Verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic

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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

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[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:
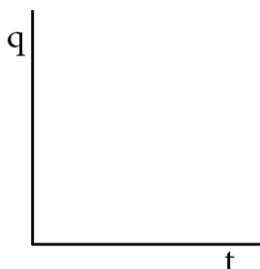

Figure 2.1   Basic representation of lexical aspect

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 poiẽsai* '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]
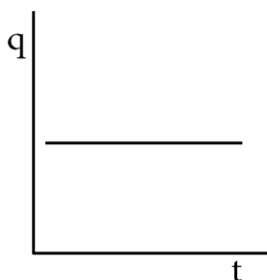

Figure 2.2   State

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

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[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):
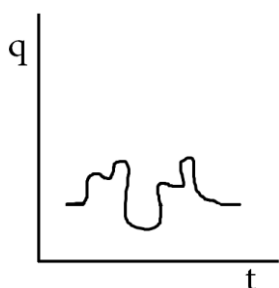

Figure 2.3   Activity

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

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[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:
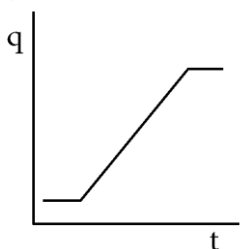

Figure 2.4   Accomplishment

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

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[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:
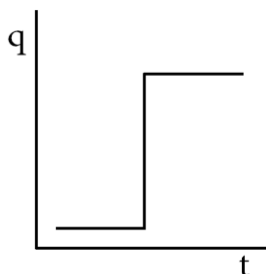

Figure 2.5   Achievement

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*$^{\text{Pf}}$ '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

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[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

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[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*[impf] *sę* ioana . vědy mǫža pravьdъna 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*[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:

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[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

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[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.

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[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 ***piša***[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

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[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 a terminative *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.

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[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

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[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 *čital*^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

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[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):

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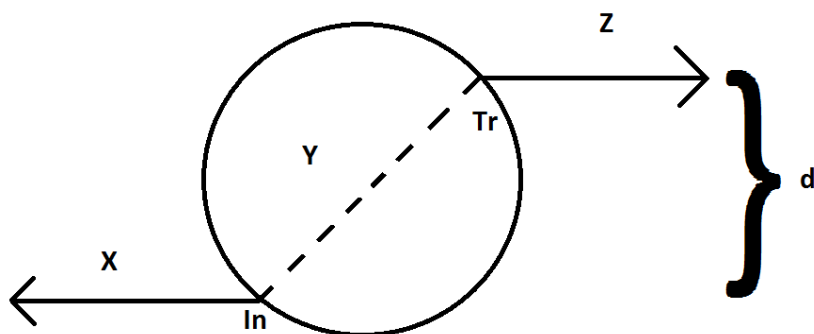
Figure 2.6   *Barentsen's   schematic   representation   of   a   perfective*
accomplishment[33]

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

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[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:

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[36] I mean 'indefinite' as opposed to 'definite' as in bounded repetition (e.g. five times, a number of times).
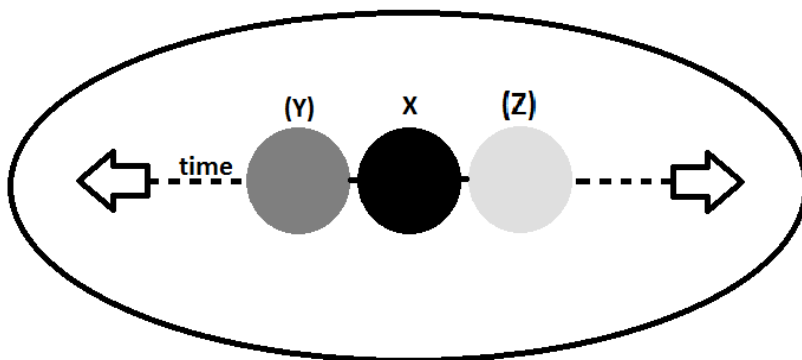
Figure 2.7   Dickey's schematic representation of the eastern perfective[37]

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:

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[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

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[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

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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.

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[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:

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[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', *poveleti - 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]
        cěsarъstvova^{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.

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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.