ* could be interpreted as a contracted imperfect as well. Either way, it is peculiar that this correction should occur here.

There does not seem to be much difference between the OCS versions of Luke 6:4 and Matthew 12:4, hence between the aorists of *jasti* and *sъnĕsti* in these contexts, save for the fact that the finishing of the consecrated bread receives more emphasis in (204).[63]

In other cases, the difference between the anaspectual verb and the prefixed perfective verb conveys a more substantial difference in meaning, like in the following examples of the use of an aorist of *tvoriti* and *sъtvoriti*, translating the Greek aorist *ἐποίησα*:

(205) obrazъ daxъ vamъ . da ěkože azъ ***tvorixъ***[aor] vamъ . i vy tvorite [*Z*]
obrazъ bo daxъ vamъ . da ěkože azъ ***sъtvorixъ***[aor] vamъ . i vy tvorite [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
for I gave you an example that you also should do as I *did* to you (John 13:15)

In the *Zographensis* the aorist of *tvoriti* refers to Jesus' actions throughout his time with his disciples, this could even be translated as 'how I behaved/was with you', while the aorist of *sъtvoriti* in the other three codices can be understood as either referring to a concrete example of behaviour, or maybe as a way of summarizing all behaviour into one event.

The verb *pьsati* 'write' shows interesting behaviour as well. Both the aorist of *pьsati* and of *napьsati* 'write down' are found translating Greek *ἔγραψεν*:

(206) i g[lago]la emu . egože ***psa***[aor] mos[e]i vъ zakoně i proroci . obrětomъ is[us]a s[y]na iosifova . iže otъ nazareta [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and said to him, "We have found Him of whom Moses in the Law and also the Prophets *wrote* Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (John 1:45)

(207) i otъvěštavъ is[usъ] . reče imъ . po žestosrъdiju vašemu . ***nap'sa***[aor] vamъ zapovědь sьjǫ [*Z*, *M*][64]
but Jesus said to them, "Because of your hardness of heart he *wrote* you this commandment" (Mark 10:5)

The difference may lie in the fact that in the example (206) the object is not a discrete object like a completed book, letter or law, but writings *about* someone *in* certain books, while in example (207) there is a discrete object 'this commandment'. Moreover, as Hercigonja (1961: 101) remarks, the event

[62] The version in Matthew contains some extra text, which I have left out to make comparing easier.
[63] In this case the 'eating up' of the consecrated bread is grammatically ascribed to David, but from the rest of the sentence it is clear that he did this together with his companions.
[64] *Marianus* has the aorist *napisa*.

took place over a longer period of time, as there are more writers (Moses and the Prophets), even though the verb form is singular. However, there is also one example in which the anaspectual *pьsati* is used with a discrete object, where the duration of the event does not seem to play any role, (translating the Greek perfect *γέγραφα*):

(208) otъvěšta pilatъ . eže ***p'saxъ***^{aor} ***p'saxъ***^{aor} [*Z*, *M*][65]
Pilate answered, "What I *have written* I *have written*" (John 19:22)

Compared to Bible translations of modern Slavic languages, OCS is similar to Bulgarian, which also uses *pisax* here, while all other modern Slavic languages use a form of *napьsati*. This is clearly an instance of simple denotation in OCS and Bulgarian.

Examples of aorists of verb like *viděti* 'see' and *slyšati* 'hear', are hard to find in aterminative predicates, even though these verbs are very frequently attested in the aorist (*viděti* 416 and *slyšati* 152 times). Hence, when a seeing event or a hearing event is presented as bounded, it is easily construed as an achievement. This does not automatically mean, however, that the aorist presents the inherent boundary as attained. Compare the following example:

(209) mnozi proroci i pravedьnici . vъždeléšę^{aor} viděti^{inf} . ěže vidite^{pres} . i ne ***viděšę***^{aor} . i slyšati ^{inf} . ěže slyšite^{pres} . i ne ***slyšasę***^{aor} [*Z*, *M*]
many prophets and righteous men desired to see what you see, and did not *see* [it], and to hear what you hear, and did not *hear* [it] (Matthew 13:17)

The modern Slavic translations show an interesting variation in this text. Some translate with perfective verbs (e.g. Bg *vidjaxa* and *čuxa*) but others do not (Ru *videli* and *slyšali*). I think this shows the ambiguity of this example, in which the aorists refer to terminative events, but leave the inherent boundary rather vague. The use of aorists of the prefixed verbs *uzьrěti* 'see, catch sight of' and *uslyšati* 'hear' would have emphasized that those prophets and righteous men did not see exactly what the disciples are seeing, while the use of these anaspectual aorists gives more of a sense of "there was nothing for them to see". I therefore interpret these cases as cases of simple denotation: no seeing or hearing event took place.

[65] Pilate refers to an inscription that he put on the cross. The sign reads "Jesus the Nazarene, the king of the Jews".
It is interesting to note the use of aspect by Hercigonja (1961: 99) when he discusses this example. He states that the aorists here means "što je *napisano*^{pf} (tj. *pisano*^{ipf} i *napisano*^{pf})" and that it concerns something that is "*vršeno*^{ipf} i *izvršeno*^{pf}". It is reminiscent of the way Dostál discusses examples of verbs that he considers biaspectual by giving two translations in Modern Czech (cf. Chapter 4, examples (25) and (27)).

One regular use of the verb *slyšati* is in the phrase 'you have heard', when referring to stories people must have heard being read from the books of Moses of the prophets. This again is a case of simple denotation, which focuses neither on the activity or hearing, nor on a change of state, but simply on the fact that the event has taken place, as in the following example translating the Greek aorist *ἠκούσατε*:

(210) ***slyšaste***[aor] ěko rečeno bys[tъ]. vъzljubiši podruga svoego . i vъsnenavidiši vragy svoję [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
you *have heard* that it was said, "You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy" (Matthew 5:43)

However, the aorist is also frequently used in a narrative context to indicate a change of situation, like in the following example where the aorist is a chain in the story, followed by an imperfect *iskaaxǫ*:

(211) i ***slyšašę***[aor] kъnižьnici . i arxierei . i iskaaxǫ[impf] kako i bǫ pogubili [*Z*, *M*]
the chief priests and the scribes *heard* this, and began seeking how to destroy Him (Mark 11:18)

These verbs of perception are also found in the PastAPI in a similar narrative context, like in (212) where it is followed by two anaspectual aorists:

(212) ***viděvo***[PastAPI] že is[usъ] . negodova[aor] i gl[agol]a[aor] imъ . ne děite dětii prixoditi kъ mně [*Z*, *M*]
but when Jesus *saw* this, He was indignant and said to them, "Permit the children to come to Me" (Mark 10:14)

In this context *viděti* and *slyšati* compete with prefixed verbs (*uslyšati* 'hear' for *slyšati* and *uzъrěti* 'see' for *viděti*, as becomes apparent from the many cases of the variation between codices:

(213) i ***slyšaste***[aor] i oba učenika g[lago]ljǫštь . i po is[us]ě idete[aor] [*Z*, *M*]
i ***uslyšaste***[aor] i oba učenika g[lagoljǫ]šta . i po is[us]ě idoste[aor] [*A*]
the two disciples *heard* him speak, and they followed Jesus (John 1:37)

(214) i prišъdъ otъ tǫdě ***vidě***[aor] ina v bratra . iěko[va] s[y]na zevedeova . i ioana brata emu [*Sk*, *Z*]
i prěšedъ otъ tǫdě . ***uzъrě***[aor] ina dъva bratra . iakova s[y]na zevedeova i ioana bra[ta] ego [*A*]
going on from there He *saw* two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother (Matthew 4:21)

Finally, there are also stative verbs that, when used in the aorist, automatically focus on the start of that state (cf. also example (8) in Chapter 2, with and aorist of *bojati sę* 'be afraid'):

(215) fariseи že viděvъ ***divi sę***[aor] . ěko ne prěžde krьsti sę prъvěe oběda [*Z*, *M*]
when the Pharisee saw it, he *was surprised* that He had not first ceremonially washed before the meal (Luke 11:38)

(216) tъgda že vьnide[aor] . i drugy učenikъ prišedy[PastAPI] prěžde kъ groby . i vidě[aor] i ***věrova***[aor] [*M*, *A*]
so the other disciple who had first come to the tomb then also entered, and he saw and *believed* (John 20:8)

(217) něste li nikoliže čьli[PastAPII] čьto sъtvori[aor] da[vi]dъ . egda ***trěbova***[aor] . i vъzalka[aor] samъ i iže běaxǫ sъ nimъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
have you never read what David did when he and his companions *found themselves in need* and became hungry (Mark 2:25, my translation)

In the last example, the aorist of *trěbovati* 'be in need' is used to translate the Greek aorist *χρείαν ἔσχεν* and the aorist of the prefixed *vъzalьkati* 'become hungry' to translate the aorist *ἐπείνασεν*, both indicating the start of a new state. It is interesting to see that OCS uses these two verbs in the same function, but it also raises the question why in some cases OCS almost automatically uses a prefixed verb in such contexts, while in other cases there is variation, or even no alternative attested at all, like in the case of *trěbovati*, but also *negodovati* 'be displeased'. In a more general sense, the question is what the relationship between anaspectual verbs and their prefixed partners is in OCS.

8.3.3 The relationship between anaspectual and other verbs

In this study I have tried to show that verbs that are not perfective are not automatically imperfective in OCS. Many verbs that are traditionally treated as imperfectives, like *ležati* 'lie', *pьsati* 'write', *bojati sę* 'be afraid' and *znati* 'know' or verbs that are treated as biaspectual, like *jasti* 'eat', *klęti sę* 'swear' or *viděti* 'see', are in fact members of one large category of verbs that do not express Slavic-style aspect at all and are therefore in principle compatible with both typical perfective and imperfective contexts. In the preceding sections, I have demonstrated that the group of anaspectual verbs is rather divergent and that the compatibility of individual verbs with particular contexts strongly depends on the lexical content of a verb. For example, verbs of bodily position are never used in terminative predicates and are not normally used in a sequence of events (but cf. example (196)) which reduces the chance of them being attested in the aorist. And some verbs expressing a

state (of mind) are easily used in the aorist to indicate a change of state, while others are not.

One recurrent theme is the 'competition' with other forms. When anaspectual verbs are used in terminative predicates, they compete with both imperfective and perfective verbs. For example, from the anaspectual *sǫditi* 'judge' a prefixed *osǫditi* 'judge' is derived, from which subsequently the prefixed imperfective verb *osǫždati* 'judge' is derived. Variation between the codices shows that the verb *sǫditi* competes with both verbs. In the following generalized utterance, for instance, it competes with *osǫždati*:

(218) eda zakonъ našь ***sǫditъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ č[love]ku ašte ne slyšitъ otъ nego prěžde i razumějǫtъ čьto tvoritъ [*Z, M, A*]
eda zakonъ našь ***osǫždaetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ č[love]ka ašte ne slyšitъ otъ nego prěžde i azumějǫtъ čto tvoritъ [*Sk*]
our Law does not *judge* a man unless it first hears from him and knows what he is doing, does it (John 7:51)

The anaspectual present *sǫditъ* in example (218) is used to simply express a generalized event, while the prefixed imperfective present *osǫždaetъ* presents it as a general rule, an unbounded macro-event, which consists of terminative micro-events.[66] The difference is subtle and often untranslatable into English (the difference is comparable to the difference between Dutch *oordelen* 'sǫditi' and *veroordelen* 'osǫditi/osǫždati').

Similar competition is regularly found in the translation of Greek future forms. I have already discussed example (106) where *sǫditi* competes with *osǫditi* in the translation of a Greek future (example repeated as (219)):

(219) otъ ustъ tvoixъ ***sǫždǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ tę [*M, A*]
otъ ustъ tvoixъ ***osǫždǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ tę [*Z*]
by your own words I *will judge* you (Luke 19:22)

There are more such examples, for example with the verb *tvoriti* 'do, make':

(220) děla ěže tvorǫ . i tъ ***tvoritъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i bolьša ***tvoritъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ sixъ [*Z (A, Sk)*][67]
děla ěže tvorǫ . i tъ ***sъtvoritъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i bolьša ***sъtvoritъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ sixъ [*M, A, Sk*]
the works that I do, he *will do* also; and greater works than these he *will do* (John 14:12)

[66] Also note the difference between the dative *č[love]ku* and the accusative *č[love]ka*.
[67] *Assemanianus* and *Savvina Kniga* have two versions of this text. In one of those, the first verb is an aorist of the anaspectual *tvoriti* and the other of perfective *sъtvoriti*, in the other version both verbs are perfective.

Interestingly, some anaspectual verbs are never attested in the translation of a Greek future form, but instead a prefixed formation is used. This could indicate that the division of functions was rather strict between these anaspectual verbs and prefixed formations, reminiscent of the division of functions between the verbs in an aspect pair. For example, the anaspectual verb *alъkati* 'be hungry', *plakati* 'cry' and *rydati* 'mourn' are never used to translate a Greek future form, unlike *sǫditi* and *tvoriti*:

(221) gore vamъ nasyštenii ěko ***vъzalčete***^{pres} ***sę*** . gore vamъ smějǫštei sę nyně ěko ***vъzdrydate***^{pres} i ***vъsplačete***^{pres} ***sę*** [*M*, *Z*]
woe to you who are well-fed now, for you *shall be hungry*. Woe to you who laugh now, for you *shall mourn* and *weep* (Luke 6:25)

This difference in division of labour is not restricted to the translation of future forms, but can also be found in contexts where aorist forms are used to express a change of state. I discern three groups.

First, some anaspectual verbs do all the work by themselves, like *negodovati* 'be displeased', and *trěbovati* (cf. example (217)) of which there are no prefixed partners and which are therefore regularly attested as expressing the change of state between not being angry and being angry:

(222) viděvъ že is[usъ] . ***negodova***^{aor} i g[lago]la imъ [*Z*, *M*]
but when Jesus saw this, He *was indignant* and said to them (Mark 10:14)[68]

At the same time, these verbs occur in typical aterminative usage as well:

(223) i ěko ne ***trěbovaše***^{impf} . da kъto sъvědětelьstvujetъ o č[love]ci . samъ bo věděaše čьto bě vъ č[love]ci [*Z*, *M*]
and because He *did* not *need* anyone to testify concerning man, for He Himself knew what was in man (John 2:25)

(224) i slyšavъše že decętь . ***načęšę***^{aor} ***negodovati***^{inf} . o iěkově . i oan'ně [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
hearing this, the ten *began to feel indignant* with James and John (Mark 10:41)

In example (223), the imperfect of *trěbovati* refers to a state and in (224) the infinitive of *negodovati* is used after a phase verb, and refers to a state as well.

[68] It is interesting to also take into consideration the English translations in which the successive states are part of the interpretation, but the change of state is often left implicit. To emphasize a change of state, English could use *became indignant*, but in contexts like this there is no need for that in English.

The predicate in (224) is terminative, but this is thanks to the aorist of the auxiliary *načęšę*, the infinitive *negodovati* refers to an aterminative event.

Secondly, there are verbs like *radovati sę* 'be happy', which are never used to express a change of state and in that respect are the mirror image of *negodovati*. Instead of *radovati sę* the prefixed verb *vъzdradovati sę* 'become happy' is used to translate the Greek aorist *ἐχάρησαν*:

(225) oni že slyšavъše . ***vъzdradovašę***[aor] ***sę*** . i oběštašę sę emu sъrbrьniky [*Z*, *M*]
they *were glad* when they heard this, and promised to give him money (Mark 14:11)

In this respect, the verb *radovati sę* and *vъzdradovati sę* is comparable to, for example, *alъkati* 'be hungry' with *vъzalъkati*, *kolěbati* 'move' with *vъskolěbati* 'start moving' and *znati* 'know' with *poznati* 'get to know'. Of *znati* there some are aorist attestations, but none refer to a 'get to know' event. Compare the following example, in which the aorist is used in a simple denotation function, referring to the past occurrence of a state:

(226) i togda ispovědmь imъ . ěko nikoliže ***znaxъ***[aor] vasъ [*Z*, *M*]
and then I will declare to them, "I never *knew* you" (Matthew 7:23)

When the aorist of the same Greek verb, *γινώσκω*, is used as 'get to know, recognize, OCS uses the prefixed verb *poznati*:

(227) i ta povědaašete ěže byšę na pǫti . i ěko ***sę pozna***[aor] ima vъ prělomlenii xlěba [*M*, *A*]
they began to relate their experiences on the road and how He *was recognized* by them in the breaking of the bread (Luke 24:35)

The verbs *ležati* 'lie', *stojati* 'stand' and *sědĕti* 'sit' could be added to this group. For these verbs a separate set of verbs refers to the change of state of bodily position, namely *lešti* 'lie down', *stati* 'stand up' and *sěsti* 'sit down'.

Finally, there is the group of anaspectual verbs that can express a change of state, but of which also a prefixed verb can occur in that context. The example I used in Chapter 2 was of *bojati sę* 'be afraid' and *ubojati sę* 'become afraid', and in the present chapter I have given examples of variation between Gospel codices with verbs like *viděti* 'see' and *uzьrěti* 'see, notice', *slyšati* 'hear' and *uslyšati* 'hear'. More examples can be found if one looks for variation in this context. For example, while there is no variation between Gospel codices between aorists of *diviti sę* 'marvel' and *podiviti sę* 'marvel', (*diviti sę* is used in all contexts) the verb *podiviti sę* 'become surprised' is attested in this context in the *Suprasliensis*:

(228) onъ že priimъ i počьtъ . ***podivi***[aor] ***sę*** vъzvěšteniju [*S*]
but when he had received it and read it, he *was surprised* by the message (558, 30 - 559, 1)

Unlike the opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs, in which there is a rather neat division of labour in various contexts (e.g. future reference and narrative sequences in the aorist are almost always perfective), the division of labour between the anaspectual verbs and prefixed verbs varies. In some cases, the division is reminiscent of the division of labour between an aspect pair. For example, *alъkati* 'be hungry' is never used to translate Greek future forms and also never expresses a change of state. It may be that the aspect pairs in OCS form a model that reshapes the relationship between other pairs. This also seems to be the case for a number of other verb pairs (prefixed VOMs, Leskien's class II verbs), which I will discuss in Chapter 9. These facts combined give the impression of an already firmly rooted derivational aspect opposition that has an influence on the behaviour pairs that have another origin.

However, there are some important differences between anaspectual verbs and imperfective verbs. First, some anaspectual verbs are really 'stand-alone' verbs, that occur in all contexts (e.g. *trěbovati* 'be in need' and *negodovati* 'be displeased'. Secondly, verbs in a 'pair' of anaspectual and prefixed verbs (e.g. *slyšati - uslyšati* 'hear' or *diviti sę - podiviti sę*) often compete with each other when it comes to future reference or a context in which a change of state is expressed. Hence, the functions are not as neatly divided amongst the partners. Thirdly, some of these pairs show a similar division of labour (e.g. *bojati sę - ubojati sę* 'be afraid' and *znati* 'know' - *poznati* 'know'), but differ from a true aspect pair since e.g. *bojati sę* and *znati* are also used in aterminative predicates, even if the event is presented as bounded with an aorist (cf. example (226)).

All this shows that the anaspectual verbs do not form a coherent part of the aspect system in OCS, but rather are a diverse group of verbs that only have in common the fact that they occur in aterminative predicates.

In the following section, I will discuss some verbs that fall within the anaspectual category based on the categorization in this study, but that show great similarity to perfective verbs: they normally express a terminative event of which the inherent boundary is attained and they are not or only very rarely attested in aterminative use.

8.3.4 Some dubious anaspectual verbs

As I already mentioned, the verb *rešti* 'say' is not the prototypical anaspectual verb. The many attestations (3,878) provide quite good view of this verb and the absence of imperfect attestations can hardly be attributed to chance (cf.

the verb *plęsati* 'dance' with only 9 attestations, where the absence of imperfect or present participles can easily be attributed to chance). The profile of *rešti* is typically perfective, with many aorist attestations and past participles. And the present tense forms normally refer to a future event, just as with perfective verbs. Dostál (1954: 69) states that *rešti* must have been biaspectual once, based on the attestations of present participles. This remark can only be understood if one understands that Dostál approaches aspect as a characteristic of individual attestations. However, in the approach of this study such a remark is not really significant, as all verbs were anaspectual before the development of the Slavic-style aspect system, even though some undoubtedly were more compatible with functions that are currently associated with one of the aspects, while others were more compatible with functions that became the territory of the other aspect. With the development of the aspect system, highly terminative verbs developed a derived partner and became perfective in that way (Maslov 1961: 190-192). Most of these highly terminative verbs were prefixed verbs, but there are a number of simplex verbs as well that became part of an aspect pair, resulting in unprefixed aspect pairs (e.g. *dati - dajati* 'give' and *aviti sę - avljati sę* 'appear'). It appears that *rešti* either did not belong to these highly terminative unprefixed verbs when the aspect system developed and therefore did not develop a derived partner (**ricati*, the form is only attested in prefixed formations, like in the pair *prorešti - proricati* 'prophesy')[69], or it immediately developed/already had an aspectual relation with *glagolati* 'say, speak' resulting in the non-development of a derived partner, or the untimely demise of such a form. The only deviating examples of *rešti* in OCS are formed by the present participles with 31 attestations in OCS (19 PresAP and 12 PresPP). Examples of the use of PresAP can be found in the *Suprasliensis*:

(229) ne otъvěšta li jemu blaženyi petrъ . ***reky***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ pokai sę otъ zьlobi seę[70] [*S*]
did not the holy Peter answer *saying*, "repent for these sins" (363, 9-11)

[69] In fact, there are two verbs *proricati* 'prophesy', one having *-ati, -je-* and one extra derived having *-ati, -aje-* (cf. section 9.5). This is reminiscent of the prefixed pairs derived from *dati - dajati* 'give', that have extra derived forms *-davati*, like *podati - podajati - podavati* 'give' where the first derived verb has *-ati, -je-* and the second *-ati, -aje-*. However, unlike in case of *rešti*, there is an unprefixed pair *dati - dajati* as well.

[70] Almost all attestations of the PresAP are of the Nsg masculine *reky*. The only attestation in the Gospel codices (John 5:12) can also be analysed as the 'long form' of the PastAPI *rekъ*. It is a translation of a Greek aorist participle, *ὁ εἰπών*, which supports the idea that this must be a past participle. However, in the *Suprasliensis* the forms translate the Greek present participle *λέγων*. In the Gospel codices this is translated by a present participle of *glagolati*.

In the Gospel codices there are a number of PresPPs of *rešti*, yet in all instances there is variation with other forms:

(230) g[lago]la emu žena . věmь ěko mesiě pridetъ . ***rekomy***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ x[ristos]ъ [*Z*, *M*]
g[lago]la emu žena věmь ěko mesia pridet . ***g[lagolae]my***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ x[ristos]ъ
the woman said to Him, "I know that Messiah is coming (He who *is called* Christ)" (John 4:25)

(231) simona ***rekomago***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ petra [*Sk*]
simona ***naricajǫštaago***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ ***sę*** petra [*Z*, *A*]
Simon who *was called* Peter (Matthew 4:18)

(232) na městě ***rekoměmь***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ litostrata [*A*]
na městě ***naricaeměmь***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ litostratǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][71]
at a place *called* The Pavement (John 19:13)

It is difficult to see how these examples are compatible with the attainment of an inherent boundary, which is typical of the perfective aspect. This could be a reason to regard *rešti* as anaspectual. In example (229) the PresAP refers to an ongoing (terminative) event, while in examples (230) through (232) the PresPPs are used to refer to a stative situation. Interestingly, the prefixed verb *narešti sę* 'be called' is also attested in similar stative usage, competing with *naricati sę* 'be called':

(233) simonъ . iže ***narečetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** petrъ [*M*]
simonъ iže ***naricaetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** petrъ [*Z*]
Simon, who *is called* Peter (Matthew 10:2)

This shows that there are probably lexical factors at play as well that make these verbs more compatible with stative situations.

The verb *glagolati*, which is often paired with *rešti* as its imperfective partner, is not the typical imperfective verb, but rather anaspectual, since it also occurs in aterminative predicates (cf. also example (114) with an aorist):

(234) i pristǫpьše učenici ego rěšę emu . po čьto priťačami ***g[lago]lešĭ***$^{\text{pres}}$ imъ [*Z*, *M*]
and the disciples came and said to Him, "Why do You *speak* to them in parables?" (Matthew 13:10)

[71] *Assemanianus* has two versions of this text.

(235) jǔže ne mnogo ***g[lago]ljǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ sъ vami [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
I *will* not *speak* much more with you (John 14:30)

Whatever the original status of *rešti*, and notwithstanding the few atypical attestations of present participles, based on the examples above and the profile and behaviour of *rešti,* I think the best way of understanding the relationship between *glagolati* and *rešti* is indeed a comparison with the relationship between anaspectual verbs and a prefixed formation (e.g. (*bojati sę - ubojati sę* 'be afraid')). Another solution would be to treat *rešti* as the most terminative verb in the anaspectual group, with only very few aterminative attestations. However, when those few attestations are regarded as fossilized remnants from an older stage, before the aspect system was established, the verb *rešti* is no different from other perfective verbs.

There are two other verbs that have ended up in the group of anaspectual verbs because of the absence of a derived partner, which could also be seen as 'dubious' cases. First, there is the verb *vratiti sę* 'turn around' that is attested only 5 times, of which no **vraštati sę* is attested, as one would expect based on knowledge of the cognates of *vratiti sę* in modern Slavic languages. However, given the small number of attestations of *vratiti sę,* the absence of **vraštati sę* can be attributed to chance.[72]

Secondly, an odd verb that is part of the anaspectual group is *sěsti* 'sit down'. There is no derived partner attested of *sěsti*, while there are of the other verbs of bodily position, *lešti - lěgati* 'lie down' and *stati - stajati* 'stand up'. Interestingly, these three verbs share the characteristic of also having an aterminative, stative 'partner', referring to the bodily position and recognizable by stative *-ě-* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 15), but never to the change of state toward that position: *ležati* 'lie', *stojati* 'stand' and *sěděti* 'sit'. The following table contains the frequencies of the attestations of the various verbs:

Original verb	***Atts.***	***Derived verb***	***Atts.***	***Stative version***	***Atts.***
lešti	3	*lěgati*	2	*ležati*	141
stati	171	*stajati*	1	*stojati*	258
sěsti	146	**sědati*	-	*sěděti*	201

Table 8.3 Frequency of attestations of verbs of bodily position

What is striking, here, is the low number of attestations of *lešti*, but also the low frequency of the attestations of the derived verbs *lěgati* and *stajati* and

[72] The verb *vraštati sę* is attested in Old Russian (Sreznevskij 1893-1906).

the absence of **sědati*.[73] For some reason, these verbs, even though they are inherently terminative, did not derive imperfective verbs very easily. It is possible that the relationship of the terminative verbs with the aterminative (stative) verbs is responsible for this. However, the relationship between, for example, *sěsti* and *sěděti* is not that of a Slavic-style derivational aspect pair, since *sěděti* is not terminative and, moreover, the aterminative verbs of bodily position are never used in a terminative predicate, so there is no shared meaning and no opposition. Again, the relationship is more like the relationship between *bojati sę* 'be afraid' and *ubojati sę* 'become afraid', just as in the case of *glagolati* and *rešti*. The profile of *sěsti*, with no imperfects and past participles, as well as the behaviour, e.g. the future interpretation of the present tense forms and translation of Greek aorist forms, is compatible with that of perfective verbs.

I have not found other verbs in the anaspectual group that would not belong there based on their profile, behaviour, or knowledge of their cognates in modern Slavic languages.

8.4 Some complicated cases in the perfective groups

Just as *rešti* 'say' and *sěsti* 'sit down' are deviant members of the anaspectual group, there are some deviant members of the aspectual groups as well. In the discussion of the imperfective aorist, I have already mentioned some imperfective verbs that show deviating profiles and/or behaviour, like *vъprašati* 'ask' and verbs ending in *-věštati*. There are also verbs in the perfective group that have deviating profiles and behaviour. I will first give some examples of unprefixed perfective verbs and subsequently also of prefixed verbs.

8.4.1 Complicated cases in the perfective unprefixed group

First, there is *krъstiti* 'baptize' which has a derived partner *krъštati* 'baptize'. The verb *krъstiti* shows aberrant behaviour, as well as an atypical profile. The most striking difference when it comes to the profile, are the 29 attestations of PresAPs, on a total of 119 attestations. Examples are:

(236) bystъ ioanъ ***krъstę***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ vъ pustyni [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
John *baptized* in the wilderness (Mark 1:4, my translation)

[73] The derivation *-sědati* is only attested in the prefixed imperfective verb *sъsědati sę* 'become rigid, clot', derived from *sъsěsti sę* 'become rigid, clot'.

(237) i ide paky na onъ polъ iordana . na město ideže bě ioanъ . prěžde ***krъstę***[PresAP] [*Z*, *M*]
and He went away again beyond the Jordan to the place where John *was* first *baptizing* (John 10:40)

(238) šьdъše ubo naučite vьsę jęz[y]ky . ***krъstęšte***[PresAP] ję vъ imę ot[ь]ca i s[y]na i s[vę]taago d[u]xa [*M*, *Z*, *A*]
go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit (Matthew 28:19)

All these present participles are translations of Greek present participles and seem to refer to an ongoing activity, just like the present participles of *rešti*. Given the relatively high frequency of these forms, the profile of *krъstiti* partly looks like that of an anaspectual verb.[74] Also, examples of variation between codices in the present tense show that *krъstiti* can be used in contexts in which a derived verb is expected, like in the following example where the Greek has a present tense *βαπτίζομαι* 'I am baptized' and a future tense *βαπτισθήσεσθε* 'you will be baptized':

(239) i krъšteniemь imьže azъ ***krъštǫ***[pres] ***sę*** . ***krъstita***[pres] ***sę*** [*Z*, *Sk*]
i krъšteniemь imъže azъ ***krъštajǫ***[pres] ***sę*** . ***krъstita***[pres] ***sę*** [*M*, *A*]
and you *shall be baptized* with the baptism with which *I am baptized* (Mark 10:39)

Interestingly, the cognates of *krъstiti* are considered to be imperfective in some modern Slavic languages (e.g. Russian), perfective in others (Bulgarian, Macedonian) and biaspectual in yet others (BCS).[75] This fits with the rather unclear aspectual status of the verb in OCS.

Some other unprefixed perfective verbs show deviating profiles and behaviour as well. For example, the verb *protiviti sę*[76] is attested 7 times as a PresAP (out of 28 attestations) and shows deviating behaviour in the present tense as well. The use of the present participle is the same as with *krъstiti*:

[74] Moreover, the 15 attestations of the imperfect (*krъštaaxъ*) are all automatically attributed to *krъštati*, which is otherwise only attested in the infinitive. However, this is yet another case in which the imperfects of the perfective and imperfective partners are homonymous.
[75] Incidentally, this is exactly the same for the verb *viděti*, ipf in Russian, pf in Bulgarian and Macedonian and biaspectual (anaspectual?) in BCS. It would be interesting to see whether there are more such parallels.
[76] The verb is not a prefixed version of **-tiviti*, but rather a derivation of the adverb *protivъ* 'against'.

(240) zaklinajǫ tę d[u]še nečisty . ***protivęi***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ ***sę*** tvari b[o]žьi [*Es*]
I curse you unclean soul *who opposes* Gods creation (55a, 15-16)

The present tense is used to translate Greek present tense forms, which is not completely unusual in case of perfective verbs, but the following examples show that the functions are more compatible with those of anaspectual verbs:

(241) vьsěkъ iže sę tvoritъ c[ěsa]rь . ***protivitъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** kesarevi [*Z, M, A*]
everyone who makes himself out to be a king *opposes* Caesar (John 19:12)

(242) tebě že cěsaru ***protivimъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** i zapovědemъ tvoimъ ne pokaraemъ$^{\text{pres}}$ sę [*S*]
we *oppose* you, king, and we do not obey your laws (59, 24-26)

While example (241) could be seen as a case of singularization (cf. examples (120) and (121)), where a single event is exemplary for the general rule, this does not apply in (242), where it is difficult to see how the example fits with 'attainment of an inherent boundary'. This is a typical actual present, as the present tense of the second verb in the utterance, the imperfective *pokarjati* 'submit', also shows. So it seems that even though *protiviti sę* has a derived partner, it occurs in contexts where one would expect an anaspectual or imperfective verb.

These deviations from the typical perfective profile and behaviour, can probably be attributed to the fact that it concerns simplicia. These verbs form the basis of the system and must have been compatible with more contexts before the development of the aspect system. And although prefixed verbs must have been more versatile before the development of the aspect system as well, it is possible that the prefixed verbs were felt to express stronger terminativity, thanks to their prefix, which could have made them less compatible with certain contexts (e.g. actual present), while unprefixed verbs continued to be used in multiple contexts. This fits with the attestations of present participles of *rešti* as well. Also, the fact that some of these simplicia ended up having a different aspect in different modern Slavic languages shows that their aspectual preference may not have been as strongly established as that of the prefixed verbs (but cf. also Chapter 9, section 9.1).

8.4.2 Complicated cases in the perfective prefixed group

Overall, the perfective prefixed group is more homogeneous than the perfective unprefixed group, which means that there are only relatively few verbs with a clear deviating profile. The verbs with the most deviating attestations (imperfects and present participles) are: *razuměti* 'understand' (14 out of 347), *pobědіti* 'overcome' (10 out of 46) and *sъmysliti* 'think, think over' (7 out of 11), of which the derived partners *razuměvati* 'understand'

poběždati 'overcome' and *sъmyšljati* 'think' are attested in OCS. I already discussed the 10 attested present passive participles of *poběditi*, which appear to have a specialized potential meaning, so I leave this verb out of the discussion here. A closer look at the attestations of the two other verbs shows deviating behaviour as well. For example, *razuměti* is also used to refer to a state that is simultaneous to the moment of utterance, which is very atypical for a perfective verb:

(243) i g[lago]la imъ . tako li vy nerazumьlivi este . ne ***razuměete***[pres] li . ěko vsěko eže izvьnu vъxoditъ vъ č[love]ka . ne možetъ ego oskvrъniti [*Z*][77]
and He said to them, "Are you so lacking in understanding also? *Do* you not *understand* that whatever goes into the man from outside cannot defile him" (Mark 7:18)

On the other hand, *razuměti* is used to express one single complete events as well:

(244) ***razuměvъ***[PastAPI] že lьstъ ixъ . reče kъ nimъ [*Z*, *M*]
but He *understood* their trickery and said to them (Luke 20:23, my translation)[78]

(245) nyně ***razuměšę***[aor] . ěko vsě eliko dalъ esi mьně . otъ tebe sǫtъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
now they *have come to know* that everything You have given Me is from You (John 17:7)

And it occurs in translations of Greek future forms, in this case *γνώσῃ*:

(246) eže azъ tvorǫ ty ne věsi nyně . ***razuměeši***[pres] že po sixъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
what I do you do not realize now, but you *will understand* hereafter (John 13:7)[79]

[77] *Marianus* has *razuměati*. Similar present tense forms with an *-a-* instead of the expected *-e-* occur 13 times in this codex, but never in the other Gospel codices, while *Marianus* also has present forms with an *-e-* (cf. example 246). It is possible that the forms with an *-a-* are connected to the imperfect *razuměaxъ* and should be seen as derived forms. See Chapter 10 for more on the possible role of the imperfect in the formation of derived forms.

[78] The English translation has 'detected', here, which even more strongly points at a change of state, at the gaining of the insight. The Greek original has an aorist participle, *κατανοήσας*.

[79] In Matthew 13:14 a construction *ne imate razuměti* 'you will not understand' is attested, translating the Greek *μὴ συνῆτε* 'you will not understand' with a subjunctive aorist.

The fact that *razuměti* is used in all these contexts, makes it similar to an anaspectual verb. But how can this be explained when there is a derived verb *razuměvati* as well?

The characteristic that the verbs *razuměti* and *sъmysliti* share, is that they can also be seen as denominal instead of prefixed, from the OCS nouns *razumъ* 'mind', and *sъmyslъ* 'mind'.[80] It may be that the association with those nouns resulted in the use of *razuměti* and *sъmysliti* as (unprefixed) anaspectual verbs on certain occasions, while on other occasions they were felt as prefixed formations of *uměti* 'be able' and *mysliti* 'think', which resulted in the derivation of imperfective verbs.

In the following example of a habitual or generalized utterance, the present tense forms of *razuměti* and *razuměvati* compete:

(247) ěko vidęšte ne vidętъ . i slyšęšte ne slyšętъ . ni ***razumějǫtъ***^{pres} [*Z*]
ěko vidęšte ne vidętъ i slyšęšte ne slyšętъ ni ***razuměvajǫtъ***^{pres} [*M*]
because while seeing they do not see, and while hearing they do not hear, nor do they *understand* (Matthew 13:13)

Apparently, the scribe of the *Marianus* felt that *razuměvati* was more fitting in this context than *razuměti*, which can indicate that he felt *razuměti* to be a prefixed and therefore perfective verb.

Other deviating verbs require a different explanation. For example, the fact that *otъvěštati* 'answer' has 6 attestations (out of 765) of PresAP and imperfect could result from the fact that it belongs to a family with a complicated mix of derivational patters (cf. fn. 42). And for *pokoriti* 'subjugate' the deviating attestations (6 PresAP/imperfects on a total of 30) could result from the fact that it is not a prefixed form of *koriti* 'slander', but a denominal formation based on the noun **pokorъ* 'submissive', which is attested Old Russian, but not in OCS.

The discussion of these verbs with deviating profiles within the various groups, shows, once more, that even though a morphological classification is a very good starting point for the aspectual categorization of verbs, there is still the need for the analysis of individual profiles and a semantic analysis in addition to the morphological categorization. In individual cases, this analysis may result in a re-evaluation of the morphological categorization.

[80] Note that even though the present passive participles of *pobědіti* can be explained perfectly well as typical perfective forms with a potential meaning, the verb could also be regarded as denominal, from the noun *poběda* 'victory'. However, I do not believe there is a compelling reason to treat this verb as denominal.

8.5 Concluding remarks

The proposed grouping into perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs finds support in the semantic analysis of individual examples found in the OCS corpus. The analysis of examples of perfective and imperfective verbs supports the hypothesis that perfective verbs express the attainment of an inherent boundary and that imperfective verbs defocus that boundary, which makes the OCS derivational aspect system a typical Slavic-style aspect system. Anaspectual verbs are verbs that are not inherently terminative, which sets them apart from both perfective and imperfective verbs. Since anaspectual verbs do not express aspect, they are also not constrained by it and are therefore often more versatile than 'aspectual' verbs. Below, I will briefly summarize the outcomes of the analysis of individual perfective, imperfective and anaspectual forms.

8.5.1 Perfective verbs

Perfective verbs in the present tense regularly result in a future interpretation; they are also the standard translation of Greek future forms. I have found no examples of perfective verbs in the actual present; the actual present could very well be the only context from which the perfective aspect is absolutely excluded in OCS. However, the small number of examples of the actual present in OCS does not allow for conclusions that are all too firm.

Perfective presents are also used to refer to generalized events. This is the exemplary function, where a single event is presented as an example for a general rule. The event at hand is expected to occur when the right circumstances occur. Cases of bounded repetition also concern events that occur more than once. However, with bounded repetition the perfective verb refers to a limited string of bounded events and presents this as bounded both on the micro-level (every single event) and on the macro-level (the whole string). This usage shows that the perfective aspect is not incompatible with iteration. Unlike imperfective verbs, though, perfective verbs always need an additional indication that the event is to be understood as occurring more than once, for example with adverbial expressions such as 'two times'.

Other contexts in which the perfective present occurs in OCS, albeit not very often, are performative utterances and the historical present. In both cases there appears to be a clash between totality on the one hand and the fact that the event is presented as 'going on' on the other hand. The difference between the two is that in the historical present an event is not presented as actually taking place at the moment of utterance, while a performative event takes place exclusively at the moment of utterance.It seems that the clash between totality and 'going on' results in a pragmatic solution in which the imperfective aspect emphasizes the strong association with the moment of

utterance (or the 'imagined time of the situation'), while the perfective aspect is used to emphasize totality, or the result of the event.

With regard to the use of perfective verbs in the past, the two modes of language, narrative and retrospective, result in different usage types. In narrative contexts perfective events refer to complete events which push the story forward and form a chain of events (often in the aorist and PastAPI). In retrospective mode perfective verbs indicate that the result of the complete event is connected to time of the utterance.

On the rare occasion that a verb of the perfective aspect is rendered in the imperfect, the form expresses conditional habituality in which a total terminative event is presented as conditionally recurring: every time X, then Y, which is compatible with the attainment of an inherent boundary on the micro-level (the qualitative level), but at the same time expresses temporal unboundedness at the macro-level (the quantitative level). This type of conditional habituality shows similarities to the exemplary function of perfective present forms and also finds a parallel in the function of PresPP of perfective verbs, which have a potential meaning.

8.5.2 Imperfective verbs

Imperfective verbs are attested in a wide range of functions. They all have in common the fact that the inherent boundary is defocused. I distinguish two types of results of this defocusing. First, the defocusing can result in emphasizing the unboundedness at the macro-level, which includes iterative use, habitual use or generalized use, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish. If an imperfective verb is used like this, the events at the micro-level are understood to be complete, even though the imperfective verb does not explicitly express this; the unboundedness concerns the fact that the verb does not refer to a single complete event. The second result of the defocusing of the inherent boundary concerns the boundary of an individual event. In such instances, the defocusing of the inherent boundary has a variety of uses. In the actual present, for example, the process leading up to the inherent boundary is in focus. In conative usage the defocusing of the inherent boundary expresses a failed attempt. In a performative context, on the other hand, the imperfective aspect is never interpreted as a failed attempt, but rather as a single complete event; there, the choice of aspect can be attributed to the strong association with the moment of utterance. In the (rare cases of the) historical present in OCS, the choice of the imperfective aspect is either linked to the 'imagined time of the situation', or is possibly connected to singling out the event as a 'decisive event'. Finally, imperfective verbs are almost never used in the translation of a Greek future form: whenever there is a choice of aspect, the translators choose the perfective partner.

The combination of the aorist and imperfective verbs is rare and sometimes difficult to interpret. The forms have complicated semantics since two levels of boundedness play a role, just as with the perfective imperfect, but exactly the other way around: the inherent boundary on the qualitative level is defocused, but the event is still presented as temporally bounded (total) at a quantitative level. There is a possible example of an imperfective aorist in which the inherent boundary is never reached (e.g. example (176)), but the event is still presented as a link in a chain of events. There is an example with a roundtrip meaning (example (177)), one with a reversed action (example (179)), one with a temporally bounded iterative event (example (180)) and an example in which the form is possibly used for the translation of a historical present ((181). This may not be a very impressive collection of examples, but I believe it would not be right to pretend they do not exist. Their complex semantics partly explains their rareness. Part of it can also be explained by scribes replacing these rare forms with 'normal' perfective aorists (see the discussion of example (181)).

The function of the imperfective aspect can be characterized as follows: the use of a terminative verb always elicits the thought of a change of situation and there are various reasons why imperfective verbs are used to keep this change of situation out of the focus. This can be unbounded repetition, or conativity, but also the mere fact that the event occurs at the moment of speech. Hence, imperfectivity is not incompatible with complete events, does not necessarily deny the totality of a terminative event, but defocuses the inherent boundary for various reasons.

8.5.3 Anaspectual verbs

Anaspectual verbs are attested in most contexts and often parallel to either perfective or imperfective verbs. However, the profiles and behaviour of anaspectual verbs are rather divergent. The main division within the anaspectual group is between inherently aterminative anaspectual verbs and terminativizable anaspectual verbs. Based on the attestations that are available, some verbs appear to never occur in terminative predicates, while others do so from time to time and yet others occur more frequently in terminative predicates than in aterminative predicates. Although there are links to the preferences for aterminative or terminative predicates and the lexical content of a verb, some lexically very similar verbs show rather different behaviour. There is also a difference in the extent to which a terminativizable verb allows for the expression of the attainment of a boundary.

If an anaspectual verb is used to refer to an event of which the inherent boundary is presented as attained, the anaspectual verbs are in direct competition with perfective verbs. This competition explains the variation

between the four Gospel codices. In retrospective mode the anaspectual verbs have the unique function of simple denotation. Imperfective verbs do not normally occur in retrospective utterances, with the extremely rare exception of some of the imperfective aorists.

8.5.4 Other issues

The analysis of some verbs that show deviating profiles within the various groups, like *vъprašati* 'ask' in the imperfective groups, *rešti* 'say' and *sěsti* 'sit down in the anaspectual group and *krъstiti* 'baptize' and *razuměti* 'understand' in the perfective groups, show that morphological classification and statistical analysis of the grammatical profile of groups of verbs is only a starting point, but that there are exceptions to the general rules which can sometimes be explained away or speculated upon, while in other cases the reason for the deviating profile or behaviour remains unclear.

In the following chapter I will discuss the additional groups that I have included in the statistical analysis in Chapter 7.

9 SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF NON-CORE GROUPS

9.0 Introduction

The correspondence analysis in the Chapter 7 showed that many of the groups that I do not regard as core groups in the verbal aspect system in OCS, are very close to these core groups on the aspect dimension. In the present chapter I will examine these groups more closely by means of a semantic analysis of individual examples. Space limitations prohibit an in-depth discussion of these the groups like the discussion of the core groups in Chapter 8, but I will try to provide a picture that is representative of the peculiarities of the group. The behaviour of these non-core groups can also provide insight into the stage of development of the aspect system in OCS, as I will show. For every group I will provide a bar chart with its profile, and discuss a number of examples to get an idea as to why the group holds a particular position in the scatter plot.

9.1 Prefixed verbs without suffixed partner

The group of prefixed verbs (e.g. *ubojati sę*) without a derived partner is the largest groups of all additional groups, with a total of 7097 attestations, divided over 899 verbs.[1] The profile is the closest to the perfective groups, with a clear preference for aorist and past participles:

[1] These numbers show that, on average, the verbs in this group have a much lower number of attestations per verb than the perfective prefixed verbs, which contain 377 with a total of 15,803 attestations.

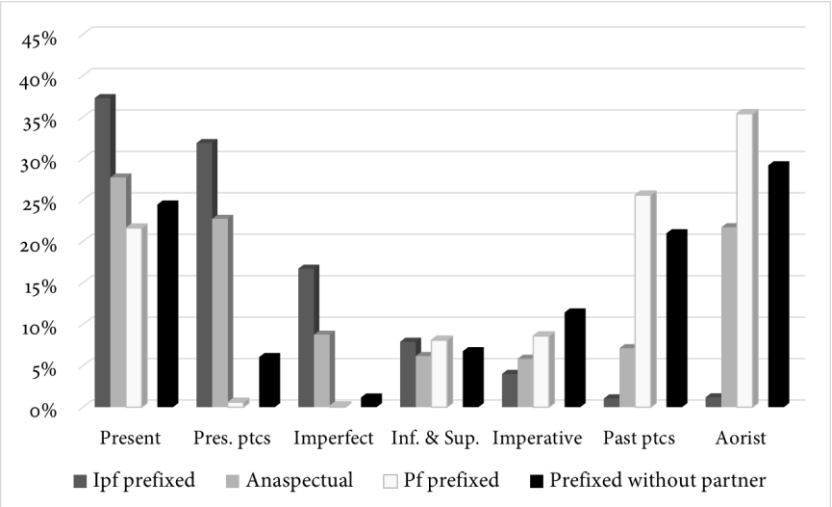


Figure 9.1 Profile comparison prefixed without partner[2]

Even though the profile is similar to that of the prefixed perfective group and the group clearly clusters with the perfective groups in the scatter plot, there is a significant difference with a small to medium effect size between the core perfective groups (*ostaviti* and *aviti sę*) and this group on the aspectual dimension (cf. Figure 7.7).[3] When I took a closer look at this group, I realized that it must consist of the following three subgroups, which can explain this difference:

1. Terminative verbs that probably did not have a derived partner (*ubojati sę* 'become afraid', *vъsplakati* 'start crying, mourn', *vъzalьkati* 'become hungry')
2. Terminative verbs of which probably by chance no derived partner is attested (*sъbiti* 'beat up', *probosti* 'pierce', *prozъvati* 'call, name', *pogrěšiti* 'wander')
3. Aterminative verbs (*vъzležati* 'lie (at the table)', *nenaviděti* 'hate', *odrъžati* 'contain, surround', *prěstojati* 'stand before', *nadějati* 'hope', *poslušati* 'listen')

The first group of verbs contain prefixed verbs that in certain contexts compete with the anaspectual simplex. I have discussed this 'competition' in

[2] In this, and the following bar charts, I will place the group that is compared to the main groups on the right side, with an empty space between the three groups and the group(s) to be compared. The order of the main groups is in every bar chart identical: Ipf prefixed, Anaspectual, Pf prefixed.

[3] $\chi 2\ (6) = 920.792,\ p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.187.

Chapter 8, section 8.3.3. This group contains so-called Aktionsart verbs, verbs that emphasize a particular phase of an event. This concern ingressive verbs like *ubojati sę* and *vъsplakati*, but also verbs that refer to the performance of an event up until the end *dožьdati* 'wait for, persist', *dokonьčati* 'end', *dosęšti* 'get, obtain' or *domysliti* 'understand, get'. However, not all Aktionsart verbs are part of this group. For example the verb *vъspustiti* 'start singing' has a derived partner *vъspuštati* and *vъskuriti sę* 'start smoking' has a derived partner *vъskurjati* 'make smoking'.[4] In any case, is difficult to find clear lexical criteria to differentiate between the first group of which probably no partner is derived and the second group, of which by chance no derived partner is attested. Many verbs in this group are not attested very frequently and given the fact that derived verbs are much less frequently attested than their base verbs (a ratio of about 5:1 in the core aspect groups), it makes sense that in many cases a derived verb may have existed, but simply is not attested in OCS. One way of checking this, is through a comparison with Old Russian (OR), which has a larger corpus of texts. In OR there are, for example, no derived verbs to *ubojati sę, vъzalъkati*, and *vъsplakati*, but there are derived partners of *sъbiti* (*sъbivati*) and *probosti* (*probadati*), *prozъvati* (*prozyvati*) and *pogrěšiti* (*pogrěšati*).[5] This method is also not watertight, but, fortunately, discerning between these two groups does not change the results of the analysis: both groups contain terminative verbs that have typical perfective grammatical profiles with a strong affinity with aorist and past participles and relative incompatibility with imperfect and present participles. Given the fact that the prefix is in many instances attached to an aterminative simplex (e.g. *bojati sę*), it must be the prefix that is responsible for the terminativity of these verbs. Furthermore, these terminative verbs have undergone the same semantic development as the perfective verbs: the inherent boundary is presented as being attained. This functional similarity with the perfective verbs can be seen in the use of the present tense, among other things: the present tense of the verbs in both groups is used to translate Greek future

[4] I should note that all four verbs only occur once in the OCS corpus, which makes it difficult to establish their lexical content. The *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova1994) gives the meaning 'start singing' for both *vъspustiti* and *vъspuštati*. A similar example of an Aktionsart verb with a derived partner is *vъspěti* 'start singing' with derived partner *vъspěvati*. However, *vъspěti* can also be used in the meaning 'sing completely' (cf. example 72) and it seems probable that the derived partner is based on this meaning. This can also be inferred from the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* which ascribes the meaning 'sing' to *vъspěvati*. However, the occurrence of these three derived verbs, *vъspuštati*, *vъspěvati* and *vъskurjati* is enough reason to not equate this group unquestioningly with Aktionsart verbs. Note that in Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian derived imperfectives of Aktionsart verbs are rather normal, e.g. Bg *zepeva*^{pf} 'start singing' and *zapjavam*^{ipf} 'start singing'.

[5] I used Sreznevksij's (1893-1906) *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam* to check the OR attestations.

forms or Greek subjunctive aorists. Below, two examples of translation of Greek future forms are given (*κόψονται* 'they will mourn' and *ὀνομάσω* 'I will call'):

(248) i tъgda ***vъsplačǫtъ***[pres] ***sę*** vъsě koléna zemlъskaě [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and then all the tribes of the earth *will mourn* (Matthew 24:30)

(249) kako i ubo ***prozъvǫ***[pres] [*S*]
as I *will call* it now (509, 2, my translation)

When the prefixed verbs are compared to the simplicia they are based on, the difference in terminativity clearly emerges:

(250) samъ bo o[tь]cь ***ljubitъ***[pres] vy . ěko vy mene ***vъzljubiste***[aor] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
for the Father Himself *loves* you, because you *have loved* Me (John 16:27)

In this utterance, the first verb form, the present tense *ljubitъ* 'he loves' refers to a state of loving, while the second verb from, the aorist *vъzljubiste* 'you came to love' refers to the change of state of coming to love someone. To these examples many could be added, but they would not change the main point: terminative prefixed verbs without a partner normally have a profile that is similar to that of the verbs in the perfective groups and show similar behaviour.

The third group, however, has clearly different profiles, sometimes indiscernible from a typical imperfective profile, with no aorists and past participles (e.g. *vъzležati* 'lie at the table'), also comparable to profiles of anaspectual verbs (e.g. *ležati* 'lie', *podobati* 'behove', *alъkati* 'be hungry', cf. section 8.3.1). The present tense of prefixed *vъzležati* in the following example, is used to refer to a state, an event without an inherent boundary:

(251) i se žena vъ gradě . ěže bě grěšьnica . i uvěděvъši ěko ***vъzležitъ***[pres] vъ xramině farisěově . prinesъši alavastrъ m'üra […] načętъ močiti nozě ego [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and there was a woman in the city who was a sinner; and when she learned that He *was reclining* at the table in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster vial of perfume […] and began to wet his feet (Luke 7:37-38)

The verb *vъzležati* is never used in OCS to refer to the moment that someone takes up the lying position at a table, which would be a terminative event. The verb *vъzlešti* 'lie down at the table', is used in such contexts instead:

(252) mnodzi otъ vъstokъ i zapadъ pridǫtъ i ***vъzlęgǫtъ***[pres] sъ avraamomъ i isakomъ . i iěkovomь . vъ c[ěsa]rstvii neb[e]scěemь [*M, A, Sk*]
many will come from east and west, and *recline* at the table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 8:11)

Other verbs in this group of not inherently terminative verbs have a profile that is more similar to the evenly distributed profile of the anaspectual group. This concerns prefixed verbs like *poslušati* 'listen, obey', *odrьžati* 'contain, surround'. These verbs show semantic similarities to anaspectual verbs that allow both terminative and aterminative construals (*viděti* 'see', *jasti* 'eat', *bojati sę* 'be afraid') and are thus rather easily 'terminativizable' (cf. section 8.3.2). For example, the aorist of *odrьžati* in example (253) below refers to an event where the event of surrounding the speaker was completed, the inherent boundary is attained, while the imperfect in example (254) points at a state of being overcome by amazement, with no boundary in focus:

(253) vradzi moi d[u]šǫ mojǫ ***odrъžašję***[aor] [*Ps*]
my enemies who *have surrounded* me (Psalm 16:9, my translation)[6]

(254) užasъ bo ***odrъžaaše***[impf] i i vsę sǫštęję sъ nimь[*Z,M,A*]
for he and all his companions *were overwhelmed* by astonishment (Luke 5:9, my translation)[7]

It is not completely clear why in case of, for example, *vъzalьkati* 'become hungry' the prefix introduces an inherent boundary, while in *vъzležati* 'lie at the table' it does not. In a number of these verbs in which no inherent boundary is present, the prefix clearly has a purely spatial meaning, as in *prěstojati* 'stand before', *naležati* 'lie on, oppress' *prědьležati* 'lie in front of, be in front of'. However, in other prefixed formations of verbs of bodily position *ležati* 'lie' and *stojati* 'stand', the prefix has no clear spatial meaning, while the profile is still atypical compared to members of the terminative groups, like with *dostojati* 'be appropriate' or *nastojati* 'be present, impend'. These verbs are aterminative as well; prefixation does not result in an inherent boundary in these verbs.

It thus appears that prefixation of verbs like *ležati*, *stojati* and *slušati* never results in inherently terminative verbs. This does not mean that these prefixed formations are imperfective, but rather that they stay as the simplicia were: anaspectual. Moreover, not inherently terminative, does not mean that

[6] The English Psalm translation, which is a translation of the Hebrew text, uses a present tense *surround*. My translation is a translation of the OCS (and Greek in the Septuagint) aorist.
[7] The English translation has *had seized*, translating the Greek aorist (!) *περιέσχεν*. My translation is a translation of the OCS imperfect.

the verbs do not occur in terminative predicates as already discussed in section 8.3.2 and as also example (253) shows.

The relation to verbs in the anaspectual group emerges also in the derivational patterns that occur in some of the verbs. For example, *nenaviděti* 'hate' and *zaviděti* 'envy', both prefixed forms of *viděti* 'see', show a derivational pattern that is similar to that of many anaspectual verbs, since they function as base verbs for prefixed verbs. For example, the derivational pattern *nenaviděti* 'hate' - *vъznenaviděti* 'start hating', or *zaviděti* 'envy' - *vъzaviděti* 'start to envy', can be compared to *alъkati* 'be hungry' - *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry' or *ljubiti* 'love' - *vъzljubiti* 'start loving' (but not to *ležati* - *vъzležati*!).

Whatever the reasons for the inability of the prefix to create an inherently bounded verb in these cases, there is a number of simplicia for which this holds: *dějati*, *drъžati, ležati*, *slušati, stojati* and *viděti*.[8] A comparison of the profile of the group of prefixed verbs without a suffixed partner with the profile of the prefixed perfective group results in a significant difference, with a small to medium effect size, as I mentioned above. However, when prefixed formations of *dějati*, *drъžati, ležati*, *slušati, stojati* and *viděti* are left out of this group (leaving 858 verbs with 6,249 attestations), the effect size is reduced to a size equal to the effect size measured between the two perfective groups (cf. Table 7.2).[9]

The position of the prefixed verbs without a derived partner thus provides two insights into the function of the prefix in the aspect system:

1. Most, but not all prefixed verbs are inherently terminative.
2. Prefixed verbs that are inherently terminative show a profile and behaviour equal to perfective verbs. In these cases prefixation is equal to perfectivization.

In this respect, my position differs from that of Amse-de Jong, who also recognizes that not all prefixed formations are automatically perfective (Amse-de Jong 1974: 28). Yet she only recognizes perfectivity in cases where a derived verb exists (ibidem: 7, 126). I agree with Amse-de Jong that the core cases are the cases in which a pair is attested. However, the analysis of the

[8] There may be other families like the prefixed formation of *ristati* 'run' and *pъvati* 'hope', but the cases mentioned are the clearest cases with more than one prefixed formation per simplex and a relatively large number of attestations, making it possible to judge the profile.
My list can be compared to the simplicia with stative marker *-ě-* (*-a-* after palatals) that Schuyt (1990: 15) sums up. However, prefixation of *věděti* 'know', does result in inherently bounded (see section 9.5). So the explicit stativity of these verbs can explain part of their deviant behaviour, but it does not explain why it occurs in some verbs and not in others.

[9] $\chi 2$ (6) =205.814, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.100.

grammatical profiles of the terminative prefixed verbs without a derived partner shows that they cluster together with the core cases and the semantic analysis also shows no differences. Therefore, I do not see a reason why inherently terminative verbs in OCS should not be considered to be automatically perfective, as long as they are not morphologically marked for imperfective aspect (mostly with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* cf. Chapter 5).

The group of prefixed verbs without a derived partner shows the important role of the prefix in the verbal aspect system in OCS, a role which comes down to making a verb terminative and with that, by default, making it perfective. The analysis, more specifically the identification of the aterminative prefixed verbs, also shows the limitation of the morphological approach. The approach works well to separate the core cases from "the rest", but individual attestations need to be analysed to interpret the position of verbs, or groups of verbs that share a characteristic within a group with regard to the verbal aspect system in OCS. Fortunately, the profiles of the core groups and the functions found for the verbs in those groups give clues for the establishment of subgroups in the other groups, which in this particular case allows for a separation of aterminative prefixed formations from terminative prefixed formations.

9.2 Leskien's class II and partners

9.2.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 5, most verbs in Leskien's class II (*kanǫti* 'drip (once)') and their partners (*kapati* 'drip') deviate from other pairs that arise through suffixation; while in other groups the suffixed partner is normally the imperfective verb and the derivational base is the perfective partner, Leskien's class II verbs, derived with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* (*kanǫti*), are often perfective in modern Slavic languages and their derivational bases (*kapati*) are the imperfective partners. However, just as with the prefixed verbs without a derived partner, this group is a kind of mixed bag. There are two kinds of exceptions: first, not all *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs can automatically be regarded as perfective and second, not all *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs are derived. I will first discuss these exceptions.

First, there is the aspectual nature of the verbs in Leskien's class II. As already briefly mentioned in Chapter 5, not all verbs with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* are semelfactive. Modern Slavic equivalents like Russian *soxnut'* 'dry, wither' and *gibnut'* 'perish' are regarded as imperfective and the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova 1994) regards OCS *sъxnǫti* 'wither' and *gybnǫti* 'perish' as imperfective as well. The only attestation of *sъxnǫti* in OCS is an imperfect and it is hard to establish anything about the aspect of the verb based on that attestation since both an interpretation as anaspectual imperfect and perfective imperfect lead to reasonable interpretations (cf.

Amse-de Jong 1974: 48).[10] The verb *gybnǫti* is attested 4 times: 1 aorist, 1 present tense and 2 present participles.[11] The attestations show that the verb occurs in the same contexts as *gybati, gybljǫ* 'perish' which is regarded as a derived verb with the suffix *-ati, -je-* (Schuyt 1990: 25) and even *izgybati, izgybajǫ* 'perish', which is clearly a derived formation in *-ati, -aje-* :

(255) dělaite ne brašъno ***gybljǫštee***$^{\text{PresAP}}$. nъ brašъno prěbyvajǫštee vъ životě věcьněemь [*Z, M*]
dělaite ne brašъno ***gybnǫštee***$^{\text{PresAP}}$. nъ brašъno prěbyvajǫštee vъ životě věcьněemь [*A*]
do not work for the food *which perishes*, but for the food which endures to eternal life (John 6:27)

(256) koliko naimъnikъ otъca moego . izbyvajǫtъ xlěbi . azъ že gladomь ***gybljǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*M, Z, A*]
koliko naimьnikъ u o[t]ca moego i izbyvajǫtъ xlěbi . azъ že sьde gladomь ***izgybajǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Sk*]
how many of my father's hired men have more than enough bread, but I *am dying* here with hunger (Luke 15:17)

Even though present active participles of perfective verbs are rare, *gybnǫti* is not the only verb in this group that is attested in this form (others are *dvignǫti* 'move' and *drъznǫti* 'take courage' which are both normally regarded as perfective with partners *dvidzati* and *drъzati*), so the mere fact that the form is attested is not a reason to assume that the verb is not perfective. However, the attestations of the present particle combination with the fact that the verb is used in an actual present in example (256), a function in which only anaspectual or imperfective verbs occur (cf. section 8.1.2.2), indicate that this verb is not a typical perfective verb. The other attestation, an aorist, makes it difficult to regard it as imperfective as well:

(257) zaprětilъ esi językomъ i ***gybe***$^{\text{aor}}$. nečьstivъi [*Ps*]
you have rebuked the nations, You *have destroyed* the wicked (Psalm 9:5)

In this case, the OCS aorist translates a Greek aorist, *ἀπώλετο*, and the interpretation can only be that of a complete terminative event.[12] In other OCS texts, this Greek aorist is translated with *pogybe* (John 17:12 and Psalm

[10] Strictly speaking, the verb *sъxnǫti* does not belong in this discussion, since, in absence of an attested partner verb **sъšati,* it is not included in the group of Leskien's class II verbs with a partner.
[11] The two attestations of the present participle are actually translations of the same text that occurs twice in *Savvina Kniga.*
[12] Note also the interesting shift from middle 'perish' to active 'destroy'.

141:20). The flexibility of the verb *gybnǫti* points in the direction of anaspectuality.[13]

Except for the verbs already mentioned and *vlъsnǫti* 'stammer', which is attested only once as a present active participle and has no partner, all other Leskien's class II verbs in OCS show typical perfective profiles and behaviour, as I will demonstrate below. Since this is by far the largest group, both with regard to number of verbs and number of attestations, my discussion will focus on these verbs.

The second exception to the general rule that Leskien's class II verbs are often perfective in modern Slavic languages and that their derivational bases are the imperfective partners, concerns the derivational status. In a number of cases the verb in *-nǫti, -ne-* is a primary formation and has a derived partner. Leskien's class II verbs that are regarded as primary formations are *minǫti* 'pass' (with derived *minovatî*), *zinǫti* 'yawn' (with *zijatî*) and *stati* (with *stajatî*)[14] and prefixed formations of *-manǫti* (with *-majati* and *-mavatî*) and *-vinǫti* (with *-vinovatî*) (cf. Schuyt 1990: 18-21, 273, 345-352, with references). The derived verbs (e.g. *minovatî*) do not appear to behave differently from verbs that are regarded as derivational base verbs (e.g. *kapatî*) with regard to their profile or functions, but given the small number of attestations of unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions here. Nevertheless, the status of derived verb has its consequences for the behaviour in prefixed formations, as I will demonstrate in the section on prefixed Leskien's class II verbs and their partners (section 9.2.3).

Notwithstanding the fact that Leskien's class II verbs should not automatically be regarded as perfective, the profiles of the unprefixed and prefixed Leskien's class II groups are rather similar to the profile of the prefixed perfective group with little attestations of imperfect and present participles and many attestations of aorist and past participles, as shows the bar chart in Figure 9.2. The groups are relatively small, though; the prefixed

[13] According to Schuyt (1990: 351) *gybnǫti* and *gybati* both replace older **gъbati*, with the lengthening of the root vowel influenced by prefixed formations in *gybati*.

[14] Note that the unprefixed Leskien's class II contains the verb *stati, stanǫ* 'stand up', and in the prefixed groups there are prefixed formations of the same verb (e.g. *ostati* 'renounce'). The verb *stati* probably has a different origin from the other members of Leskien's class II; the verb is not the result of derivation with the *-nǫti, -ne-* suffix, as can be seen from the infinitive (cf. Schuyt 1990: 273-274, with references). Because Leskien's categorization is based on the present tense stem, which shows the suffix *-ne-* in *stati* as well as in the *-nǫti, -ne-* verbs, the verb *stati* and its prefixed formations fall into Leskien's class II, even though the *-nǫ-* element is missing from the infinitive. Leaving the prefixed formations of *stati* out, however, does not result in significant changes to the group profile.

group is the larger of the two and consists of 42 verbs with a total of 1,225 attestations, while the unprefixed group is very small, consisting of only 13 verbs with a total of 354 attestations.

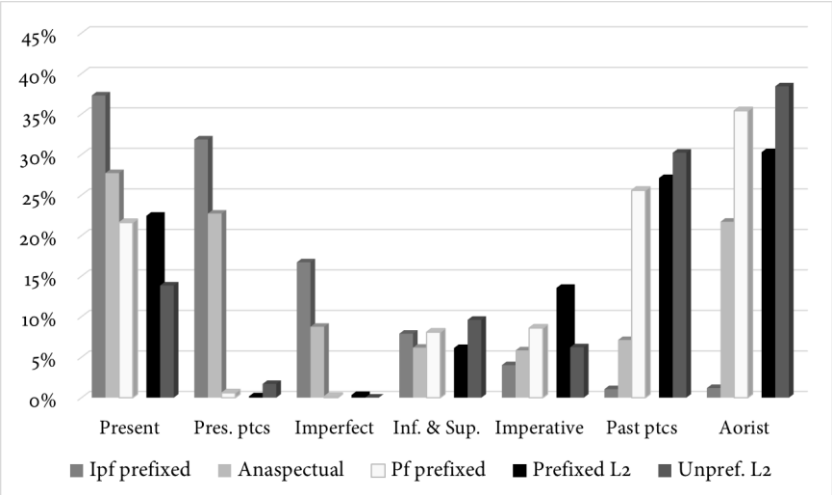


Figure 9.2 Profile comparison Leskien's class II verbs (pref. and unpref.)[15]

The unprefixed and prefixed *partners* of Leskien's class II verbs are even smaller groups. The unprefixed group consists of 17 verbs, with 100 attestations and the prefixed group of 18 verbs with 123 attestations. Both groups show profiles that are somewhat comparable to the profile of the prefixed imperfective group. There are two striking differences: first the high percentage of imperatives in the unprefixed group, which is mainly caused by the verb *drъzati* 'be brave', which used is relatively often in the imperative (21 attestations), and secondly the relatively high percentage of aorists in the prefixed partners compared to the imperfective group. I will return to this issue in the discussion below.

[15] Prefixed L2 stands for 'Leskien's class II prefixed verbs' and Unprefixed L2 for 'Leskien's class II unprefixed verbs'.

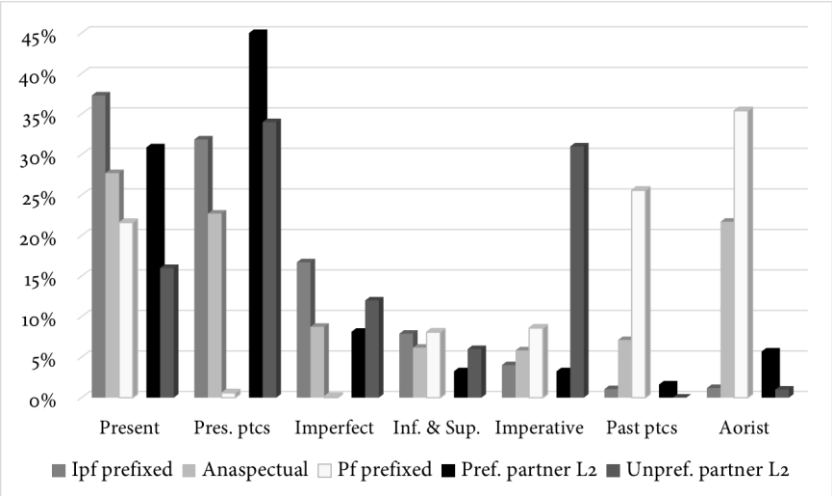


Figure 9.3 Profile comparison Leskien's class II partners[16]

Below, I will first discuss the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs and partners and subsequently the prefixed verbs.

9.2.2 Unprefixed Leskien's class II and partners[17]

As mentioned already, the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *kanǫti*, with partner *kapatí*) are functionally similar to perfective verbs. A good example of this similarity with perfective verbs are the present tense forms of *mrъknǫti* 'darken' and *dvignǫti* 'move' in Matthew 24:29. They translate

[16] The designation Pref. partner L2 stands for 'Prefixed partner of a (prefixed) Leskien's class II verb', while Unpref. partner L2 stands for 'Unprefixed partner of a(n) (unprefixed) Leskien's class II verb'

[17] In the partner group of unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs there is some morphological heterogeneity. There are certain derived verbs with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, like *drьzati*, *drьzajǫ* 'be brave', while other verbs, like *duxati*, *dušǫ* 'breath, blow', with the suffix *-ati*, *-je-*, are regarded original verbs on the basis of which the Leskien's class II partner is derived. I decided not to separate these groups for the statistical analysis, because of the already small group size. Making the group smaller would result in zero scores in some of the cells which makes the Chi-square test unreliable (Butler 1985: 122) and it would give individual verbs more weight in the profile (cf. the influence of the imperative attestations of the verb *drьzatí*). More importantly, both types show similar behaviour, as I will demonstrate.
In case of the prefixed partner groups (cf. section 9.2.3) I separated the verbs based on their suffix *-ati*, *-je-* versus *-ati*, *-aje-*, which was possible because of the slightly larger group size, which made it possible to perform a Chi-square test. However, I found no significant difference between these two rather small groups ($\chi 2$ (6) = 12.415, p = 0.053345 (n.s.), Cramér's V = 0.220).

Greek future tense forms, just as the present tense forms of the perfective verbs *dati* 'give' and *ispasti* 'fall from' in this example:

(258) abie že po skrъbi dьnii těxъ slъnce ***mrъknetъ***^{pres} . i m[ě]s[ę]cь ne ***dastъ***^{pres} světa svoego . i dzvězdy ***ispadǫtъ***^{pres} sъ neb[e]se . i sily neb[e]skyję ***dvignǫtъ***^{pres} ***sę*** . [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun *will be darkened*, and the moon *will* not *give* its light, and the stars *will fall* from the sky, and the powers of the heavens *will be shaken* (Matthew 24:29)

The present tense of *dvignǫti* refers to a change of state and hence, *dvignǫti* is a terminative verb. This contrasts with the use of the present tense of the partner verb *dvidzati* 'move', which is used as an actual present, referring to an ongoing event at the moment of speech in the following example:

(259) ešte gl[ago]ljǫštju emu . pridošę otъ ar'xisünanoga gl[ago]ljǫšte . ěko dъšti tvoě umrětъ . čьto ***dvižešь***^{pres} učitelě [*Z*, *M*]
while He was still speaking, they came from the house of the synagogue official, saying, "Your daughter has died; why *do you trouble* the Teacher" (Mark 5:35, my translation)

The predicate in (259), with the present tense of *dvidzati*, appears to be aterminative. There are also examples of generalized statements with verbs in this group, like the present tense of *duxati* 'blow' in the following example:

(260) d[u]xъ ideže xoštetъ ***dušetъ***^{pres} [*Z*, *M*]
the wind *blows* where it wishes (John 3:8)

In this example there is no clear inherent boundary either. The Leskien's class II partner of this verb, *dunǫti* 'blow', expresses a single complete event, like in the following example:

(261) i se rekъ ***dunǫ***^{aor} i g[lago]la imъ priiměte d[u]xъ s[vę]tъ [*A*, *M*]
and when He had said this, He *breathed* on them and said to them, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:22)

Given the fact that the OCS aspect system revolves around terminative verbs in a Slavic-style aspect system, the question arises whether the opposition between Leskien's class II verbs and their partners is a Slavic style aspect opposition.

First some remarks concerning the terminativity of the Leskien's class II verbs. Some of these verbs clearly indicate a change of state, like *mrъknǫti* 'become dark' or *gybnǫti* 'perish', while in others the change is less clear. The latter is the case with the semelfactive verbs, like *dunǫti* 'blow (once)', *kosnǫti*

'touch (once)' and *kanǫti* 'drip (once)'. Semelfactive verbs differ from other terminative verbs because they implicate a return to the original state. However, even though the change of state is followed by a return to the original state, these verbs can still be described as terminative verbs. In Croft's (2012: 60) classification, semelfactive verbs are treated as *cyclic achievements* that "result in point states and the revert to the rest state". Barentsen (1995: 10, 2003a: 380) also describes semelfactive verbs as perfective verbs, which in his theory implies terminativity (cf. Chapter 2). Figure 9.4 is a schematic representation of a semelfactive verb as provided by Barentsen (1995: 10, 2003a: 380), which can be compared to Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2 (depicting a perfective accomplishment):

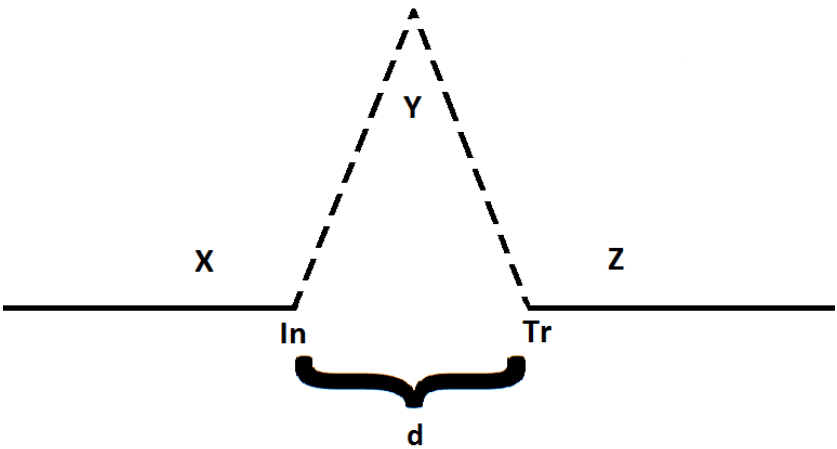


Figure 9.4 Barentsen's schematic representation of a semelfactive verb

The examples I discussed above, as well as the grammatical profile, also indicate that these verbs are similar to the perfective verbs in OCS and always express a change of state, even if that means a return towards the rest state. So Leskien's class II verbs are just as terminative as the core perfective verbs and in that regard, could express perfective aspect. However, it takes two to tango, and the partner verbs are not typical imperfective verbs.

The verbs that are opposed to semelfactive verbs, for example *duxati* 'blow' and *kapati* 'drip', are not used to refer to one-time complete events, but to either ongoing or multiplicative events. This, however, does not make them imperfective; they resemble anaspectual verbs in the sense that they can be used in both terminative and aterminative predicates. I already gave an example of aterminative use of *duxati* in example (260) and the following example is similar:

(262) i egda jugъ ***dušetъ***[pres] . g[lago]lete varъ bǫdetъ . i byvaetъ[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
and when a south wind *is blowing*, you say, "It will be a hot day," and it turns out that way (Luke 12:55)

In this type of utterance there is no inherent boundary to the event and these verbs differ from the imperfective verbs in the core groups in this respect, because those are always terminative. However, there are also numerous examples in which verbs from this group express an inherent boundary. An example of that is the multiplicative usage (a bounded ongoing series of semelfactives events), like in the following example of an imperfect of *plьvati* 'spit':

(263) i bьěaxǫ[impf] i trьstjǫ po glavě . i ***plьvaaxǫ***[impf] na nь [*M*, *Z*, *A*, *Sk*][18]
they kept beating His head with a reed, and *spitting* on Him (Mark 15:19)

This multiplicative use can be compared to the use of the imperfective verbs in the core groups: the inherent boundary of the micro-event of spitting, in which the spit hits the target, is defocused in favour of the unbounded macro-event in which the spitting occurs repeatedly (cf. Chapter 2).

Finally, there is only one attestation of an aorist in this group. The fact that an aorist is attested, however, again points at similarity of these verbs to anaspectual verbs. The attestations concerns an aorist of the verb *trъdzati* 'pluck, harvest, unroot:[19]

(264) i mimoidy sii lakomyi i pěobiděvъ straxa tvojego . nesytomь srьd'cemь ***trъza***[aor] mnogo [*S*]
and when these greedy people passed by and he was insulted by your fear, he *unrooted* a lot thanks to his insatiable heart (41,26-28 my translation)

Although the precise meaning of this utterance remains somewhat unclear to me, from the preceding text it becomes clear that *slanutъkъ* 'chick peas' are involved and I believe that *mnogo* 'much, many' refers to the chick peas. This event could be interpreted as both terminative and aterminative. In case of an aterminative interpretation one could interpret the aorist of the verb *trъdzati* in this example as similar to the aorist of the anaspectual *ležati* 'lie' that I discussed in example (34), Chapter 4, in which case the aorist is used impose

[18] *Assemanianus* forms the imperfect from the present stem (*pljuěxǫ*).
[19] Note that the simplex **trъgnǫti* is not attested, only prefixed formations, like *istrъgnǫti* 'pull out' or *rastrъgnǫti* 'tear to pieces'.

a temporal boundary on an activity that has no inherent boundary:[20] However, it is also possible to consider this predicate as an accomplishment, in which the inherent boundary is introduced by the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb, the aorist, and the adverb *mnogo*. The verb *trъdzati*, as so many verbs in these groups, is attested very infrequently (only 4 attestations), so there is no nice minimal pair in which the verb is used in an aterminative predicate. Nevertheless, the metaphorical use in the following example of a present tense clearly shows that the verb also occurs in aterminative predicates:

(265) ně vъkusila ni jata ni pitija . nъ vьrьjǫšti ***trěžetъ***[pres] sebe [*S*]
she has not tasted food nor drink, but she is crying out and *picking on/tormenting* herself (520, 1-2)

The use in (265) is metaphoric, but at least it shows that the verb lends itself to aterminative use. The other two attestations are of the infinitive, both occurring after a phase verb with ingressive meaning, which again seem to refer to an aterminative situation. Both verbs occur in exactly the same context, in the same story, only four lines apart. Below I will give the first of the two:

(266) onъ že vъznikъ i vьzьrěvъ ne vidě nikogože . i načę[aor] paky ***trъzati***[inf]
xotę brěma naklasti skotu svoemu [*S*]
he arose and looked but did not see anyone and he started *harvesting* again, wanting to put the load on his beast of burden (41, 3-6)

The examples above show that unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs occur both in terminative and aterminative predicates and in that respect are similar to anaspectual verbs. This makes sense if one assumes that these verbs are the base verbs and not derived for the purpose of expressing imperfectivity. I therefore believe that the relationship between the two groups is more similar to the relationship between prefixed verbs and anaspectual base verbs, like *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' and *bojati sę* 'be afraid' (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.3.3). This means that the opposition is not a typical Slavic-style aspect opposition. The main difference with the anaspectual verbs lies in the fact that functions and verb forms have been divided amongst the Leskien's class II verb and their partners in a similar fashion as the perfective and imperfective verbs. So the profile of the partner verbs clusters together with the imperfective groups in the scatter plot, even though the partner

[20] I should note that unrooting (or harvesting?) of *slanutъkъ* 'chick peas', unlike *ležati*, has a natural boundary on the micro-level, every unrooting event, but the verb *trъdzati* is not used to emphasize the attainment of the boundary at the micro level, but rather the plucking as either an activity, or an accomplishment (i.e. a terminative verb with an activity phase).

verbs are not all terminative. Therefore, even though the opposition is not completely identical to the aspect opposition, the division of functions and forms over the partners is similar to the division of functions and forms between perfective and imperfective verbs.[21]

9.2.3 Prefixed Leskien's class II and partners

The prefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *pomanǫti*, with partner *pomajatî*) share with most unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs the fact that they are terminative. The similarity between the unprefixed and prefixed *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs results in variation between the codices, without a clear difference in meaning:

(267) si pristǫpьši sъ slěda . ***kosnǫ***[aor] ***sę*** vъskrilii rizě ego i abьe ***sta***[aor] . tečenьe krъve eję [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
si pristǫpьši sъ slěda . ***prikosnǫ***[aor] ***sę*** krai rizě ego i abьe ***usta***[aor] . krьvi tečenie [*Sk*][22]
she came up behind Him, and *touched* the fringe of His cloak; and immediately her haemorrhage *stopped* (Luke 8:44, my translation)

The *-nǫti*, *-ne-* suffix often indicates terminativity as mentioned above. Many unprefixed verbs in Leskien's class II have a perfective profile and perfective functions. Therefore, the addition of the prefix *pri-* to *kosnǫti* differs from the addition of the same prefix to, for example, *tvoriti* 'make' (forming *pritvoriti* 'add'). In the former situation the terminativity is merely "duplicated", resulting in a more specific characterization of the boundary, while in the latter the prefix *introduces* an inherent boundary. Since the meanings of *kosnǫti* and *prikosnǫti* do not diverge much, the addition of the prefix must have a more subtle influence. The *kosnǫti* 'touch' simply refers to any single touching event, while the prefixed *prikosnǫti* 'touch' may indicate the direction of such a touching event. Similar subtle differences in meaning must exist between *dvignǫti* 'move' and *podvignǫti* 'move'. Space limitations (but also lack of native informants) prevent an extensive discussion of the subtle nuances in all individual cases. However, in all cases both the unprefixed and the prefixed form are clearly terminative events. Except for

[21] For the few verbs that are regarded as derived from a verb in *-nǫti*, *-ne-*, like *minovati* 'pass by', the opposition with the partner (*minǫti*) must have been more similar or even equal to the opposition between imperfective and perfective verbs. The analysis of the prefixed formations of these verbs points in that direction as well.

[22] The difference between the codices is not the same everywhere. In the following verse *Assemanianus* has a form of *prikosnǫti* while *Zographensis* and *Marianus* have a form of *kosnǫti*, whereas, for example, in Matthew 8:15 all codices have a form of *prikosnǫti*, except for *Savvina Kniga*, which has a form of *kosnǫti*. Therefore, this difference may reflect a dialectal difference, but it is difficult to establish this on the basis of the four OCS Gospel codices.

the relation with the unprefixed verb the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs are rather unproblematic and show a profile and functions similar to the perfective verbs.

The 'problematic' group here is the group of the partners of the Leskien's class II prefixed verbs. Some of the verbs show a clear imperfective grammatical profile and imperfective functions, while others appear to behave like perfective verbs. This difference can be attributed to the origin of the verbs. Verbs behaving like imperfective verbs concern prefixed formations of verbs that are originally derived verbs like *prěminovati* which is a prefixed formation of *minovati*, which in turn is derived from *minǫti* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 18-21, 273, 345-352). Verbs that behave as perfective verbs are prefixed formations of derivational base verbs like prefixed formations of *plьvati*, on the basis of which the *pljunǫti* is derived.

In (268), I give an example of *povinovati sę* 'obey, be subject to', the partner of *povinǫti sę* 'obey, be subject to'. The present tense is used to translate Greek present tense, with a habitual meaning, which is very much as one would expect from an imperfective verb:

(268) g[ospod]i . i běsi ***povinujǫtь***^{pres} ***sę*** namъ o imeni tvoemъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
Lord, even the demons *subject themselves* to us in Your name (Luke 10:17, my translation)

Similar behaviour is also found in verbs like *obinovati* 'avoid, accept; speak honestly (with negation)' which is opposed to *obinǫti, prěminovati* 'step over', and prefixed formations in *-majati*, *-majǫ* and *-stajati*, *-stajǫ* (e.g. *přěstajati* 'stop'). All these verbs have in common that they are derived formations, which may explain why they differ from verbs that are not regarded as derived formations, like prefixed formations of *-plьvati*. Pairs like *povinǫti sę - povinovati sę* 'obey, be subject to' are in every way equal to the core pairs of perfective and imperfective verbs.

The other verbs in this group, hence the verbs that are not regarded as derived formations but prefixed formations of base verbs, do not show the imperfective behaviour. The verb *zaplьvati* 'spit upon' (as well as *oplьvati* with the same meaning), for example, not only occurs frequently in the aorist, which is at least atypical of imperfective verbs, but the present tense is also used to translate Greek future forms. This combination is a strong indication that these verbs behave as perfective verbs in OCS:

(269) prědadętъ^{pres} bo vy językomъ . i porǫgajǫtъ^{pres} sę emu . i dosadętъ^{pres} emu . i ***zapljujǫtь***^{pres} i [*Z*, *M*]
for He will be handed over to the Gentiles, and *will be* mocked and mistreated and *spit upon* (Luke 18:32)

The example could also be interpreted as referring to multiple spitting events, which would fit more with an imperfective interpretation. One could, moreover, point to the fact the **zaplinǫti* and **oplinǫti* are not attested, which makes it questionable whether these verbs are partners of Leskien's class II verbs.[23] This line of reasoning would have been a way out, were this the only example, however, other verbs in this group show perfective functions as well. Take, for example the verb *isъxati*, *isъšǫ* 'wither', which is also used in a future function, even though *isъxnǫti*, *isъxnǫ*, is attested too:

(270) ašte kto vъ mьně ne prěbǫdetъ[pres] . izvrъžetъ[pres] sę vonъ . ěkože rozga i ***isъšetъ***[pres] . i sъbirajǫtъ[pres] jǫ . i vъ ognь vъlagajǫtъ[pres] i sъgarajǫtъ[pres] [*Z, M, Sk*][24]
if anyone does not abide in Me, he *will* be thrown away as a branch and *dry out* and they gather them, and cast them into the fire and they are burned (John 15:6, my translation)

In these translations, the present tense forms *isъšetъ* and *isъxnetъ* appear to have a future function, although they translate a Greek indicative aorist form, just like *izvrъžetъ sę* 'will be thrown out'.[25] In the Book of Psalms there is an example of a present tense form of *isъxati* translating a Greek *future* form (*ἀποξηρανθήσονται*):

(271) zane ěko trěva jędro ***isъšǫtъ***[pres] . i ěko zelie zlaka skoro otъpadǫtъ [*Ps*]
because like grass they *will* quickly *whither* and like green herbs they will quickly fall off (Psalm 36:2)[26]

It appears that both prefixed verbs *isъšati* - *isъxnǫti* behave like perfective verbs. Even though it might seem strange at first sight, it is in line with the findings for the partners of the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *duxati*

[23] Cf. the situation in Modern Russian where there is no **zapljunut'*, but there is a perfective *zaplevat'* with two meanings: 1) 'cover in spit', and 2) 'start spitting'. Only in the meaning 'cover in spit' there is a derived imperfective *zaplëvyvat'*.

[24] *Assemanianus* uses the present tense form *isъxnetъ* of the Leskien's class II partner *isъxnǫti* in this context.

[25] When Greek subsequently switches to present tense forms, OCS starts using imperfective present tense forms (*sъbirajǫtъ* 'they gather', *vъlagajǫtъ* 'they cast' and *sъgarajǫtъ* 'they burn'). The first part of this utterance, with the forms *prěbǫdetъ*, *izvrъžetъ* and *isъšetъ* can be seen as a case of singularization, in which one complete event is used as exemplary for a general rule. The second part with the three imperfective present tense forms is a typical example of generalization: imperfective aspect is used to defocus the inherent boundary on the micro-level in favour of an unbounded interpretation of the event on the macro-level, resulting in a habitual reading (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.2).

[26] I use the translation of the Septuagint, because the Hebrew text on which the modern English translation is based does not call for a future interpretation. The translation used here is the NETS (New English Translation of the Septuagint) as found on http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ (November 2015).

'blow') in the previous section, which were shown to be similar to anaspectual verbs. Prefixation of an anaspectual verb in most cases results in a terminative verb the profile and functions of which cannot be distinguished from perfective verbs (e.g. *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' from *bojati sę*) (cf. section 9.1). In case of Leskien's class II verbs and their partners, this results in a complex situation with two perfective prefixed verbs with closely related meanings.

The situation is reminiscent of that in Modern Russian with the unprefixed pair *kidat' - kinut'* 'throw'. Both *kidat'*, which has multiplicative use and *kinut',* which is semelfactive, become perfective when prefixed to *vykidat'* 'throw out (in a few throws)' and *vykinut'* 'throw out (in one throw)'. The derived prefixed formation *vykidyvat'* 'throw out' is partner to both prefixed perfective verbs. So there is an extensive derivational chain: *kidat' - kinut' - vykidat' - vykinut' - vykidyvat'*.

This phenomenon, in which an 'extra derived verb' is created, can also be observed in OCS. There are many extra derived verbs that occur exactly in a derivational chain with Leskien's class II verbs, in which both prefixed partners behave like perfective verbs. These verbs probably function as the imperfective partner of both the Leskien's class II verb (e.g. *pogybnǫti*), and the one based on the base simplex (e.g. *pogybati, pogyblǫ*). Table 9.1 demonstrates a number of these derivational chains:

Simplex	***Suffixed L2***	***Prefixed***	***Prefixed L2***	***Extra derived***[27]
dvidzati 'move'	*dvignǫti* 'move'	*podvidzati* 'move'	*podvignǫti* 'move'	*podvidzati* 'move'
gybati 'perish'	*gybnǫti* 'perish'	*pogybati* 'perish'	*pogybnǫti* 'perish'	*pogybati* 'perish'
mrъcati 'grow dark'	*mrъknǫti* 'grow dark'	N/A	*pomrъknǫti* 'grow dark'	*pomrъcati* 'grow dark'
N/A	N/A	*pomajati* 'wave'	*pomanǫti* 'wave'	*pomavati* 'wave'

Table 9.1 Examples of deviating derivation chains with Leskien's class 2[28]

[27] If the extra derived infinitive is the same as the prefixed infinitive, the difference is only visible in the present tense stem. The prefixed verbs based on the derivational base verb have the suffix *-ati, -je-*, e.g. prefixed *pogybati, pogybljǫ* while the extra derived verbs are derived with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, e.g. *pogybati, pogybajǫ*.

[28] Not all possible slots in the table are filled. It is difficult to establish whether this is because the verb did not exist, or simply because it is not attested. When comparing the empty slots with verbs that are attested in OR (Sreznevskij 1893-1906), I found equivalents to all three missing

Similar derivational patterns can also be found in prefixed formations of *-dajati, -dajǫ*, which also has *-davati, davajǫ*, or *-imati, -jemljǫ*, which has as extra derived *-imati, -imajǫ*, or *-ricati, -ričǫ* with *-ricati, -ricajǫ* (cf. section 9.5 on *sъpoveděti - sъpovědati - sъpovědovati*) and in these cases too there are verbs showing unexpected behaviour.

The lexical similarity between the various verbs in this derivational chain also emerges in the variation found between the various Gospel codices. In the following example codex *Zographensis* has a present tense form of *pogybnǫti*, while *Marianus* uses a present tense of *pogybati*:

(272) i prišedъše učenici ego . vъzbudišę i gl[agol]jǫšte . g[ospod]i s[ъ]p[as]i ny ***pogybnemъ***[pres] [*Z*]
i prišedъše učenici ego . vъzbudišę i gl[agol]jǫšte . g[ospod]i sъp[a]s[i] ny ***pogyblemъ***[pres] [*M*]
and they came to Him and woke Him, saying, "Save us, Lord; we *are perishing*" (Matthew 8:25)

The same variation is found in Luke 8:24 (the same story is told there) where *Zographensis* again uses a present tense of *pogybnǫti*, while *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* use a present tense form of *pogybati, pogybljǫ*. In terms of aspect the OCS translators appear to have opted for a form that expresses futurity in both variants. However, to make matters even more complicated, the Greek original has a present tense here, *ἀπολλύμεθα*, which could also have been translated with a present tense form of the extra derived verb, *pogybati, pogybajǫ*. In fact, this is exactly what happens in the translation in the codex *Zographensis*, but not in the *Marianus*, in Mark 4:38 (again the same story):

(273) i vъzbudišę i . i gl[agolaa]xǫ emu . učitlju . ne rodiši li ěko ***pogybaemъ***[pres] [*Z*]
i vъzbudišę i . i gl[agola]šę emu . učitlju . ne rodiši li ěko ***pogyblemъ***[pres] [*M*]
and they woke Him and said to Him, "Teacher, do You not care that we *are perishing*" (Mark 4:38)

While the variation as found in (272) does most likely not represent an aspectual difference, but is either a difference between dialects, or hides a lexical difference that can no longer be established with certainty, the variation in (273) is most probably aspectual, given the derivation with *-ati, --aje-*. The variation between *Zographensis* and *Marianus* in Mark 4:38 can be

verbs: *pomьrcati, manuti* and *majati*, which makes it probable that the absence in OCS is due to chance.

ascribed to the fact that the event referred to is imminent: it can be either described as an event occurring at the moment of speech and approaching the inherent boundary, with an emphasis on the imminence, or as an event of which the inherent boundary will be reached after the moment of speech. In the latter case it seems that some of the urgency of the utterance is lost.[29]

Finally, *pogybnǫti* and *pogybati* occur as variations in the Gospel codices in the translation of the Greek future form *ἀποθανοῦνται*:

(274) vsi bo priemъši nožь . nožemь ***pogybnǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
vsi bo priemъšei nožь . nožemь ***pogybajǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Sk*]
for all those who take up the sword *shall perish* by the sword (Matthew 26:52)

Just as in (273), both aspects give a different view on the situation: the derived form *pogybajǫtъ* presents the event as unbounded at the macro-level (habitual), while the form in *-nǫti*, *-ne-* could be seen as a case of singularization, or exemplary use (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.1). Similar variation is also found between the core perfective and imperfective verbs.

9.2.4 Concluding remarks

Leskien's class II verbs and their partners deserve a more detailed study. The examples I gave only present the tip of the iceberg and much remains unclear concerning the lexical and functional differences between the various verbs in the derivational chain. However, for the present study it suffices to establish that the relationship between most Leskien's class II verbs and their partners differs in most cases from the relationship between the core perfective and imperfective verbs. Although most Leskien's class II verbs show perfective profiles and perfective behaviour, their partners differ from imperfective verbs. The unprefixed partners are comparable to anaspectual verbs, given the fact that they are also used in aterminative predicates. This makes sense, since these are the verbs that form the derivational base for the *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs, just as anaspectual verbs like *bojati sę* form the base for prefixed formations like *ubojati sę*, without automatically becoming imperfective themselves (cf. Chapter 8). The prefixed partners that are formations of derivational base verbs (e.g. *zaplьvati* 'spit on') behave as one would expect of most prefixed anaspectual verbs; prefixation equals terminativization in these verbs and with that these verbs become perfective. The extra derived verbs appear to be the only true imperfective verbs in the chain. Finally, a small number of Leskien's class II verbs are regarded as the derivational base from which the partner verb is derived (e.g. *minǫti* - *minovati* 'pass by'). These verbs and their prefixed partners show an

[29] Cf. the use of *ugasajǫtъ* 'are going out' in example 127, Chapter 8.

opposition that is in every respect equal to the opposition as found between the core perfective and imperfective verbs. This can be taken as an indication that the aspect system was already rather firmly established in OCS, drawing in existing verb pairs that were not originally an aspect pair.

9.3 Prefixed verbs of motion

The profile of the prefixed determinate VOMs (e.g. *vъniti*, with indeterminate partner *vъxoditi*) is very similar to that of the prefixed perfective group:

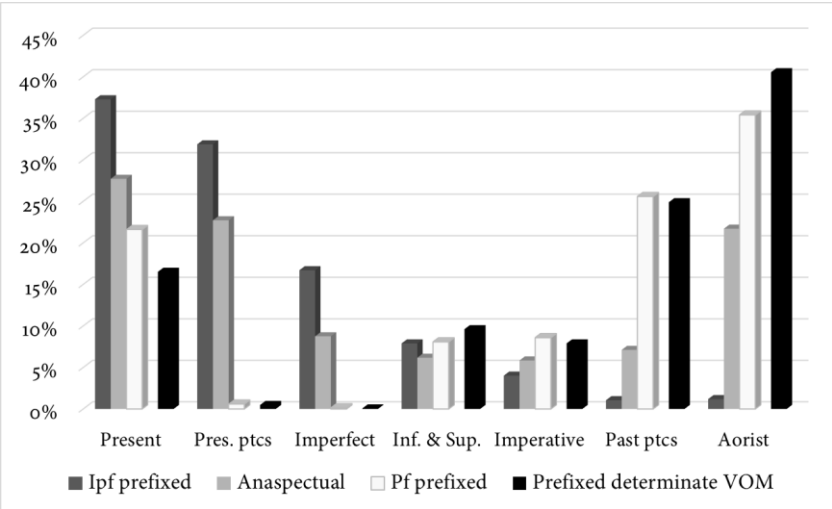


Figure 9.5 Profile comparison Prefixed determinate VOMs

The profile of the prefixed indeterminate VOMs, on the other hand, is very similar to that of the prefixed imperfective group:

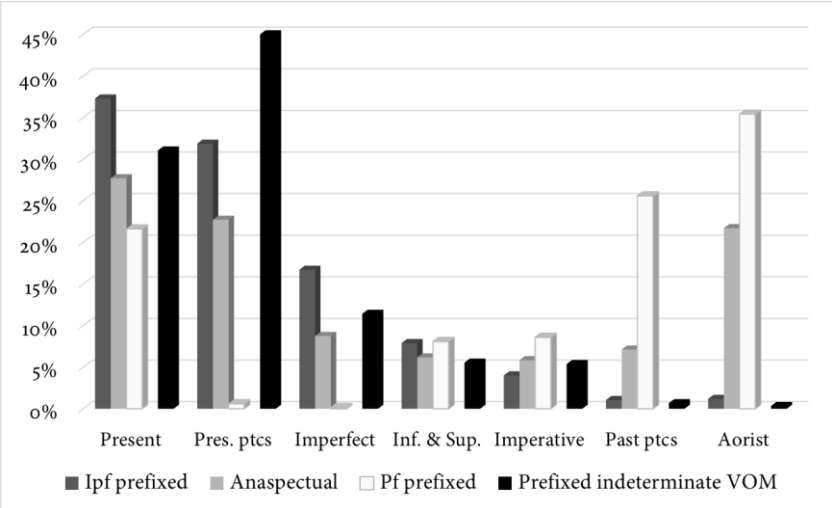


Figure 9.6 Profile comparison Prefixed indeterminate VOMs

The prefixed verbs of motion differ from all other verb pairs in OCS regarding their origin, which is the opposition between determinate VOMs and indeterminate VOMs, or 'manner-of-motion verbs' (Dickey 2010) (cf. section 9.4). Interestingly, even though the original VOMs do not express an aspect opposition, as I will discuss in section 9.4, the prefixed VOMs not only cluster together with the perfective and imperfective groups when it comes to their grammatical profile, but also show the same division of functions.

In the opposition between prefixed VOMs, the prefixed determinate VOMs behave as perfective verbs. This can be seen in the profile that is very compatible with aorist and past participles as well as in the functions of these verbs, like the use of the present tense to translate Greek subjunctive aorists and future forms:

(275) azъ esmь dvьri . mъnojǫ ašte kъto ***vъnidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. ***s[ъ]p[ase]tъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** . i ***vъnidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ i ***izidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$. i pažitь ***obrěštetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
I am the door; if anyone *enters* through Me, he *will be saved*, and *will go in* and *out* and *find* pasture (John 10:9)

The first present tense of *vъniti* 'enter' translates a Greek subjunctive aorist (*εἰσέλθῃ*). The subsequent present tense forms, including the two prefixed determinate present tense forms of *vъniti* and *iziti* 'go out' are all translations of Greek future forms and express complete events. In this case, the complete events are used as an example for a general rule, a function in which perfective present forms occur frequently in OCS (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.2).

Although prefixed determinate VOMs are the standard choice for the translation of Greek future forms, as opposed to prefixed indeterminate VOMs, this does not mean that they are not used to translate other Greek forms, like the present tense. For example, when the Greek *ἔρχομαι* 'come' is used in a present tense form to refer to a future event, OCS translates with a present tense form of *priiti*, not with the prefixed indeterminate partner *prixoditi* 'come' in example (276):

(276) slyšaste ěko azъ rěxъ vamъ . idǫ[pres] i ***pridǫ***[pres] kъ vamъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][30]
you heard that I said to you, "I go away, and I *will come* to you" (John 14:28)

This shows, first of all, that the difference between present and future in Greek is not completely equal to the difference between an imperfective present and a perfective present (cf. Chapter 8) and, secondly, that the translation was not simply an automated job of replacing one Greek form with one OCS form.

The present tense of *prixoditi*, the derived partner of *priiti*, is used to defocus the attainment of the inherent boundary, like in the following habitual utterances, translating the present tense of the same Greek verb *ἔρχομαι*:

(277) g[lago]la kъ nemu g[ospod]i . daždь mi sijǫ vodǫ . da ni žęždǫ[pres] . ni ***prixoždǫ***[pres] cěmo počrъpatъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
the woman said to Him, "Sir, give me this water, so I will not be thirsty nor *come* all the way here to draw" (John 4:15)

(278) se tretie lěto . otъneliže ***prixoždǫ***[pres] . ištę ploda na smokovьnici sei i ne ***obrětajǫ***[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
behold, for three years *I have come* looking for fruit on this fig tree without *finding* any (Luke 13:7)

In both cases the predicate is clearly terminative, it includes the goal of the movement. The last example is interesting in comparison to example (275), where the perfective *obrěsti* 'find' and *priiti* 'come' are used, while in (278) *prixoditi* and the derived partner of *obrěsti*, the prefixed imperfective *obrětati* occur together. The difference is that in (275) one event is singled out as an example for a general rule, while in this example the derived forms are used to express unboundedness at the macro-level; this is a typical habitual usage that is also found with the core imperfective verbs.

There are also a few extra derived prefixed verbs of motion, derived from the prefixed indeterminate verb of motion with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, just as with

[30] The form *idǫ* from the verb *iti* (cf. section 9.4) is a translation of the Greek present tense form *ὑπάγω*.

the Leskien's class II verbs. I have not included these verbs in the analysis, because of the very infrequent attestations (9 verbs with a total of 14 attestations). The only attestations are in the present tense, imperfect, imperative and present participles, which are typically imperfective forms. Of the 14 attestations, 12 are from the *Suprasliensis*, one is from the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and one occurs in the *Zographensis*: an imperfect of *izganjati* 'expel'. In this case the parallel corpus proved useful as the parallel text in the *Marianus* has a 'normal' prefixed indeterminate verb of motion *izgoniti* 'expel':

(279) i běsy mnogy ***izganěaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*Z*]
i běsy mъnogy ***izgoněaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*M*]
and they *were casting out* many demons (Mark 6:13)

Based on the small number of attestations, it is hard to say what the exact nature of these extra derived verbs in OCS was. They appear to be modelled on Leskien's class IV verbs like *ostaviti - ostavljati* 'leave', or *sъtvoriti - sъtvarjati* 'do', as a way of using 'regular' imperfective morphology for these verbs that functionally are equal to imperfective verbs. The fact that there is only one attestation of an *unprefixed* extra derived verb, an imperfect of *xaždati* 'go' (perhaps the result of deprefixation?), strengthens the hypothesis that this derivation of extra derived VOMs could have to do with being part of the aspect opposition, since unprefixed VOMs are not part of the aspect opposition. The profile of the indeterminate prefixed VOMs that have an extra derived partner (e.g. *isxoditi* 'go out', *privoditi* 'bring' *progoniti* 'drive away') does not differ significantly from that of those that do not have such a derived partner (e.g. *prinositi* 'bring', *vъxoditi* 'go into', *vъvoditi* 'lead into'.[31] There may have been a situation in OCS in which, for example, *isxoditi* was the perfective partner of *isxaždati*, but also the imperfective partner to *iziti*, similar to *isxodit'* in Modern Russian, which is perfective in the meaning 'walk all over' and otherwise imperfective. However, the attestations of *isxoditi* do not point in that direction. Another possibility is that the 'accidental' derivation of *isxaždati* on the model of *ostaviti - ostavljati* made room for a later perfective function of *isxoditi*.

Just as the Leskien's class II verbs and partners, the prefixed VOMs show that the aspect opposition in OCS is not to limited pairs in which the imperfective partner is derived with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, but that pairs that have a different derivational relationship and different origins can also be absorbed in the system (Galton 1997: 71). However, unlike the Leskien's class II verbs and partners, in which only a minority of the verbs express an opposition that is

[31] $\chi 2$ (6) =7.260, p = 0.29747 (n.s.), Cramér's V = 0.085.

equal to the opposition between the core perfective and imperfective verbs, the prefixed VOMs appear to be a regular part of the system. Again, this indicates that the aspect system is already firmly established in OCS. The difference with unprefixed Leskien's class II and their partners can be explained as follows: while the unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs are not inherently terminative, the prefixed derived VOMs are all terminative, as indicated by the prefix. The difference with the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs and their partners is that the prefixed indeterminate verbs of motion are prefixed compounds of inherently aterminative verbs (see section 9.4). Apparently, this results in prefixed verbs that automatically defocus the terminus.

9.4 Unprefixed verbs of motion

As I already mentioned and as becomes apparent from Figure 7.7 and Table 7.3 in Chapter 7, the determinate VOMs (e.g. *iti*, with indeterminate partner *xoditi*) are not part of the perfective cluster, even though they are closer to the perfective groups than to the imperfective groups. The profile of the determinate VOMs shows similarity to that of the anaspectual group, in the sense that all verbs forms are well attested:[32]

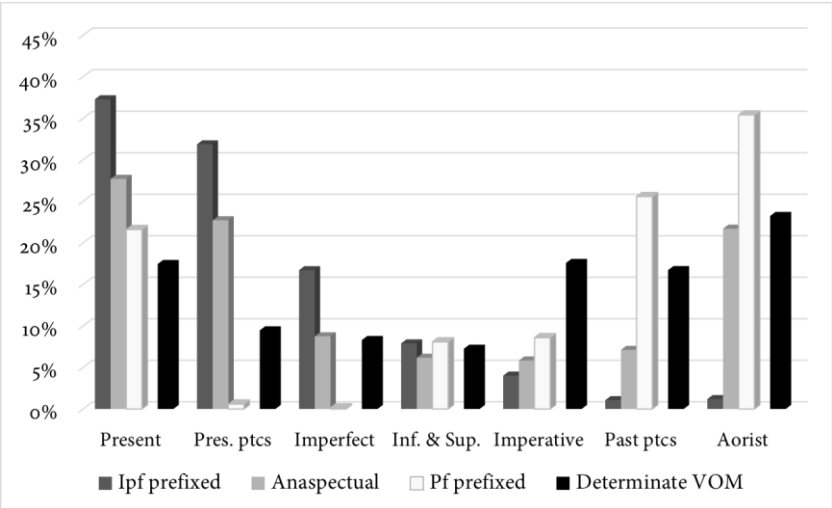


Figure 9.7 Profile comparison Determinate VOM

[32] No supines are attested of motion verbs, which seems to be the only lexical restriction on the inflection of motion verbs. The difference of the profile of the determinate VOMs with the anaspectual verbs is significant with a medium effect size: $\chi 2\ (6) = 696.423$, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.297.

Interestingly, the indeterminate VOMs show a profile similar to the prefixed imperfective group:

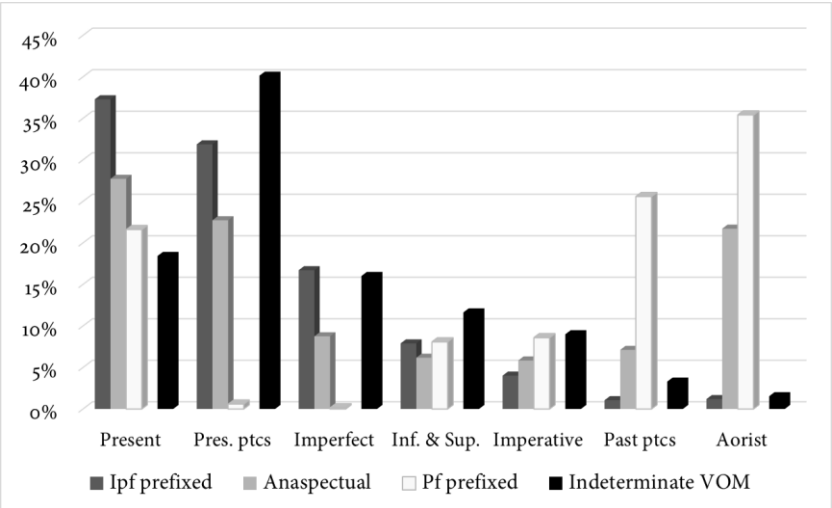


Figure 9.8 Profile comparison Indeterminate VOM

An important difference with the imperfective verbs is the rather low share of present tense forms. In this respect the profile resembles the profile of the determinate VOMs. For the determinate VOMs this difference is made up for by a rather large share of imperatives and past participles, while the indeterminate VOMs are attested relatively often as present participles.

I have already mentioned Dickey's (2010) study of OCS verbs of motion. He concludes that the verbs that are traditionally called 'indeterminate verbs of motion' are in fact 'manner-of-motion verbs' in OCS. Dickey's conclusion is based on examples like:

(280) psalmъ davydovъ egda ***běgaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ otъ lica [a]veseluma s[y]na svoego [*Ps*]
Psalm of David, when he *fled* from Absalom his son (Psalm 3:1)

(281) i izlězъ is korablě petrъ . ***xoždaaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ na vodaxъ . i pride ky is[o]vi [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and Peter got out of the boat, and *walked* on the water and came toward Jesus (Matthew 14:29)

In (280) the 'indeterminate' verb *běgati, běgajǫ* 'flee' is used and not the 'determinate' *bežati, běžǫ, bežiši* 'flee', even though the motion is clearly

determinate.[33] In (281) it is indeterminate *xoditi* instead of determinate *iti* 'go', again referring to determinate motion. These, and a number of other examples, show that the motion verbs in OCS behave differently from the motion verbs in modern North Slavic (Dickey 2010: 92). For the sake of clarity I will keep using the traditional terminology 'indeterminate verb of motion (VOM)' when referring to verbs in the *xoditi*-group, even though I believe Dickey convincingly shows that these verbs in OCS are really manner-of-motion verbs.

Dickey (2010: 94) calls the indeterminate VOMs "aspectually vague from the outset", which could be interpreted as anaspectual: they do not express aspect. However, this is a special type of anaspectual verbs. According to Dickey (2010: 94, 99) these verbs are always aterminative (cf. section 8.3.1) and do not combine with a goal in their basic sense, even though they occur with a goal from time to time (e.g. in examples (280) and (281)). In OCS indeterminate VOMs are paired up with the determinate VOMs, which express (source-oriented) directional motion, which "is potentially terminative, yet also frequently construed as ongoing and not reaching its terminus" (ibidem: 99). These determinate VOMs are very compatible with sequences of events (ibidem: 99) and occur frequently in the aorist which is the standard past tense in sequences. Indeterminate VOMs concentrate on the *manner* of motion, as already mentioned, and are mostly attested in the imperfect, a tense that focuses on the event itself and not on any boundaries, like in (280).

There are only a few examples of the use of an aorist of indeterminate VOMs. Such examples can be compared to the aorist of *ležati* 'lie', as discussed in example (34), Chapter 4: the use of the aorist results in an event being presented as having stopped at some point in time, even though no inherent boundary is present. In the following example, the aorist of *xoditi* translates a Greek aorist of the verb *πορεύομαι* 'go, proceed':

(282) sǫdi mję g[ospod]i ěko azъ nezъlobojǫ mojǫ ***xodixъ***[aor] [*Ps*]
vindicate me, o Lord, for I *have walked* in my integrity (Psalm 25:1)

In almost all cases where the direction or the goal of the motion event is emphasized, the verb *iti* (or prefixed formations, like *priiti* 'come') is used to translate the same Greek verb, rather than *xoditi*:

(283) edinъi že na desęte učenikъ ***idošę***[aor] vъ galilejǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][34]
but the eleven disciples *proceeded* to Galilee (Matthew 28:16)

[33] The Russian Synodal Orthodox Version uses determinate *bežal*.

[34] *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* have *idǫ*, which is the thematic aorist 3pl. *Zographensis* and *Savvina Kniga* have the sigmatic aorist.

This is also the case in other verb forms, like the imperative:

(284) ***iděte***$^{\text{impr}}$ že pače kъ ovьcamъ pogybъšiimъ domu i[zdrai]l[je]va [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
but rather *go* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matthew 10:6)

Also when Greek uses an imperfect, referring to a temporally unbounded event, the verb *iti* is preferred when the motion has a clear direction:

(285) i išedъ is[usъ] i cr[ь]kve ***iděaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*M*]
Jesus came out from the temple and *was going* away (Matthew 24:1)

In this case the imperfect is probably used to express conativity; Jesus plans to leave the temple, but his disciples stop him and point at the temple buildings (he has clearly not left the scene of the temple). But determinate VOMs are also used in a progressive function, like in the following example with the verb *vesti* 'lead, take' (not *voditi* 'lead, take'):

(286) ***veděaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ že i . i ina zъloděě dъva . sъ nimь ubitъ[*Z*, *M*][35]
they *were leading* him *away* and two others as well to be put to death with Him (Luke 23:32, my translation)

Moreover, when the *manner* of motion is not in focus, determinate VOMs are used. Hence, when the Greek verb *πορεύομαι* 'go, proceed' does not indicate a walking event, *iti* is used instead of *xoditi*:

(287) i se dzvězda jǫže viděšę na vъstocě . ***iděaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ prědъ nimi . doideže prišedši sta vrъxu . ideže bě otročę [*A*, *Sk*]
and the star, which they had seen in the east, *went on* before them until it came and stood over the place where the Child was (Matthew 2:9)

The examples (285), (286) and (287) do not have typical Slavic-style perfective predicates. Even though a clear direction is present, the predicates do not express an inherent boundary, which becomes especially clear from (287). The choices between a determinate VOM and an indeterminate VOM are therefore clearly different from the choice between a perfective and an imperfective verb. They depend on whether the manner of motion is in focus, or whether there is a goal or direction to the movement

[35] *Assemanianus* has the 3pl sigmatic aorist *věsę* 'they led away' of *vesti* 'lead' and *Savvina Kniga* has a construction with a PastPP of *vesti* and an aorist of *byti*: *vedana běsta* 'both were led away'. These are interesting translations given the fact that the Greek original has an imperfect *ἤγοντο*.

Since both the determinate VOMs and the indeterminate VOMs occur in aterminative predicates, I regard both groups as anaspectual. The difference in profile has to do with the lexical difference between these verbs. Determinate VOMs are compatible with terminative predicates, they are terminativizable:

(288) oni že poslušavъšе[PastAPI] c[ěsa]rě ***idǫ***[aor] [*A*, *Sk*]
after hearing the king, they *went* their way (Matthew 2:9)

In this sense they are comparable to the group of anaspectual verbs that easily allow for terminative construals, like the aorist of *viděti* in the following example (cf. 8.3.2):

(289) i vъšedъše[PastAPI] vъ xraminǫ . ***viděšę***[aor] otročę [*Sk*, *A*]
after coming into the house they *saw* the Child (Matthew 2:11)

Determinate VOMs are thus used in both terminative predicates and aterminative predicates and are similar to terminativizable anaspectual verbs (e.g. *viděti* 'see', *jasti* 'eat', *bojati sę* 'be afraid'). This is also reflected in their profile that is even more evenly distributed than that of the core group of anaspectual verbs (with a clear preference for the imperative compared to other anaspectual verbs; apparently people like to tell each other to go somewhere):

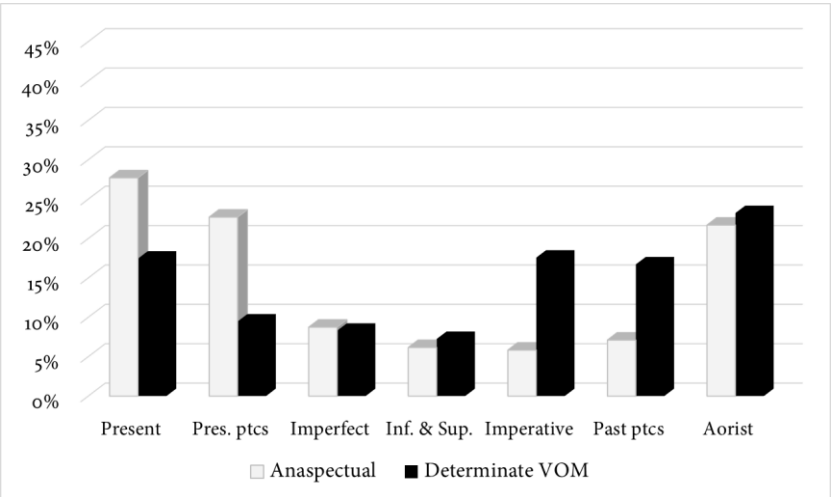


Figure 9.9 Profile comparison Anaspectual and Determinate VOM

The other half of the pair, the indeterminate VOMs show a profile that is quite similar to that of the imperfective verbs (cf. Figure 9.8). The reason why the indeterminate VOMs occur on the imperfective side of the dimension, and do not cluster with the anaspectual group, probably lies in the fact that

they only allow aterminative construals and do not combine easily with the aorist. In this respect they are similar to anaspectual verbs that are not compatible with terminative construals (e.g. *ležati* 'lie', *podobati* 'behove', *alъkati* 'be hungry'). The inability to occur in aterminative predicates correlates with incompatibility with aorists and past participles, forms that are also highly incompatible with imperfective verbs. The distribution of the forms over the determinate and indeterminate VOMs is therefore a result of lexical factors and is not directly linked to the aspect opposition.

9.5 Derivational chains with extra derived verbs

In the discussion of the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs, I showed a link between deviating behaviour of what at first sight appeared to be the imperfective partner in a pair and the presence of an extra derived verb. The supposedly imperfective partner turned out to behave as a perfective verb and the extra derived verb turned out to be the only true imperfective verb in the chain. Except for Leskien's class II verbs, there are a number of other verb families that show extra derived formations (e.g. *sъpověděti - sъpovědati - sъpovědovati*). Important families in this group include prefixed formations of *-věděti*, *-dati*, *-rešti*, and *-jęti*. In Table 9.2 there are some examples of such derivational chains.

Simplex	***Suffixed***	***Prefixed***	***Prefixed suffixed***	***Extra derived***[36]
věděti	N/A	*sъpověděti*	*sъpovědati*	*sъpovědovati*
'know'	'move'	'announce'	'announce'	'announce'
dati	*dajati*	*podati*	*podajati*	*podavati*
'give'	'give'	'give'	'give'	'give'
rešti	N/A	*narešti*	*naricati*	*naricati*
'say'		'call'	'call'	'call'
jęti	*imati*	*vъnęti*	*vъnimati*	*vъnimati*
'take'	'take'	'notice'	'notice'	'notice'

Table 9.2 Examples of deviating derivation chains

The prefixed verbs (*sъpověděti* etc.) have a profile that is similar to that of the prefixed perfective verbs:

[36] When the extra derived infinitive is the same as the prefixed infinitive, the difference is only visible in the present tense stem. The extra derived verbs are derived with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, e.g. prefixed suffixed *naricati, naričǫ* and extra derived *naricati, naricajǫ*.

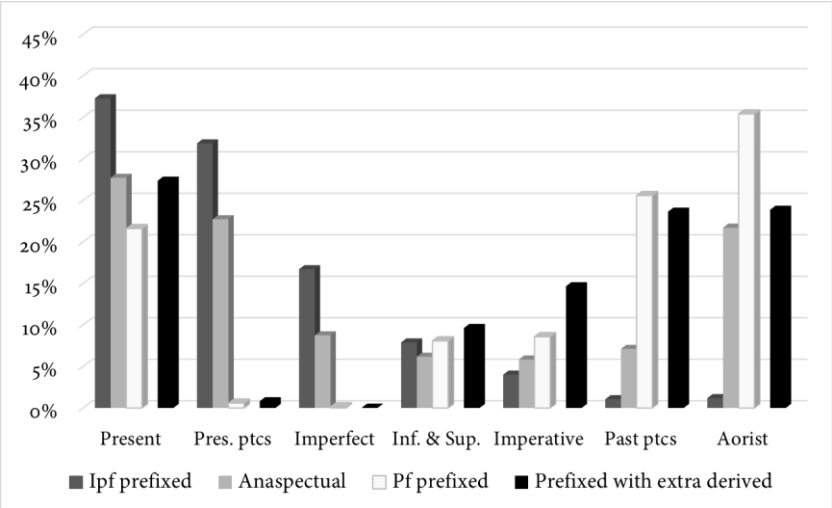


Figure 9.10 Profile comparison Prefixed with extra derived

There is a significant albeit small difference between this profile and the perfective prefixed profile,[37] however, functionally I found no difference. The functional similarity to perfective verbs emerges most clearly in the use of present tense forms of these verbs in the translation of Greek future forms:

(290) i togda ***ispověmъ***[pres] imъ . ěko nikoliže znaxъ vasъ [*Z*, *M*]
and then I *will declare* to them, "I never knew you" (Matthew 7:23)

(291) i eže kъ uxu gl[agol]aste . vъ tailištixъ . ***propověstъ***[pres] ***sę*** na krověxъ [*Z*, *M*]
and what you have whispered in the inner rooms *will be proclaimed* upon the housetops (Luke 12:3)

The present tense forms of prefixed formations of derived *-vědatĭ*[38] behave as expected for suffixed verbs, translating Greek present tense forms when used in the present tense:

(292) ***ispovědajǫ***[pres] ***sę*** tebě o[tь]če . g[ospod]i nebu i zemli [*Z*, *M*]
I *praise* You, Father, Lord of heaven and earth (Matthew 11:25)

[37] $\chi 2\ (6) = 255.617, p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.155.
[38] Actually, all forms that occur as either suffixed and/or extra derived are forms of *povědĕti - povědati - povědovati* and prefixed formations of those verbs like *propovědĕti - propovědati - propovědovati*. Hence, there are no attestations of derivations of *sъvědĕti* 'know' or *uvědĕti* 'recognize'.

However, there are some deviating facts. First, extra derived verbs are attested, next to the verbs that look like the imperfective partner, like in the following examples where it occurs as variation between codices:

(293) i ide . i ***načętъ***^{aor} ***propovědovati***^{inf} . vъ dekapoli . eliko sьtvori emu is[usъ] [*Z*]
i ide i ***načętъ***^{aor} ***propovědati***^{inf} vъ dekapoli eliko sьtvori emu is[us]ъ [*M*]
and he went away and began *to proclaim* in Decapolis what great things Jesus had done for him (Mark 5:20)

(294) rǫgaaxǫ že sę emu i voini pristǫpajǫšte^{PresAP} . i ocetъ ***pridavajǫšte***^{PresAP} . emu [*A*]
rǫgajǫšte sę že emu . i voini pristǫpajǫšte^{PresAP} . i ocьtъ emu ***pridajǫšte***^{PresAP} [*Sk*]
the soldiers also mocked Him, coming up to Him, *offering* Him sour wine (Luke 23:36)

Secondly, there is the deviating profile of the prefixed suffixed verbs of which an extra derived verb is attested, which is similar to the profile of the anaspectual group regarding the rather even distribution of verb forms:[39]

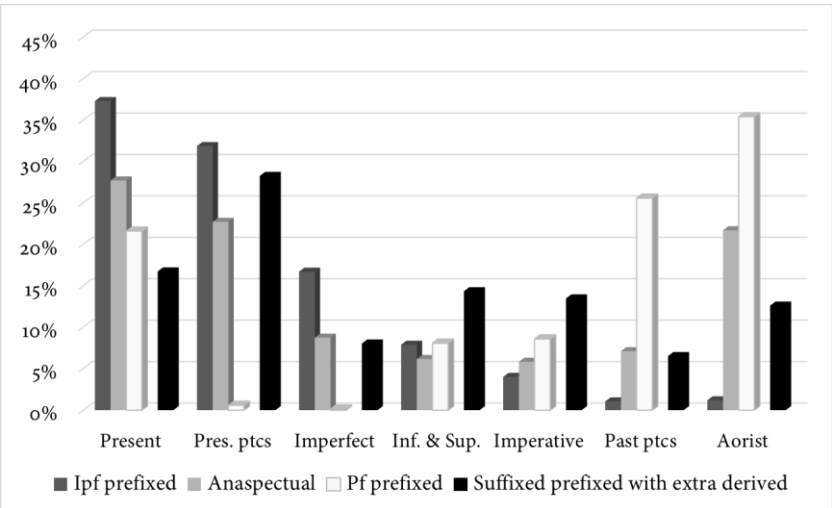


Figure 9.11 Profile comparison Suffixed prefixed with extra derived

[39] The profiles differ significantly with a small to medium effect size: $\chi 2$ (6) =135.96, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.246. The main difference with the anaspectual profile is the relatively low frequency of present tense attestations as well as aorist attestations.

I should mention that the deviating profile is mostly the result of prefixed forms of *-vědati* (i.e. *povědati* and prefixed formations thereof like *propovědati*). Of the other verbs in this group only *obъmati* (also *obimati*) 'embrace', *oblьgъčati* 'alleviate' and *razdajati* 'distribute' occur in the aorist or past participle (one attestation per verb), which gives the impression that these verbs behave mostly as imperfective verbs. One would need to individually analyse the various verbs more in detail to reach a firmer conclusion, something that is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, there is variation between codices, where one will use prefixed forms of *-věděti* and the other prefixed forms of *-vědati* in the same context in aorist form, without a clear difference in meaning. So while in the present tense the difference is as expected, in the aorist the *-vědati* are functionally indiscernible from their *-věděti* partners. In the following example, *Zographensis* uses an aorist of *ispovědě̀ti* 'confess' and *Assemanianus* an aorist of *ispovědati* 'confess', both translating the Greek aorist *ὡμολόγησεν* 'he confessed':

(295) i ***ispovědě̀***[aor] ěko něsmь azъ x[rist(os)]ъ [*Z*]
i ***ispověda***[aor] […] ěko něsmъ azь x[rist(os)]ь [*A*][40]
and he *confessed* […] "I am not the Christ" (John 1:20)

Similar variation can be found in the Gospel codices between *povědě̀ti* 'proclaim' and *povědati* 'proclaim' and *propovědě̀ti* 'preach' and *propovědati* 'preach':

(296) ***povědašę***[aor] že emu . ěko is[usъ] . nazarěninъ mimoxoditъ [*Z*, *A*, *Sk*]
povědě̀šę[aor] že emu ěko is[us]ъ nazarěninъ [mi]moxoditъ [*M*]
they *told* him that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by (Luke 18:37)

(297) oni že šedъše ***propovědašę***[aor] vъsǫdu [*A*]
oni že išedъše ***propovědě̀šę***[aor] vъsǫdě [*M*]
and they went out and *preached* everywhere (Mark 16:20)

The fact that these forms occur as variants could serve as evidence for the hypothesis that the extra derived verbs (*sъpovědovati* etc.) emerged as a means of disambiguation, because, as Schuyt (1990: 7) observes "certain prefixed derived imperfective formations in *-ati -aje-* […] were perfective or aspectually unclear […], [or] could be confused with perfective compounds

[40] *Assemanianus* has the full text, including the middle part where it says: *i ne otvrъže sę . i* ***pověda***[aor] . 'and did not deny, but *confessed*', with an aorist of *povědati* 'proclaim', again as a translation of the Greek aorist *ὡμολόγησεν*.
A similar variation between *Zographensis* and *Assemanianus* can be found in John 1:18.

[…], or […] had an aorist stem which was homonymous with that of their perfective correlate" (cf. also Chapter 10).

These extra derived verbs have a profile similar to the imperfective prefixed verbs:

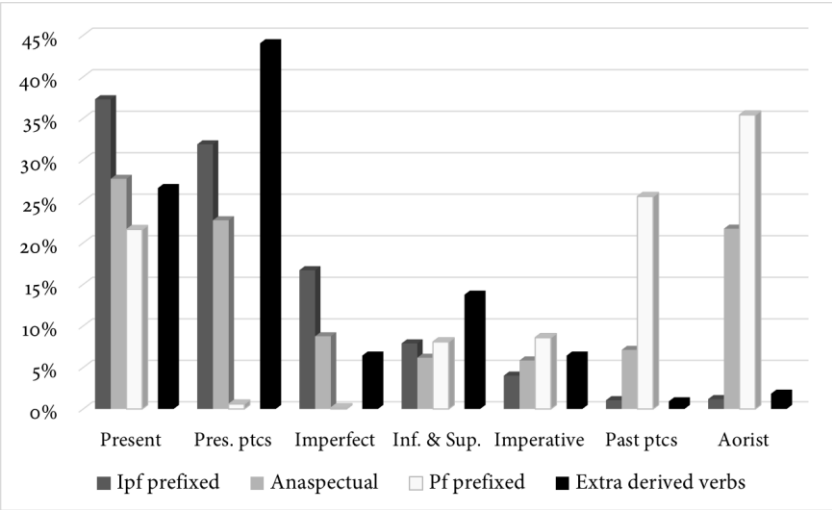


Figure 9.12 Profile comparison Extra derived verbs

It is difficult to establish why certain derivational peculiarities have developed. The disambiguation theory as posited by Schuyt (1990) offers a plausible solution, although it works somewhat differently for the various verbs within this group. The division is between the *-vedati* verbs and the other verbs in the group.

First, with regard to *-věděti - -vědati*, confusion between underived and derived forms can be deduced from the variation between codices. The other verb families in this group do not show such variation, nor do the profiles of the other derived verbs show as strong deviations from the imperfective profile as verbs in *-vědati*, that have a large number of aorist and past participle forms.

For prefixed formations of *-vědati* one could hypothesize that the clearest cases of the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* are forms based on the present tense stem, where the *-aje-* element emerges. In the aorist there is no difference between verbs derived with *-ati*, *-je-* and *-ati*, *-aje-*, the aorist ends in *-a-* in both cases. Another form based on the present tense stem is the imperative and it is indeed used to translate Greek present imperatives, indicating a general command, like in the following examples:

(298) poite[impr] g[ospodo]vi prěpodobii ego . ***ispovědaite***[impr] pamjętь sv[ę]tyniję (e)go [*Ps*]
sing praise to the Lord, you His godly ones, And *give thanks* to His holy name (Psalm 29:5)

(299) xodęšte[PresAP] že ***propovědaite***[impr] gl[agol]jǫšte . ěko približi sę c[ěsa]r[ь]s[tv]ie neb[e]skoe [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and as you go, *preach*, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matthew 10:7)

Possibly, the *-vědati* verbs were felt to express perfective aspect in forms based on the infinitive stem and imperfective aspect in forms based on the present stem (cf. Chapter 10).

All other verbs in this group, except for the *-věděti -vedati* pairs, share the characteristic that the derived verb has an *-ati -je-* suffix (e.g. *narešti, naričǫ* 'call', *obьmati, obemljǫ* 'embrace', *razdajati, razdajǫ* 'distribute'). This is a situation that is reminiscent of the partners of Leskien's class II verbs. It appears that the presence of a prefix in absence of suffixation with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, results in uncertainty about the aspectual status of the verb (cf. Chapter 10). Or, as Schuyt (1990: 416) puts it: "prefixed formations of such verbs [i.e. verbs with the suffix *-ati, -je-*, JK] were often felt to be perfective compounds". So even if these verbs were not the derivational base verb, they did not 'feel' imperfective in OCS and could thus become part of the perfective half of the system. This can also account for the extra derived verbs that occur in this group. However, unlike the prefixed formations of *-vedati*, the other verbs in this group do not show perfective behaviour.

By taking into account the deviating morphological properties of these verbs, I was able to eliminate verbs like *povědati* 'proclaim' and *zapovědati* 'charge' from the core group. This resulted in a much clearer profile for the imperfective verbs, with much less aorist and past participle attestations.

9.6 The verb byti

As I already noted, the profile of the verb *byti* cannot really be compared to other verb profiles, simply because of the fact that *byti* has forms that other verbs do not have, namely the forms I refer to as future forms (*bǫdǫ, bǫdeší*) the conditional (*bimь, bî*) and the participle I refer to as future participle (*bǫdy, bǫdǫšta*)[41]. Dostál (1954: 146-154) ascribes different aspectual characteristics to the various forms of *byti* as follows:

[41] The nominative singular *bǫdy* is not attested in OCS.

Verb form	*Aspect according to Dostál*
Pres (*esmъ, esi*)	Imperfective
Impf (*běaxъ, běaše* and *běxъ, bě*)[42]	Imperfective
Aor (*byxъ, by*)	Both perfective and imperfective
Impr (*bǫdi, bǫdemъ*)	Both perfective and imperfective
PresAPI (*sy, sǫšta*)	Imperfective
PastAPI (*byvъ, byvъša*)	Both perfective and imperfective
PastAPII (*bylъ*)	Imperfective
Inf (*byti*)	Both perfective and imperfective
Future (*bǫdǫ, bǫdeši*)	Both perfective and imperfective
Future participle (*bǫdy, bǫdǫšta*)	Imperfective[43]
Conditional (*bimъ, bi*)[44]	Depends on main verb

Table 9.3 Dostál's aspectual classification of forms of byti

The main dividing line for Dostál is the question whether the verb *byti* expresses 'become' (*fieri*) or 'be' (*esse*). This is reminiscent of the difference between 'be afraid' and 'become afraid', which can both be expressed by the anaspectual verb *bojati sę* (cf. section 8.3.2). Translated into the terminology I use in this study, it appears that some of the forms of *byti* like present tense *esmъ* and imperfect *běaxъ/bě* are used only in aterminative predicates with the meaning 'be', while other forms, like the future *bǫdǫ* and the aorist *byxъ* occur in both terminative and aterminative predicates. In both cases the verb would classify as an anaspectual verb, since it occurs in aterminative predicates.

For a detailed discussion of the verb *byti* and its grammatical profile, the question whether it concerns one verb or two verbs, the various constructions in which it occurs and comparison with the Greek original, I refer to Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014a and 2014b). Below, I will give a few examples which for the present study suffice to explain the position of *byti* within the OCS aspect system. For this I will concentrate mainly on the future forms (*bǫdǫ*), since these are actually a second set of present tense forms (formed on another stem) that usually have a future interpretation, which are opposed to the

[42] The form *bě* is sometimes also referred to as aorist. For a discussion and an overview of the various views on this subject see Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014a).

[43] Dostál (1954: 148-149) notes that the future participle is only used as an adjective and he does not consider it to be a participle in OCS.

[44] The conditional is morphologically strongly influenced by the aorist and there are many attestations of an aorist in a conditional context like in the *Zographensis* and *Marianus* in John 8:39 *ašte čęda avramlě* ***byste*** *byli . děla avraamlě tvorili* ***byste*** [*Z, M*] 'If you were Abraham's children, you would do the deeds of Abraham' (my translation). Codex *Assemanianus* has the expected conditional forms: *ašte čęda avramlě* ***biste*** *byli . děla avraamlě tvorili* ***biste*** [*A*] (cf. Diels 1963: 280).

'normal' present tense forms (*esmъ*).[45] This results in an opposition between *esmъ* and *bodǫ* that is reminiscent of the opposition between perfective and imperfective present tense forms (e.g. *ostavljǫ - ostavljajǫ*). However, I will argue that the future forms of *byti* are not perfective.

First, the future forms of *byti* can also occur in generalized utterances, like in the following example translating a Greek present tense form (*γίνεται* 'it becomes') alongside present tense forms of imperfective verbs, like *pristavljati* and the derived verb *vъzimati*:

(300) nikъtože pristavlenič plata ne bělena . ne pristavlěetъ[pres] rizě vetъsě . ašte li že ni . vъzъmetъ[pres] konьcь otъ neję novoe . otъ vetъxaego . i gorьši dirě ***bǫdetъ***[fut] [*Z*, *M*]
no one sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment; otherwise the patch pulls away from it, the new from the old, and a worse tear *results* (Mark 2:21)

While (300) could still be seen as a terminative predicate in which the inherent boundary is presented as being attained (cf. the exemplary use of perfective present forms, section 8.1.2.1), there are plenty of examples that are undoubtedly aterminative, like the following example which also occurs as example (28) in Chapter 4 and example (99) in Chapter 9:

(301) gl[agol]jǫ že vamъ . vъ tǫ noštь ***bǫdete***[fut] dъva . na loži edinomь . edinъ poemletъ[pres] sę a drugy ostavlěetъ[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
I tell you, on that night there *will be* two in one bed; one will be taken and the other will be left (Luke 17:34)

Again the future form of *byti* occurs in the same context as the present tense of an imperfective verb *ostavljati* 'leave' as well as the present tense of *poimati* 'take away' which generally appears to behave as the an imperfective verb in opposition to perfective *pojęti* 'take away'.[46]

The future of *byti* is also used in translation of the Greek present subjunctive, again not indicating a change of state, only a desired state:

[45] Which is not to say that the 'normal present tense forms' do not occur in the translation of Greek future forms. However, when it does, it is in a context in which the future form is used in a generalized utterance like in Matthew 12:11 *onъ že reče imъ . kъto* ***estъ***[pres] *otъ vasъ č[love]kъ iže imatъ ovьcę edino . i ašte vъpadetъ sę vъ sǫbotǫ vъ ěmǫ . ne izъmetъ li ego* [*Z*, *M*] 'And He said to them, "What man *is* there among you who has a sheep, and if it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will he not take hold of it and lift it out?"'. Note that the English translation also does not translate Greek *ἔσται* with a future construction (some translations do, like the *New American Standard Bible 1995* 'What man shall there be among you, who shall have one sheep, and if it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will he not take hold of it, and lift it out?').

[46] The Greek original has only future forms in this text.

(302) ***da bǫdetъ***[fut] milostyni tvoě vъ taině [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
so that your giving *will be* in secret (Matthew 6:4)

Such examples demonstrate that the future forms of *byti* and the present tense forms are not equal to perfective presents, even though they share the future function with the perfective present. In the sense of 'be', the future forms are aterminative, irrespective of the question whether it refers to a future event, or to a generalized event.

There are also instances in which the future forms of *byti* are used in terminative predicates. The following is such an example, where *bǫdetъ* translates a Greek subjunctive aorist, *γένηται* 'it becomes':

(303) dobre estъ solь . ašte li že solь neslana ***bǫdetъ***[fut] . o čemь jǫ osolite [*Z*, *M*]
salt is good; but if the salt *becomes* unsalty, with what will you make it salty (Mark 9:50)

The fact that future forms of *byti* are used in both terminative and aterminative predicates, indicate that *byti* is an anaspectual verb. However, it is not an ordinary anaspectual verb, because there is a derived partner *byvati*. Dostál (1954: 147, 151) considers the verb *byvati* to be the derived partner for the terminative usage of *byti* (303). In other words: while forms of *byti* never inherently express a change of situation like a perfective verbs would, they allow a terminative interpretation and in some predicates this interpretation can hardly be avoided. In cases where the speaker explicitly wants to defocus the inherent boundary, *byvati* can be used. The verb *byvati* is therefore used in habitual utterances or to express incremental change (ibidem: 501). The following two examples demonstrate the habitual use:

(304) i eliko ašte prikasaaxǫ[impf] sę emь . s[ъ]p[as]eni ***byvaaxǫ***[impf] [*Z*, *M*]
and as many as touched it *were* cured (Mark 6:56, my translation)

(305) a[n]ǵ[e]lъ bo g[ospodi]nь na vьsě lěta . myěše sę vъ kǫpěli . i vъzmǫštaaše vodǫ . i iže prъvěe vъlažaše po vъzmǫšteni vody . sъdravъ ***byvaaše***[impf] [*Z*, *M*, *A*] [47]
for an angel of the Lord went down at certain seasons into the pool and stirred up the water; whoever then first, after the stirring up of the water, stepped in *was made* well (John 5:4)

[47] It is interesting to see that Greek uses the infrequently attested indicative imperfect of *γίγνομαι* 'become', *ἐγίνετο*, in this text. The indicative aorist of *γίγνομαι*, *ἐγένετο* occurs 255 times in the New Testament, while *ἐγίνετο* appears only three times; once in John 5:4 and twice in Acts (Acts 2:43 and 5:12). The shared characteristic of all three attestations is habituality or iterativity.

The imperfect of *byti* would not fit in these examples as it is almost never used to translate forms of Greek *γίγνομαι* 'become' (cf. Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset 2014b); it normally translates Greek *εἰμὶ* 'be'.[48]

The use of *byvati* is, as mentioned, in contexts of incremental change, as in the following example translating the Greek indicative present *γίνεται* 'become':

(306) viděvъ že pilatъ . ěko ničьsože uspěetъ . nъ pače mlьva ***byvaetъ***[pres] . priimъ vodǫ umy rǫcě pręda narodomь [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
when Pilate saw that he was accomplishing nothing, but rather that a riot *was starting,* he took water and washed his hands in front of the multitude (Matthew 27:24)

This example contrasts with the following example, in which a Greek subjunctive aorist *γένηται* 'it becomes' is translated and the event referred to is presented as a future complete event:

(307) g[lago]laxǫ že . nъ ne vъ prazdьnikъ . da ne mlьva ***bǫdetъ***[fut] vъ ljudexъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
but they were saying, "Not during the festival, otherwise a riot might *occur* among the people" (Matthew 26:5)

In the *Zographensis* there is an example where the present tense of *byvati* is used where other codices use the future forms of *byti* (again translating the Greek indicative present *γίνεται*):

(308) věste ěko po vъvoju dьnu pasxa ***byvaetъ***[pres] [*Z*]
věste ěko po vъvoju dьnu pasxa ***bǫdetъ***[fut] [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
you know that after two days the Passover *is coming* (Matthew 26:2)[49]

This variation can be compared to the variation in example (273), where the derived form *pogybaemъ* 'we are perishing' is used to express the imminence of the event (like *byvaetъ* does), the event is construed as actually occurring the moment of speech, while the underived form *pogyblemъ* 'we will perish' focuses on the occurrence of the event after the moment of speech (like *bǫdetъ*).

The examples of *byvati* in contrast with *byti* show an opposition that has similarities with the aspect opposition, although *byti* cannot be seen as a true

[48] Out of the 47 examples Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014b) found, only 1 is a translation of *γίγνομαι*.

[49] The modern Macedonian Bible translation uses an imperfective present *nastapuva* 'come, arrive', much like *Zographensis*, while the modern Bulgarian translation uses a future tense, *šte bъde* 'will be', much like the other codices.

perfective partner, because it often occurs in aterminative predicates and, hence, does not present a complete terminative event. As said, the opposition between the 'be' and the 'become' meaning within the paradigm of *byti* can be compared to the different construals (terminative and aterminative) that *bojati sę* 'be afraid' or *diviti sę* 'marvel' allow and is thus different from the opposition that Slavic-style aspect expresses. The plasticity of the future forms of *byti* with regard to allowing terminative and aterminative construals is a characteristic of anaspectual verbs, which fits in with the position on the aspect dimension in Figure 7.7 and Table 7.3.

With the analysis of *byti* I have reached the end of the discussion of the position of the 'other groups'.

9.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have analysed a number of groups that are less central to the aspect system, and of which it was not clear at the outset how they would score on the aspect dimension. Interestingly, the inclusion of these other groups did not change the basic picture of the aspect dimension. However, the functional analysis of individual attestations of verbs from the various groups reveals a lot about the mechanisms that are at work in the OCS verbal aspect system. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the position of the groups on the aspect dimension and the semantic analysis of individual examples:

1. Prefixation without suffixation often results in terminative verbs (Prefixed verbs without a partner, prefixed Leskien's class II partners, prefixed VOMs);
2. Suffixation with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* also often results in terminative verbs (Leskien's class II verbs);
3. Such terminative verbs have a perfective profile and show perfective functions;
4. One characteristic seen in verbs that cluster with the anaspectual group (Determinate VOMs, *byti*) is the possibility to allow both aterminative and terminative construals ;
5. Morphological categorization is only the first step in the determination of the aspect of a verb. It needs to be followed up with a semantic analysis. A closer look often reveals variation within a morphologically defined group (Prefixed verbs without a partner, Leskien's class II verbs and partners, Derivational chains with extra derived verbs);
6. Some verb pairs with a different origin show the exact same aspectual opposition as perfective and imperfective verbs (Prefixed VOMs);
7. Some pairs that are not completely identical to aspect pairs still show a distribution of forms and functions that reveals parallels to the

distribution as found for perfective and imperfective verbs (Unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs);

8. The existence of extra derived forms are an indication of straightening out irregularities in the system, showing the importance of the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* in the system and possibly the rise of the suffix *-ovati*, *-uje-*(*-yvat'*, *-yva-*/*-ivat'*, *-iva-* in Modern Russian) as the new standard for aspectual suffixation;
9. Grammatical profiles are a good indicator of the aspect of the verb, but lexical characteristics influence the group profile too (Determinate VOMs, indeterminate VOMs).

In the following chapter, I will discuss a number of verbs that only show an aspectual opposition in forms that are derived from the present stem. These verbs could not be statistically analysed like the other verbs, because their paradigm differs greatly from the standard paradigm, but the morphological means by which some forms are derived, are the same as in the derivation of imperfective verbs. I will analyse the use of the various verb forms and compare it to the findings for perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs in the present chapter.

10 THE DEVELOPMENT OF DERIVATIONAL ASPECT: A CASE STUDY

10.0 Introduction

Up to this chapter, the discussion has concentrated on the description of the verbal aspect system as it can be found in OCS. However, I have not yet touched upon questions regarding the origins and development of derivational aspect in Slavic. In this chapter, I will discuss a group of verbs that at first sight represent a 'weird case' of aspect opposition, but that will turn out to provide insight into an earlier stage of development of the derivational aspect system and possibly into the origin and development of the system.

In Chapter 8, I have shown that the derivational aspect opposition in OCS is a so-called Slavic-style (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.1) opposition in which the perfective verbs express the attainment of an inherent boundary and the imperfective verbs defocus the inherent boundary. A prerequisite for a verb to be perfective or imperfective is that it is terminative, since the opposition revolves around the inherent boundary. Verbs in which such a boundary is not always present, the so-called anaspectual verbs, cannot be said to inherently express the attainment of, or to defocus, that boundary.

The opposition between the aorist and imperfect is another, inflectional, aspect opposition between two past tense forms in OCS. It is a Romance-style (cf. section 2.2.1) aspect opposition in which the perfective forms express the attainment of a temporal boundary, while the imperfective forms express temporal unboundedness. Since it would be confusing to use the terms perfective and imperfective for both derivational and inflectional aspect, I have chosen to use the traditional designations, aorist and imperfect for this type of opposition in OCS. This does not mean, however, that I do not regard the opposition as an aspect opposition; it just is a different kind of aspect opposition.

In the present chapter, I will describe the results of a small case study which connects both aspect oppositions in OCS.[1] The study concerns verbs that in principle show the same morphological aspect opposition as the core prefixed perfective and imperfective verbs, namely derived imperfective forms versus base forms. The opposition between underived and derived forms is only found in a few forms, though, not in two complete opposing paradigms. Therefore, in these verbs the Slavic-style aspect opposition looks more like an

[1] An earlier version of this case study can be found in Kamphuis (2015).

inflectional opposition. Another interesting characteristic of the verbs selected for this case study is that for a number of these verbs extra derived forms with the suffix *-ovati, -uje-* are attested, next to the forms derived with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*. I will demonstrate that both the partial opposition that these verbs show and the extra derived verbs in *-ovati, -uje-*, provide insight into the origin and development of Slavic verbal aspect.

Based on these insights I will present my hypothesis with regard to the role of the imperfect in the development of Slavic derivational aspect in section 10.5.

10.1 Characteristics of the selected verbs

The selected verbs are prefixed forms of the verbs *vęzati* 'bind', *kazati* 'show', *rězati* 'cut' and **sypati*.[2] According to Silina (1982: 191-192) these verbs show a particular ancient pattern of aspect derivation: the verbs have one aorist/infinitive stem and two present stems (section 10.1.1), one of which is derived with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*. There are more verbs showing similar characteristics, however the current selection of verbs provides enough material for the purpose of this case study.[3] A second characteristic is the occurrence of extra derived forms in *-ovati, -uje-* (section 10.1.2).

I refer to the prefixed forms of a simplex as a 'verb family'. Hence, prefixed forms of *kazati* form the *kazati*-family, represented by the verbs in Table 10.1:

Prefixed	***Extra derived***
nakazati (15) 'discipline'	*N/A*
pokazati (164) 'show'	*pokazovati* (3) 'show'
prědъpokazati 'show beforehand'(1)	*N/A*
sъkazati (121) 'clarify, indicate'	*sъkazovati* (1) 'clarify, indicate'
ukazati (7) 'show, indicate'	*N/A*

Table 10.1 The kazati-family[4]

10.1.1 Verb stems

In all families there are attestations of verbs that have one aorist/infinitive stem and two present stems.[5] Below, I will demonstrate what this means for

[2] The simplex **sypati* is not attested in OCS, yet it is attested in OR (Sreznevskij 1893-1906).

[3] Other verbs that show similar derivational patterns are e.g. prefixed forms of *klevetati* 'slander', *iskati* 'search', *mazati* 'oil' *žędati* 'be thirsty' and *-ricati*. In case of *žędati,* the opposition is also found for the simplex, which is not the case in the selected verbs in which the derived forms only occur in prefixed formations. The *-ricati* forms are also opposed to primary *-rešti* forms, making the situation even more complicated. Also, many prefixed formations that are opposed to Leskien's class II verbs show this derivational pattern (cf. Chapter 5 and 9).

[4] The number in parentheses is the number of attestations of these verbs.

[5] Individual verbs in which both stems are attested are: *obęzati* 'tie around', *privęzati* 'tie, bind', *sъvęzati* 'tie, bind to', *uvęzati* 'tie, bind', *nakazati* 'discipline', *pokazati* 'show', *sъkazati* 'clarify',

the verb paradigm. Before I give the complicated paradigm of *sъkazati* 'clarify, indicate' I will first give a 'normal' paradigm for comparison purposes. Table 10.2 contains the paradigm of the verb *slyšati* 'hear' which I already gave in Chapter 6. The forms are ordered based on the stem they are built on:

Aorist/infinitive stem	***slyša-***	***Present stem***	***slyš-***
Inf	*slyšati*	Pres	*slyšǫ*
Sup	*slyšatъ*	Impr	*slyši*
Impf	*slyšaaxъ*[6]	PresAP	*slyšę*
Aor	*slyšaxъ*	PresPP	*slyšimъ*
PastAPI	*slyšavъ*		
PastAPII	*slyšalъ*		
PastPP	*slyšanъ*		

Table 10.2 Distribution of the forms of slyšati 'hear'

The verbs selected for this case study have two present stems, a primary and a derived one. If one would want to make a similar table for one of these verbs, theoretically there would be four possible opposing verb forms: present, imperative, present active participle and present past participle (i.e. the forms that are based on the present stem). This is indeed only a theoretical possibility, since the only regular opposition is found in the present tense (see also Table 10.4). The only exception to this is one attestation of a present passive participle (*sъkažemъ*) based on the primary present tense stem which forms an opposition with the derived present passive participle (*sъkazajemъ*). No opposing forms are attested for the imperative and the present active participle, which makes the paradigm of *sъkazati*, the verb in the selection with the most complete paradigm, look as follows:

ukazati 'show', *obrězati* 'cut', *isypati* 'pour out' and *rasypati* 'strew, spill'. Of the verb *zavęzati* 'make, mend (nets)' only forms from a derived present tense stem are attested.

[6] The imperfect suffix occurs in a number of phonetically determined forms (cf. Leskien 1969: 134, Diels 1963: 234-235). Except for the sequence *-aa-*, which occurs after palatal consonants like in *slušaaxъ*, there is also *-ěa-* (*daděaxъ*), which occurs after non-palatal consonants. In verbs with the aorist/infinitive stem ending in *-a-* and *-ě-*, only the *-a-* occurs after the stem (e.g. *plakati* 'cry', *plakaaxъ* and *pomьněti* 'remember', *pomьněaxъ*). Contraction of *-aa-* to *-a-* (e.g. *prědaše* from *prědati* 'betray') also occurs regularly, and contraction from *-ěa-* to *-ě-* is attested too (e.g. *xotěše* from *xotěti* 'want') (cf. Diels 1963: 236-237).

Aor./inf. stem	***sъkaza-***	***Present stem***	***sъkaž-***	***sъkaza***
Inf	*sъkazati*	Pres	*sъkažǫ*	*sъkazajǫ*
Sup	*sъkazatъ*	Impr	*sъkaži*	-
Impf	*sъkazaaxъ*	PresAP	-	*sъkazaję*
Aor	*sъkazaxъ*	PresPP	*sъkažemъ*	*sъkazajemъ*
PastAPI	*sъkazavъ*			
PastAPII	*sъkazalъ*			
PastPP	*sъkazanъ*			

Table 10.3 Distribution of the forms of sъkazati 'clarify, indicate'

Table 10.3 shows the well-known imperfective derivational suffix *-aje-*[7] in the forms based on the second present stem *sъkaza-*, which is why I will call these forms imperfective while I will refer to the primary forms based on the underived present stem *sъkaž-* as perfective. The forms based on the aorist/infinitive stem show no opposition and I will call them neutral for now. The term 'anaspectual' is not fitting for these verbs: from the analysis below it will become clear that the neutrality of these forms differs from the neutrality of the anaspectual group treated in Chapter 8, because the verbs selected for this study are all inherently terminative verbs. This is hardly surprising, since it concerns all prefixed verbs, of which I have established that they are almost all terminative in Chapter 9.

The distribution of the attestations over the verb stems in Table 10.4 shows that the perfective present stem is highly incompatible with present participles. There are no attestations of imperatives based on the imperfective present stem. The only frequent aspect opposition is between the perfective and imperfective present tense forms:

[7] I use the designations for the suffixes as in Chapter 5, following Schuyt (1990). Hence the suffix for derivation of imperfective verbs in OCS is *-ati, -aje*. However, it is important that it is only the *-a* in *-aje-*, the present stem suffix, which is the distinguishing characteristic when compared to the suffix *-ati, -je*. This could explain the fact that in the selected verbs only forms based on the present stem show a morphological opposition; the suffix for the aorist/infinitive stem *-ati* is the same in both cases, but the difference concerns the present tense suffix *-je-* and *-aje-*.
Incidentally, it is not clear to me why in these verbs derivation of the type *raskopati - raskopavati* 'dig up' did not develop. Based on the data I can only conclude that it simply did not develop; forms like **-kazavati* or **-rězavati* are not attested, while secondary derived forms on *-kazovati* and *-rězovati* are attested. The latter forms are an extra indication that the former probably never existed (cf. section 10.3 on the extra derived forms).

Aor./inf. stem	*Neutral*	*Present stem*	*Perfective*	*Imperfective*
Inf	5.41%	Pres	12.74%	5.79%
Sup	0.77%	Impr	13.51%	0.00%
Impf	2.51%	PresAP	0.00%	6.37%
Aor	23.75%	PresPP	0.19%	3.86%
PastAPI	7.92%			
PastAPII	1.93%			
PastPP	15.25%			

Table 10.4 Relative frequency of verb forms (n=518)[8]

10.1.2 Extra derived forms in -ovati, -uje-

Another important characteristic of the selected verb families is the attestations of an extra set of derived forms in *-ovati*, *-uje-*, which have the potential of forming a complete imperfective paradigm as opposed to the maximum of four imperfective forms that can be based on the second present tense stem as shown in Table 10.3. The attested forms for the treated verb families are listed in Table 10.5:

Verb	*Attested forms*
otъrězovati 'cut off'	1x Inf
pokazovati 'show'	1x Inf, 1x Impf, 1x PresAP
sъvęzovati 'bind to'	1x PresAP
sъkazovati 'narrate'	1x Aor

Table 10.5 Extra derived forms in -ovati, -uje-

Even though there are only 6 attestations in the selected verb families, the mere fact that they exist, can provide insight into the development of verbal aspect in OCS. I will give a semantic analysis of some of the attested forms below and discuss the significance of these attestations to gain an understanding of the stage of development of the OCS aspect system in section 10.4.

10.2 Semantic analysis

10.2.1 Present tense

The present tense is the only tense that allows for a detailed comparison of perfective and imperfective forms, since it is the only verb form that is regularly formed based on both present stems. I started out comparing a number of the OCS present tense forms with the Greek original to see whether there is a difference between the Greek forms that in OCS are

[8] This table is based only on 518 attestations of the verbs of which a derived present stem is attested.

translated by perfective present and those that are rendered by imperfective forms in OCS.[9] If the opposition between the two present tense forms is indeed aspectual, one would expect to see the perfective forms be used to translate Greek future forms and subjunctive aorists, while the imperfective forms would translate Greek present forms. The results indeed show that the perfective presents are normally translations of Greek future or aorist forms, while the imperfective presents most often translate a Greek present tense. This division of functions is similar to that in the core perfective and imperfective groups (cf. Chapter 8). Table 10.6 contains the results of the count of perfective present forms and Table 10.7 the results for the imperfective presents:

OCS verb	***Greek present***	***Greek future***	***Greek aorist***
nakazati	-	1	1[10]
pokazati	1	6	-
sъkazati	-	8	1[11]
posylati	-	-	2[12]
isypati	1	-	-
Total	2	15	4

Table 10.6 *OCS perfective present tense (kazati- and sypati-families)*

OCS verb	***Greek present***	***Greek future***	***Greek aorist***
pokazati	2	1	-
sъkazati	7	2	-
isypati	1	-	-
Total	10	3	0

Table 10.7 *OCS imperfective present tense (kazati- and sypati-families)*

The unexpected forms are the two perfective presents translating a Greek present tense (Table 10.6) and the three imperfective presents translating a Greek future tense (Table 10.7). In the discussion below I will discuss these unexpected forms.

Below, I will first treat three of the expected forms. In (309) and (311) perfective present tense forms are used to translate a Greek future tense and in example (310) a Greek subjunctive aorist with future meaning, as one would expect of forms that express perfective aspect:

[9] I counted the forms of the *kazati-* and the *sypati*-families in the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and in the four Gospel codices.
[10] This concerns a subjunctive aorist.
[11] This concerns an aorist infinitive.
[12] This concerns two subjunctive aorists.

(309) ěko naide krotostь na ny i ***nakažemъ***[pres] ***sję*** [*Ps*]
because humility came over us and we *will be chastened* (Psalm 89: 10)

(310) g[ospod]i . ostavi jǫ i se lěto . dondeže jǫ okopajǫ[pres] okrъstъ . i ***osyplję***[pres] jǫ gnoemь [*Z*, *M*]
let it alone, sir, for this year too, until I dig around it and *put in* fertilizer (Luke 13:8)

(311) i sъkazaxъ[aor] imъ imę tvoe . i ***sъkažǫ***[pres] . da ljuby ejǫže mę esi vьzljubilъ . vь nixъ bǫdetъ . i azъ vь nixъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and I have made Your name known to them, and *will make* it *known*, so that the love with which You loved Me may be in them, and I in them (John 17:26)

The imperfective present refers to habitual events, like in the following example with the present tense of *obrězati* 'circumcise', a translation of the Greek present *περιτέμνετε*:

(312) sego radi dastъ vamъ mosi obrězanie . ne ěko otъ moseа estъ . nъ otъ o[tь]cь . i vъ sǫbǫtǫ ***obrězaete***[pres] č[lově]ka [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
for this reason Moses has given you circumcision (not because it is from Moses, but from the fathers), and on the Sabbath you *circumcise* a man (John 7:22)

Incidentally, all modern Slavic Bible translation have an imperfective verb here as well. Furthermore, the imperfective present of the selected verbs is also used to refer to stative or generalized events. In the following example the imperfective present of *sъkazati* is again a translation of a Greek present tense form (*ἑρμηνεύεται*):

(313) i reče emu idi umy sę . vъ kǫpěli siluamьscě . eže ***sъkazaetъ***[pres] ***sę*** posъlanъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and said to him, "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam", which *is translated*, Sent (John 9:7)

The preceding examples show a clear division of functions, based on the Greek original, a division that is similar to the division found for the core perfective and imperfective presents. In many contexts, however, there is variation between the various codices when translating one and the same Greek form. For example, when a Greek present and a Greek future tense are opposed, the difference is apparently not always easily reflected in OCS, as

the following example with three different versions in the various Gospel codices shows:[13]

(314) ot[ь]c (b)o ljubitъ s[y]na . i vьsě ***pokazaatъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu ěže samъ tvoritъ . i bolьšaa sixъ ***pokažetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu děla . da vy čjudite sę [*M*]
o[tь]cь bo ljubitъ s[y]na . i vsě ***pokazaetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu ěže samъ tvoritъ . i bolьša sixъ ***pokazaetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu děla . da vy čjudite sę [*Z*]
o[tь]cь bo ljubitъ s[y]na . i vsě ***pokažetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu . ěže samъ tvoritъ . i bolьša si ***pokažetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ emu děla . da vy čjudite sę [*A*]
for the Father loves the Son, and *shows* Him all things that He Himself is doing; and the Father *will show* Him greater works than these, so that you will marvel (John 5:20)

The version in the *Marianus* is true to the Greek original in differentiating between the two forms of the verb 'show' by using an imperfective present tense to translate the Greek present tense (*δείκνυσιν*) and a perfective present for the Greek future tense (*δείξει*). The versions in the *Zographensis* and *Assemanianus* use two times the same present tense form and are therefore probably later adaptations made by scribes. In both *Zographensis* and *Assemanianus* the aspect of the two verbs is aligned, although in the opposite direction: in the *Zographensis* both forms are imperfective, while in the *Assemanianus* both are perfective. This variation between perfective and imperfective present forms is reminiscent of example (100) in Chapter 8, where the differences between perfective and imperfective present forms are also straightened out. Hence, this example does not indicate that there was not much of a difference between the underived and derived present tense forms in this particular group; it is a typical case of competition and straightening out of aspectual differences, which is also found in the core groups.

Furthermore, variation between perfective and imperfective present forms is found in habitual contexts, where the perfective present is used in an exemplary function, while the imperfective present in the same context is used to emphasize unboundedness at the macro-level, like in the following example, translating the Greek present tense *βάλλουσιν*:

[13] Compare this to the situation in example (311) where an aorist, *sъkazaxъ* 'have made known', and a perfective present, *sъkažǫ* 'will make known', are juxtaposed, rendering the opposition in the Greek original between an aorist (*ἐγνώρισα*) and a future tense (*γνωρίσω*), an opposition that is easily reflected in OCS.

(315) dobro estъ solь . ašte že solь obujetъ^{pres} . o čemь ubo osolitъ sę . ni vъ zemi ni vъ gnoi . trěbě estъ . vъnъ ***isypaetъ***^{pres} ***sę*** [*Z*]
dobro estъ solъ . ašte že solь obujatъ^{pres} o čemъ ubo osolitъ sę . ni vъ zemi ni vъ gnoi trěbě estъ . vonъ ***isypljǫtъ***^{pres} jǫ [*M*]
therefore, salt is good; but if even salt has become tasteless, with what will it be seasoned? It is useless either for the soil or for the manure pile; it *is thrown out* (Luke 14:34-35)

In this example the perfective present *isypljǫtъ* 'it is thrown out' in the *Marianus* may indicate a stronger correlation between the first event *obujatъ* 'becomes tasteless' (cf. habitual correlative use of the perfective imperfect and the exemplary function of perfective presents, Chapter 8, sections 8.2.3 and 8.1.2.2), and result in an exemplary reading, while the imperfective present refers to the event in generalized terms.[14] Such variation in habitual utterances is not only found in the selected verbs, but also in the core aspect groups and is, moreover, reminiscent of the variation found between modern Slavic languages. For example, in the Bible translations of the modern Slavic languages that I checked, the Czech and Slovak versions have a perfective present here, while all other modern Slavic languages use an imperfective present.

Finally, there is an interesting example with a performative utterance, again showing variation between codices. The Greek original has a future form, *ὑποδείξω*, in this text:

(316) ***sъkazajǫ***^{pres} že vamъ . kogo sę uboite . uboite sę imǫštaago vlastь . po ubьenii vъvrěšti vъ ǵeonǫ . ei g[lago]ljǫ vamъ . togo uboite sę [*Z*, *M*]
sъkažǫ^{pres} že vamъ kogo uboite sę . uboite sę . imǫštaago vlastь . po ubienii vъvrěšti vъ ǵeonǫ . ei g[lago]ljǫ vamъ . togo uboite sę [*A*]
but I *will warn* you whom to fear: fear the One who, after He has killed, has authority to cast into hell; yes, I tell you, fear Him (Luke 12:5)

The fact that both *Zographensis* and *Marianus* use an imperfective present instead of the expected perfective present tense form, based on the Greek original, indicates that this is not a typical example of future reference. Moreover, the context shows that this is a performative utterance: the

[14] The variation between a passive construction with *sę* in the *Zographensis* and the accusative in the *Marianus* may have the same functional reason: the passive construction refers to a general rule, while the accusative pronoun *jǫ* 'her' refers to the salt mentioned in the first part of the sentence. A more adequate translation of the version in the *Marianus* would be 'therefore, salt is good; but if even the salt has become tasteless, with what will it be seasoned? It is useless either for the soil or for the manure pile; *people will throw it out*'.

utterance of the words constitutes the actual act.[15] In Chapter 8 (section 8.1.2.2), I have demonstrated that even though the imperfective present is the most regular form in performative utterances, perfective forms are also used. The forms in the *Zographensis* and *Marianus* are therefore probably later adaptations. The form in the *Assemanianus* may reflect an older stage in which the perfective present was the normal (or still the only?) form.

The division of functions of both primary and derived present tense forms as seen in the examples above is compatible with the division of functions between the core perfective and imperfective present tense forms. It therefore seems justified to speak of Slavic-style perfective and imperfective present tense forms, even though the opposition does not concern two complete paradigms. Below, I will continue the discussion with another form that is built on the present stem, i.e. the imperative.

10.2.2 Imperative

As said, the imperative is built on the present stem and thus could be expected to allow for opposing forms in the selected verbs, just as the present tense. In Chapter 6, I have already shown that the imperative has a clear preference for perfective verbs, although this preference is not nearly as strong as the one seen with the aorist and past participles. However, in the verb selection for this case study, there are no imperative forms attested that are based on the derived present tense stem. At first sight this may be rather surprising, but when we zoom in on the largest family in this case study, the *kazati*-family, it turns out that all attested imperatives are translations of Greek aorist imperatives/subjunctives:

OCS verb	*Greek aorist impr/subj*	*Greek present impr/subj*
nakazati	1	0
pokazati	32	0
sъkazati	8	0
Total	41	0

Table 10.8 OCS imperatives of the kazati-family with Greek original

As discussed in Chapter 6, OCS often, though not always, follows the Greek choice of aspect in the imperative, which may explain the absence of attestations of derived forms. Negation can, in some cases, explain the use of

[15] The use of the Greek future tense does not contradict this interpretation; there are more examples of Greek future forms in a performative context in Byzantine Greek, e.g. in which Greek translates a Hebrew participle that is used in performative contexts (cf. Van Peursen 2003: 75, Rogland 2001: 127-134), like in Psalm 17:4 *αἰνῶν ἐπικαλέσομαι κύριον* 'I call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praised' and Psalm 72:2 *ἐξομολογησόμεθά σοι ὁ θεός* 'We give thanks to You, O God' and *ἐπικαλεσόμεθα τὸ ὄνομά σου* 'we call upon Your name'.

imperfective imperatives in OCS and deviations from the Greek original, even though, again, this is no firm rule. Most of the examples I found of the imperatives of the *kazati*-family are non-negated, but I found one negated example (still based on the underived stem):

(317) ne ***pokaži***$^{\text{impr}}$ ***sę*** poslěžde iněxъ vladyčě [*S*]
do not *show yourself* afterwards to the ruler of others (96, 14-15)

So even in this context, where the negation could have caused the use of an imperfective imperative, the translator opted for the perfective imperative. This could indicate that the use of imperfective imperatives in this group of verbs was indeed very limited or maybe even non-existent in OCS. However, no firm conclusions can be drawn in absence of clear contexts in which the use of imperfective imperatives is obligatory (like, for example, phase verbs with an ingressive meaning for infinitives).

The absence of attestations of derived imperatives leaves an interesting gap in the already small paradigm of imperfective forms, making the few imperfective forms that are attested look even less like a full paradigm.

10.2.3 Participles

The only other forms that allow for a morphological opposition are the present participles. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, present participles are strongly attracted to the imperfective aspect and past participles to the perfective aspect, similar to the attractions that imperfect and aorist show. In this respect, the only truly unexpected form in the attestations of the selected verbs is the present passive participle of the underived present tense stem, which could be regarded as a rare perfective present participle. The example can be found in the *Suprasliensis*:

(318) dъždъ sъpusti mnogъ na zemьjǫ . jemuže vьzdivivъše sę pěsnь poxvalьnǫjǫ . togo milosrьdiju . i ***nesъkažemuumu***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ veličьstvu otidošę [*S*]
and he made it rain very much on earth and when they had marvelled at that and [sung] a song of praise dedicated to the mercifulness and the *unspeakable* greatness of it, they went away (530, 27-30)

At first sight, this form may seem to be a fossilized participle, a remnant of an earlier stage of the aspect system, before the derivation of imperfective verbs. The form, nevertheless, fits rather well with the already discussed perfective present passive participles with potential meaning (cf. section 8.2.3), like *nepobědimъ* 'invincible'. In the end, both explanations are not mutually exclusive. It may well be, and it is even highly probable that these forms existed before the derivation of imperfective verbs. The semantics of the present participles was more compatible with the imperfective aspect, which

means present participles based on the derived stem became the rule. However, the original non-derived forms clearly did not die out altogether, and the forms that survived, developed a specific potential meaning that was absent from the imperfective present participles. The following example shows the use of an imperfective present passive participle from one of the selected verbs:

(319) nъ istin'naago radi slovese . ne na vъzduxъ ***rasypajemaago***$^{\text{PresPP}}$ [*S*]
but because of the true Word that *is* not *dispersed* by the wind (533, 2-3)

In this case the meaning is not 'that cannot be dispersed', but rather 'that is not dispersed'. So the imperfective present passive participles are used in a more generalized fashion, while the perfective participles have a potential meaning, just as in the core aspect groups.[16]

The past participles do not allow a morphological opposition since they are based on the aorist/infinitive stem. The examples do not hold any surprises; they behave as perfective past participles, referring to a complete terminative event, like in the following example, in which it forms a typical chain of events with an aorist:

(320) i ***nakazavъ***$^{\text{PastAPI}}$ jego ne načinati otъseli tacěxъ tatьbinъ . ni prěbyvati o nesytosti . otъpusti$^{\text{aor}}$ i [*S*]
and *having told* him to not start this kind of thieving from now on, nor to keep up his insatiability, he let him go (42, 12)

I will not treat these participles extensively, but it seems safe to say that past participles express perfective aspect.

With the treatment of the past participles, I have already started treating the forms in the 'neutral' paradigm. Below, I will continue this discussion with the aorist and imperfect, the OCS tense forms that show a Romance-style aspect opposition.

10.2.4 Aorist and imperfect

Aorist and imperfect are both based on the aorist/infinitive stem and therefore belong to the morphologically 'neutral' forms. In a sense, the

[16] It should also be noted that in the *Suprasliensis* the PresPP *nesъkazajemъ* is attested as well (344: 16), which is based on the derived present stem *sъkaza-*. It is difficult to establish a difference in meaning between the two, not in the least because both are attested only once. It is possible that both existed alongside in the OCS period, with similar meanings. A possible difference in meaning is that the imperfective form means 'that is not spoken/said out loud' as opposed to perfective 'unspeakable'.

paradigm of forms based on the aorist/infinitive stem is similar to anaspectual verbs, since both the aorist and the imperfect forms are attested, which is a situation that is typical of anaspectual verbs, as opposed to perfective and imperfective verbs that are normally only compatible with either one. However, the main distinguishing characteristic of anaspectual verbs as opposed to perfective and imperfective verbs - the fact that they can occur in aterminative predicates - is not shared by the selected verbs, which are all prefixed terminative verbs. This results in a different functioning of the aorist and imperfect.

10.2.4.1 Aorist

The aorist in the selected group does not differ functionally from the aorist of perfective verbs: it denotes a complete terminative event. One typical context for perfective aorists is in past narrative sequences referring to complete events, which is also a context in which the aorist of the selected verbs is attested:

(321) i vъzvede[aor] i diěvolъ na gorǫ vysokǫ . ***pokaza***[aor] emu vsěka c[ě]s[a]rstvitě vъselenъjǫ vъ čěsě vrěmenьně [*M*]
and the devil led Him up and *showed* Him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time (Luke 4:5, my translation)

The aorist of *pokazati* 'show' also occurs in the translation of Greek historical present forms, as in example (322), where it is a translation of the Greek present *δείκνυσιν*:

(322) paky pojętъ[aor] i diěvolъ na gorǫ vъisokǫ dzělo . i ***pokaza***[aor] emu vsě c[ěsa]rstvitě vъsego mira . i slavǫ ixъ [*A*, *Z*, *Sk*]
again, the devil took Him to a very high mountain and *showed* Him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory (Matthew 4:8)

Given the absence of markers of imperfective aspect, there is no reason to treat this form as an imperfective aorist, of which I have demonstrated in Chapter 8 that on rare occasions it appears to be used to translate Greek historical present forms.

Aorists of these verbs also occur in retrospective contexts, like in the following example:

(323) ištęditě exidьnova . kъto ***sъkaza***[aor] vamъ běžati otъ grędǫštaago gněva [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
you brood of vipers, who *warned* you to flee from the wrath to come (Luke 3:7)

Again, this usage is typical of perfective verbs, which are used in concrete factual contexts. I have not found any examples of general factual usage in

these verbs, which would be typical of aorists of anaspectual verbs (cf. Chapter 8). These verbs behave no different from core perfective verbs and express that the inherent boundary is attained.

In Luke 13:16 there is an example that seems to contradict the conclusion that the aorist forms of the selected verbs behave as perfective aorist. In the text, the aorist of *sъvęzati* (a translation of the Greek aorist *ἔδησεν*) is, at first sight, used to refer to an unchanging past state, which would be in contradiction to the statement that the aorist of these verbs cannot be distinguished from perfective aorists which always indicates a change of state:

(324) sijǫ že dъšterь avramljǫ sǫštǫ . jǫže ***sъvęza***[aor] sotona . se osmoe na desęte lěto . ne dostoěše li razdrěšiti seję . otъ ǫzy vъ dьnь sǫbotьny [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and this woman, a daughter of Abraham as she is, whom Satan *has bound* for eighteen long years, should she not have been released from this bond on the Sabbath day (Luke 13:16)[17]

However, in this case the word *se* (Greek *ἰδού*) separates the 'binding' event from the adverb 'eighteen years'. Moreover, OCS uses an ordinal number where the Greek original has a cardinal number (*δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη* 'eighteen years'). The OCS translation could therefore be interpreted as: […] *she was bound by Satan, look, it is already the eighteenth year* […], in which case the aorist is not used to cover a binding period of eighteen years, but expresses the fact that the woman the moment she became bound was eighteen years ago. This is in line with what one would expect from a perfective aorist.

10.2.4.2 Imperfect

Interestingly, just as the examples of the aorist cannot be distinguished from perfective aorists, the examples of the imperfect show typical imperfective

[17] Modern Slavic translations differ in the way they translate this. The Russian Synodal Orthodox Version has a perfective past *kotoruju* ***svjazal***[pf] *satana vot uže vosemnadcat' let*, and Croatian has a perfective aorist *koju Sotona* ***sveza***[pf] *evo osamnaest je već godina*. However, other Russian translations have an imperfective verb *kotoruju satana* ***deržal***[ipf] *svjazannoj* (Easy-to-Read Version) or a past passive participle *vot uže vosemnadcat' let* ***svjazannuju***[pf] *satanoj* (New Russian Translation). The Bulgarian translation uses an imperfective perfect as well: *kojato Satana e* ***dăržal***[ipf] *celi osemnadeset godini*, as does the Czech which has an imperfective past *kterou satan* ***držel***[ipf] *svázanou už osmnáct let*. This variation shows the inherent problem that comes with this utterance: the Greek aorist can be understood as ingressive, but also as durative (with a limited duration of 18 years). In Greek there is no need to choose, but in Slavic the perfective aspect does not go together well with adverbial expressions of duration, while the imperfective aspect does not go together well with a concrete factual interpretation of a complete past event; so a choice has to be made between an emphasis on the binding 18 years ago, or on the duration of the binding event.

functions: they are used to refer to a terminative event in its development, or to the unbounded recurrence of a terminative event. The following example demonstrates the use of the imperfect for a progressive event:

(325) i načьnъ otъ moseа . i otъ vьsěxъ prorokъ . ***sъkazaaše***^{impf} ima otъ vьsěxъ kъnigъ jęže běaxǫ o nemь [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
then beginning with Moses and with all the prophets, He *explained* to them the things concerning Himself in all the Scriptures (Luke 24:27)

The event in example (325) clearly concerns a terminative event, the inherent boundary of which is determined by the limited number of books that are called "the Scriptures". The imperfect is used to express the development of the event towards that final boundary. The interpretation could be iterative/distributive, in which case the various books in the Scripture are presented as being explained one by one (the books of Moses, the prophets) until the last book has been explained, or it could be durative, in which the Scripture is seen as one and the explanation proceeds towards the end of the Scripture (cf. example (127) in Chapter 8, which allows a progressive and an iterative/distributive interpretation as well).

The imperfect can also be used to refer to events that occur simultaneously:

(326) i rěste kъ sebě . ne srdce li naju gorę *bě* ^{impf} vъ naju . egda g[lago]laaše^{impf}kъ nama na pǫti . i ěko ***sъkazaše***^{impf} nama kъnigy [*M*, *A*]
they said to one another, "Were not our hearts burning within us while He was speaking to us on the road and while He *was explaining* the Scriptures to us" (Luke 24:32, my translation)[18]

Another typical use of the imperfect is to refer to past habitual events, like in the following example:

(327) i tacěmi pritъčami mnogami . gl[agol]aaše^{impf} imъ slovo . ěkože možaaxъ slyšati . bes pritъčę že ne gl[agol]aaše^{impf} imъ . edinъ že ***sъkazaaše***^{impf} učenikomъ svoimъ v'sě [*Z*, *M*]
with many such parables He was speaking the word to them, so far as they were able to hear it; and He did not speak to them without a parable; but He *was explaining* everything privately to His own disciples (Mark 4:33-34)

[18] I no longer support my own analysis in Kamphuis (2015: 294) where I treat this example as possibly referring to a habitual-correlative event (cf. Chapter 9 on perfective imperfects). This utterance is made by one of the disciples Jesus met on the road to Emmaus and clearly refers to that particular episode and not to other meetings with Jesus. However, example (327) does lend itself to a habitual-correlative interpretation.

The English translation uses a progressive to translate the Greek imperfect *ἐπέλυεν* 'explained/was explaining' in Mark 4:33-34. However, a habitual interpretation seems more fit, at least for OCS *sъkazaaše*, possibly even habitual-correlative (cf. the King James Version which has *expounded*). When interpreted as 'simply' habitual, the translation would be 'but He explained everything privately to His own disciples', while a habitual-correlative interpretation would result in 'but He would explain everything privately to His own disciples' or 'when He was alone with his disciples he would explain everything to them', in which case the habitual event is seen as depending on the condition of Jesus being alone with his disciples.[19] The habitual-correlative meaning is typical of the perfective imperfect, but since in this case there is no morphologically opposed derived form, like in so many other verbs (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.2.3, see also 10.4 below), there is no way to decide in favour of one or the other interpretation. If the interpretation is habitual-correlative, the form is compatible with that, but it is the context that is responsible for the interpretation.

The examples discussed above show that the imperfects of the selected verbs are comparable to typical imperfective imperfects, although not incompatible with a perfective imperfect reading.

10.2.5 Infinitive and supine

The infinitive (and supine), finally, are also built on the aorist/infinitive stem, which means there is no morphological opposition between underived and derived forms. In this regard the forms are similar to the imperfect, the aorist and the past participles. However, while the latter forms appear in functions that are either typically perfective (aorist and past participles) or typically imperfective (imperfect), the infinitive acts as the only true neutral form in the paradigm of forms built on the aorist/infinitive stem. For example, the infinitive of *sъkazati* appears after a phase verb, of which I have shown that they (almost) never occur with perfective verbs in Chapter 6:

(328) otъ tolě ***načętъ***[aor] is[us]ъ . ***sъkazati***[inf] učenikomъ svoimъ . ěko podobaatъ emu iti v[ierusa]l[i]mъ . i mnogu postradati [*M*][20]
from that time Jesus *began to show* His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things (Matthew 16:21)

[19] The Croatian Bible translation also points in the direction of such an interpretation with the use of the conditional *bez prispodobe im ne govoraše, a nasamo **bi** svojim učenicima sve **razjašnjavao***, which also adds a nuance of conditionality to the past habitual event (Kalsbeek 2008: 337, Kalsbeek & Lučić 2008: 15).

[20] Interestingly, the Elizabeth Bible which normally follows the *Marianus* closely, has *skazovati* here, a secondary derived form.

In this example *sъkazati* is a translation of the Greek present infinitive *δεικνύειν*. However, the infinitives and supines in this group are also attested as translation of Greek aorist infinitives, in a typical goal-oriented context that is more compatible with OCS perfective verbs, like the following example with a supine translating the Greek aorist infinitive *περιτεμεῖν*:[21]

(329) i bystъ vъ osmy dьnь . pridǫ ***obrězatъ***[sup] otročęte . i naricaaxǫ e . imenemь o[tь]ca svoego zaxariję [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and it happened that on the eighth day they came *to circumcise* the child, and they were going to call him Zacharias, after his father (Luke 1:59)

This example can be compared to the following, in which an underived present tense is used to refer to an upcoming circumcision, where Greek has the same aorist infinitive *περιτεμεῖν*:

(330) i egda isplъni sę osmь dьnii . da i ***obrěžǫtъ***[pres] . narěšę imę emu is[usъ] . [*Z*, *M*, *A*, Sk]
and when eight days had passed, so they had *to circumcise* him, they named him Jesus (Luke 2:21, my translation)

This use of the perfective present to refer to a specific event in example (330) is clearly opposed to the use of the imperfective forms in example (312) to refer to circumcision practices in general. Therefore, the supine in (329), which occurs in a similar context as the present tense in (330), can be said to occur in a context that is typical of perfective verbs. Based on these examples I conclude that the infinitive and supine in this group do not show preference for either imperfective or perfective aspect and are the only forms built on the aorist/infinitive stem in this particular group of verbs that occur in both typically perfective and imperfective contexts.

10.2.6 Concluding remarks

As I already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the only verb form in which a regular opposition is attested, is the present tense. The forms based on the underived stem are found in functions that are associated with perfective verbs, while forms based on the derived stem occur in typical imperfective functions. Given the fact that the present tense forms show a morphological opposition that is equal to that between the core perfective and imperfective present forms, it seems reasonable to assume that they

[21] Note that in OCS there are only two attestations of an imperfective prefixed supine (0.07% of the 3041 attestations of the group of imperfective prefixed attestations) while there are 79 attestations of perfective prefixed supines (0.5% of the 15,803 attestations of the group of perfective prefixed verbs); see also Chapter 6.

express the same Slavic-style perfective and imperfective aspect, even though the derived forms do not form a complete paradigm. The fact that these forms compete with each other in a number of contexts does not contradict this: the same kind of competition is found between perfective and imperfective verbs in OCS as well.

The other forms that could, in principle, express a morphological opposition like the present tense, i.e. the other forms built on the present stem, do not do so in practice. The only exception is the one present participle based on the underived stem, which behaves as a typical perfective present passive participle with potential meaning; all other present participles are based on the derived stem, which is similar to the situation in the perfective and imperfective verbs, where present participles are also largely restricted to the derived verbs. The imperative in this group is restricted to the underived forms, which is somewhat surprising when compared to the perfective and imperfective groups which show a much more balanced distribution of the imperative.

The forms based on the aorist/infinitive stem cannot express a morphological opposition in the selected verbs. However, a parallel with the perfective and imperfective verbs is visible in these forms as well. Aorists and past participles occur in the same contexts as aorists and past participles of the perfective verbs and show no functional differences with those forms. Even though there is no morphological opposition with derived forms, the forms can hardly be said to be anaspectual or aspect neutral. The infinitive and supine, however, occur in both perfective and imperfective contexts and can be regarded as truly neutral forms, compatible with all contexts, without a preference for either perfective or imperfective functions.

Finally, the imperfect is the only verb form in the underived paradigm that shows typical imperfective functions. I have given examples in which it expresses two parallel, progressive events and also one of a habitual event. In the latter case it is even possible to interpret the imperfect as one would interpret a perfective imperfect. However, without a morphological marker the choice between an imperfective or perfective interpretation is impossible to make. In section 10.5, I will argue that the imperfect is not just the only form in the underived paradigm that has typical imperfective functions, but that it also has a morphological bridging function between the underived and derived forms.

Based on the functional analysis it is justified to speak of the paradigm of forms built on the aorist/infinitive stem as a 'neutral' paradigm: the forms do not automatically express either aspect and some forms occur in both typical perfective and imperfective contexts.

10.3 Extra derived forms

There are not many attestations of the extra derived forms (e.g. *sъkazovati*), which makes it impossible to give an extensive analysis of these forms. However, the mere fact that these forms occur is already meaningful. As Schuyt (1990: 29, 387) argues, their origin most probably lies in the urge to create an opposition for the forms built on the aorist/infinitive stem that was similar to the opposition that was already there for forms built on the present stem in the verbs selected for this case study. The fact that these extra derived forms are typical of the younger OCS manuscripts, especially codex *Suprasliensis* (Dostál 1954: 583),[22] is an indication that this derivation of extra derived forms was a process taking place during the OCS period, while the original opposition between present tense forms is older. Hence, while at first the OCS translations used one form (e.g. *otъrězati* 'cut off') in both typical perfective and imperfective contexts, of which I have shown examples for the infinitive/supine, later on the need was apparently felt to disambiguate, like in the following example:

(331) tъgda povelě komisъ . želěznъ odrьcь raždešti[inf] . i otъ plьtii jego udy ***otъrězovati***[inf] [*S*]
at that moment the commander ordered to light the grill and *to cut off* his limbs (231, 16-18)

The first infinitive in this example, *raždešti* 'kindle, heat' is a perfective infinitive, translating a Greek aorist infinitive *πυρωθῆναι*, while the second infinitive, the extra derived *otъrězovati*, is a translation of the Greek present infinitive *κόπτεσθαι*. The use of the Greek present infinitive can either be an indication of emphasis on the process, e.g. more than one limb has to be cut off, which makes it an iterative event, or it refers to the slow manner in which the torture should take place, cutting off the limbs joint by joint, making it a durative event. Whether the interpretation is iterative or durative, both fit the functions fulfilled by the imperfective aspect in OCS.

Although the use of the underived form *otъrězati* would not have been ungrammatical in this context, it would not have captured the meaning of the Greek present tense. Given the fact that the rule for terminative verbs in OCS is that they are interpreted as expressing a change of state, unless they are clearly marked for imperfective aspect, the interpretation would have been a perfective one, in which the cutting off of the limbs is presented as one complete event (cf. Chapter 8 examples (122) and (153) with bounded repetition), regardless of the question whether more limbs were cut off in succession, or whether the event lasted for a longer period of time.

[22] Since the *Suprasliensis* is a codex within the Preslav tradition (cf. Chapter 1), one could also regard this phenomenon as typical of the more eastern-oriented recension of OCS.

While in example (331) the use of the extra derived form can be explained by the need to express a difference in meaning, in other cases the choice of the derived form is not so clearly related to a difference in meaning, as it is to the verb form which is generally speaking more compatible with the imperfective aspect:

(332) ono ubo jakože plěnnika i naga kryjaše nь se poběditlja naga prigvoždena navysoče ***pokazovaaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*S*]
that [same piece of wood that] once even hid a naked prisoner, now *showed* the victor naked and nailed up high (489, 22-24)

The situation described by the imperfect *pokazovaaše* is clearly stative, which fits with the imperfective aspect. In this case, however, the use of an imperfect of the underived aorist/infinitive stem, *pokazaaše* (attested 3x in OCS) would probably not have led to a different interpretation, since, as I have demonstrated above, the imperfect built on the underived aorist/infinitive stem is used in typically imperfective contexts in OCS and is not automatically interpreted as a perfective imperfect. In this case, the use of the imperfect *pokazovaaše* seems a matter of alignment, rather: the imperfect is more compatible with imperfective verbs, which in this case results in the imperfect being formed from the clearly imperfective *pokazovati* instead of the ambiguous *pokazati*.

Similarly, the use of the present active participle could be attributed to the strong connection between that form and imperfective verbs:

(333) mnozi že moljaaxǫ i priti jemu vъ domy ixъ . da pomolitъ sę bogu za nę . onъ že vidę věrǫ ixъ i neprězorьstvo ***pokazujęˇ***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ xaždaaše [*S*]
many asked him to come to their homes to pray to God for them. And he, seeing their faith and *showing* modesty, went around (206, 2-6)

This case, however, deviates from the others since there is an imperfective alternative, namely a present active participle built on the derived present stem *pokaza-*: *pokazajęˇ* which is attested 15 times in OCS. Interestingly, the form following *pokazujęˇ*, the imperfect *xaždaaše*, is a unique form as well. The verb *xaždati* 'go (around)' is not attested anywhere else in OCS[23]; according to Dostál (1954: 495) it has iterative meaning. The reason for the use of these two rare derived forms may have been the fact that it concerns two simultaneous, repetitive events, as opposed to two simultaneous single

[23] This may be a case of deprefixation; the other attestations of *xaždati* are in prefixed formations: *isxaždati* 'obtain' (1), *prixaždati* 'come walking' (2) and *prěxaždati* 'cross' (1), which may indicate that the *-xaždati* forms were originally derived from the prefixed forms of *-xoditi*.

events. This use of the extra derived verbs may be comparable to the use of Czech habitual verbs, which are also derived from non-perfective verbs.[24]

Finally, there is one unexpected form among the extra derived forms, namely an aorist, which is a rare phenomenon amongst the imperfective verbs (cf. Chapter 8):

(334) często glagolaaše . jedinъ otъ vasъ prědastъ mę . nь ne javě jego pokaza[aor] . mnoga že i o sǫdьněěmь dьni ***sъkazova***[aor] slovesa . mnoga že i o cěsarьstvii nebesьněěmь . obojego silǫ pokaza[aor] [*S*]
he often said: one of you will betray me, but he did not openly reveal him. He *made* a lot of *statements* about judgment day and also a lot about the kingdom of heaven and showed the power of both (412, 25-29)

The difference between the aorists *pokaza* (2x) and *sъkazova* cannot be explained by the Greek original, which has three times an aorist. The translator must therefore have interpreted the event 'making statements' differently from the two other events. A possible explanation here could be that both 'showing' events (*pokaza*) at the beginning and end of the utterance are presented as complete, while Jesus' repetitive statements about judgment day and the kingdom of heaven is presented as being cut off when he was betrayed (cf. Galton 1976: 159). This would fit with the function of the aorist, which presents an event as temporally bounded as well as with the function of the imperfective aspect, which is defocusing the inherent boundary of a terminative event.

Another explanation could be that the verb *sъkazovati* 'narrate', which is only attested once in OCS, has no clear morphological origin. On the one hand it fits with a verb like *otъrězovati* 'cut off' as an extra derived verb to disambiguate unclear formations based on the aorist/infinitive stem, but on the other hand it could be seen as a denominal formation (cf. Chapter 5), derived from the noun **sъkazъ* 'announcement' which is not attested in OCS, but does occur in OR. If *sъkazovati* is felt as a denominal verb, it would be anaspectual, like *sъvětovati* 'hold council' from *sъvětъ*. In that case the semantics of example (334) would not be as complicated: it would merely concern a total terminative past event, which derives its terminativity from the discrete object *mnoga slovesa* 'many statements', while the totality is expressed by the use of the aorist. I have shown examples of anaspectual aorists that are used like that in Chapter 8. This, however, does not explain

[24] The northwesternmost dialects of Croatian derive specific habitual verbs as well (Kalsbeek 2008: 334). I have also encountered a similar phenomenon in Macedonian (Valandovo dialect) where *oduva* 'go regularly' is used next to imperfective (or anaspectual?) *odi* 'go'.

why the translator did not simply use the aorist of *sъkazati,* which otherwise occurs 5 times in the *Suprasliensis*.

10.4 Summary case study

The selected verbs show a 'defective' derived paradigm, which could be seen as a remnant from the time when derivational aspect arose from inflectional aspect, while no full derived paradigm yet existed (cf. Table 10.12). There are no derived infinitives, supines, imperatives, aorists and past participles (notwithstanding the fact that the latter are also rare in the core groups). The only clear aspect opposition that is comparable to the aspect opposition as found in the core groups is between the original and derived present tense forms. And while the derived forms all clearly show imperfective functions, the underived forms show a wide range of functions.

It seems probable that when the first steps towards a derivational paradigm in Slavic were taken, this situation was not really problematic. The imperfect functioned in opposition to the aorist, while the derived present tense functioned as the opposing form to the underived present tense; the infinitive and the supine were simply used in all contexts and functions. There may also not have been any need for imperfective imperatives, which are not attested in this group. However, when after some time the derivational opposition became more strongly entrenched in the verbal system and functions became more strictly divided between underived and derived forms, this situation must have become problematic. As I have shown in Chapters 8 and 9, the aspect system in OCS is firmly established and certain contexts and functions are strongly associated with one of both aspects.

While in other verbs (cf. *icěliti - icěljati* in section 10.5) the presence of a morphologically distinguishable derived aorist/infinitive stem (*icěli-* vs. *icělja-*) allowed for an expansion of the pattern of derivation to other forms, in the selected verbs this was not possible. However, in the OCS aspect system these terminative forms needed to function as part of either the perfective or the imperfective paradigm and not all forms were a clear part of either paradigm. The 'gaps' in the paradigm of the verbs selected for the case study are indicated by the questions marks in Table 10.9:

Form	*Underived*	*In between*	*Derived*
Pres	*sъkažǫ*		*sъkazajǫ*
Aor	*sъkazaxъ*	*sъkazaaxъ*	?
Inf	?	*sъkazati*	?
Sup	?	*sъkazatъ*	?
Impr	*sъkaži*		-
PresAP	-		*sъkazaję*
PresPP	*sъkažemъ*		*sъkazajemъ*
PastAPI	*sъkazavъ*		-
PastPP	*sъkazanъ*		-

Table 10.9 Attested forms of sъkazati

The derivation of extra derived forms in *-ovati*, *-uje-* can be seen as a direct consequence of the gaps in the system and supports the idea that the derivational aspect opposition was already firmly established in OCS and the need arose for unambiguously imperfective forms to express imperfective functions or for typically imperfective contexts. It seems likely that the first forms would have developed in the gaps in the system, after which complete paradigms started to develop. The idea that the forms in *-ovati*, *-uje-* are a later development, fits in with the fact that these forms are found within the youngest stratum of OCS.[25]

The verbs selected for the case study are an extremely interesting group, because they appear to show an early stage of development of derivational aspect in which only a few derived forms existed. And even though the idea of derivational aspect starting out in one or two forms and subsequently spreading to other forms may be logical, the situation is merely hypothetical for all other verbs, while it is reality for the verbs selected for the case study. In the following section I will give a broad outline of the possible way in which the derivation by means of *-ati*, *-aje-* became the Slavic way of deriving imperfective verbs.

10.5 Derivational aspect and the role of the imperfect

As became clear in the preceding sections, the imperfect is the most interesting form in the selected verbs, because it is the only underived form that shows typical imperfective functions. All other forms that are so strongly connected with the imperfective aspect, are built on the derived present stem. As I mentioned above, the imperfect also provides a morphological bridge between the underived and derived forms. This can best be seen in verbs

[25] The extra derived forms are also an indication that a form like *sъkazati* was not merely homographic with a different stress for underived and derived forms, but truly homonymous. It seems highly improbable that homographic forms would lead to the derivation of new forms.

from Leskien's class IV, like *icěliti - icěljati* 'heal'. Below we will take a closer look at these verbs in order to show how the development of derivational aspect may be connected to the rise of the imperfect, on the basis of the verb *icěliti*. In section 10.5.4 I will discuss a number of issues that are related to this hypothetical path of development of Slavic derivational aspect.

10.5.1 From lexical to inflectional aspect

Given the fact that both imperfect and derivational aspect are Slavic innovations, the original paradigm of **icěliti*, before the rise of the imperfect and derived imperfective forms, must have looked something like the paradigm in Table 10.10:

Form	*Original paradigm*
Present	**icělją*
Aorist	**icělixъ*
Infinitive	**icěliti*
Supine	**icělitъ*
Imperative	**icěli*
Present Active Participle	**icělę*
Present Passive Participle	**icělimъ*
Past Active Participle I	**icělivъ*
Past Passive Participle	**icěljenъ*

Table 10.10 Hypothetical development of icěliti 'heal', step 1[26]

In this situation there is neither an inflectional aspect opposition (aorist-imperfect), nor a derivational aspect opposition (perfective-imperfective). The only aspectuality in the system is lexical aspect. In this original lexical aspect-only system prefixed verbs like **icěliti* 'heal' were highly terminative verbs (cf. Maslov 1961: 190-192), which were opposed to aterminative unprefixed verbs, like **cěliti* 'heal'. At some point in time the imperfect tense enters the Slavic system as an innovation (cf. Kortlandt 1986, Andersen 2013), resulting in the following paradigm:

[26] I will leave the Past Active Participle II out of this hypothetical paradigm, since I am not sure how the development of that form relates to the development of the imperfect and the rise of derivational aspect. Note that the forms in this and the following tables are reconstructed Proto-Slavic forms.

Form	*Paradigm with inflectional aspect*
Present	**icěljǫ*
Aorist	**icělixъ*
Imperfect	****icěljaaxъ***
Infinitive	**icěliti*
Supine	**icělitъ*
Imperative	**icěli*
Present Active Participle	**icělę*
Present Passive Participle	**icělimъ*
Past Active Participle I	**icělivъ*
Past Passive Participle	**icěljenъ*

Table 10.11 Hypothetical development of icěliti *'heal', step 2*

The imperfect is built on the aorist/infinitive stem, just like its closest sibling, the aorist. And since both forms have the same temporal reference, the difference must have been aspectual. The tense that I refer to as the aorist started out as the general, unmarked past tense (the result of a merger of the inherited IE imperfect and aorist, cf. Anderen 2013). The Slavic imperfect is a Slavic innovation, a combination of a nominal formation with the perfect of the IE verb 'be' (Kortlandt 1986).[27] Given the function it has in OCS and in the modern Slavic languages that still make use of it, it must have developed to emphasize the unchanging character of an event.[28]

In aterminative verbs the opposition between aorist and imperfect resulted in a Romance-style aspect opposition. The originally unmarked aorist became the perfective component, expressing a temporal boundary (cf. Chapter 6), as opposed to the imperfect which emphasized the unchanging character of the event and explicitly defocuses a temporal boundary to the event. This Romance-style opposition can be found in OCS in anaspectual verbs like *viděti* 'see', *jasti* 'eat', *moliti* 'request' or *plakati* 'cry', which were compatible with both a bounded reading and an unbounded reading (cf. Chapter 8). In some highly aterminative verbs, like *ležati* 'lie', *podobati* 'behove' or *radovati*

[27] Kortlandt (1986: 256) uses the example of the Lithuanian nominal formation *vēdė* "which yielded the Slavic imperfect through composition with the original perfect of the verb 'to be'". This perfect, however doubtful its existence (ibidem: 255) can be reconstructed as **ōse*. The combination of the two resulted in the Slavic imperfect *veděaše* from *věděti* 'know'.

[28] The opposition between aorist and imperfect at first sight resembles the opposition between an English simple past 'walked' and a past continuous 'was walking'. However, as I have shown in the previous chapters, the imperfect is also used to refer to states (cf. *ljubľěaše* 'loved' in John 11:5 and habitual or iterative events like *vъzmoštaaše* 'stirred up' in John 5:3 (Chapter 8, example 154), and therefore has a larger inventory of functions compared to the English past continuous. The common denominator in all these functions is 'unchangeability'.

sę 'rejoice' the imperfect was so compatible with the lexical aspect of the verb that it became the standard past tense, at the expense of the aorist.

10.5.2 From inflectional to derivational aspect

In terminative verbs the situation was different from that in anaspectual verbs. My hypothesis is that in terminative verbs, of which the prefixed verbs are the most prototypical examples in OCS, the new opposition marks the rise of the Slavic-style derivational aspect. The opposition aorist-imperfect in OCS itself should still be regarded as Romance-style, hence an opposition that revolves around a temporal boundary rather than around an inherent boundary. However, the effect of the interplay between the inherent boundary of terminative verbs and the imperfect in most cases de facto is the defocusing of the inherent boundary, which is exactly what the Slavic-style imperfective aspect does.

It may very well have been that the combination of terminative verbs and general past tense (i.e. aorist) in Proto-Slavic resulted in an interpretation of the attainment of the inherent boundary, which is not that far removed from a modern-day perfective past tense and fits with the standard interpretation of terminative verbs in OCS.[29] In other words: an aorist of a prefixed verb like **icěliti* 'heal' implied a complete healing event, a change from being ill to being healed, probably unless explicitly cancelled by means of other parts of the sentence. This leaves open the functional domain of defocusing the inherent boundary in the past, which was where the imperfect settled.

The opposition within the past tense as it came into existence with terminative verbs, subsequently spread to other parts of the verbal paradigm of those terminative verbs. It stands to reason to assume that the next form that entered this opposition was the present tense, given the fact that the clearest derivational aspect opposition found within the paradigm of the verbs in the case study is between perfective and imperfective present tense

[29] In this regard it is interesting to read what Dickey (2000: 77) says about the relation between the past tense and temporal definiteness (the meaning of the perfective aspect in his Eastern group of Slavic languages): "[…] the past tense bears a certain resemblance to the concept of temporal definiteness as defined here: just as the past tense contrasts one situation (that denoted by the predicate) to another (the present), temporal definiteness construes a situation as unique relative to other situations (and often to the present)".
Dickey (ibidem) also cites Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 153) who remark about the English simple past that although it "encompasses various aspects - including perfective, habitual and progressive - the default correlation is between perfective and simple past." The English simple past can thus be compared to the OCS aorist with regard to the fact that is does not automatically express perfective aspect, but that it is strongly associated with a perfective interpretation, especially with terminative verbs, and is in OCS therefore highly compatible with perfective verbs.

forms. The derived present tense was not only functionally similar to the newly derived imperfect, but the form also shows a close formal resemblance. Therefore one can hypothesize that the newly derived imperfective present tense is morphologically related to the OCS imperfect. There are two ways in which this could have been achieved, depending on the state of development of the imperfect in OCS. If the imperfect still functioned as an analytic verb form (nominal part + original IE perfect, cf. Kortlandt 1986), the nominal part **icělja-* can be seen as the basis for the newly derived forms. If the imperfect functioned as a synthetic verb form, the stem **icělja-* can be seen as the result of the reinterpretation of the imperfect from **icělj-aaxъ* to **icělja-axъ*.[30]

Form	***Original paradigm***	***Form***	***New stem: *icělja-***
Pres	**icěljǫ*	***Pres***	****icěljajǫ***
Aor	**icělixъ*	***Impf***	****icěljaaxъ***
Inf	**icěliti*		
Sup	**icělitъ*		
Impr	**icěli*		
PresAP	**icělę*		
PresPP	**icělimъ*		
PastAPI	**icělivъ*		
PastPP	**icěljenъ*		

Table 10.12 Hypothetical development of icěliti *'heal', step 3*

The line between inflectional and derivational aspect is thin. In fact, in my approach it is difficult to say whether there is a line at all and if there is a line, when that line is crossed. But from the situation in Table 10.12, where the

[30] The original *-i-* ending of the aorist/infinitive stem in this case results in jotation of the preceding (now root-final) consonant (cf. 1sg pres *icěljǫ*).
The reinterpretation from **icělj-aaxъ* to **icělja-axъ* makes even more sense if one keeps in mind that the suffix *-aa-* often occurs as *-ěa-* which makes the second *-a-* in most instances the constant factor in the imperfect (except for contracted forms in *-ě-*). Furthermore, in verbs with an aorist/infinitive stem ending in *-a-* or *-ě-*, such a reinterpretation was not even necessary, because the only unique part that is added by the OCS imperfect is the *-a-* (cf. *mьněaše* 'he believed' from the verb *mьněti* and *sъkazaaše* 'he explained' from *sъkazati*). This may have facilitated the reinterpretation in other cases.
It is difficult to assess the probability of the imperfect still being an analytic verb form during the OCS period. Two facts that point in the direction of the imperfect being a synthetic verb form are the already mentioned relative frequent occurrence of contracted imperfect (e.g. *iděše* 'he went' next to regular *iděaše* or *vъprašaše* 'he asked' next to *vъprašaaše*), and the occurrence of imperfects with aorist endings (e.g. 3du *ponošaaste* 'they were insulting' next to regular *ponošaašete*, which occurs as the only attestation of this phenomenon in *Marianus*). *Zographensis* does not show these aorist endings with imperfects, while *Assemanianus* has them regularly (Diels 1963: 238).

Slavic-style aspect opposition is being expressed in two forms (present and past), very similar to the situation within the verbs selected for the case study, it is not hard to imagine subsequent steps towards a complete opposing paradigm. Infinitive and supine show compatibility with the functions of both aspects, so in a number of contexts (in OCS most clearly after phase verbs) they are attracted to the derived stem. This resulted in an opposition in those forms as well. The present participles are so strongly compatible with the newly derived opposition that they move over to the derived stem and almost exclusively start being built on the new stem, while the past participles are strongly incompatible with the newly derived stem and, hence, stay on the underived side of the paradigm. The imperative is more compatible with the underived stem, as I also demonstrated for the verbs selected for this case study, which is why I believe derived imperatives were only formed later on, when the two opposing paradigms where more strongly established. In the end, this results in something like the following picture:

Form	***Original paradigm***	***Form***	***Derived paradigm***
Pres	**icěljǫ*	Pres	**icěljajǫ*
Aor	**icělixъ*	Impf	**icěljaaxъ*
Inf	**icěliti*	Inf	**icěljati*
Sup	**icělitъ*	Sup	**icěljatъ*
Impr	**icěli*	Impr	**icěljai*
PastAPI	**icělivъ*	PresAP	**icěljaję*
PastPP	**icěljenъ*	PresPP	**icěljaemъ*

Table 10.13 Hypothetical development of icěliti *'heal', step 4*

The situation as outlined in Table 10.13 has probably never really existed in this precise form. I assume that the derived paradigm did not magically materialize all at once, but rather that it developed out of one form within the original paradigm, the imperfect, into a complete derived paradigm, which must have been a process that took some time. Some forms, like the present tense, are more likely to have been actively derived early on, while others, like the imperative, most probably were later formations. Moreover, Table 10.13 also does not take into account the possibility of an opposition between imperfective and perfective aorists, imperfects and present and past participles, which, as I have demonstrated, exists in OCS. Below I will argue that those forms are most probably later developments.

10.5.3 Imperfective aorists and perfective imperfects

It is not my goal to establish the exact order in which the forms appeared, and I even doubt that it would be possible to accurately establish such an order, but given the strong incompatibility of aorist (and past participles) with the derived paradigm, it seems probable that these forms only appeared later on.

The derivation of the imperfective aorist was only possible because of the relatively independent position of the inflectional aorist-imperfect opposition with regard to the derivational aspect opposition. The inflectional aspect opposition remained independent thanks to the fact that it existed in the anaspectual verbs as well, in which it was still clearly recognizable as a Romance-style opposition (cf. the examples of anaspectual aorists vs. anaspectual imperfects in Chapter 8).

Since the two aspect oppositions in Proto-Slavic revolved around separate meanings, it became possible to combine them and create imperfective aorists, with a very specific meaning, as I have shown in Chapter 8.[31] This was one way of maximizing the combinatory possibilities two aspectual oppositions offered. This situation is still alive today in modern Bulgarian (cf. e.g. Dejanova 1966).

The other way of maximizing the combinations between the two aspect oppositions in OCS is the development of an opposition between perfective and imperfective imperfects. Again, I argue that this must have been a later development. Bermel, discussing Borodič (1953) who suggests a similar role for the imperfect tense in the development of verbal aspect in Slavic as I do, poses the question whether the original verb (e.g. *icěliti*) still has an imperfect, when the imperfect is regarded as part of the derived paradigm (e.g. *icěljati*) (Bermel 1997: 68). I believe that initially the imperfect is part of the original paradigm, aspectually opposed to the aorist. So at that moment there is only one imperfect, which in terminative verbs is also the start of the derived paradigm, the first imperfective form. At that moment the question posed by Bermel is premature. It is only once enough new forms are derived that one can speak of an opposing derived paradigm and at that time the question also arises to which paradigm the imperfect belongs. As the OCS data show, in many cases this simply cannot be established based on morphological grounds and also the context does often not give enough information to establish whether a given imperfect is to be regarded as an imperfective or a perfective imperfect. However, OCS data also show that there is an opposition between imperfective and perfective imperfects in cases where a morphological difference exists (cf. Chapter 8) and this opposition has survived in modern Slavic, in Bulgarian and Macedonian, the descendants of OCS (cf. e.g. Dejanova 1966). It is possible that perfective imperfects like *nazьrěaxъ* from *nazьrěti* 'watch', which can be morphologically identified as perfective imperfect, only developed their

[31] There are also attestations of past participles of derived verbs, like *ukaravьše* from *ukarati* 'revile', the imperfective partner of *ukoriti* 'revile' [*S* 109, 14].

specialized habitual-correlative use when they became opposed to imperfective imperfects such as *naziraaxъ* from *nazirati* 'watch', much like the perfective present passive participles developed a specialized potential meaning.

The existence of opposing imperfect forms, is, of course, a complicating factor in this hypothetical path of development, because the imperfect *nazъrěaxъ* can hardly be regarded as the basis of derived paradigm of *nazirati*. In the following section I will treat this and other complications to deal with if one wants to maintain the hypothesis that the imperfect played an important role in the development of the Slavic derivational aspect.

10.5.4 Some complications and explanations

My hypothetical path of development from inflectional to derivational aspect raises a number of questions that I will discuss below.

10.5.4.1 Derived verbs with suffixed other than -ati, -aje-

The hypothetical path of development as outlined above assumes a regular derivation of imperfective verbs with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*. Hence, the final stem consonant *-a* is the defining characteristic of imperfective verbs throughout the paradigm. However, there are a number of verb pairs that do not fit into this picture. Some pairs have the suffix *-ati, -je-* (and thus do not show the characteristic stem final *-a-* in forms based on the present stem). Examples are *imati, jemljǫ* 'take' (and prefixed formations) from *jęti* 'take', or *dajati, dajǫ* 'give' (and prefixed formations) from *dati* 'give'. These verbs can only be regarded as older formations and must have been only secondarily incorporated into the derivational aspect system (cf. Kortlandt 1985: 237, Schuyt 1990: 369). Such an incorporation is not completely exceptional bearing in mind that prefixed VOMs are also perfectly integrated in the aspect system, regardless of their different background and morphological make-up (cf. Chapter 9). It is interesting to see that in some prefixed formations suffixed forms on *-ati, -aje-* appear as well, next to forms in *-ati, -je-*. This results in verbs like *vъnimati, vъnimajǫ* 'notice' next to older formations *vъnimati, vъnemljǫ* 'notice'. The forms in *-ati, -aje-* can be seen as a confirmation of the fact that *-ati, -aje-* was the productive type for the derivation of imperfective verbs (cf. Schuyt 1990: 387), so that imperfective verbs in *-ati, -je-* (which, importantly, did not stand out morphologically from other verbs in *-ati, -je-* e.g. perfective *posъlati, posъljǫ* 'send'), faced competition from *-ati, -aje-* verbs.

10.5.4.2 Lengthened root vowel

In many verbs that are derived with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, there is still no direct relationship between the imperfect and the derived imperfective forms. One

important difference between the imperfect and the derived imperfectives is the lengthened root vowel. While *icěljati* can be directly linked to *icěljaaxъ* the imperfect of *icěliti*, the imperfect of *prositi* 'implore' is *prošaaxъ*, a form that cannot be regarded as the basis for derived formations with *-prašati*, which in that case would have been **-prošati*. One way of handling this discrepancy is by positing unattested imperfects as the basis for the derived imperfectives. Bermel (1997: 67-69) criticizes Borodič (1953) for doing just that: in her chronology, for example, the verb *ražđati* 'give birth' is based on the unattested imperfect **ražđaaxъ* from *roditi*.

I agree with Bermel that Borodič' approach is problematic: if the lengthening of the root vowel were connected to the formation of the imperfect, one would also expect a verb like *prositi* 'implore' (which has no attested derived partner **prašati* in OCS) to form imperfects like *prašaaxъ*, which it does not. Therefore, it seems probable that the lengthened root vowel became part of the derived paradigm only secondarily. The model for the lengthened root vowel can, according to Kortlandt (1989: 111), be found in verbs of the group *-davati*, *-stavati*, *-znavati*. Schuyt (1990: 377, 381-382) also mentions *lěgati* 'lie' from *lešti* 'lie down' in this regard.

However, one could also reason the other way around and posit the lengthened vowel imperfects as original, as Borodič does. In that case, forms like *prošaaxъ* have to be regarded as analogous backformations based on the other forms in the paradigm of *prositi*. In derived paradigms, which would have the lengthened vowel all the way throughout the paradigm, the imperfects would keep the lengthened vowel. I think that it is impossible to choose either approach based on linguistic evidence from OCS, for if **ražđaaxъ* or **prašaaxъ* would have been attested (supposedly backing up Borodič), they would have been regarded as a form of the paradigm of *ražđati* 'give birth' or **prašati*, not as original imperfects of *roditi* or *prositi*.[32]

[32] It is interesting to note that the verb *sъmotriti* 'watch' has a derived imperfective partner with lengthened stem vowel *sъmatrjati*, but also one without: *sъmotrjati*. The latter could be based on *sъmotrjaaxъ*, the imperfect of *sъmotriti* (a form with the reflex *-št-* is also attested: *sъmoštraaxǫ*). I am not sure as to the meaning of the existence of *sъmotrjati*. It could be seen as a remnant of an older stage (possible, with 2 out of 3 attestations in the Book of Psalms), showing that the derived imperfective verbs are indeed directly related to the imperfect and the lengthening of the stem vowel was only secondarily incorporated in the derived paradigm. The only other forms that I have found from Leskien's class IV that do not show lengthening of the root vowel *-o-* into *-a-* in the derived paradigms are the partners of prefixed forms of *podobiti* 'imitate', like *upodobljati sę* 'become like' and *sъpodobljati* 'consider worthy'. Of these verbs there are, however, no alternative forms like **sъpodabljati* (cf. *sъmatrjatî*).

10.5.4.3 Leskien's class IV as a model

Still, in cases where a lengthened root vowel does not distort the picture, there are many examples of imperfects that cannot be directly related to the derived imperfective forms. For example, Leskien's class II (and class V) verbs and most class I verbs have a sequence *-ěa-*. This means that Leskien's class I verb *bljusti* 'guard' forms an imperfect *bljuděaxъ* and, hence, the prefixed form *sъbljusti* 'keep safe' would form an imperfect **sъbljuděaxъ*. If this imperfect would have been the basis for the derived imperfective forms, the partner would have been **sъbljuděti*. However, *sъbljusti* has a derived imperfective partner *sъbljudati* with a stem *sъbljuda-*. So regardless of the ending of the nominal form that according to Kortlandt (1986) forms the first part of the verb form that eventually became the Slavic imperfect, the derived forms are characterized by the *-a-*.

Only the imperfect of Leskien's class IV verbs in *-iti*, *-i-* and *-ati*, *-i-* and Leskien's class III verbs with an aorist/infinitive stem on *-a-* result in an imperfect of which the first part is suitable as basis for the derived imperfective verbs. However, in most Leskien's class III verbs the formation of the derived imperfectives cannot be traced back to the imperfect. For, example the imperfect of *otъvěštati* 'answer' is *otъvěštaaxъ*, while the derived partner is *otъvěštavati*.[33]

Finally, in a number of cases, like in the verbs selected for this case study, the imperfect could be regarded as the basis for the derived formations, but the resulting aorist/infinitive stem is no different from the original (e.g. *sъkazati*, 'clarify' with imperfect *sъkazaaxъ* and derived present form *sъkazajǫ* based on *sъkaza-*), resulting in a number of forms that cannot be identified as either original or derived.

Hence, in many verbs there is no direct relationship between the imperfect and the derived imperfective. The derivation with *-ati*, *-aje-*, on the other hand, can be found throughout the system. One way to account for all these different verbs taking on the same derivational patterns is by assuming they used the same model. Kortlandt (1989: 110) proposes that verbs with an *ā*-stem "may have provided the model for the secondary imperfectives in *-(j)ati* of verbs in *-iti*". In this specific case, it concerns a type of verbs that "once existed in Slavic, but was lost as a result of later developments". Traces of this derivation can be found in BCS which has *hodati* 'walk', *nosati* 'carry' and

[33] According to Schuyt (1990: 376-377) the spread of phonetically conditioned *-vati*, *-vaje* in verbs with a stem ending in *-ě-*, *-i-* and *-a-* can be explained by analogy to verbs with a root in **-u-*, like *byvati* and *-kryvati* and with a root on an **u*-diphthong, like *davati*, *-děvati*, *-stavati* and *-znavati*.

vodati 'lead' next to *hoditi*, *nositi* and *voditi*.[34] These forms do not exist in OCS; the attested forms are *xaždati* next to *xoditi* and *-važdati* to *voditi*. These new formations "adopted the flexion of the far more numerous denominatives", according to Kortlandt (ibidem).

The question then is why these derived forms would adopt the *-ati*, *-aje-* flexion of verbs like *igrati* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 373 with references). It is very probable that this adoption was based on the pattern of derivation that was based on the imperfect of the *-iti*, *-i-* verbs from Leskien's class IV, as described above. The main morphological clue lies in the jotation of the root-final vowel followed by the *-a-*, as also seen in the imperfect. From a functional point of view this makes sense as well. A verb like *nosati* is derived from *nositi*, in OCS an indeterminate VOM which itself is opposed to a determined VOM *nesti*. I have shown that these verbs of motion are not inherently terminative, so the derivation cannot have hinged on the defocusing of the inherent boundary and thus cannot be seen as a functional model for the Slavic-style aspect opposition.

There are other reasons why the derivation of imperfective forms from Leskien's class IV verbs may have become the main model for the derivation in other classes as well. First, unprefixed verbs in Leskien's class IV in *-iti*, *-i-* were regarded as primary formations (Schuyt 1990: 416) that made their derived partners in *-ati*, *-aje-* clearly secondary. This situation is opposed to the *-ati*, *-je-* verbs that were often primary verbs with derived semelfactive partners in *-nǫti*, *-ne-* (Schuyt 1990: 414). This made the aspectual status of the suffix *-ati*, *-je-* unclear, something that most clearly emerges in the prefixed formations (cf. Chapter 9). Secondly, the prototypical perfective group, the prefixed perfective verbs, largely consists of Leskien's class IV verbs. There are a total of 377 verbs with 15,803 attestations in this group, of which 237 verbs are Leskien's class IV verbs in *-iti*, *-i-*, with a total of 8709 attestations. No other class is that well represented in the perfective verbs. The unprefixed verbs in *-iti*, *-i-* also constitute a rather large group within the unprefixed perfective verbs: the total group of unprefixed perfectives consists of 44 verbs with 2929 attestations of which 33 verbs with 1221 attestations are Leskien's class IV verbs in *-iti*, *-i-*. All this makes Leskien's class IV a good candidate to function as a model.

Finally, for the sake of clarity, by proposing that the imperfect may have been the functional and morphological catalyst for the derivation of imperfective verbs, I do not imply that the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* or the lengthening root vowel

[34] Schuyt (1990: 384) remarks that the opposition between *stǫpiti* 'step' and *stǫpati*, and **xvatiti* and *xvatati* 'seize' may also date from this period. The formations in *-xvaštati* can then be compared to *-važdati*.

did not exist before the derivation of the imperfect. Moreover, verbal pairs in which one verb is derived from the other existed in Slavic before the derivation of imperfective verbs as well. This concerns, among others, pairs of VOMs like *běgati, běgajǫ* 'flee' to primary *běžati, běžǫ* or *xvatati, xvatajǫ* 'seize' to **xvatiti,* which probably predate derivational aspect (ibidem: 375).[35] Even the functional load of the *-a-*, which is the distinguishing characteristic of the suffix *-ati, -aje-* is not unique within the Indo-European languages. It can, for example, be found in a durative or iterative function in Latin and Greek and it can also be held responsible for the abovementioned pairs in Slavic that predate derivational aspect (Galton 1997: 71). Galton (ibidem: 73-74) explains the dramatic spread of the suffix *-a-* in Slavic in the derivation of imperfective verbs, as opposed to, for example, its use in Baltic, by pointing at contact between the Slavic tribes and the Huns and Avars. He assumes that these Turkic people must have used the Slavic language to communicate with their Slavic subjects. These Huns and Avars were used to an 'extratemporalis' in their own language and noticed that they could use the *-a-* in Slavic, to express general truths for which they would have used the extratemporalis in their own language. Notwithstanding the speculative character of this hypothesis, it is beyond doubt that in OCS one of the functions of the imperfective aspect is the expression of general truths. And it is possible that it was the *-a-* in the imperfect that they picked up as a tool to build general truths.[36]

Whatever the exact mechanisms behind the development of the imperfective paradigm, I believe that all these morphological and functional bits and pieces described above only came together to form an imperfective paradigm after and based on the rise of the imperfect in Slavic. It is, therefore, as Galton (1997: 70) puts it: "Also das Material ist nicht neu, sondern nur seine Anwendung".

10.6 Concluding remarks

I have tried to show that the origin of the Slavic derivational aspect opposition may very well be traced back to another Slavic innovation: the

[35] The derivation *xvatati* is only attested in the simplex *xvatati*, which occurs once in OCS. There is also one prefixed derived formation attested, but that is the 'expected' *poxvaštati* 'grab' from *poxvatiti* 'grab'. The latter derivation is of later origin (Vaillant 1966: 483, Schuyt 1990: 375) and follows the regular model of aspect derivation in OCS.

[36] Galton points directly at the use of the Indo-European **-ā-* by the Huns and Avars. However, that feels rather abstract in an otherwise very down-to-earth description of the spread of the suffix *-a-*. Of course, the Huns and Avars had no abstract knowledge of the Indo-European language family or the function of individual morphemes in the language family and would have used existing patterns in the language they were speaking/trying to speak, like the use of the *-a-* in the imperfect.

imperfect. In terminative verbs the imperfect made it possible to refer to past terminative events while defocusing the inherent boundary. This functional model was subsequently extended to other verb forms. The morphological means used for this can also for a large part be traced back to the imperfect morphology. Still, the opposition between aorist and imperfect cannot be identified with the perfective-imperfective opposition. This is because the opposition aorist-imperfect is not limited to terminative verbs and revolves around a temporal boundary, which is clearly visible in anaspectual verbs. The further development of the derivational aspect system, resulting in perfective imperfects and imperfective aorists, is a clear indication of the separate status of the two oppositions.

It is also important to note that the aorist cannot be seen as the model for perfective verbs, even though the imperfect functions as the model for imperfective verbs. The aorist was simply the general past tense, until the arrival of the imperfect. In terminative verbs, the standard interpretation may very well have been similar to the meaning of Slavic-style perfective past forms, but it was only the rise of the imperfect that resulted in a Slavic-style aspect opposition in which the attainment of an inherent boundary became the invariant meaning of the perfective aspect.

11 CONCLUSION

11.0 Research questions and hypotheses

I started out with the following main research question:

What does the verbal aspect system in OCS look like?

I broke this question down into five more specific questions:

1. *How can the aspect of OCS verbs be established?*
2. *Which verbs participate in the OCS verbal aspect system?*
3. *What are the functions of verbal aspect in OCS?*
4. *How does the verbal aspect system in OCS compare to the modern Slavic aspect system?*
5. *What can the verbal aspect system in OCS reveal about the origin and development of Slavic verbal aspect?*

My hypothesis was that the aspect of a verb can be determined by its morphological characteristics. Verbs that have no aspectual morphology do not express aspect and are therefore anaspectual. Regarding the functions of verbal aspect in OCS I hypothesized that OCS derivational aspect is Slavic-style aspect: it revolves around an inherent boundary. I furthermore hypothesized that the functions of perfective and imperfective aspect in OCS are closer to the Western group of modern Slavic languages (e.g. Czech) than to the Eastern group (e.g. Russian). In other words: sequential connection is not part of the meaning of perfective aspect in OCS. My final hypothesis was that the imperfect may have had a role in the development of Slavic derivational aspect. In the following sections, I will discuss the results of the present study.

11.1 Methodology

One of the major issues that I have addressed in Chapter 4 of this study has to do with methodology: how does one approach a verbal aspect system in an extinct language like OCS?

I have shown that determining the aspect of a verb solely by means of a semantic analysis of individual attestations, as Dostál (1954) does, will not yield the desired result, since the (independently defined) function of a verb form does not determine the aspect, but it is rather the aspect that determines the function. And even though aspect is often strongly correlated to certain contexts or functions in OCS, it almost never is exclusively tied to them. For example, Greek future forms are very likely to be translated by a perfective present and not by an imperfective present when there is a choice of aspect.

However, there are many anaspectual verbs that are used in this function as well, which shows that even though the aspect determines the use of the perfective present as opposed to imperfective in this function, the function of future reference cannot be said to be typically perfective.

A similar problem arises when the grammatical profile of individual verbs are used to determine the aspect, as Eckhoff & Janda (2014) do: the grammatical profile is strongly influenced by the aspect of the verb, as also shown by the results of my own analysis in Chapter 7, but it does not determine it. I have shown that especially verbs that have no aspectual morphology, anaspectual verbs, show a broad range of profiles, which are strongly influenced by their lexical content.

I decided to start out my own study with the morphological characteristics of the verbs, which is basically the method Amse-de Jong (1974) uses. This method has the advantage of being based on elements that are the building blocks of Slavic derivational aspect: prefixes, suffixes and pair forming (or derivational relationships). The foundation of my morphological classification is laid out in Chapter 5. However, the method as Amse-de Jong employs it does not leave room for an objective check of the classification, neither for the verbs that are regarded as perfective and imperfective, nor for the verbs that fall outside those two categories. The latter form a large and very diverse group of anaspectual verbs in the approach by Amse-de Jong (ranging from clearly terminative verbs like *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry' and *vъniti* 'come down' to terminativizable verbs like *jasti* 'eat' and aterminative verbs like *ležati* 'lie'). My own morphological categorization was much more fine-grained, especially with regard to the non-core groups, and functioned only as the starting point of my analysis.

After establishing the various morphological categories I first used the method of grammatical profiling on the groups (cf. Chapter 7). In doing so, I found that the morphological classification into perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs is clearly reflected by differences in the grammatical profile of the OCS verbs. Perfective and imperfective verbs appear on opposite sides of the dimension that explains almost of all of the difference in grammatical profile between the groups, while the anaspectual verbs take up a middle position. At the same time, the morphological profiling revealed that some of the other verb groups (e.g. the prefixed VOMs or the prefixed verbs without a partner), have similar profiles as the core aspectual groups. Thus, the method of grammatical profiling did not only support the morphological classification of the verbs, but also added information about the aspectual characteristics of the verbs in the other groups. These were clearly not all anaspectual.

Finally, the only way of establishing the functions of aspect was by the semantic analysis of individual examples (cf. Chapter 8). Hence, I did not try

to determine the aspect based on the semantic analysis of individual examples as Dostál did, but rather I analysed the functions of verbs that I classified into aspectual categories beforehand (based on their morphological make-up and supported by an analysis of their grammatical profile). In some cases, the semantic analysis resulted in the re-categorization of a verb. This was, of course, only possible after I had established the (in)compatibilities of an aspect with certain functions and contexts in the core perfective, imperfective and anaspectual groups in Chapter 8. For example, the analysis in Chapter 9 showed a number of prefixed verbs that are clearly used in aterminative predicates and in functions that are highly incompatible with the perfective aspect, which necessitated re-categorization of those verbs into a separate category of verbs in which prefixation does not automatically lead to an inherently terminative verb. I categorized these verbs as anaspectual. The other verbs in this group, on the other hand, showed typical perfective profiles and behaviour and can be categorized as perfective, even though a derived partner is not attested.

Notwithstanding the fact the individual elements of my method, morphological classification, grammatical profiling and semantic analysis, are not unique, the combination and application of the methods the way I use them is new and results in a system of checks and balances, in which the weaker points of one method are balanced out by applying the other. It results in a clear overview of the OCS verbal aspect system, with a number of core groups that can be used to determine the key functions of the aspect and other peripheral groups of which the aspectual character can be determined based on comparison to the core groups.

11.1.1 Perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs (core groups)

The core groups that I discern are perfective, imperfective (both prefixed and unprefixed) and anaspectual verbs. The classification into these core groups is based on the morphological characteristics of the verbs, as explained in Chapter 5, which is supported by the analysis of their grammatical profile in Chapter 7. The perfective group consists of two morphologically separate groups: prefixed verbs with a derived partner like *ostaviti* 'leave' and simplex verbs with a derived partner, like *aviti sę* 'appear'. The imperfective group consists of the derived partners of the perfective verbs, which also results in two morphologically separate groups: a prefixed group with verbs like *ostavljati* 'leave' and unprefixed verbs like *avljati sę* 'appear'. Anaspectual verbs are verbs in which aspectual morphology is absent, like *jasti* 'eat', *ležati* 'lie' or *viděti* 'see'. The semantic analysis in Chapter 8 shows that the basic semantic distinction between anaspectual verbs on the one hand and perfective and imperfective verbs on the other, is that anaspectual verbs are not inherently terminative. Perfective and imperfective verbs, both the prefixed and the unprefixed, share the important characteristic of being

inherently terminative. However, perfective and imperfective verbs treat the inherent boundary differently: perfective verbs express the attainment of the inherent boundary, while imperfective verbs defocus the inherent boundary. This is the typical Slavic-style aspect opposition.

It can be said that the different ways in which perfective and imperfective verbs handle the inherent boundary, is yet another difference with the anaspectual verbs. In other words, anaspectual verbs are not just different from perfective and imperfective verbs because of the fact that they are not inherently terminative, but also because of the fact that even when they are used in a terminative predicate, there is no intrinsic interaction with the inherent boundary, an interaction that is always present in perfective and imperfective verbs. The absence of this extra layer of meaning that determines the interaction with an inherent boundary, gives the anaspectual verbs in general a larger aspectual potential (cf. section 2.1.5.5), notwithstanding the considerable lexical variation within the anaspectual verbs. The larger aspectual potential is first of all clearly visible in the more equally distributed grammatical profile of the group of anaspectual verbs. The meaning of anaspectual verbs does not clash with certain verb forms beforehand, like the perfective verbs show a clash with the imperfect and present participles or imperfective verbs with the aorist or past participles. These clashes of meaning result in more unevenly distributed grammatical profiles for perfective and imperfective verbs. Not unimportantly, however, I have also shown that combinations of perfective and imperfective aspect with less compatible verb forms do occur (cf. sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3). It is therefore safe to conclude that there are no absolute incompatibilities between the aspect of the verb and individual verb forms, not even between imperfective aspect and the aorist, as Amse-de Jong (1974) claims (cf. examples (177), (179) (180) and (181)); there are only tendencies that vary in strength. Secondly, the greater aspectual potential also becomes apparent from the fact that there are almost no contexts or functions in which anaspectual verbs are absent. Again, the absence of the extra layer of aspectual meaning can be held responsible for this.

I should note, however, that even though there is an overall compatibility of anaspectual verbs with all verb forms, contexts and functions, there is also variation within the anaspectual group, which is related to the lexical content of the verb. Some anaspectual verbs, for example, have an ideal distribution of verb forms with an almost equal share of aorists and imperfects, while others show a clear preference for one of either past tense. In Chapter 8, I have shown that anaspectual verbs can be classified into inherently aterminative verbs (e.g. *ležati* 'lie' and *alъkati* 'be hungry') and verbs that are 'terminativizable', hence, that can be used in a terminative predicate (e.g. *bojati sę* 'be afraid', *viděti* 'see' and *jasti* 'eat'). Moreover, some verbs appear

to be more easily terminativizable than others, which again must be attributed to their lexical character. It makes sense that 'anaspectuality' as a shared characteristic does not result in completely identical aspectual behaviour, or grammatical profiles, because anaspectuality refers to the absence of a layer of aspectuality, as opposed to perfectivity and imperfectivity which refer to the presence of a shared aspectual meaning.

11.1.2 Other groups

The statistical and semantic analysis of other groups of verbs in Chapter 9 shows that the opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect is not limited to the core groups. For example, pairs of prefixed VOMs show profiles and functions equal to the profiles of core perfective and imperfective verbs, and the profile of prefixed verbs without a derived partner is largely indistinguishable from that of perfective verbs and therefore can be classified as perfective and imperfective in OCS. On the other hand, equal profiles do not necessarily mean equal aspectual meaning, as becomes apparent from the semantic analysis of the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs and their partners. Nevertheless, it is striking that even in pairs that cannot be regarded as Slavic-style aspect partners, because of the fact that they are not inherently terminative, the profiles and functions are often strongly reminiscent of the profiles of aspect partners and many of the functions are divided like in the aspect pairs (cf. the unprefixed determined VOMs like *iti* 'go' and their indeterminate partners like *xoditi* 'go'). The analysis of the non-core groups therefore shows how deeply entrenched the division between perfective and imperfective verbs is in OCS. Not only are other pairs incorporated in the system, but even pairs that are not fit to be completely part of the system because they are not inherently terminative, are partially drawn in. In this respect I have also shown that some aterminative anaspectual verbs and prefixed formations (e.g. *alъkati* 'be hungry' and *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry') show similarities to the core aspect pairs. The grammatical profile and semantic analysis of prefixed verbs without a partner also showed the important role of the prefix in the OCS verbal system: prefixation is in most cases equal to perfectivization. This is because adding a prefix results in a terminative verb and terminative verbs are automatically interpreted as 'inherent boundary attained', as long as they are not morphologically marked for imperfective aspect (mostly with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*).

I started out in Chapter 4 with a schedule with the various different categorizations of the aspect of OCS verbs that different authors give (Table 4.1, repeated below as Table 11.1):

Author	*Aspect*			
***Dostál* (1954)**	***Pf***	***Pf/Ipf***	***Ipf/Pf***	***Ipf***
	aviti sę	*klęti sę*	*vesti*	*avljati sę*
	sъnĕsti		*jasti*	*sъnĕdati*
	sъniti			*ležati*
***Amse-de Jong* (1974)**	***Pf***		***Anaspectual***	***Ipf***
	aviti sę		*vesti*	*avljati sę*
	sъnĕsti		*jasti*	*sъnĕdati*
			klęti sę	
			ležati	
			sъniti	
***Eckhoff & Janda* (2014)**	***Pf***			***Ipf***
	aviti sę			*avljati sę*
	sъnĕsti			*jasti*
	sъniti			*sъnĕdati*
	vesti			*klęti sę*
				ležati

Table 11.1 Various categorizations of OCS verbs

Now that I have finished my analysis of the verbal aspect system in OCS, I can give my own alternative categorization in Table 11.2:

Perfective	*Anaspectual*	*Imperfective*
ostaviti *(8)*		***ostavljati*** *(8)*
aviti sę *(8)*		***avljati sę*** *(8)*
sъněsti *(8)*	***jasti*** *(8)*	***sъnědati*** *(8)*
ubojati sę (9.1)	***bojati sę*** *(8)*	
uzъrěti (8.1.1, 9.1)	***viděti*** *(8)*	
	ležati *(8)*	
	klęti sę *(8)*	
vъzalъkati (9.1)	*vъzležati (9.1)*	
pomanǫti (9.2)		
povinǫti sę (9.2)		*povinovati sę (9.2)*
kanǫti (9.2)	*kapati (8.2)*	
vъniti (9.3)	*iti (9.4)*	*vъxoditi (9.3)*
sъniti (9.3)	*xoditi (9.4)*	*sъxoditi (9.3)*
	vesti (9.4)	
	voditi (9.4)	
sъpověděti (9.5)		*sъpovědovati (9.5)*
	byti (9.6)	
rešti (8.3.4)	*glagolati (8.3.4)*	

Table 11.2 My categorization of OCS verbs[1]

My categorization differs in a number of respects from the ones given in Table 11.1. It differs from the one by Amse-de Jong by including in the perfective and imperfective categories a large number of verbs that do not show the prototypical morphological aspect opposition. These verbs are anaspectual in the classification by Amse-de Jong (e.g. *sъniti, vъzalъkati, ubojati sę* and *vъxoditi*). It furthermore differs from the categorization as

[1] The table contains: 1) the prototypical verbs that I used to refer to the various morphological groups and which therefore represent a whole group (cf. Chapter 5, 7 and 9), 2) the verbs that occur in Table 11.1 for comparison purpose, and 3) a number of other verbs that are relevant to the overall picture but that did not receive a separate morphological classification (*vъzležati, povinǫti sę, rešti* and *glagolati*).
It is needless to say that the schedule misses the finer nuances that can be found in the detailed discussion of the various groups. I have included the section number in which the group is discussed for all additional groups. The discussion of the core groups, which are printed in boldface, can be found in Chapter 8, which is also indicated in the table.
I have left out morphological categories that did not result in a clear aspectual designation of all verbs in the group and which therefore could not be indiscriminately categorized within one of the three main categories. This concerns the *pomajati*-group (cf. section 9.2) and the *sъpovědati*-group (cf. section 9.5).

given by Dostál with regard to the classification of inherently aterminative verbs like *ležati* as anaspectual. Moreover, in my categorization there are no biaspectual verbs that express perfective or imperfective aspect in different contexts, only anaspectual verbs that do not express perfectivity or imperfectivity. Finally, my categorization also differs from the categorization by Eckhoff & Janda by providing a separate category for the anaspectual verbs.

11.2 The functions of verbal aspect in OCS

Generally speaking, the OCS derivational aspect system is a typical Slavic-style aspect system, with perfective aspect expressing the attainment of an inherent boundary and imperfective aspect defocusing the inherent boundary. This results in a number of functions and contexts in which one of either aspect is the preferred aspect.

When it comes to establishing the functions of verbal aspect in OCS, distinguishing anaspectual verbs from perfective and imperfective verbs turned out to be very useful. If the anaspectual verbs are regarded as imperfective, which is often what their cognates are taken to be in the modern Slavic languages (think of *jasti* 'eat', *ležati* 'lie' or *diviti sę* 'marvel') it is easily concluded that almost anything goes in OCS, because these verbs occur in functions and contexts that are typical of both aspects. In such an approach, the imperfective aorist is a very common form in OCS, for example. However, when the anaspectual verbs are separated from the (derived) imperfective verbs, the differences between perfective and imperfective verbs emerge very clearly. One of the clearest examples is the almost complete absence of example of aorists of imperfective verbs, while anaspectual verbs are frequently attested in the aorist. This can be explained by a difference in meaning between the imperfective verbs and anaspectual verbs: the defocusing of the inherent boundary in imperfective verbs makes it difficult to imagine the event as temporally bounded, or as a totality. Anaspectual verbs do not defocus an inherent boundary and therefore are more compatible with a bounded reading. Another example is the already mentioned translation of Greek future forms. As Dostál (1954) already sensed, futurity and the perfective present are strongly correlated in OCS. And, as I have shown, Greek future forms are indeed almost exclusively translated by perfective presents, with only very exceptional cases of imperfective presents, if one disregards the anaspectual verbs. However, when anaspectual verbs are added to the equation, this exclusivity becomes blurred, since anaspectual present tense forms are used to translate both Greek future forms and Greek present tense forms. So when discussing contexts or functions that are typical of one of both aspects, one should keep in mind that anaspectual verbs are often compatible with these 'typically perfective' or 'typically imperfective' contexts or functions.

11.2.1 Contexts and functions

There are only a few contexts and functions that are either (almost) exclusively related to one of the aspects, or at least exclude one aspect, even though there are strong tendencies in terms of the compatibility of the aspects with certain contexts and functions. As already mentioned, imperfective verbs are mostly absent from expressions translating a Greek future, barring a few exceptions. Furthermore, the actual present is off limits for perfective verbs; only imperfective and anaspectual verbs occur in the actual present. Perfective verbs are also (almost completely) absent after phase verbs expressing the start of an event, the only counter example being the example with *lišiti sę* 'be deprived' in Luke 15:14 (cf. example (87), Chapter 6). The general factual is strongly associated with anaspectual verbs, with only a few cases of the imperfective aorist, while the perfective aspect is used for concrete factual events. And finally, conativity is a typical function of the imperfective aspect, to the exclusion of both anaspectual and perfective verbs. Other contexts and functions, such as habituality, sequentiality and performativity, are the territory of both aspects and also anaspectual verbs. This means that a choice of aspect is allowed in these contexts, which influences the meaning. For example, a perfective present in a habitual utterance has the function of presenting a single complete event as an example of a general rule, while an imperfective present in this context presents the general rule itself. Also, even though many contexts allow both aspects, they are often more compatible with one of the aspects. For example, in sequences of past events perfective verbs are much more frequent than imperfective verbs. Perfective aorists are the standard while the use of imperfective imperfects in such sequences signals a specific use and needs an additional explanation.

11.2.2 (In)compatibility of aspect and verb forms

In the semantic analysis of perfective and imperfective verbs in Chapter 8, I have explained the relative incompatibility of the perfective aspect with the imperfect and present participles by pointing at the semantics of the aspect and these particular verb forms. The combination of the attainment of the inherent boundary (perfective aspect) with unboundedness (imperfect, present participles) results in a complex semantics. However, the combination does occur and has very specific usages: the perfective imperfect is used in habitual correlative expressions and perfective present passive participles express potentiality.[2]

[2] Interestingly, conditionality plays a role in both cases, just as with the use of perfective present forms in habitual expressions. This preference of the perfective aspect for a connection to another event can be seen as the predecessor to temporal definiteness or sequential connection as

I have also shown that the aorist and the imperfective aspect are not completely incompatible. It is possible to defocus the inherent boundary and at the same time present the event as temporally bounded, or total, for example in case of a round-trip meaning.

11.2.3 Comparison to modern Slavic languages

As discussed in Chapter 2, the functions of verbal aspect differ between the modern Slavic languages. There is a Western group, where perfective aspect revolves around totality and an Eastern group in which perfective aspect revolves around sequential connection, or temporal definiteness. I believe it is safe to say that the OCS aspect system is more like the aspect system of Dickey's Western group (e.g. Czech) than like that of the Eastern group (e.g. Russian), even though the corpus on which this analysis is based is small and native informants cannot be employed to experiment with the use of aspect in various contexts. These limitations are responsible for the relatively small number of parameters in Table 11.3. The analysis of the OCS aspect system as a Western system fits with Dickey's evaluation of the Late Common Slavic aspect system (Dickey 2015) and with his analysis of temporal definiteness/sequential connection as an innovation in the Eastern group (Dickey & Hutcheson 2003, Dickey 2011, 2015). In Table 11.3, I compare the functions of the OCS verbal aspect system to those of the Western and Eastern group as can be found in Dickey (2000) and Dickey (2015) (cf. also Table 2.2).

Function	***OCS***	***West***	***East***
Pf acceptable in present tense habituals	+	+	-
Pf acceptable with performatives	+	+	-
Ipf acceptable in sequences of events	+	+	-
No ipf general factual of single achievements	-	+	-

Table 11.3 Comparison of OCS aspect functions with modern Slavic groups[3]

The only function in which OCS deviates from the Western group is the imperfective general factual of single achievements. This is based on examples of the imperfective aorist, like example (177), Chapter 8, found in

the basic meaning of the perfective aspect in the Eastern group of Slavic languages (cf. Barentsen 1995, 1998, Dickey 2000).

[3] I could add the acceptability of perfective verbs in the historical present, which is a typical Western feature as well. However, given the rarity of the historical present in OCS and the fact that I only found 1 example of a perfective verb in this context, I have left this out. It would fit the idea that the perfective aspect does not express temporal definiteness in OCS. n aramaters that tial connectoin ther side the Eastern group where ssing

the *Marianus*. Even though the use of imperfective achievements is rare in the Western group, Fortuin & Kamphuis (2015: 194-199, 201-203) demonstrate that it is not completely absent; the use of the imperfective form can be triggered by certain constructions. So this usage is not incompatible with the Western type of aspect, but the centrality of totality as the meaning of perfective aspect appears to impede the use of imperfective verbs to refer to complete events. Moreover, in the Eastern group, the use of the imperfective aspect is obligatory in instances like example (177), Chapter 8, unlike in the Western group. This is not the case in OCS, given the fact that *Zographensis* has a perfective verb in the same utterance. All in all, the aspect system as found in OCS shows great similarities to the systems in the Western group.

11.3 Origin and development of Slavic-style aspect

11.3.1 Origin of Slavic-style aspect

In Chapter 10, I have described a case study of a group of verbs in which the Slavic-style derivational aspect opposition exists almost exclusively in the present tense. The absence of a complete derived paradigm, makes the aspect opposition in this group more of an inflectional opposition, like the past tense opposition between the aorist and imperfect. This situation, in which not all forms in a paradigm of a terminative verb express aspect, may very well offer a glimpse into the history of verbal aspect. In other words, it makes sense that the opposition started out in only a few forms and subsequently spread to other forms. In case of the selected verbs, the gaps in the derived paradigm are made up for with newer formations in *-ovati*, *-uje-*. This indicates that in OCS the opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect was already deeply entrenched in the verbal system and certain contexts and functions apparently required a clear morphological indication of aspect.

11.3.2 The development of Slavic-style aspect

The case study shows the special position of the imperfect: it is part of the underived paradigm, but demonstrates imperfective functions just like the derived present tense forms. Apparently, the imperfect has a bridging function between the underived 'neutral' forms and the derived imperfective paradigm. And the likeness to the imperfective paradigm does not stop there; the morphological similarities to the imperfective paradigm, especially when Leskien's class IV verbs in *-iti*, *-i-* is taken as a model, leads me to the hypothesis that the imperfect, as a Slavic innovation, can be seen as the catalyst behind the derivation of imperfective forms, which is also a Slavic innovation.

In my hypothetical path of development, the imperfect of terminative verbs like *icěliti* 'heal', which is *icěljaaxъ*, provided both the functional and morphological basis for the derivation of imperfective forms. The morphological basis is formed by the first part of the imperfect *icělja-*, which forms the basis for the derived imperfective forms, resulting in forms like the present tense *icěljajǫ* or the infinitive *icěljati*. The functional basis lies in the fact that the imperfect refers to an unchanging past situation. In terminative verbs this easily leads to a defocusing of the inherent boundary. This defocusing of the inherent boundary is the basic meaning of imperfective aspect in Slavic. For the verb *icěliti* the use of the imperfect means that the moment at which a person can be called 'healed', which is the inherent boundary as expressed by the prefix, is defocused. As said, this defocusing results in interpretations varying from durative to iterative and conative. The imperfect of aterminative verbs, e.g. *cěljaaxъ* from *cěliti* 'heal' does not result in a similar meaning, since the verb does not express an inherent boundary. So the imperfect simply indicates a temporally unbounded past event. Moreover, the present tense of these anaspectual verbs is compatible with both actual present use and future reference, so there is no 'functional gap' that can be filled with new forms. That is why there are no derived forms like **cěljati*, while there are of the terminative prefixed formations of *cěliti*. In anaspectual verbs, the opposition between the aorist and imperfect is clearly a Romance-style opposition between forms that express a temporally bounded past event (aorist) and a temporally unbounded past event (imperfect).

Note that in this scenario, the aorist, which was the general, unmarked, past tense in Slavic before the rise of the imperfect, is not the model for the perfective verbs; perfective aspect arose from the lexical category of (highly) terminative verbs, mainly prefixed verbs.

11.4 Further research

It would be interesting to apply my approach of the OCS verbal aspect system to the modern Slavic languages. Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) have performed a grammatical profiling analysis on predefined aspectual groups in Russian, but do not leave room for anaspectual verbs, because they only include verbs that are generally regarded as aspect pairs (both by prefixation and suffixation). Similar research does not exist for other Slavic languages, to my knowledge. Separating the category of imperfective verbs in Slavic into a group of aterminative imperfective verbs (my anaspectual verbs) and terminative imperfective verbs (core imperfective verbs) could result in more detailed knowledge of the functions of aspect in modern Slavic languages as well. For example, I would not be surprised to see that in Modern Bulgarian the aorist is much more compatible with aterminative imperfective verbs than it is with terminative imperfective verbs. And the famous imperfective verbs in past sequences in Czech might just turn out to be mainly

aterminative imperfective verbs. In addition to a deeper understanding of the verbal aspect system in the individual modern Slavic languages, it could also help in more clearly establishing the specific nature of Slavic aspect, which in the first place revolves around terminative verbs and only secondarily influences other parts of the verbal system.

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INDEX OF VERB FORMS DISCUSSED IN EXAMPLES

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
aviti sę	avitъ sę	pres	8	97, 135
běgati	běgaše	impf	9	280
biti	bišę	aor	6	50
	bivъ	PastAPI	4	29
	bьete	pres	8	113
	bьěaxǫ	impf	6	52
blagosloviti	bl[agoslovl]jǫ	pres	8	141
bljusti	bljudišę	aor	8	199
bojati sę	boěše sę	impf	2	7
	boěše sę	impf	4	33
	boite sę	impr	6	57
	boja sę	aor	1	2
	boja sę	aor	2	8, 13
	boja sę	aor	4	32
byti	bě	impf	0	1 (3x)
	bě	impf	6	83
	běaxǫ	impf	6	65, 82
	biste	cond	6	77 (2x)
	bǫdete	fut	8	99
	bǫdete	fut	9	300, 301, 302, 303, 307, 308
	byvaaše	impf	9	305
	byvaaxǫ	impf	9	304
	byvaetъ	impf	9	306, 308
	esi	pres	6	78, 81
	esmь	pres	6	80
	estъ	pres	6	79
	estъ	pres	8	147
cěsarьstvovati	cěsarьstvova	aor	2	23

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
dajati	daěxǫ	impf	8	165
	daite	impr	6	60
	dajǫ	pres	8	136, 139
dati	daděaše	impf	8	186, 189
	dadite	impr	6	59
	dalъ	PastAPII	6	81
	damь	pres	8	137
	dastъ	aor	6	81
	dastъ	pres	8	98
	dastъ	pres	9	258
	daxъ	aor	8	139
dějati	děeta	pres	8	161
diviti sę	divi sę	aor	4	30
	divi sę	aor	8	215
	divlěaxǫ sę	impf	4	31
dunǫti	dunǫ	aor	9	261
duxati	dušetъ	pres	9	260, 262
dvidzati	dviže̋si	pres	9	259
dvignǫti sę	dvignǫtъ sę	pres	9	258

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
glagolati	g[lago]la	aor	8	183, 184
	g[lago]lašę	aor	8	184
	g[lago]lati	inf	8	115
	g[lago]laxъ	aor	8	114, 150
	g[lago]leši	pres	8	234
	g[lago]lete	pres	8	115 (2x)
	g[lago]ljǫ	pres	8	116, 142, 155, 235
	g[lagolae]my	PresPP	8	230
gybati	gybljǫ	pres	9	256
	gybljǫštee	PresAP	9	255
gybnǫti	gybe	aor	9	257
	gybnǫštee	PresAP	9	255
icěliti	icěľěaše	impf	8	187
	neicělimoje	PresPP	8	191
icěljati	icělaemi	PresPP	8	193
imati	věrǫ imali	PastAPII	6	77
iměti	imate	pres	6	86
	imate	pres	8	115, 131
iskati	iskaaxově	impf	8	151
	iskasta	aor	8	152
	iskašę	aor	8	197
	iskašeta	impf	8	152
	iskaxově	aor	8	151
iskusiti sę	iskusiti sę	inf	6	84
	iskusitъ sę	sup	6	84
ispasti	ispadǫtъ	pres	9	258

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
ispovědati	ispověda	aor	9	295
	ispovědaite	impr	9	298
	ispovědajǫ sę	pres	9	292
ispověděti	ispovědě	aor	9	295
	ispověmь	pres	9	290
isypati (sę)	isypljǫtъ	pres	10	315
	isypaetъ sę	pres	10	315
isъxati	isъšetъ	pres	9	270
	isъšǫtъ	pres	9	271
isъxnǫti	isъxněaše	impf	8	188
iti	iděaše	impf	6	52
	iděaše	impf	9	285, 287
	iděte	impr	9	284
	idǫ	aor	9	288
	idošę	aor	9	283
izganjati	izganěaxǫ	impf	9	279
izgoniti	izgoněaxǫ	impf	9	279
izgybati	izgybajǫ	pres	9	256
iziti	izidetъ	pres	9	275

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
jasti	ědętъ	pres	8	126
	ědǫšte	PresAP	6	68
	ědy	PresAP	6	69
	ědъšiixъ	PastAPI	6	74
	ědъšь	PastAPI	6	73
	ěmъ	pres	4	27
	ěsi	pres	6	43
	ěstъ	aor	8	203
	ěsъ	aor	8	202
	ěxomъ	aor	8	201
jęti	emъše	PastAPI	6	71
	věrǫ jęli	PastAPII	6	77
klęti sę	klęti sę	inf	6	88 (2x)
	klъneši sę	pres	4	26
	klъnetъ sę	pres	4	25
kosnǫti sę	kosnǫ sę	aor	9	267
krasti	kradi	impr	6	63, 64
krьštati	krъštajǫ sę	pres	8	239
krьstiti (sę)	krъstę	PresAP	8	236, 237
	krьstęšte	PresAP	8	238
	krьstita sę	pres	8	239
	krьštǫ sę	pres	8	239
	krъstita sę	pres	8	239
ležati	leža	aor	4	34
	leža	aor	6	51
	ležaaše	impf	6	53
	ležalo	PastAPII	6	83
lišati sę	lišati sę	inf	6	87
lišiti sę	lišiti sę	inf	6	87
ljubiti	ljubitъ	pres	9	250
mlьčati	mlъčaaše	impf	8	162
mrьknǫti	mrъknetъ	pres	9	258

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
mysliti	myslite	pres	8	130
	myslixъ	aor	8	198
načęti	načętъ	aor	6	87 (2x)
	načęšę	aor	8	224
	načętъ	aor	10	328
nakazati	nakazavъ	PastAPI	10	320
	nakažemъ sję	pres	10	309
napisati	nap'sa	aor	8	207
narešti	narečetъ sę	pres	8	233
naricati	naricaaxǫ	impf	8	166
	naricaeměmь	PresPP	8	232
	naricaetъ sę	pres	8	233
	naricaite sę	impr	6	62
	naricajǫštaago	PresPP	8	231
naučiti	naučišę	aor	6	49
nazьrěti	nazьrěaxǫ	impf	8	190
nebrěšti	nebrěšti	inf	6	85
negodovati	negodova	aor	8	222
	negodovati	inf	8	224
obiděti	obidělъ	PastAPII	6	80
obnažati	obnaža	aor	8	179
obrěsti	obręštetъ	pres	8	100
	obręštetъ	pres	9	275
obrětati	obrětaatъ	pres	8	100
	obrětaetъ	pres	8	100
	obrětajǫ	pres	9	278
obrězati	obrězaete	pres	10	312
	obrězatъ	sup	10	329
	obrěžǫtъ	pres	10	330
odrьžati	odrъžaaše	impf	9	254
	odrъžašję	aor	9	253
okaměniti	okaměnilъ	PastAPII	8	147
okušati	okušaate	pres	8	133

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
omyvati	omyvajǫtъ	pres	8	126
oslěpiti	oslěpi	aor	8	147
osǫditi	osǫždǫ	pres	8	106, 219
osǫždati	osǫždaetъ	pres	8	218
ostaviti	ostavi	aor	6	54
ostavljati	ostavlěetъ	pres	4	28
	ostavlěetъ	pres	8	99
osypati	osypljǫ	pres	10	310
otirati	otiraaše	impf	8	159
otrěšati	otrěšaašete	impf	8	160
	otrěšaeta	pres	6	42
	otrěšaeta	pres	8	129
	otrěšajǫšta	PresAP	8	161
otvrěsti	otvrъzetъ sę	pres	8	100
	otvrьzǫtъ sę	pres	8	100
otvrьzati	otvrъzaatъ sę	pres	8	100
otъdati	otъdadętъ sę	pres	8	140
otъpuštati	otъpuštajǫtъ sę	pres	8	140
	otъpuštati	inf	6	89
otъrězovati	otъrězovati	inf	10	331
otъvrěšti	otъvrъžeši	pres	8	122
ožidati	ožidaxъ	aor	8	176
pešti sę	pečetъ sę	pres	8	104
pьsati	p'saxъ (2x)	aor	8	208 (2x)
	pišetъ	pres	6	41
pisati	psa	aor	8	206
piti	piemъ	pres	4	27
	pijęi	PresAP	6	69
	pixomъ	aor	8	201
	pьeši	pres	6	43
	pьjǫšte	PresAP	6	68

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
plakati (sę)	plačeši sę	pres	6	39
	plaka sę	aor	8	200
	plakaaxǫ	impf	6	52
	plakaste	aor	8	149
	plakaxomъ sę	aor	8	149
plěnjati	plěnjaaxǫ	impf	4	36
	plěnjaę	PresAP	4	37
plęsati	plęsa	aor	8	144
	plęsaste	aor	8	149
plьvati	plьvaaxǫ	impf	9	263
poběditi	nepobědimъ	PresPP	8	192
pobiti	pobišę	aor	6	50
podiviti sę	podivi sę	aor	8	228
pogreti	pogreti	inf	6	93
pogybati	pogybaemъ	pres	9	273
	pogybajǫtь	pres	9	274
	pogyblemъ	pres	9	272
	pogyblemь	pres	9	273
pogybnǫti	pogybnemъ	pres	9	272
	pogybnǫtъ	pres	9	274
poimati (sę)	poemletъ	pres	4	28
	poemletъ sę	pres	8	99
pokazati	pokaza	aor	10	321, 322
	pokazaatъ	pres	10	314
	pokazaetъ	pres	10	314 (2x)
	pokažetъ	pres	10	314 (3x)
	pokaži sę	impr	10	317
pokazovati	pokazovaaše	impf	10	332
	pokazuję	PresAP	10	333
pokryvati sę	pokryvati sę	inf	6	90
pometati	pomětaite	impr	6	59
pominati	pominaite	impr	6	61

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
pomyšljati	pomyšlěete	pres	8	130
	pomyšlějǫšte	PresAP	6	65
posramljati	posramljajǫtъ sę	pres	8	101
postaviti	postavlǫ	pres	8	96
postavljati	postavlějǫtъ	pres	6	48
postilati	postilašę	aor	8	180
	postilaxǫ	impr	6	55
postьlati	postъlašę	aor	6	55
posylati	posylajǫtъ	pres	8	134
	posylanyję	PastPP	8	178
	posylaxъ	aor	8	177
posъlati	posъlanyję	PastPP	8	178
	posъlanъ	PastPP	6	75
	posъlaxъ	aor	8	177
povědati	povědašę	aor	9	296
pověděti	pověděšę	aor	9	296
povelěti	povelě	aor	2	22
povinovati sę	povinujǫtъ sę	pres	9	268
poznati sę	pozna sę	aor	8	227
	poznaetъ sę	pres	6	47
prědati	prědamь	pres	8	138
přěstǫpati	přěstǫpajǫtъ	pres	8	126
približiti sę	približi sę	aor	8	146
pridajati	pridajǫšte	PresAP	9	294
pridavati	pridavajǫšte	PresAP	9	294
priimati	priemletъ (3x)	pres	8	100
prikosnǫti sę	prikosnǫ sę	aor	6	54
	prikosnǫ sę	aor	9	267
priti	pride	aor	8	163
	pridetъ	pres	8	120
	pridǫ	pres	9	276
prixoditi	prixoditъ	pres	8	124
	prixoždǫ	pres	9	277, 278

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
prizyvati	prizyva	aor	4	35
	prizyva	aor	8	181
prizъvati	prizъva	aor	8	181
prolivati	prolivaemaě	PresPP	6	70
propovědati	propovědaite	impr	9	299
	propovědašę	aor	9	297
	propovědati	inf	9	293
propověděti (sę)	propověděšę	aor	9	297
	propověstъ sę	pres	9	291
propovědovati	propovědovati	inf	9	293
prositi	prosišę	aor	8	168
protiviti sę	protivęi sę	PresAP	8	240
	protivimъ sę	pres	8	242
	protivitъ sę	pres	8	241
prozъvati	prozъvǫ	pres	9	249
rastačati	rastačaję	PresAP	6	67
rasypati	rasypajemaago	PresPP	10	319
razoriti	razorjǫ	pres	8	95
razuměti	razuměeši	pres	8	246
	razuměete	pres	8	108, 243
	razumějǫtъ	pres	8	247
	razuměšę	aor	8	245
	razuměvъ	PastAPI	8	155, 244
razuměvati	razuměvaetъ	pres	8	124
	razuměvajǫtъ	pres	8	247
rešti	reče	aor	8	162, 163, 185
	rečetъ	pres	8	119
	rekomago	PresPP	8	231
	rekoměmь	PresPP	8	232
	rekomy	PresPP	8	230
	rekǫ	pres	8	114, 117, 118
	reky	PresAP	8	229
rězati	rězaxǫ	impf	6	55

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
sědĕti	sědĕaše	impf	8	158
	sědĕaxъ	impf	8	194
	sědĕxъ	aor	8	194
	sědęšte	PresAP	6	65
sěti	sěanii	PastPP	6	76
služiti	služaaše	impf	6	54
	služaaxǫ	impf	8	157
slyšati	slyšasę	aor	8	209, 211
	slyšaste	aor	8	210, 213
	slyšitъ	pres	8	124
sǫditi	sǫditъ	pres	8	102, 218
	sǫždǫ	pres	8	106, 219
stati	sta	aor	9	267
stojati	stoěše	impf	8	196
	stoěste	aor	8	195
	stoja	aor	8	196
	stojęštiixъ	PresAP	6	66
svirati	sviraxomъ	aor	8	149
sъbьrati (sę)	sъberǫ	pres	8	95
	sъbъrašę sę	aor	6	49
sъgrěšiti	sъgrěšixъ	aor	8	145
sъkazati (sę)	nesъkažemuumu	PresPP	10	318
	sъkaza	aor	10	323
	sъkazaaše	impf	10	325, 327
	sъkazajǫ	pres	10	316
	sъkazaše	impf	10	326
	sъkazati	inf	10	328
	sъkazaetъ sę	pres	10	313
	sъkažǫ	pres	8	143
	sъkažǫ	pres	10	311, 316
sъkazovati	sъkazova	aor	10	334
sъložiti sę	sъložili sę	PastAPII	6	82

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
sъněsti	sъněstъ	pres	6	44
	sъněstъ	pres	8	111
	sъněstъ	aor	8	204
sъpasti sę	s[ъ]p[ase]tъ sę	pres	9	275
sъpati	sъpite	pres	8	128
	sъpitъ	pres	6	40
sъtvoriti	stvori	impr	6	63, 64
	sъtvorętъ	pres	8	107
	sъtvori	impr	6	64
	sъtvorilъ	PastAPII	6	79
	sъtvorišę	aor	6	49
	sъtvoriši	pres	6	63
	sъtvoriti	inf	6	92
	sъtvoritъ	pres	8	120, 220 (2)
	sъtvorixъ	aor	8	205
	sъtvorjǫ	pres	8	95
sъvęzati	sъvęza	aor	10	324
sъxoditi	sъxoždaaše	impf	8	154
sъzьdati	sъziždǫ	pres	8	95
teti	teprъ	PastAPI	4	29
trěbovati	trěbova	aor	8	217
	trěbovaše	impf	8	223
trьdzati	trěžetъ	pres	9	265
	trьza	aor	9	264
	trъzati	inf	9	266
trьpěti	trъpěxъ	aor	8	105
	trъpljǫ	pres	8	103
tvoriti	tvorętъ	pres	8	107
	tvoriti	inf	6	91, 92
	tvoritъ	pres	8	220 (2x)
	tvorixъ	aor	8	205

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
ubiti	ubiete	pres	8	113
	ubii	impr	6	64 (2x)
	ubišę	aor	6	50
	ubьeši	pres	6	63
	ubьjǫtъ	pres	8	112
ubivati	ubivaj	impr	6	63
ubojati sę	uboi sę	impr	6	58
	uboite sę	impr	6	56
	uboja sę	aor	1	2
	uboja sę	aor	2	13
učiti	učaaše	impf	8	156
	učixъ	aor	8	150
ugasati	ugasajǫtъ	pres	8	127
ukrasti	ukradeši	pres	6	63
	ukradi	impr	6	64
uměti	uměete	pres	8	108
umrěti	umьrěti	inf	6	94
uslyšati	uslyšaste	aor	8	213
	uslyšati	inf	6	86
	uslyšite	pres	6	86
	uslyšitъ	pres	8	135
ustati	usta	aor	9	267
uzьrěti	uzьrě	aor	8	214
	uzьrętъ	pres	8	110
věrovati	věrova	aor	8	148, 216
	věruete	pres	8	132
vesti	veděaxǫ	impf	9	286
viděti	vidě	aor	8	214
	viděšę	aor	8	209
	viděšę	aor	9	289
	vidętъ	pres	8	110
	viděvъ	PastAPI	8	155, 212
vъčęti	vъčnetъ	aor	6	85

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
vьlivati	vьlivajǫtъ	pres	8	125
vъniti	vъnidetъ	pres	9	275
	vьnidetъ	pres	9	275
vъprašati	vъpraša	aor	8	167, 172
	vъprašaaše	impf	8	172, 173
	vъprašaaxǫ	impf	8	170, 171
	vъprašašę	aor	8	171
	vъprašavъše	PastAPI	8	174
vъprositi	vъprosi	aor	8	169
	vъprosišę	aor	8	170
vъskrьsnǫti	vъskrъse	aor	2	22
vъspěti	vъspěvъše	PastAPI	6	72
vъsplakati sę	vъsplačete sę	pres	8	221
	vъsplačǫtъ sę	pres	9	248
vъstati	vъsta	aor	6	54
vъsxyštati	vъsxyštaetъ	pres	8	124
vъvrěšti	vъvrъže	aor	8	153
vъžagati	vъžagajǫtъ	pres	6	48
vъzalъkati sę	vъzalčete sę	pres	8	221
vъzbranjati	vъzbraněaše	impf	8	164
vъzdati	vьzdastъ	aor	6	79
vъzdradovati sę	vъzdradovašę sę	aor	8	225
vъzdrydati	vъzdrydate	pres	8	221
vъzglagolati	vъzg[lago]lete	pres	8	115
	vъzglagolǫ	pres	8	114
vъzglasiti	vъzglasitъ	pres	8	122
vъzglašati	vъzglašajǫtъ	pres	8	123
vъzlešti	vьzlęgǫtъ	pres	9	252
vъzležati	vъzležitъ	pres	9	251
vъzljubiti	vъzljubi	aor	6	78
	vъzljubilъ	PastAPII	6	78
	vьzljubiste	aor	9	250
vъzmǫštati	vъzmǫštaaše	impf	8	154

Infinitive	*Attested form*	*Verb form*	*Chapter*	*Example №*
vъzmošti	vъzmogǫtъ	pres	8	109
vъzvěstiti	vъzvěstišę	aor	6	49
vъzvratiti sę	vъzvrati sę	aor	2	22
vъzyvati	vъzyvaxъ	aor	8	182
vъzyvati	vьzyvaxъ	aor	8	182
vъzьrěti	vъzьritъ	pres	8	121
xoditi	xodixъ	aor	9	282
	xoždaaše	impf	8	163
	xoždaaše	impf	9	281
zaklinati	zaklinašę	aor	8	175
zaplьvati	zapljujǫtъ	pres	9	269
znati	znaxъ	aor	8	226

SAMENVATTING

Slavische talen staan bekend vanwege de oppositie tussen perfectieve en imperfectieve werkwoorden. Dit aspectsysteem vertoont door de verschillende Slavische talen heen grote overeenkomsten en kan zelfs als een en hetzelfde systeem behandeld worden. De afgelopen decennia is echter duidelijk geworden dat er ook grote verschillen bestaan tussen de moderne Slavische talen met betrekking tot het werkwoordsaspect. Hieruit vloeit de vraag voort uit wat voor een historisch systeem die verschillende moderne systemen dan voortkomen.

De taal die ten grondslag ligt aan alle Slavische talen, het Proto-Slavisch, is niet geattesteerd. Het dichtst bij de bron van de Slavische talen komen we door de bestudering van het Oudkerkslavisch, de oudste geattesteerde Slavische taal (tiende en elfde eeuw). De centrale vraag in deze studie is daarom:

Hoe ziet het aspectsysteem in het Oudkerkslavisch eruit?

Om die vraag te kunnen beantwoorden neem ik een aantal stappen. Eerst schets ik in de hoofdstukken 1 t/m 4 de achtergrond van mijn onderzoek. Vervolgens kom ik in de hoofdstukken 5 t/m 10 met mijn eigen analyse. Hoofdstuk 11, ten slotte, bevat de conclusies.

Ik begin met het aangeven van de grenzen van mijn onderzoek in Hoofdstuk 1, waar ik bespreek wat Oudkerkslavisch precies is. Oudkerkslavisch is een Zuid-Slavische taal uit de tiende en elfde eeuw. Van deze taal zijn slechts een bescheiden aantal manuscripten overgeleverd, in totaal beslaan die ongeveer 1825 folia. Ik baseer mijn onderzoek grotendeels op een eigenhandig samengestelde database met daarin de ongeveer 80.000 geattesteerde werkwoordsvormen uit die manuscripten.

In Hoofdstuk 2 behandel ik vervolgens het werkwoordsaspect, met bijzondere aandacht voor het verschil tussen lexicaal en grammaticaal aspect en binnen het grammaticaal aspect het verschil tussen *Slavic-style* aspect en *Romance-style* aspect. Alle drie die vormen van aspect komen voor in het Oudkerkslavisch en voor mijn analyse is het van belang om ze goed te kunnen onderscheiden. Het aspectsysteem waar ik op doel in mijn onderzoeksvraag is het *Slavic-style* aspectsysteem, dus de oppositie tussen perfectieve en imperfectieve werkwoorden.

In Hoofdstuk 3 verfijn ik de centrale onderzoeksvraag op basis van wat ik in de voorgaande twee inleidende hoofdstukken heb besproken. Dit resulteert in een aantal subvragen, zoals hoe je het aspect van een werkwoord kunt

vaststellen, welke werkwoorden er eigenlijk meedoen in het aspectsysteem, wat de functies van het werkwoordsaspect in het Oudkerkslavisch zijn, hoe het zich verhoudt tot aspect in de moderne Slavische talen en hoe het werkwoordsaspect in het Slavisch zich ontwikkeld heeft. Mijn belangrijkste hypothese is dat de morfologie van een werkwoord de beste indicator van zijn aspect is. Van werkwoorden die geen morfologische (uiterlijke) kenmerken van aspect laten zien, zoals prefixen en suffixen, verwacht ik dan ook dat ze geen aspect uitdrukken.

In Hoofdstuk 4 bespreek ik drie belangrijke studies naar het werkwoordsaspect in het Oudkerkslavisch: Dostál (1954), Amse-de Jong (1974) en Eckhoff & Janda (2014). Uit de behandeling blijkt dat er geen consensus bestaat over de vraag hoe het aspectsysteem in het Oudkerkslavisch eruitziet. Ik laat zien dat de verschillende resultaten van die studies te verklaren zijn door de verschillende uitgangspunten en gebruikte methodologieën. Dit is ook direct de opmaat naar mijn eigen analyse waarin ik de verschillende benaderingen combineer.

In de hoofdstukken 5 t/m 10, die mijn analyse van de Oudkerkslavische data bevatten, komen achtereenvolgens aan de orde: mijn morfologische indeling van de Oudkerkslavische werkwoorden, een controle van die indeling door middel van een statistische toets en een tweede controle en verdieping van de algehele analyse door middel van een semantische analyse van individuele voorbeelden. Tenslotte kom ik, op basis van de semantische analyse van een morfologisch afwijkende groep nog tot een bespreking van de mogelijke rol van het imperfectum in het ontstaan van de oppositie perfectief-imperfectief.

Allereerst bespreek ik in Hoofdstuk 5 mijn morfologische indeling van werkwoorden, een indeling gebaseerd op uiterlijke kenmerken van aspect, zoals prefixen en suffixen. Op basis van die kenmerken kom ik tot drie kerngroepen, namelijk perfectief, imperfectief en anaspectueel. Ik onderscheid daarnaast nog aantal andere groepen (denk daarbij bijvoorbeeld aan werkwoorden van beweging). Vooral de anaspectuele groep verdient wat extra uitleg omdat mijn definitie van anaspectuele werkwoorden ook van invloed is op de definitie van imperfectieve werkwoorden. Mijn uitgangspunt is dat werkwoorden zonder enige aspectmorfologie, dus werkwoorden die geen uiterlijke kenmerken van aspect laten zien, anaspectueel zijn. Het gaat om werkwoorden als *jasti* 'eten', *ležati* 'liggen' en *viděti* 'zien' (vlg. modern Russisch: *est', ležat', videt'*). Vaak worden dat soort werkwoorden als imperfectief beschouwd, maar ik veronderstel dat het ontbreken van aspectmorfologie betekent dat deze werkwoorden in het Oudkerkslavisch helemaal geen grammaticaal aspect uitdrukken en dus anaspectueel zijn. Imperfectieve werkwoorden herken je aan het feit dat ze gesuffigeerd zijn; het gaat daarbij om werkwoorden als *javljati sę* 'verschijnen', of *sъnědati* 'opeten, die met het suffix *-ati -aje-* zijn afgeleid van *aviti sę* 'verschijnen' en *sъnęsti*

'opeten' (vgl. modern Russisch *javljat'sja* in relatie tot *javit'sja* en *s"edat'* in relatie tot *s"est'*). Het is goed om te benadrukken dat het onderscheiden van een grote groep anaspectuele werkwoorden vrij uitzonderlijk is binnen de Slavische aspectologie. Er wordt voor oudere taalstadia van het Slavisch hier en daar wel melding gemaakt van een aantal aspectloze werkwoorden, maar de groep die ik anaspectueel noem bestaat niet uit een paar losse werkwoorden; integendeel, het is een goed omschreven grote groep werkwoorden die 30% van alle attestaties beslaat. De volgende hoofdstukken gebruik ik om aan te tonen dat deze werkwoorden ook daadwerkelijk geen aspect uitdrukken.

In Hoofdstuk 6 bespreek ik het paradigma van het Oudkerkslavische werkwoord: de werkwoordsvormen die gezamenlijk het 'grammaticale profiel' van het werkwoord vormen, zoals aoristus, imperfectum, presens, infinitief, etc. De verschillende grammaticale profielen van die groepen vormen het onderwerp van de statistische analyse in Hoofdstuk 7. Bij de bespreking van de verschillende werkwoordsvormen in Hoofdstuk 6, wordt door vergelijking met de indeling uit Hoofdstuk 5 duidelijk dat er verschillen bestaan tussen de perfectieve, imperfectieve en anaspectuele groepen als het gaat om hun grammaticale profiel. Perfectieve werkwoorden komen relatief veel voor in de aoristus en verleden participia, maar juist niet in het imperfectum en tegenwoordige participia, terwijl imperfectieve werkwoorden het omgekeerde laten zien. Anaspectuele werkwoorden komen vrij gelijkmatig in de verschillende vormen voor en laten geen uitgesproken voorkeur voor een bepaalde vorm zien.

Hoofdstuk 7 bevat een correspondentieanalyse van de grammaticale profielen van de in Hoofdstuk 5 morfologisch gedefinieerde groepen werkwoorden. Het was al duidelijk dat perfectieve en imperfectieve werkwoorden verschillende grammaticale profielen hebben, maar deze analyse maakt het mogelijk één factor of dimensie te onderscheiden die verantwoordelijk is voor verreweg het grootste deel van het verschil tussen de perfectieve en imperfectieve groepen. Vervolgens kan ik ook de positie van andere groepen werkwoorden op die dimensie te bepalen.

De perfectieve groepen clusteren samen aan de ene kant en de imperfectieve groepen helemaal aan de andere kant van bovengenoemde dimensie. Ik noem deze dimensie daarom de 'aspectdimensie'. Mijn veronderstelling dat anaspectuele werkwoorden geen aspect uitdrukken, wordt ondersteund door de statistische analyse: op de aspectdimensie neemt de groep anaspectuele werkwoorden een middenpositie in tussen perfectief en imperfectief. Een uitgebreidere analyse, waarin ook andere dan de kerngroepen worden meegenomen, laat vervolgens zien dat er groepen zijn die qua grammaticaal profiel weinig tot niets verschillen van de perfectieve of imperfectieve groepen (bijvoorbeeld geprefigeerde werkwoorden van beweging), terwijl er

ook groepen zijn die zich dichter bij de anaspectuele groep bevinden op de aspectdimensie (zoals ongeprefigeerde gerichte werkwoorden van beweging).

Hoewel de statistische toets de morfologische categorisering ondersteunt, weten we daarmee nog niets over het verschil in het gebruik van de verschillende soorten werkwoorden. Daarom ga ik in de volgende hoofdstukken over tot een semantische analyse van individuele voorbeelden.

In Hoofdstuk 8 bespreek ik de functies van het werkwoordsaspect in het Oudkerkslavisch aan de hand van een semantische analyse van voorbeelden uit de kerngroepen. Ik toon aan dat perfectieve, imperfectieve en anaspectuele werkwoorden niet alleen een verschillend grammaticaal profiel hebben, maar ook een verschillend functioneel profiel. Een van de duidelijkste voorbeelden is het futurum: een Griekse futurumvorm wordt meestal vertaald met een perfectieve presensvorm en vrijwel nooit met een imperfectieve presensvorm. Anaspectuele werkwoorden doen niet mee in deze functieverdeling: ze worden weliswaar minder vaak ingezet als vertaling voor een Grieks futurum dan perfectieve werkwoorden, maar veel vaker dan imperfectieve werkwoorden. Daarmee zijn ze echter niet perfectief. Ze delen andere functies juist weer met de imperfectieve werkwoorden, functies waarin perfectieve werkwoorden nooit voorkomen, zoals het actueel presens. Niet alleen blijken anaspectuele werkwoorden dus in principe compatibel met alle werkwoordsvormen (Hoofdstuk 6 en 7), ze komen ook voor in bijna alle functies, terwijl perfectieve en imperfectieve werkwoorden juist een verdeling van die functies laten zien. Maar wat is dan het gemeenschappelijke kenmerk van anaspectuele werkwoorden wat ervoor zorgt dat ze zich zo anders gedragen dan perfectieve en imperfectieve werkwoorden?

Een nadere analyse van de anaspectuele werkwoorden wijst uit dat ze één belangrijke lexicale overeenkomst hebben: ze zijn niet inherent terminatief. Ze drukken niet automatisch een inherente begrenzing van de handeling uit. Daarmee verschillen ze zowel van perfectieve als imperfectieve werkwoorden, die in mijn analyse per definitie terminatief zijn. Verder hebben anaspectuele werkwoorden geen intrinsieke interactie met de terminus. Ook daarin verschillen ze van zowel perfectieve als imperfectieve werkwoorden. Perfectieve werkwoorden drukken namelijk altijd uit dat de inherente grens bereikt is: er is een verandering van situatie. Imperfectieve werkwoorden zijn net als perfectieve werkwoorden per definitie terminatief, maar verschillen van perfectieve werkwoorden doordat die inherente grens uit de focus wordt gehouden: er is juist geen verandering van situatie. Anaspectuele werkwoorden hebben niet zo'n extra betekenis, wat inhoudt dat als ze voorkomen in een terminatief predicaat, beide interpretaties mogelijk zijn; ze kunnen zowel een verandering van situatie als een gelijkblijvende situatie uitdrukken. Deze flexibiliteit verklaart ook waarom anaspectuele

werkwoorden over het algemeen compatibel zijn met alle werkwoordsvormen.

Hoofdstuk 9 bevat een analyse van de groepen werkwoorden die op basis van hun morfologische kenmerken niet tot de kerngroepen van het aspectsysteem behoren. Een belangrijke conclusie in dit hoofdstuk is dat de oppositie perfectief-imperfectief zich ook buiten de kerngroepen voordoet, iets wat je al kon vermoeden op basis van de correspondentieanalyse in Hoofdstuk 7. Doordat we nu meerdere morfologisch onderscheiden groepen werkwoorden op basis van de analyse van hun grammaticaal profiel en semantische kenmerken tot de perfectieve, imperfectieve of anaspectuele werkwoorden kunnen rekenen, krijgen we een vollediger overzicht over hoe het aspectsysteem in het Oudkerkslavisch eruitziet.

Ten slotte bespreek ik in Hoofdstuk 10 een afwijkende groep werkwoorden die niet meegenomen kon worden in de algemene analyse in de Hoofdstukken 7, 8 en 9. Het betreft werkwoorden met twee presensstammen en slechts één aoristus/infinitiefstam. Op basis van de resultaten van de case study rondom die groep werkwoorden bespreek ik vervolgens de mogelijke rol van het imperfectum in het ontstaan van de oppositie perfectief-imperfectief. Mogelijkerwijs kan het ontstaan van afgeleide imperfectieven (een Slavische innovatie) zowel morfologisch als semantisch worden verbonden aan het imperfectum (eveneens een Slavische innovatie). Daarmee zou dan een stukje van de puzzel rondom het ontstaan van het werkwoordsaspect in het Slavisch op zijn plek kunnen vallen.

Hoofstuk 11 bevat de conclusies. De belangrijkste conclusie van mijn onderzoek is dat het aspectsysteem in het Oudkerkslavisch bestaat uit drie groepen: perfectief, imperfectief en anaspectueel. Het is een volwaardig en uitgebreid aspectsysteem, waarin de oppositie tussen perfectief en imperfectief, net als in de moderne Slavische talen, draait om terminatieve werkwoorden. Met mijn onderzoek heb ik niet alleen aangetoond dat er in het Oudkerkslavisch een grote groep werkwoorden bestaat die geen aspect uitdrukken, maar door die werkwoorden niet langer als imperfectief te beschouwen, heeft ook de groep imperfectieve werkwoorden een veel helderder profiel gekregen. Zo weten we nu bijvoorbeeld dat een imperfectieve aoristus in het Oudkerkslavisch een zeer zeldzaam verschijnsel is, terwijl aoristen van anaspectuele werkwoorden vrij alledaags zijn.

Een andere belangrijke conclusie is dat de combinatie van methodes, morfologische categorisering, statistische analyse en semantische analyse, een goede aanpak blijkt te zijn om het aspect van werkwoorden in het Oudkerkslavisch vast te stellen. De hypothese dat de morfologie van het werkwoord de belangrijkste indicator van het aspect van het werkwoord is, staat overeind. De morfologische categorisering wordt namelijk grotendeels bevestigd door de statistische en semantische analyse. De combinatie van

methodes resulteert verder in een systeem van checks en balances. Door dat systeem kunnen de onduidelijkheden die blijven bestaan na de morfologische categorisering, worden opgevangen door de erop volgende statistische analyse en de semantische analyse van individuele voorbeelden. Dit zorgt voor de noodzakelijke nuancering tussen en binnen groepen, alsmede voor een begrip waarom sommige werkwoordsvormen en functies beter met een bepaald aspect samengaan.

Ten slotte, binnen de typologie van het Slavisch werkwoordsaspect staat het Oudkerkslavisch relatief dicht bij de zogenaamde Westelijke groep (bijvoorbeeld het Tsjechisch) en verder weg bij de Oostelijke groep (zoals Russisch). Het is nog wel onduidelijk in hoeverre het Oudkerkslavisch een vreemde eend in de bijt is waar het gaat om anaspectuele werkwoorden. Er is, voor zover ik weet, geen systematisch onderzoek gedaan naar het voorkomen van een vergelijkbare groep anaspectuele werkwoorden in andere Slavische talen. Gezien de omvang van de groep en de betekenis ervan voor het begrip van het aspectsysteem in het Oudkerkslavisch, zou het interessant zijn om hier ook in moderne Slavische onderzoek naar te doen.

SUMMARY

Slavic languages are well known for their aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs. This aspect system shows great similarities among the various modern Slavic languages and can even be treated as a single system. However, in recent decades it has become clear that there are also large differences between the modern Slavic languages with regard to the verbal aspect system. This raises questions as to the kind of system from which the modern Slavic verbal aspect systems originate.

The language from which all Slavic languages descend, Proto-Slavic, is not attested. The closest we can get to the source of the Slavic languages is by studying Old Church Slavonic, the oldest attested Slavic language. The main research question is therefore:

What does the verbal aspect system in Old Church Slavonic look like?

My study is built up in two main parts: the first four chapters contain background information and treat earlier studies of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic, while the following six chapters contain my own analysis. Chapter 11, finally, contains the conclusions.

I start out by indicating the limitations of my research in Chapter 1, in which I discuss Old Church Slavonic. Old Church Slavonic is a South Slavic language from the tenth and eleventh centuries. From this language we have only a modest number of extant manuscripts, totalling around 1825 folios. I have based my research for a large part on a database that I compiled, containing the approximately 80.000 verb forms attested in those manuscripts.

In Chapter 2, I discuss verbal aspect, with special attention to the difference between lexical and grammatical aspect, and within grammatical aspect to the difference between *Slavic-style* aspect and *Romance-style* aspect. All three forms of aspect are present in Old Church Slavonic and for my analysis it is imperative to differentiate between the three. The aspect system to which I refer in my research question is the *Slavic-style* grammatical aspect, hence the opposition between perfective and imperfective verbs.

In Chapter 3, I specify the main research question, based on the discussion in the first two introductory chapters. This results in a number of more specific questions, such as how the aspect of a verb can be determined, what the functions of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic are, how it compares to aspect in the modern Slavic languages and how verbal aspect developed in Slavic. My main hypothesis is that the aspectual morphology of the verb,

hence 'outer characteristics' such as prefixed and suffixes, is the best indicator of its aspect. As a consequence of that, I expect verbs that have no aspectual morphology to not express aspect at all.

In Chapter 4, I discuss three important studies of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic: Dostál (1954), Amse-de Jong (1974) and Eckhoff & Janda (2014). I demonstrate that there is no consensus regarding the question what the verbal aspect system in Old Church Slavonic looks like and I argue that this is because of the differing starting points for the analysis and the different methodologies the various authors use. With that analysis I make the transition from describing the background of my research towards my own analysis.

In the next 6 chapters, which contain my analysis of the Old Church Slavonic data, the following is treated: my morphological categorization of Old Church Slavonic verbs, a check of the categorization by means of a statistical test and a second check and deepening of the overall analysis by means of a semantic analysis of individual examples. Based on the treatment of a morphologically deviating group of verbs, I also discuss the possible role of the imperfect in the development of the perfective-imperfective opposition.

First, in Chapter 5, I discuss my morphological categorization of verbs, which means: a categorization based on the outer characteristics of aspect, like prefixation or suffixation. On the basis of these characteristics, I come up with a categorization into three core groups, namely perfective, imperfective and anaspectual. I also distinguish a number of other groups based on their morphology (like verbs of motion). The anaspectual group deserves some extra explanation, because my definition of anaspectual verbs also has consequences for the definition of imperfective verbs. My premise is that verbs without any aspectual morphology, hence verbs that do not show outer characteristics of aspect, are anaspectual. It concerns verbs like *jasti* 'eat', *ležati* 'lie' en *viděti* 'see' (cf. Modern Russian: *est', ležat', videt'*). These verbs, that I categorize as anaspectual, are often regarded as imperfective, but I assume that they do not express grammatical aspect at all in Old Church Slavonic and are thus anaspectual. Imperfective verbs can be recognized by their suffix; it concerns verbs like *javljati sę* 'appear', or *sъnědati* 'eat up', 'which are derived from the perfective verbs *aviti sę* 'appear' en *sъněsti* 'eat up' by means of the suffix *-ati -aje-* (cf. Modern Russian *javljat'sja*, in relation to *javit'sja* and *s"edat'*, in relation to *s"est'*). It is good to emphasize that it is rather rare in Slavic aspectology to define such a large group of verbs as anaspectual. Verbs without aspect are recognized from time to time for older stages of Slavic. However, the group that I regard as anaspectual does not consist of a number of isolated verbs; it is rather a well-defined large group of verbs that makes up 30% of all verb attestations in Old Church Slavonic. In the following chapters I show that these verbs indeed do not express aspect.

In Chapter 6, I treat the paradigm of the Old Church Slavonic verb: the verb forms that together form the grammatical profile of the verb, like the aorist, imperfect, present, infinitive etc. The grammatical profiles of the morphologically defined groups form the input for the statistical analysis in Chapter 7. From the discussion of the various verb forms in Chapter 6, it becomes clear that there are differences between the groups with regard to their grammatical profile. Perfective verbs occur relatively often in the aorist and past participles, but not in the imperfect and present participles, while imperfective verbs show an opposite compatibility. Anaspectual verbs occur relatively evenly in the various forms and do not show preference for one form or another.

Chapter 7 contains a correspondence analysis of the grammatical profiles of the groups of verbs that were morphologically defined in Chapter 5. It was already clear that perfective and imperfective verbs have different profiles, but this analysis allows me to distinguish the factor, or dimension, that is responsible for the largest part of the differences found between the perfective and imperfective groups. Subsequently, I can establish the position on this dimension of the other groups that I distinguish.

The perfective groups cluster on one side of the dimension mentioned above and the imperfective verbs on the other side. Because perfective and imperfective verbs are on the opposite sides of the dimension, it is justified to refer to it as the 'aspect dimension'. My assumption that anaspectual verbs do not express aspect at all, is supported by the correspondence analysis: on the aspect dimension, the group of anaspectual verbs occupies an intermediate position, in between the perfective and imperfective groups. A more comprehensive analysis, including the other groups, shows that there are groups that are very similar to the perfective or imperfective groups with regard to their grammatical profile (e.g. prefixed verbs of motion), while other groups are closer to the anaspectual verbs on the aspect dimension (e.g. unprefixed determinate verbs of motion).

Even though the statistical analysis supports the categorization, it does not reveal anything about the reason why the profiles differ, or whether these differences are reflected in actual usage. That is why in the following chapters I concentrate on a semantic analysis of individual examples.

In Chapter 8 I discuss the functions of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic, based on a semantic analysis of examples from the core groups. I demonstrate that perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs not only have different grammatical profiles, but also different functional profiles. One of the clearest examples is the future: a Greek future form is generally translated by a perfective present and almost never by an imperfective present. Anaspectual verbs do not participate in this division of functions: they occur less frequently as a translation of a Greek future compared to perfective verbs, but

much more often than imperfective verbs. This does not make them perfective, though. They share other functions with imperfective verbs, functions in which perfective verbs do not occur, like the actual present. Anaspectual verbs thus turn out to not only be compatible with all verb forms in principle, they also occur in almost all functions, while perfective and imperfective verbs show a division of functions. But what is the shared characteristic of anaspectual verbs that is responsible for all these differences with regard to perfective and imperfective verbs?

A closer analysis of the anaspectual verbs shows that they share one important lexical characteristic: they are not inherently terminative. In other words: they do not automatically express an inherent boundary to an event. This sets them apart from perfective and imperfective verbs, which in my analysis are terminative by definition. Moreover, anaspectual verbs have no intrinsic interaction with the terminus, unlike perfective and imperfective verbs. This, again, sets them apart from both perfective and imperfective verbs. Perfective verbs always express the attainment of an inherent boundary, a change of situation. Imperfective verbs, which in my analysis are terminative just as the perfective verbs, are used to defocus the inherent boundary and explicitly express that there is no change of situation. Anaspectual verbs do not carry this additional load. This means that when they occur in a terminative predicate, both interpretations are possible: they can express both a change in situation, but also an unchanging situation. This flexibility can also explain the general compatibility of anaspectual verbs with all verb forms.

Chapter 9 contains a semantic analysis of examples from the groups of verbs that, based on their morphological make-up, are not part of the core groups in the aspect system. An important conclusion in this chapter is that the perfective-imperfective opposition also occurs outside the core groups, something that the correspondence analysis in Chapter 7 already indicated. Thus, we can now include more groups of verbs into the categories perfective, imperfective and anaspectual, based on their grammatical profile and semantic characteristics, resulting in a more comprehensive overview of the aspect system in Old Church Slavonic.

Finally, in Chapter 10, I treat a deviating group of verbs that could not be included in the general analysis in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. It concerns verbs with two present tense stems and only one aorist/infinitive stem. On the basis of the results of a case study concerning this group of verbs, I also discuss the possible role of the imperfect in the development of the perfective-imperfective opposition. The development of secondary imperfectives (a Slavic innovation) can possibly be connected, both morphologically and semantically, to the imperfect (which is a Slavic innovation as well). This

would solve one piece of the puzzle surrounding the development of verbal aspect in Slavic.

Chapter 11 contains the conclusions. The main conclusion is that the aspect system in Old Church Slavonic consists of three groups: perfective, imperfective and anaspectual. It is a fully fledged and elaborate verbal aspect system in which the opposition between perfective and imperfective revolves around terminative verbs, just as in modern Slavic languages. With my analysis I have not only demonstrated that there is a large group of verbs in Old Church Slavonic that do not express aspect, but, because I do not regard these verbs as imperfective, the profile of imperfective verb becomes very clear as well. For example, we now know that the imperfective aorist in Old Church Slavonic is really a very rare form, while aorists of anaspectual verbs are rather common.

Another important conclusion is that the combination of methods, viz. morphological categorization, statistical analysis and semantic analysis, turns out to be a good approach to determining the aspect of verbs in Old Church Slavonic. My hypothesis that the morphology of the verb is the best indicator of its aspect is proven true, as the morphological categorization is, for the largest part, supported by the statistical and semantic analysis. Furthermore, the combination of methods ensures a system of checks and balances, in which a number of uncertainties that remain after the morphological analysis are solved by the subsequent statistical analysis and the semantic analysis of individual examples. This results in a refinement of the categorization between and within groups, as well as in a better understanding of why some verb forms and functions are more compatible with a certain aspect.

Finally, within the typology of Slavic verbal aspect, Old Church Slavonic is relatively closer to the Western group (e.g. Czech) than to the Eastern group (e.g. Russian). It is, however, still unclear how rare the situation with the anaspectual verbs in Old Church Slavonic is. As far as I know, there is no study that treats the possible existence of a similar group of anaspectual verbs in other Slavic languages. Given the size of the group and the meaning of the existence of this group for the understanding of verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic, it would be interesting to study this in modern Slavic languages as well.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jaap Kamphuis (Vlissingen, 4 May 1977) finished his pre-university education at the Greijdanus Scholengemeenschap (Zwolle) in 1995. In 2002 he enrolled in the BA programme Slavic Languages and Cultures at the University of Amsterdam, from which he graduated (cum laude) in 2006. He received his MA degree (cum laude) from the same university in 2008. After his graduation he worked as project manager for a translation agency for two years. In September 2010, Jaap started working on the research project *Verbal Aspect in Old Church Slavonic* at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), of which this dissertation is the result. Parallel to the project he has been working as an editor of the Croatian-Dutch dictionary at the University of Amsterdam and he was the first Information Officer at the LUCL. After finishing his PhD project, Jaap worked for one semester as lecturer for the Russian and Eurasian department at Leiden University. Since May 2016, he is the Programme Manager of the BA International Studies at Leiden University.