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Verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic

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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:

<i>Aorist/infinitive stem</i>	<i>Present stem</i>
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 stem²*

¹ The verb *byti* 'be' has an extra set of present forms (*bqđq*, *bqdešī*) which I refer to as 'future' to separate it from the other present tense forms (*esmb*, *esī*). It also has a 'future' participle (e.g. *bqđqšta*) 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 *-ot̃/-et̃*. The 3pl of *slyšati* is *slyšet̃*, which makes the present stem *slyš-*.³ This gives the following picture for the verb *slyšati*:

<i>Aorist/infinitive stem</i>	<i>slyša-</i>	<i>Present stem</i>	<i>slyš-</i>
Inf	<i>slyšati</i>	Pres	<i>slyšq</i>
Sup	<i>slyšat̃</i>	Impr	<i>slyši</i>
Impf	<i>slyšaax̃</i>	PresAP	<i>slyšę</i>
Aor	<i>slyšax̃</i>	PresPP	<i>slyšim̃</i>
PastAPI	<i>slyšaṽ</i>		
PastAPII	<i>slyšal̃</i>		
PastPP	<i>slyšañ</i>		

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 *-nq-* (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).

<i>Verb form</i>	<i>Attestations</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
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%
<i>Future⁵</i>	1,125	1.41%
<i>Future participle</i>	21	0.03%
<i>Conditional</i>	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 rabota^{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):

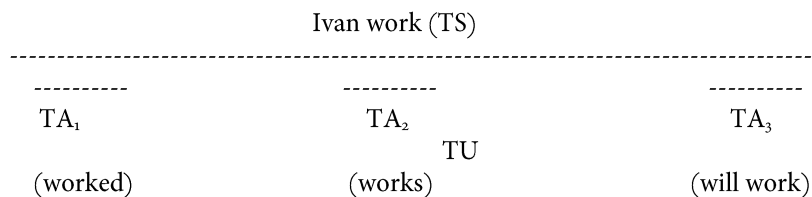


Figure 6.1 Schematic representation of time relations for tense

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 TA₁, *works* TA₂ and *will work* TA₃), 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	TA ₃
	TU	
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.

<i>Pf</i> <i>prefixed</i> (<i>ostavitī</i>)	<i>Ip</i> <i>f</i> <i>prefixed</i> (<i>ostavljati</i>)	<i>Pf</i> <i>unprefixed</i> (<i>aviti se</i>)	<i>Ip</i> <i>f</i> <i>unprefixed</i> (<i>avljati se</i>)	<i>Anaspectual</i> (<i>viděti</i>)
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 atterminative event going on at the moment of speech:

- (39) i gl[agol]aste ei ona . ženo čto **pláčest^{pres}** sę [M, A]
and they said to her, “Woman, why *are* you *weeping*?” (John 20:13)
- (40) gl[agol]a imъ . otiděte . ne umrěť bo děvica nъ **sъpito^{pres}** . i rōgaxō 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) otrěšajōstema že ima žrěba . rěšę g[ospo]dъ ego kъ nima . čto
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 čto večerějō . i prěpoěsavъ sę služi mi . donъdeže ěmъ i pъjō
 . i potom *ěsi*^{pres} i *pvešř*^{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 . *soněsto*^{pres} xľěbъ 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 **poznaeto**^{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 **vražagajoto**^{pres} světilьnika . i **postavljeto**^{pres} ego podъ spqdomъ* [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 (<i>ostaviti</i>)	Ipf prefixed (<i>ostavljati</i>)	Pf unprefixed (<i>aviti se</i>)	Ipf unprefixed (<i>avljati se</i>)	Anaspectual (<i>viděti</i>)
35.40%	1.18%	31.21%	0.16%	21.71%

Table 6.5 Relative frequency of aorist in core groups

Pf prefixed (<i>ostaviti</i>)	Ipf prefixed (<i>ostavljati</i>)	Pf unprefixed (<i>aviti se</i>)	Ipf unprefixed (<i>avljati se</i>)	Anaspectual (<i>viděti</i>)
0.15%	16.71%	0.20%	16.97%	8.75%

Table 6.6 Relative frequency of imperfect in core groups¹⁰

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 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 where the difference is visible (e.g. *vōprošiti* - *vōprašati* ‘ask’) imperfects are very rarely attested from the perfective partner (there is no **vōprošaaše* attested, only *vōprašaaše*). 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 *sъбѡраше*^{aor} *se* apo[sto]li kъ is[us]u . i *vъzvъstiše*^{aor} emu vsě . eliko *sъtvoriše*^{aor} . i eliko *naučiše*^{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 *sъbъraše se* of the verb *sъbъrati se* ‘gather’ and *vъzvъstiše* of *vъzvъstiti* ‘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, *sъtvoriše* and *naučiše* 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 *vъzvъstiše* ‘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) емѣе же дѣлатели рабы ego ovogo *biše*^{aor} ovogo же *ubiše*^{aor} . ovogo же kameniemъ *pobiše*^{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 *biŝe* ‘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 vъ slědѣ ego mъnogъ narodъ ljudii . mōži i ženŷ . ježe i *bvěaxo*^{impf} sę i *plakaaxo*^{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 . *ležaše*^{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 *prikosno*^{aor} sę rōčę eję . i *ostavi*^{aor} ję ognъ . i *vosta*^{aor} i *služaše*^{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 *plakaaxo sę* in (52) ‘they were lamenting’ results in a progressive reading, one and the same event stretched out over a period of time, while *bvěaxo 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

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

- (55) мѣножіше же народи . *postblašę*^{aor} rize svoję po pŕti . družii že *řezaxŕ*^{impf} větvi otъ dřeva . i *postilaxŕ*^{impf} po pŕti [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 *postblašę* 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 *řezaxŕ*, the imperfect of the anaspectual *řezati* ‘cut’.

The time-relational model is not able to capture the interesting fact that all (terminative) micro-events referred to by *postilaxŕ* 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 ἑσπρῶσαν ‘they spread’ with an imperfective past tense *postilali*^{impf}, emphasizing the repetition and presents it as unbounded. The following imperfect ἑσπρῶντων ‘they were spreading’ is translated with the verb *postilali*^{impf} 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.

<i>Pf prefixed (ostaviti)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavljati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti se)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avljati se)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
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 se* and that of *bojati se* in the following examples.

- (56) egda že uslyšite brani i nestroenъ . **ne uboite**^{impr} se[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 se* ‘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 se* ‘fear’. According to MacRobert (2013: 281-282) the difference in meaning is, that in cases where *ubojati se* 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 se* is used, the cause of fear is already present:

- (57) vsi bo viděvъše i . i vъzmětošę sę . onъ že abъe gl[agol]a sъ nimi . i reče imъ . drъzajte^{impr} azъ esmъ **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 ženę tvoeę mariję¹⁷ [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 pomětajte**^{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 ($\mu\eta\ \delta\omega\tau\epsilon$ and $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$). 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 *ženę tvoeę mariję* caused by the negation in the main clause.

¹⁸ The verb *pomětati*, *pomětajo* ‘throw’ is derived from *pometati*, *pomešto*, which also has a derived partner in *pometati*, *pometajo*, 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*^{impr} i dastъ sę vamъ [Z, M]¹⁹
give, 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*^{impr} ženę lotovę [Z, M]
remember 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 (μή κληθήτε):

- (62) vy že ne *naricaite*^{impr} sę ravъi [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 *ubvešt*^{pres} . ne prěljubi *sōtvorišt*^{pres} ne
ukradešt^{pres} [M, A]
is[usъ] že reče emu . ne *ubivaj*^{impr} ne prěljubi *stvorit*^{impr} . ne *kradi*^{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 *sōtvoriti*, 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 *stvorit* is from the prefixed perfective verb *sōtvoriti* ‘do’ and *kradi* from anaspectual *krasti* ‘steal’. There are similar texts where OCS translates a Greek subjunctive aorists (after the negation μή):

¹⁹ The perfective imperative would have been *dadite* (from *dati*, *damъ*). The imperative *daite* is from the derived verb *dajati*, *daję*.

- (64) zapovědi věsi . ne *ubiti*^{impr} . ne přeljubi *sotvori*^{impr} . ne *ukradi*^{impr} [Z, M, A]
 zapovědi věsi . ne *ubiti*^{impr} . ne přeljubi *stvoriti*^{impr} . ne *kraditi*^{impr} [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.

<i>Pf prefixed</i> (<i>ostavitī</i>)	<i>Ipf prefixed</i> (<i>ostavljati</i>)	<i>Pf unprefixed</i> (<i>aviti se</i>)	<i>Ipf unprefixed</i> (<i>avljati se</i>)	<i>Anaspectual</i> (<i>viděti</i>)
0.38%	28.05%	2.46%	27.08%	21.22%

Table 6.8 Relative frequency of the PresAP in the core groups

<i>Pf prefixed (ostavitī)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavlјati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti sę)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avlјati sę)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
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*^{impf} že eteri otъ knižbnikъ tu . *sěděšte*^{PresAP} . i *pomyšlějošte*^{PresAP}
 въ сгдѣсѣхъ своѣхъ [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 *sěděti* ‘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 *stoještiixǫ*^{PresAP} . slyšavъše gl[agola]axǫ . viždъ . 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 pristavnikъ . i tъ oklevetanъ
 bystъ kъ nemu . ěko *растаčaje*^{PresAP} iměнь 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) *sěděšte* and in (68) *jadōšte* from *jasti* ‘eat’ and *pъjōšte* from *piti* ‘drink’:

- (68) вѣ томъѣ domu прѣbyvaite . *ědōšte*^{PresAP} i *pъjōšte*^{PresAP} . ѣѣ sqтъ u
nъxъ [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 рлѣтъ i *pijēi*^{PresAP} mojo крѣвъ . вѣ мнѣ прѣbyvaatъ i азъ
въ немъ [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 крѣвъ моѣ . novago zavѣta . *prolivaemae*^{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.

<i>Pf prefixed (ostaviti)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavljati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti se)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avljati se)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
15.22%	0.46%	11.33%	0.16%	4.57%

Table 6.10 Relative frequency of the PastAPI in the core groups

<i>Pf prefixed (ostaviti)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavljati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti se)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avljati se)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
7.47%	0.43%	6.66%	0%	1.02%

Table 6.11 Relative frequency of the PastPP in the core groups

<i>Pf prefixed (ostaviti)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavljati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti se)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avljati se)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
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) *emōše*^{PastAPI} že dělatele raby ego ovogo bišē^{aor} ovogo že ubišē^{aor} . ovogo že kameniēmъ pobišē^{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 *jěti* ‘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) *vr̃spěvr̃še*^{PastAPI} izidq^{aor} vr̃ gorq eleoñskqj̃q [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 ot̃rpustiti^{inf} ixb̃ ne xoštq^{pres} ne *ěd̃ošb̃*^{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) b̃ě že *ěd̃ošiixb̃*^{PastAPI} . ěko četyri tysq̃šta . i ot̃rpusti j̃ę [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 *poslati* ‘send’:

- (75) byst̃ č[lově]kb̃ . *poslanb̃*^{PastPP} ot̃ b[og]a . im̃ę emu ioañb̃ [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 sqtъ *sěani*^{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 I-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 *jěti* ‘take’:²⁰

- (77) ašte bo *biste*^{cond} *věřo imali*^{PastAPII} mosěovi . *věřo biste*^{cond} *jěti*^{PastAPII} i
mъně [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*, *esmъ* ‘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 *verō biste imēli* ‘you would have believed me’, with a PastAPII of the anaspectual verb *imēti* ‘have’.

<i>Person/number</i>	<i>Aorist</i>	<i>Perfect</i>
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 osnovaŭ estŭ* 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 vesъ mīrъ . ěko ty mę posyla . i **vōzljubilō**^{PastAPII} ję **esī**^{pres}
 . ěkože i mę **vōzljubi**^{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 bezakoněmъ našīmъ . **sōtvorilō**^{PastAPII} **estō**^{pres} namъ . ni po
 grěxomъ našīmъ **vōzdastō**^{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 **esmu**^{pres} kogo čimъ **obidělo**^{PastAPII} . vъzvraštō četvoricejō [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 **dalo**^{PastAPII} **esi**^{pres} mъně daхъ imъ [M, A, Sk]
ěko gl[ago]ly jęže **dasto**^{aor} mъně daхъ 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 *složiti se* ‘agree’:

- (82) sice rěste roditelě ego . ěko boěašete sę ijudei . juže bo **sę bęaxō**^{impf} **složili**^{PastAPII} ijudei . da ašte kъto isprověstъ x[rist(os)]a . otъlōčъnъ sъnъmišta bōdetъ [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 anđ[e]la vъ bělaхъ sěděšta . 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.

<i>Pf prefixed (ostaviti)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavljaŭi)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti se)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avljaŭi se)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
7.58%	7.83%	9.35%	6.53%	5.87%

Table 6.14 Relative frequency of the Infinitive in the core groups

<i>Pf prefixed (ostavitī)</i>	<i>Ipf prefixed (ostavlĭati)</i>	<i>Pf unprefixed (aviti sę)</i>	<i>Ipf unprefixed (avlĭati sę)</i>	<i>Anaspectual (viděti)</i>
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) вѣ оно в[рѣме] вѣзведенѣ^{Pastpp} бѣ^{aor} іс[усъ] д[у]х[о]мъ вѣ
 пустынію . **іскуситѣ^{sup} сę** от дієвола [A, Sk]
 тогда іс[усъ] вѣзведенѣ^{Pastpp} бѣ^{aor} іс[усъ] д[у]х[о]мъ вѣ пустынію . **іскуситѣ^{inf}**
сę отъ неприѣзни [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', *trěbovati* 'need', *xotěti* 'want' or phase verbs like *vъčeti* 'begin' and *načeti* '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 **nebrěštĭ^{inf} vъčneto^{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 *načĕneto* 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) *izdivъšju že emu vъsě bystъ gladъ krěpъkъ na straně toi . i tъ načęto*^{aor}
lišiti^{inf} *sę* [Z, M]
izdivъšju že emu vse bystъ gladъ krěpъkъ na straně toi . i tъ načęto^{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 *ὀμῶσαι*):

- (88) азъ же gl[ago]ljъ вамъ . ne *klęti*^{inf} *sę* вамъ . ne *klęti*^{inf} *sę* отънѣдъ .
 neбомъ . ěko pręstolъ estъ b[o]žii [Z]

²⁸ I have only found participles as complement in phase verbs like *pręstati* ‘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) нѣ увѣсте ѣко vlastъ imatъ s[y]нѣ č[lověčъ]sky na zemi . **otopuštati**^{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 . ѣко **pokryvatī**^{inf} sę korablju vъnami [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 zъla **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) ѣко bez mene ne možetъ **tvoriti**^{inf} ničesože [Z, M]
ѣко 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 povelī mi prěžde iti . i **pogreti**^{inf} o[tъ]ca moego [Z, M, A, Sk]
Lord, permit me first to go and *bury* my father (Matthew 8:21)
- (94) my zakonъ imatъ . i po zakonu našemu dlъžьnъ estъ **umbrěti**^{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 it impossible to draw firm 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.

