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# Verbal aspect in Old Church Slavonic

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## *9 SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF NON-CORE GROUPS*

### *9.0 Introduction*

The correspondence analysis in the Chapter 7 showed that many of the groups that I do not regard as core groups in the verbal aspect system in OCS, are very close to these core groups on the aspect dimension. In the present chapter I will examine these groups more closely by means of a semantic analysis of individual examples. Space limitations prohibit an in-depth discussion of these the groups like the discussion of the core groups in Chapter 8, but I will try to provide a picture that is representative of the peculiarities of the group. The behaviour of these non-core groups can also provide insight into the stage of development of the aspect system in OCS, as I will show. For every group I will provide a bar chart with its profile, and discuss a number of examples to get an idea as to why the group holds a particular position in the scatter plot.

### *9.1 Prefixed verbs without suffixed partner*

The group of prefixed verbs (e.g. *ubojati sę*) without a derived partner is the largest groups of all additional groups, with a total of 7097 attestations, divided over 899 verbs.[1] The profile is the closest to the perfective groups, with a clear preference for aorist and past participles:

[1] These numbers show that, on average, the verbs in this group have a much lower number of attestations per verb than the perfective prefixed verbs, which contain 377 with a total of 15,803 attestations.

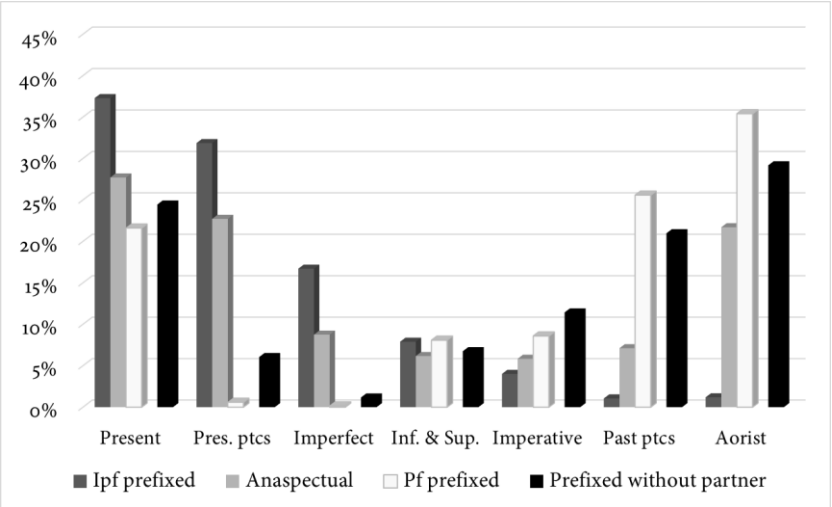


*Figure 9.1 Profile comparison prefixed without partner*[2]

Even though the profile is similar to that of the prefixed perfective group and the group clearly clusters with the perfective groups in the scatter plot, there is a significant difference with a small to medium effect size between the core perfective groups (*ostaviti* and *aviti sę*) and this group on the aspectual dimension (cf. Figure 7.7).[3] When I took a closer look at this group, I realized that it must consist of the following three subgroups, which can explain this difference:

1. Terminative verbs that probably did not have a derived partner (*ubojati sę* 'become afraid', *vъsplakati* 'start crying, mourn', *vъzalьkati* 'become hungry')
2. Terminative verbs of which probably by chance no derived partner is attested (*sъbiti* 'beat up', *probosti* 'pierce', *prozъvati* 'call, name', *pogrěšiti* 'wander')
3. Aterminative verbs (*vъzležati* 'lie (at the table)', *nenaviděti* 'hate', *odrъžati* 'contain, surround', *prěstojati* 'stand before', *nadějati* 'hope', *poslušati* 'listen')

The first group of verbs contain prefixed verbs that in certain contexts compete with the anaspectual simplex. I have discussed this 'competition' in

[2] In this, and the following bar charts, I will place the group that is compared to the main groups on the right side, with an empty space between the three groups and the group(s) to be compared. The order of the main groups is in every bar chart identical: Ipf prefixed, Anaspectual, Pf prefixed.

[3] $\chi 2\ (6) = 920.792,\ p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.187.

Chapter 8, section 8.3.3. This group contains so-called Aktionsart verbs, verbs that emphasize a particular phase of an event. This concern ingressive verbs like *ubojati sę* and *vъsplakati*, but also verbs that refer to the performance of an event up until the end *dožьdati* 'wait for, persist', *dokonьčati* 'end', *dosęšti* 'get, obtain' or *domysliti* 'understand, get'. However, not all Aktionsart verbs are part of this group. For example the verb *vъspustiti* 'start singing' has a derived partner *vъspuštati* and *vъskuriti sę* 'start smoking' has a derived partner *vъskurjati* 'make smoking'.[4] In any case, is difficult to find clear lexical criteria to differentiate between the first group of which probably no partner is derived and the second group, of which by chance no derived partner is attested. Many verbs in this group are not attested very frequently and given the fact that derived verbs are much less frequently attested than their base verbs (a ratio of about 5:1 in the core aspect groups), it makes sense that in many cases a derived verb may have existed, but simply is not attested in OCS. One way of checking this, is through a comparison with Old Russian (OR), which has a larger corpus of texts. In OR there are, for example, no derived verbs to *ubojati sę, vъzalъkati*, and *vъsplakati*, but there are derived partners of *sъbiti* (*sъbivati*) and *probosti* (*probadati*), *prozъvati* (*prozyvati*) and *pogrěšiti* (*pogrěšati*).[5] This method is also not watertight, but, fortunately, discerning between these two groups does not change the results of the analysis: both groups contain terminative verbs that have typical perfective grammatical profiles with a strong affinity with aorist and past participles and relative incompatibility with imperfect and present participles. Given the fact that the prefix is in many instances attached to an aterminative simplex (e.g. *bojati sę*), it must be the prefix that is responsible for the terminativity of these verbs. Furthermore, these terminative verbs have undergone the same semantic development as the perfective verbs: the inherent boundary is presented as being attained. This functional similarity with the perfective verbs can be seen in the use of the present tense, among other things: the present tense of the verbs in both groups is used to translate Greek future

[4] I should note that all four verbs only occur once in the OCS corpus, which makes it difficult to establish their lexical content. The *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova1994) gives the meaning 'start singing' for both *vъspustiti* and *vъspuštati*. A similar example of an Aktionsart verb with a derived partner is *vъspěti* 'start singing' with derived partner *vъspěvati*. However, *vъspěti* can also be used in the meaning 'sing completely' (cf. example 72) and it seems probable that the derived partner is based on this meaning. This can also be inferred from the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* which ascribes the meaning 'sing' to *vъspěvati*. However, the occurrence of these three derived verbs, *vъspuštati*, *vъspěvati* and *vъskurjati* is enough reason to not equate this group unquestioningly with Aktionsart verbs. Note that in Modern Bulgarian and Macedonian derived imperfectives of Aktionsart verbs are rather normal, e.g. Bg *zepeva*$^{pf}$ 'start singing' and *zapjavam*$^{ipf}$ 'start singing'.

[5] I used Sreznevksij's (1893-1906) *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam* to check the OR attestations.

forms or Greek subjunctive aorists. Below, two examples of translation of Greek future forms are given (*κόψονται* 'they will mourn' and *ὀνομάσω* 'I will call'):

(248) i tъgda ***vъsplačǫtъ***[pres] ***sę*** vъsě koléna zemlъskaě [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and then all the tribes of the earth *will mourn* (Matthew 24:30)

(249) kako i ubo ***prozъvǫ***[pres] [*S*]
as I *will call* it now (509, 2, my translation)

When the prefixed verbs are compared to the simplicia they are based on, the difference in terminativity clearly emerges:

(250) samъ bo o[tь]cь ***ljubitъ***[pres] vy . ěko vy mene ***vъzljubiste***[aor] [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
for the Father Himself *loves* you, because you *have loved* Me (John 16:27)

In this utterance, the first verb form, the present tense *ljubitъ* 'he loves' refers to a state of loving, while the second verb from, the aorist *vъzljubiste* 'you came to love' refers to the change of state of coming to love someone. To these examples many could be added, but they would not change the main point: terminative prefixed verbs without a partner normally have a profile that is similar to that of the verbs in the perfective groups and show similar behaviour.

The third group, however, has clearly different profiles, sometimes indiscernible from a typical imperfective profile, with no aorists and past participles (e.g. *vъzležati* 'lie at the table'), also comparable to profiles of anaspectual verbs (e.g. *ležati* 'lie', *podobati* 'behove', *alъkati* 'be hungry', cf. section 8.3.1). The present tense of prefixed *vъzležati* in the following example, is used to refer to a state, an event without an inherent boundary:

(251) i se žena vъ gradě . ěže bě grěšьnica . i uvěděvъši ěko ***vъzležitъ***[pres] vъ xramině farisěově . prinesъši alavastrъ m'üra […] načętъ močiti nozě ego [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
and there was a woman in the city who was a sinner; and when she learned that He *was reclining* at the table in the Pharisee's house, she brought an alabaster vial of perfume […] and began to wet his feet (Luke 7:37-38)

The verb *vъzležati* is never used in OCS to refer to the moment that someone takes up the lying position at a table, which would be a terminative event. The verb *vъzlešti* 'lie down at the table', is used in such contexts instead:

(252) mnodzi otъ vъstokъ i zapadъ pridǫtъ i ***vъzlęgǫtъ***[pres] sъ avraamomъ i isakomъ . i iěkovomь . vъ c[ěsa]rstvii neb[e]scěemь [*M, A, Sk*]
many will come from east and west, and *recline* at the table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matthew 8:11)

Other verbs in this group of not inherently terminative verbs have a profile that is more similar to the evenly distributed profile of the anaspectual group. This concerns prefixed verbs like *poslušati* 'listen, obey', *odrьžati* 'contain, surround'. These verbs show semantic similarities to anaspectual verbs that allow both terminative and aterminative construals (*viděti* 'see', *jasti* 'eat', *bojati sę* 'be afraid') and are thus rather easily 'terminativizable' (cf. section 8.3.2). For example, the aorist of *odrьžati* in example (253) below refers to an event where the event of surrounding the speaker was completed, the inherent boundary is attained, while the imperfect in example (254) points at a state of being overcome by amazement, with no boundary in focus:

(253) vradzi moi d[u]šǫ mojǫ ***odrъžašję***[aor] [*Ps*]
my enemies who *have surrounded* me (Psalm 16:9, my translation)[6]

(254) užasъ bo ***odrъžaaše***[impf] i i vsę sǫštęję sъ nimь[*Z,M,A*]
for he and all his companions *were overwhelmed* by astonishment (Luke 5:9, my translation)[7]

It is not completely clear why in case of, for example, *vъzalьkati* 'become hungry' the prefix introduces an inherent boundary, while in *vъzležati* 'lie at the table' it does not. In a number of these verbs in which no inherent boundary is present, the prefix clearly has a purely spatial meaning, as in *prěstojati* 'stand before', *naležati* 'lie on, oppress' *prědьležati* 'lie in front of, be in front of'. However, in other prefixed formations of verbs of bodily position *ležati* 'lie' and *stojati* 'stand', the prefix has no clear spatial meaning, while the profile is still atypical compared to members of the terminative groups, like with *dostojati* 'be appropriate' or *nastojati* 'be present, impend'. These verbs are aterminative as well; prefixation does not result in an inherent boundary in these verbs.

It thus appears that prefixation of verbs like *ležati*, *stojati* and *slušati* never results in inherently terminative verbs. This does not mean that these prefixed formations are imperfective, but rather that they stay as the simplicia were: anaspectual. Moreover, not inherently terminative, does not mean that

[6] The English Psalm translation, which is a translation of the Hebrew text, uses a present tense *surround*. My translation is a translation of the OCS (and Greek in the Septuagint) aorist.
[7] The English translation has *had seized*, translating the Greek aorist (!) *περιέσχεν*. My translation is a translation of the OCS imperfect.

the verbs do not occur in terminative predicates as already discussed in section 8.3.2 and as also example (253) shows.

The relation to verbs in the anaspectual group emerges also in the derivational patterns that occur in some of the verbs. For example, *nenaviděti* 'hate' and *zaviděti* 'envy', both prefixed forms of *viděti* 'see', show a derivational pattern that is similar to that of many anaspectual verbs, since they function as base verbs for prefixed verbs. For example, the derivational pattern *nenaviděti* 'hate' - *vъznenaviděti* 'start hating', or *zaviděti* 'envy' - *vъzaviděti* 'start to envy', can be compared to *alъkati* 'be hungry' - *vъzalъkati* 'become hungry' or *ljubiti* 'love' - *vъzljubiti* 'start loving' (but not to *ležati* - *vъzležati*!).

Whatever the reasons for the inability of the prefix to create an inherently bounded verb in these cases, there is a number of simplicia for which this holds: *dějati*, *drъžati, ležati*, *slušati, stojati* and *viděti*.[8] A comparison of the profile of the group of prefixed verbs without a suffixed partner with the profile of the prefixed perfective group results in a significant difference, with a small to medium effect size, as I mentioned above. However, when prefixed formations of *dějati*, *drъžati, ležati*, *slušati, stojati* and *viděti* are left out of this group (leaving 858 verbs with 6,249 attestations), the effect size is reduced to a size equal to the effect size measured between the two perfective groups (cf. Table 7.2).[9]

The position of the prefixed verbs without a derived partner thus provides two insights into the function of the prefix in the aspect system:

1. Most, but not all prefixed verbs are inherently terminative.
2. Prefixed verbs that are inherently terminative show a profile and behaviour equal to perfective verbs. In these cases prefixation is equal to perfectivization.

In this respect, my position differs from that of Amse-de Jong, who also recognizes that not all prefixed formations are automatically perfective (Amse-de Jong 1974: 28). Yet she only recognizes perfectivity in cases where a derived verb exists (ibidem: 7, 126). I agree with Amse-de Jong that the core cases are the cases in which a pair is attested. However, the analysis of the

[8] There may be other families like the prefixed formation of *ristati* 'run' and *pъvati* 'hope', but the cases mentioned are the clearest cases with more than one prefixed formation per simplex and a relatively large number of attestations, making it possible to judge the profile.
My list can be compared to the simplicia with stative marker *-ě-* (*-a-* after palatals) that Schuyt (1990: 15) sums up. However, prefixation of *věděti* 'know', does result in inherently bounded (see section 9.5). So the explicit stativity of these verbs can explain part of their deviant behaviour, but it does not explain why it occurs in some verbs and not in others.

[9] $\chi 2$ (6) =205.814, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.100.

grammatical profiles of the terminative prefixed verbs without a derived partner shows that they cluster together with the core cases and the semantic analysis also shows no differences. Therefore, I do not see a reason why inherently terminative verbs in OCS should not be considered to be automatically perfective, as long as they are not morphologically marked for imperfective aspect (mostly with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* cf. Chapter 5).

The group of prefixed verbs without a derived partner shows the important role of the prefix in the verbal aspect system in OCS, a role which comes down to making a verb terminative and with that, by default, making it perfective. The analysis, more specifically the identification of the aterminative prefixed verbs, also shows the limitation of the morphological approach. The approach works well to separate the core cases from "the rest", but individual attestations need to be analysed to interpret the position of verbs, or groups of verbs that share a characteristic within a group with regard to the verbal aspect system in OCS. Fortunately, the profiles of the core groups and the functions found for the verbs in those groups give clues for the establishment of subgroups in the other groups, which in this particular case allows for a separation of aterminative prefixed formations from terminative prefixed formations.

## *9.2 Leskien's class II and partners*

### *9.2.1 Introduction*

As discussed in Chapter 5, most verbs in Leskien's class II (*kanǫti* 'drip (once)') and their partners (*kapati* 'drip') deviate from other pairs that arise through suffixation; while in other groups the suffixed partner is normally the imperfective verb and the derivational base is the perfective partner, Leskien's class II verbs, derived with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* (*kanǫti*), are often perfective in modern Slavic languages and their derivational bases (*kapati*) are the imperfective partners. However, just as with the prefixed verbs without a derived partner, this group is a kind of mixed bag. There are two kinds of exceptions: first, not all *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs can automatically be regarded as perfective and second, not all *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs are derived. I will first discuss these exceptions.

First, there is the aspectual nature of the verbs in Leskien's class II. As already briefly mentioned in Chapter 5, not all verbs with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* are semelfactive. Modern Slavic equivalents like Russian *soxnut'* 'dry, wither' and *gibnut'* 'perish' are regarded as imperfective and the *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (Cejtlin, Večerka, & Blagova 1994) regards OCS *sъxnǫti* 'wither' and *gybnǫti* 'perish' as imperfective as well. The only attestation of *sъxnǫti* in OCS is an imperfect and it is hard to establish anything about the aspect of the verb based on that attestation since both an interpretation as anaspectual imperfect and perfective imperfect lead to reasonable interpretations (cf.

Amse-de Jong 1974: 48).[10] The verb *gybnǫti* is attested 4 times: 1 aorist, 1 present tense and 2 present participles.[11] The attestations show that the verb occurs in the same contexts as *gybati, gybljǫ* 'perish' which is regarded as a derived verb with the suffix *-ati, -je-* (Schuyt 1990: 25) and even *izgybati, izgybajǫ* 'perish', which is clearly a derived formation in *-ati, -aje-* :

(255) dělaite ne brašъno ***gybljǫštee***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ . nъ brašъno prěbyvajǫštee vъ životě věcьněemь [*Z, M*]
dělaite ne brašъno ***gybnǫštee***$^{\text{PresAP}}$ . nъ brašъno prěbyvajǫštee vъ životě věcьněemь [*A*]
do not work for the food *which perishes*, but for the food which endures to eternal life (John 6:27)

(256) koliko naimъnikъ otъca moego . izbyvajǫtъ xlěbi . azъ že gladomь ***gybljǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*M, Z, A*]
koliko naimьnikъ u o[t]ca moego i izbyvajǫtъ xlěbi . azъ že sьde gladomь ***izgybajǫ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Sk*]
how many of my father's hired men have more than enough bread, but I *am dying* here with hunger (Luke 15:17)

Even though present active participles of perfective verbs are rare, *gybnǫti* is not the only verb in this group that is attested in this form (others are *dvignǫti* 'move' and *drъznǫti* 'take courage' which are both normally regarded as perfective with partners *dvidzati* and *drъzati*), so the mere fact that the form is attested is not a reason to assume that the verb is not perfective. However, the attestations of the present particle combination with the fact that the verb is used in an actual present in example (256), a function in which only anaspectual or imperfective verbs occur (cf. section 8.1.2.2), indicate that this verb is not a typical perfective verb. The other attestation, an aorist, makes it difficult to regard it as imperfective as well:

(257) zaprětilъ esi językomъ i ***gybe***$^{\text{aor}}$ . nečьstivъi [*Ps*]
you have rebuked the nations, You *have destroyed* the wicked (Psalm 9:5)

In this case, the OCS aorist translates a Greek aorist, *ἀπώλετο*, and the interpretation can only be that of a complete terminative event.[12] In other OCS texts, this Greek aorist is translated with *pogybe* (John 17:12 and Psalm

[10] Strictly speaking, the verb *sъxnǫti* does not belong in this discussion, since, in absence of an attested partner verb **sъšati,* it is not included in the group of Leskien's class II verbs with a partner.
[11] The two attestations of the present participle are actually translations of the same text that occurs twice in *Savvina Kniga.*
[12] Note also the interesting shift from middle 'perish' to active 'destroy'.

141:20). The flexibility of the verb *gybnǫti* points in the direction of anaspectuality.[13]

Except for the verbs already mentioned and *vlъsnǫti* 'stammer', which is attested only once as a present active participle and has no partner, all other Leskien's class II verbs in OCS show typical perfective profiles and behaviour, as I will demonstrate below. Since this is by far the largest group, both with regard to number of verbs and number of attestations, my discussion will focus on these verbs.

The second exception to the general rule that Leskien's class II verbs are often perfective in modern Slavic languages and that their derivational bases are the imperfective partners, concerns the derivational status. In a number of cases the verb in *-nǫti, -ne-* is a primary formation and has a derived partner. Leskien's class II verbs that are regarded as primary formations are *minǫti* 'pass' (with derived *minovatî*), *zinǫti* 'yawn' (with *zijatî*) and *stati* (with *stajatî*)[14] and prefixed formations of *-manǫti* (with *-majati* and *-mavatî*) and *-vinǫti* (with *-vinovatî*) (cf. Schuyt 1990: 18-21, 273, 345-352, with references). The derived verbs (e.g. *minovatî*) do not appear to behave differently from verbs that are regarded as derivational base verbs (e.g. *kapatî*) with regard to their profile or functions, but given the small number of attestations of unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions here. Nevertheless, the status of derived verb has its consequences for the behaviour in prefixed formations, as I will demonstrate in the section on prefixed Leskien's class II verbs and their partners (section 9.2.3).

Notwithstanding the fact that Leskien's class II verbs should not automatically be regarded as perfective, the profiles of the unprefixed and prefixed Leskien's class II groups are rather similar to the profile of the prefixed perfective group with little attestations of imperfect and present participles and many attestations of aorist and past participles, as shows the bar chart in Figure 9.2. The groups are relatively small, though; the prefixed

[13] According to Schuyt (1990: 351) *gybnǫti* and *gybati* both replace older **gъbati*, with the lengthening of the root vowel influenced by prefixed formations in *gybati*.

[14] Note that the unprefixed Leskien's class II contains the verb *stati, stanǫ* 'stand up', and in the prefixed groups there are prefixed formations of the same verb (e.g. *ostati* 'renounce'). The verb *stati* probably has a different origin from the other members of Leskien's class II; the verb is not the result of derivation with the *-nǫti, -ne-* suffix, as can be seen from the infinitive (cf. Schuyt 1990: 273-274, with references). Because Leskien's categorization is based on the present tense stem, which shows the suffix *-ne-* in *stati* as well as in the *-nǫti, -ne-* verbs, the verb *stati* and its prefixed formations fall into Leskien's class II, even though the *-nǫ-* element is missing from the infinitive. Leaving the prefixed formations of *stati* out, however, does not result in significant changes to the group profile.

group is the larger of the two and consists of 42 verbs with a total of 1,225 attestations, while the unprefixed group is very small, consisting of only 13 verbs with a total of 354 attestations.

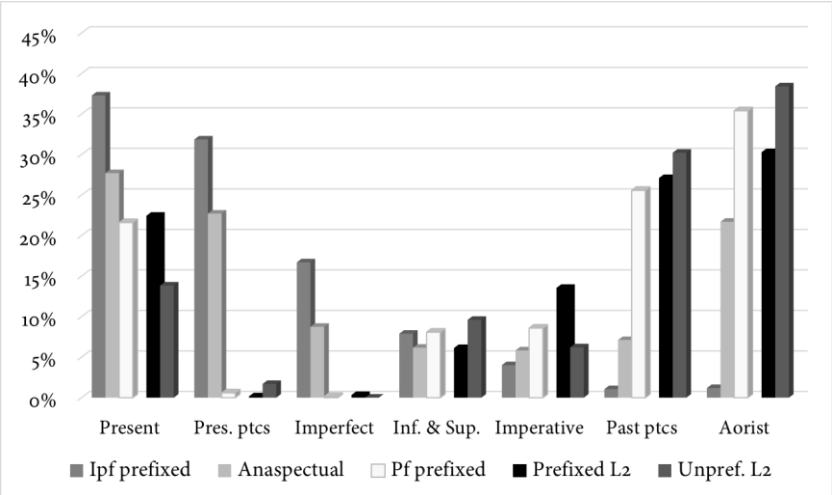


*Figure 9.2 Profile comparison Leskien's class II verbs (pref. and unpref.)*[15]

The unprefixed and prefixed *partners* of Leskien's class II verbs are even smaller groups. The unprefixed group consists of 17 verbs, with 100 attestations and the prefixed group of 18 verbs with 123 attestations. Both groups show profiles that are somewhat comparable to the profile of the prefixed imperfective group. There are two striking differences: first the high percentage of imperatives in the unprefixed group, which is mainly caused by the verb *drъzati* 'be brave', which used is relatively often in the imperative (21 attestations), and secondly the relatively high percentage of aorists in the prefixed partners compared to the imperfective group. I will return to this issue in the discussion below.

[15] Prefixed L2 stands for 'Leskien's class II prefixed verbs' and Unprefixed L2 for 'Leskien's class II unprefixed verbs'.

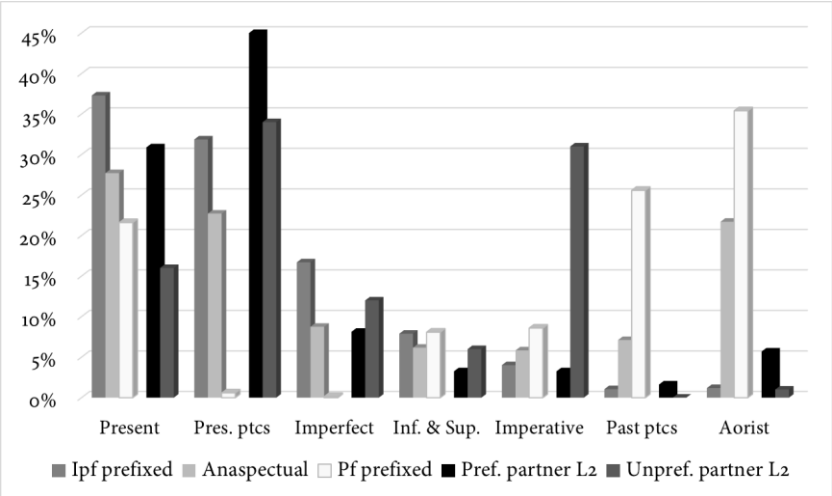


*Figure 9.3 Profile comparison Leskien's class II partners*[16]

Below, I will first discuss the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs and partners and subsequently the prefixed verbs.

### *9.2.2 Unprefixed Leskien's class II and partners*[17]

As mentioned already, the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *kanǫti*, with partner *kapatí*) are functionally similar to perfective verbs. A good example of this similarity with perfective verbs are the present tense forms of *mrъknǫti* 'darken' and *dvignǫti* 'move' in Matthew 24:29. They translate

[16] The designation Pref. partner L2 stands for 'Prefixed partner of a (prefixed) Leskien's class II verb', while Unpref. partner L2 stands for 'Unprefixed partner of a(n) (unprefixed) Leskien's class II verb'

[17] In the partner group of unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs there is some morphological heterogeneity. There are certain derived verbs with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, like *drьzati, drьzajǫ* 'be brave', while other verbs, like *duxati, dušǫ* 'breath, blow', with the suffix *-ati, -je-*, are regarded original verbs on the basis of which the Leskien's class II partner is derived. I decided not to separate these groups for the statistical analysis, because of the already small group size. Making the group smaller would result in zero scores in some of the cells which makes the Chi-square test unreliable (Butler 1985: 122) and it would give individual verbs more weight in the profile (cf. the influence of the imperative attestations of the verb *drьzatí*). More importantly, both types show similar behaviour, as I will demonstrate.
In case of the prefixed partner groups (cf. section 9.2.3) I separated the verbs based on their suffix *-ati, -je-* versus *-ati, -aje-*, which was possible because of the slightly larger group size, which made it possible to perform a Chi-square test. However, I found no significant difference between these two rather small groups ($\chi 2$ (6) = 12.415, $p$ = 0.053345 (n.s.), Cramér's V = 0.220).

Greek future tense forms, just as the present tense forms of the perfective verbs *dati* 'give' and *ispasti* 'fall from' in this example:

(258) abie že po skrъbi dьnii těxъ slъnce ***mrъknetъ***$^{pres}$ . i m[ě]s[ę]cь ne ***dastъ***$^{pres}$ světa svoego . i dzvězdy ***ispadǫtъ***$^{pres}$ sъ neb[e]se . i sily neb[e]skyję ***dvignǫtъ***$^{pres}$ ***sę*** . [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun *will be darkened*, and the moon *will* not *give* its light, and the stars *will fall* from the sky, and the powers of the heavens *will be shaken* (Matthew 24:29)

The present tense of *dvignǫti* refers to a change of state and hence, *dvignǫti* is a terminative verb. This contrasts with the use of the present tense of the partner verb *dvidzati* 'move', which is used as an actual present, referring to an ongoing event at the moment of speech in the following example:

(259) ešte gl[ago]ljǫštju emu . pridošę otъ ar'xisünanoga gl[ago]ljǫšte . ěko dъšti tvoě umrětъ . čьto ***dvižešь***$^{pres}$ učitelě [*Z*, *M*]
while He was still speaking, they came from the house of the synagogue official, saying, "Your daughter has died; why *do you trouble* the Teacher" (Mark 5:35, my translation)

The predicate in (259), with the present tense of *dvidzati*, appears to be aterminative. There are also examples of generalized statements with verbs in this group, like the present tense of *duxati* 'blow' in the following example:

(260) d[u]xъ ideže xoštetъ ***dušetъ***$^{pres}$ [*Z*, *M*]
the wind *blows* where it wishes (John 3:8)

In this example there is no clear inherent boundary either. The Leskien's class II partner of this verb, *dunǫti* 'blow', expresses a single complete event, like in the following example:

(261) i se rekъ ***dunǫ***$^{aor}$ i g[lago]la imъ priiměte d[u]xъ s[vę]tь [*A*, *M*]
and when He had said this, He *breathed* on them and said to them, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:22)

Given the fact that the OCS aspect system revolves around terminative verbs in a Slavic-style aspect system, the question arises whether the opposition between Leskien's class II verbs and their partners is a Slavic style aspect opposition.

First some remarks concerning the terminativity of the Leskien's class II verbs. Some of these verbs clearly indicate a change of state, like *mrъknǫti* 'become dark' or *gybnǫti* 'perish', while in others the change is less clear. The latter is the case with the semelfactive verbs, like *dunǫti* 'blow (once)', *kosnǫti*

'touch (once)' and *kanǫti* 'drip (once)'. Semelfactive verbs differ from other terminative verbs because they implicate a return to the original state. However, even though the change of state is followed by a return to the original state, these verbs can still be described as terminative verbs. In Croft's (2012: 60) classification, semelfactive verbs are treated as *cyclic achievements* that "result in point states and the revert to the rest state". Barentsen (1995: 10, 2003a: 380) also describes semelfactive verbs as perfective verbs, which in his theory implies terminativity (cf. Chapter 2). Figure 9.4 is a schematic representation of a semelfactive verb as provided by Barentsen (1995: 10, 2003a: 380), which can be compared to Figure 2.6 in Chapter 2 (depicting a perfective accomplishment):

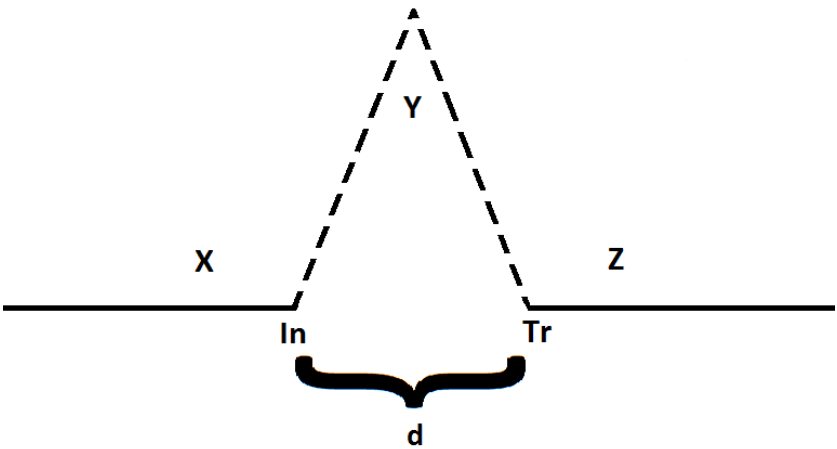


*Figure 9.4* Barentsen's schematic representation of a semelfactive verb

The examples I discussed above, as well as the grammatical profile, also indicate that these verbs are similar to the perfective verbs in OCS and always express a change of state, even if that means a return towards the rest state. So Leskien's class II verbs are just as terminative as the core perfective verbs and in that regard, could express perfective aspect. However, it takes two to tango, and the partner verbs are not typical imperfective verbs.

The verbs that are opposed to semelfactive verbs, for example *duxati* 'blow' and *kapati* 'drip', are not used to refer to one-time complete events, but to either ongoing or multiplicative events. This, however, does not make them imperfective; they resemble anaspectual verbs in the sense that they can be used in both terminative and aterminative predicates. I already gave an example of aterminative use of *duxati* in example (260) and the following example is similar:

(262) i egda jugъ ***dušetъ***[pres] . g[lago]lete varъ bǫdetъ . i byvaetъ[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
and when a south wind *is blowing*, you say, "It will be a hot day," and it turns out that way (Luke 12:55)

In this type of utterance there is no inherent boundary to the event and these verbs differ from the imperfective verbs in the core groups in this respect, because those are always terminative. However, there are also numerous examples in which verbs from this group express an inherent boundary. An example of that is the multiplicative usage (a bounded ongoing series of semelfactives events), like in the following example of an imperfect of *plьvati* 'spit':

(263) i bьěaxǫ[impf] i trьstjǫ po glavě . i ***plьvaaxǫ***[impf] na nь [*M*, *Z*, *A*, *Sk*][18]
they kept beating His head with a reed, and *spitting* on Him (Mark 15:19)

This multiplicative use can be compared to the use of the imperfective verbs in the core groups: the inherent boundary of the micro-event of spitting, in which the spit hits the target, is defocused in favour of the unbounded macro-event in which the spitting occurs repeatedly (cf. Chapter 2).

Finally, there is only one attestation of an aorist in this group. The fact that an aorist is attested, however, again points at similarity of these verbs to anaspectual verbs. The attestations concerns an aorist of the verb *trъdzati* 'pluck, harvest, unroot:[19]

(264) i mimoidy sii lakomyi i pěobiděvъ straxa tvojego . nesytomь srьd'cemь ***trъza***[aor] mnogo [*S*]
and when these greedy people passed by and he was insulted by your fear, he *unrooted* a lot thanks to his insatiable heart (41,26-28 my translation)

Although the precise meaning of this utterance remains somewhat unclear to me, from the preceding text it becomes clear that *slanutъkъ* 'chick peas' are involved and I believe that *mnogo* 'much, many' refers to the chick peas. This event could be interpreted as both terminative and aterminative. In case of an aterminative interpretation one could interpret the aorist of the verb *trъdzati* in this example as similar to the aorist of the anaspectual *ležati* 'lie' that I discussed in example (34), Chapter 4, in which case the aorist is used impose

[18] *Assemanianus* forms the imperfect from the present stem (*pljuěxǫ*).
[19] Note that the simplex **trъgnǫti* is not attested, only prefixed formations, like *istrъgnǫti* 'pull out' or *rastrъgnǫti* 'tear to pieces'.

a temporal boundary on an activity that has no inherent boundary:[20] However, it is also possible to consider this predicate as an accomplishment, in which the inherent boundary is introduced by the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb, the aorist, and the adverb *mnogo*. The verb *trъdzati*, as so many verbs in these groups, is attested very infrequently (only 4 attestations), so there is no nice minimal pair in which the verb is used in an aterminative predicate. Nevertheless, the metaphorical use in the following example of a present tense clearly shows that the verb also occurs in aterminative predicates:

(265) ně vъkusila ni jata ni pitija . nъ vьrьjǫšti ***trěžetъ***[pres] sebe [*S*]
she has not tasted food nor drink, but she is crying out and *picking on/tormenting* herself (520, 1-2)

The use in (265) is metaphoric, but at least it shows that the verb lends itself to aterminative use. The other two attestations are of the infinitive, both occurring after a phase verb with ingressive meaning, which again seem to refer to an aterminative situation. Both verbs occur in exactly the same context, in the same story, only four lines apart. Below I will give the first of the two:

(266) onъ že vъznikъ i vьzьrěvъ ne vidě nikogože . i načę[aor] paky ***trъzati***[inf]
xotę brěma naklasti skotu svoemu [*S*]
he arose and looked but did not see anyone and he started *harvesting* again, wanting to put the load on his beast of burden (41, 3-6)

The examples above show that unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs occur both in terminative and aterminative predicates and in that respect are similar to anaspectual verbs. This makes sense if one assumes that these verbs are the base verbs and not derived for the purpose of expressing imperfectivity. I therefore believe that the relationship between the two groups is more similar to the relationship between prefixed verbs and anaspectual base verbs, like *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' and *bojati sę* 'be afraid' (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.3.3). This means that the opposition is not a typical Slavic-style aspect opposition. The main difference with the anaspectual verbs lies in the fact that functions and verb forms have been divided amongst the Leskien's class II verb and their partners in a similar fashion as the perfective and imperfective verbs. So the profile of the partner verbs clusters together with the imperfective groups in the scatter plot, even though the partner

[20] I should note that unrooting (or harvesting?) of *slanutъkъ* 'chick peas', unlike *ležati*, has a natural boundary on the micro-level, every unrooting event, but the verb *trъdzati* is not used to emphasize the attainment of the boundary at the micro level, but rather the plucking as either an activity, or an accomplishment (i.e. a terminative verb with an activity phase).

verbs are not all terminative. Therefore, even though the opposition is not completely identical to the aspect opposition, the division of functions and forms over the partners is similar to the division of functions and forms between perfective and imperfective verbs.[21]

### *9.2.3 Prefixed Leskien's class II and partners*

The prefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *pomanǫti*, with partner *pomajatî*) share with most unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs the fact that they are terminative. The similarity between the unprefixed and prefixed *-nǫti*, *-ne-* verbs results in variation between the codices, without a clear difference in meaning:

(267) si pristǫpьši sъ slěda . ***kosnǫ***$^{aor}$ ***sę*** vъskrilii rizě ego i abьe ***sta***$^{aor}$ . tečenьe krъve eję [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
si pristǫpьši sъ slěda . ***prikosnǫ***$^{aor}$ ***sę*** krai rizě ego i abьe ***usta***$^{aor}$ . krьvi tečenie [*Sk*][22]
she came up behind Him, and *touched* the fringe of His cloak; and immediately her haemorrhage *stopped* (Luke 8:44, my translation)

The *-nǫti*, *-ne-* suffix often indicates terminativity as mentioned above. Many unprefixed verbs in Leskien's class II have a perfective profile and perfective functions. Therefore, the addition of the prefix *pri-* to *kosnǫti* differs from the addition of the same prefix to, for example, *tvoriti* 'make' (forming *pritvoriti* 'add'). In the former situation the terminativity is merely "duplicated", resulting in a more specific characterization of the boundary, while in the latter the prefix *introduces* an inherent boundary. Since the meanings of *kosnǫti* and *prikosnǫti* do not diverge much, the addition of the prefix must have a more subtle influence. The *kosnǫti* 'touch' simply refers to any single touching event, while the prefixed *prikosnǫti* 'touch' may indicate the direction of such a touching event. Similar subtle differences in meaning must exist between *dvignǫti* 'move' and *podvignǫti* 'move'. Space limitations (but also lack of native informants) prevent an extensive discussion of the subtle nuances in all individual cases. However, in all cases both the unprefixed and the prefixed form are clearly terminative events. Except for

[21] For the few verbs that are regarded as derived from a verb in *-nǫti*, *-ne-*, like *minovati* 'pass by', the opposition with the partner (*minǫti*) must have been more similar or even equal to the opposition between imperfective and perfective verbs. The analysis of the prefixed formations of these verbs points in that direction as well.

[22] The difference between the codices is not the same everywhere. In the following verse *Assemanianus* has a form of *prikosnǫti* while *Zographensis* and *Marianus* have a form of *kosnǫti*, whereas, for example, in Matthew 8:15 all codices have a form of *prikosnǫti*, except for *Savvina Kniga*, which has a form of *kosnǫti*. Therefore, this difference may reflect a dialectal difference, but it is difficult to establish this on the basis of the four OCS Gospel codices.

the relation with the unprefixed verb the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs are rather unproblematic and show a profile and functions similar to the perfective verbs.

The 'problematic' group here is the group of the partners of the Leskien's class II prefixed verbs. Some of the verbs show a clear imperfective grammatical profile and imperfective functions, while others appear to behave like perfective verbs. This difference can be attributed to the origin of the verbs. Verbs behaving like imperfective verbs concern prefixed formations of verbs that are originally derived verbs like *prěminovati* which is a prefixed formation of *minovati*, which in turn is derived from *minǫti* (cf. Schuyt 1990: 18-21, 273, 345-352). Verbs that behave as perfective verbs are prefixed formations of derivational base verbs like prefixed formations of *plьvati*, on the basis of which the *pljunǫti* is derived.

In (268), I give an example of *povinovati sę* 'obey, be subject to', the partner of *povinǫti sę* 'obey, be subject to'. The present tense is used to translate Greek present tense, with a habitual meaning, which is very much as one would expect from an imperfective verb:

(268) g[ospod]i . i běsi ***povinujǫtь***$^{pres}$ ***sę*** namъ o imeni tvoemъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
Lord, even the demons *subject themselves* to us in Your name (Luke 10:17, my translation)

Similar behaviour is also found in verbs like *obinovati* 'avoid, accept; speak honestly (with negation)' which is opposed to *obinǫti, prěminovati* 'step over', and prefixed formations in *-majati*, *-majǫ* and *-stajati*, *-stajǫ* (e.g. *přěstajati* 'stop'). All these verbs have in common that they are derived formations, which may explain why they differ from verbs that are not regarded as derived formations, like prefixed formations of *-plьvati*. Pairs like *povinǫti sę - povinovati sę* 'obey, be subject to' are in every way equal to the core pairs of perfective and imperfective verbs.

The other verbs in this group, hence the verbs that are not regarded as derived formations but prefixed formations of base verbs, do not show the imperfective behaviour. The verb *zaplьvati* 'spit upon' (as well as *oplьvati* with the same meaning), for example, not only occurs frequently in the aorist, which is at least atypical of imperfective verbs, but the present tense is also used to translate Greek future forms. This combination is a strong indication that these verbs behave as perfective verbs in OCS:

(269) prědadętъ$^{pres}$ bo vy językomъ . i porǫgajǫtъ$^{pres}$ sę emu . i dosadętъ$^{pres}$ emu . i ***zapljujǫtь***$^{pres}$ i [*Z*, *M*]
for He will be handed over to the Gentiles, and *will be* mocked and mistreated and *spit upon* (Luke 18:32)

The example could also be interpreted as referring to multiple spitting events, which would fit more with an imperfective interpretation. One could, moreover, point to the fact the **zaplinǫti* and **oplinǫti* are not attested, which makes it questionable whether these verbs are partners of Leskien's class II verbs.[23] This line of reasoning would have been a way out, were this the only example, however, other verbs in this group show perfective functions as well. Take, for example the verb *isъxati*, *isъšǫ* 'wither', which is also used in a future function, even though *isъxnǫti*, *isъxnǫ*, is attested too:

(270) ašte kto vъ mьně ne prěbǫdetъ[pres] . izvrъžetъ[pres] sę vonъ . ěkože rozga i ***isъšetъ***[pres] . i sъbirajǫtъ[pres] jǫ . i vъ ognь vъlagajǫtъ[pres] i sъgarajǫtъ[pres] [*Z, M, Sk*][24]
if anyone does not abide in Me, he *will* be thrown away as a branch and *dry out* and they gather them, and cast them into the fire and they are burned (John 15:6, my translation)

In these translations, the present tense forms *isъšetъ* and *isъxnetъ* appear to have a future function, although they translate a Greek indicative aorist form, just like *izvrъžetъ sę* 'will be thrown out'.[25] In the Book of Psalms there is an example of a present tense form of *isъxati* translating a Greek *future* form (*ἀποξηρανθήσονται*):

(271) zane ěko trěva jędro ***isъšǫtъ***[pres] . i ěko zelie zlaka skoro otъpadǫtъ [*Ps*]
because like grass they *will* quickly *whither* and like green herbs they will quickly fall off (Psalm 36:2)[26]

It appears that both prefixed verbs *isъšati* - *isъxnǫti* behave like perfective verbs. Even though it might seem strange at first sight, it is in line with the findings for the partners of the unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs (e.g. *duxati*

[23] Cf. the situation in Modern Russian where there is no **zapljunut'*, but there is a perfective *zaplevat'* with two meanings: 1) 'cover in spit', and 2) 'start spitting'. Only in the meaning 'cover in spit' there is a derived imperfective *zaplëvyvat'*.

[24] *Assemanianus* uses the present tense form *isъxnetъ* of the Leskien's class II partner *isъxnǫti* in this context.

[25] When Greek subsequently switches to present tense forms, OCS starts using imperfective present tense forms (*sъbirajǫtъ* 'they gather', *vъlagajǫtъ* 'they cast' and *sъgarajǫtъ* 'they burn'). The first part of this utterance, with the forms *prěbǫdetъ*, *izvrъžetъ* and *isъšetъ* can be seen as a case of singularization, in which one complete event is used as exemplary for a general rule. The second part with the three imperfective present tense forms is a typical example of generalization: imperfective aspect is used to defocus the inherent boundary on the micro-level in favour of an unbounded interpretation of the event on the macro-level, resulting in a habitual reading (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.2).

[26] I use the translation of the Septuagint, because the Hebrew text on which the modern English translation is based does not call for a future interpretation. The translation used here is the NETS (New English Translation of the Septuagint) as found on http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ (November 2015).

'blow') in the previous section, which were shown to be similar to anaspectual verbs. Prefixation of an anaspectual verb in most cases results in a terminative verb the profile and functions of which cannot be distinguished from perfective verbs (e.g. *ubojati sę* 'become afraid' from *bojati sę*) (cf. section 9.1). In case of Leskien's class II verbs and their partners, this results in a complex situation with two perfective prefixed verbs with closely related meanings.

The situation is reminiscent of that in Modern Russian with the unprefixed pair *kidat' - kinut'* 'throw'. Both *kidat'*, which has multiplicative use and *kinut',* which is semelfactive, become perfective when prefixed to *vykidat'* 'throw out (in a few throws)' and *vykinut'* 'throw out (in one throw)'. The derived prefixed formation *vykidyvat'* 'throw out' is partner to both prefixed perfective verbs. So there is an extensive derivational chain: *kidat' - kinut' - vykidat' - vykinut' - vykidyvat'*.

This phenomenon, in which an 'extra derived verb' is created, can also be observed in OCS. There are many extra derived verbs that occur exactly in a derivational chain with Leskien's class II verbs, in which both prefixed partners behave like perfective verbs. These verbs probably function as the imperfective partner of both the Leskien's class II verb (e.g. *pogybnǫti*), and the one based on the base simplex (e.g. *pogybati, pogyblǫ*). Table 9.1 demonstrates a number of these derivational chains:

| ***Simplex*** | ***Suffixed L2*** | ***Prefixed*** | ***Prefixed L2*** | ***Extra derived***[27] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *dvidzati* 'move' | *dvignǫti* 'move' | *podvidzati* 'move' | *podvignǫti* 'move' | *podvidzati* 'move' |
| *gybati* 'perish' | *gybnǫti* 'perish' | *pogybati* 'perish' | *pogybnǫti* 'perish' | *pogybati* 'perish' |
| *mrъcati* 'grow dark' | *mrъknǫti* 'grow dark' | N/A | *pomrъknǫti* 'grow dark' | *pomrъcati* 'grow dark' |
| N/A | N/A | *pomajati* 'wave' | *pomanǫti* 'wave' | *pomavati* 'wave' |

*Table 9.1 Examples of deviating derivation chains with Leskien's class 2*[28]

[27] If the extra derived infinitive is the same as the prefixed infinitive, the difference is only visible in the present tense stem. The prefixed verbs based on the derivational base verb have the suffix *-ati, -je-*, e.g. prefixed *pogybati, pogybljǫ* while the extra derived verbs are derived with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, e.g. *pogybati, pogybajǫ*.

[28] Not all possible slots in the table are filled. It is difficult to establish whether this is because the verb did not exist, or simply because it is not attested. When comparing the empty slots with verbs that are attested in OR (Sreznevskij 1893-1906), I found equivalents to all three missing

Similar derivational patterns can also be found in prefixed formations of *-dajati, -dajǫ*, which also has *-davati, davajǫ*, or *-imati, -jemljǫ*, which has as extra derived *-imati, -imajǫ*, or *-ricati, -ričǫ* with *-ricati, -ricajǫ* (cf. section 9.5 on *sъpoveděti - sъpovědati - sъpovědovati*) and in these cases too there are verbs showing unexpected behaviour.

The lexical similarity between the various verbs in this derivational chain also emerges in the variation found between the various Gospel codices. In the following example codex *Zographensis* has a present tense form of *pogybnǫti*, while *Marianus* uses a present tense of *pogybati*:

(272) i prišedъše učenici ego . vъzbudišę i gl[agol]jǫšte . g[ospod]i s[ъ]p[as]i ny ***pogybnemъ***[pres] [*Z*]
i prišedъše učenici ego . vъzbudišę i gl[agol]jǫšte . g[ospod]i sъp[a]s[i] ny ***pogyblemъ***[pres] [*M*]
and they came to Him and woke Him, saying, "Save us, Lord; we *are perishing*" (Matthew 8:25)

The same variation is found in Luke 8:24 (the same story is told there) where *Zographensis* again uses a present tense of *pogybnǫti*, while *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* use a present tense form of *pogybati, pogybljǫ*. In terms of aspect the OCS translators appear to have opted for a form that expresses futurity in both variants. However, to make matters even more complicated, the Greek original has a present tense here, *ἀπολλύμεθα*, which could also have been translated with a present tense form of the extra derived verb, *pogybati, pogybajǫ*. In fact, this is exactly what happens in the translation in the codex *Zographensis*, but not in the *Marianus*, in Mark 4:38 (again the same story):

(273) i vъzbudišę i . i gl[agolaa]xǫ emu . učitlju . ne rodiši li ěko ***pogybaemъ***[pres] [*Z*]
i vъzbudišę i . i gl[agola]šę emu . učitlju . ne rodiši li ěko ***pogyblemъ***[pres] [*M*]
and they woke Him and said to Him, "Teacher, do You not care that we *are perishing*" (Mark 4:38)

While the variation as found in (272) does most likely not represent an aspectual difference, but is either a difference between dialects, or hides a lexical difference that can no longer be established with certainty, the variation in (273) is most probably aspectual, given the derivation with *-ati, --aje-*. The variation between *Zographensis* and *Marianus* in Mark 4:38 can be

verbs: *pomьrcati, manuti* and *majati*, which makes it probable that the absence in OCS is due to chance.

ascribed to the fact that the event referred to is imminent: it can be either described as an event occurring at the moment of speech and approaching the inherent boundary, with an emphasis on the imminence, or as an event of which the inherent boundary will be reached after the moment of speech. In the latter case it seems that some of the urgency of the utterance is lost.[29]

Finally, *pogybnǫti* and *pogybati* occur as variations in the Gospel codices in the translation of the Greek future form *ἀποθανοῦνται*:

(274) vsi bo priemъši nožь . nožemь ***pogybnǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
vsi bo priemъšei nožь . nožemь ***pogybajǫtъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Sk*]
for all those who take up the sword *shall perish* by the sword (Matthew 26:52)

Just as in (273), both aspects give a different view on the situation: the derived form *pogybajǫtъ* presents the event as unbounded at the macro-level (habitual), while the form in *-nǫti, -ne-* could be seen as a case of singularization, or exemplary use (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.1). Similar variation is also found between the core perfective and imperfective verbs.

### *9.2.4 Concluding remarks*

Leskien's class II verbs and their partners deserve a more detailed study. The examples I gave only present the tip of the iceberg and much remains unclear concerning the lexical and functional differences between the various verbs in the derivational chain. However, for the present study it suffices to establish that the relationship between most Leskien's class II verbs and their partners differs in most cases from the relationship between the core perfective and imperfective verbs. Although most Leskien's class II verbs show perfective profiles and perfective behaviour, their partners differ from imperfective verbs. The unprefixed partners are comparable to anaspectual verbs, given the fact that they are also used in aterminative predicates. This makes sense, since these are the verbs that form the derivational base for the *-nǫti, -ne-* verbs, just as anaspectual verbs like *bojati sę* form the base for prefixed formations like *ubojati sę*, without automatically becoming imperfective themselves (cf. Chapter 8). The prefixed partners that are formations of derivational base verbs (e.g. *zaplьvati* 'spit on') behave as one would expect of most prefixed anaspectual verbs; prefixation equals terminativization in these verbs and with that these verbs become perfective. The extra derived verbs appear to be the only true imperfective verbs in the chain. Finally, a small number of Leskien's class II verbs are regarded as the derivational base from which the partner verb is derived (e.g. *minǫti - minovati* 'pass by'). These verbs and their prefixed partners show an

[29] Cf. the use of *ugasajǫtъ* 'are going out' in example 127, Chapter 8.

opposition that is in every respect equal to the opposition as found between the core perfective and imperfective verbs. This can be taken as an indication that the aspect system was already rather firmly established in OCS, drawing in existing verb pairs that were not originally an aspect pair.

### *9.3 Prefixed verbs of motion*

The profile of the prefixed determinate VOMs (e.g. *vъniti*, with indeterminate partner *vъxoditi*) is very similar to that of the prefixed perfective group:

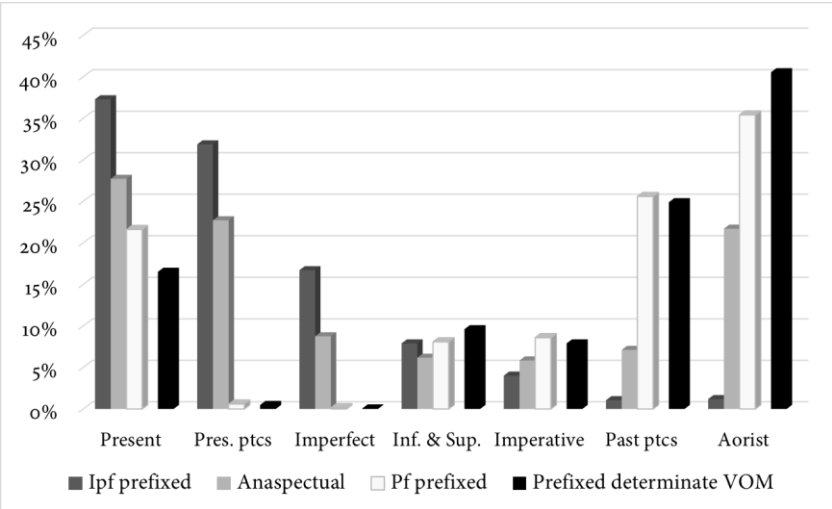


*Figure 9.5 Profile comparison Prefixed determinate VOMs*

The profile of the prefixed indeterminate VOMs, on the other hand, is very similar to that of the prefixed imperfective group:

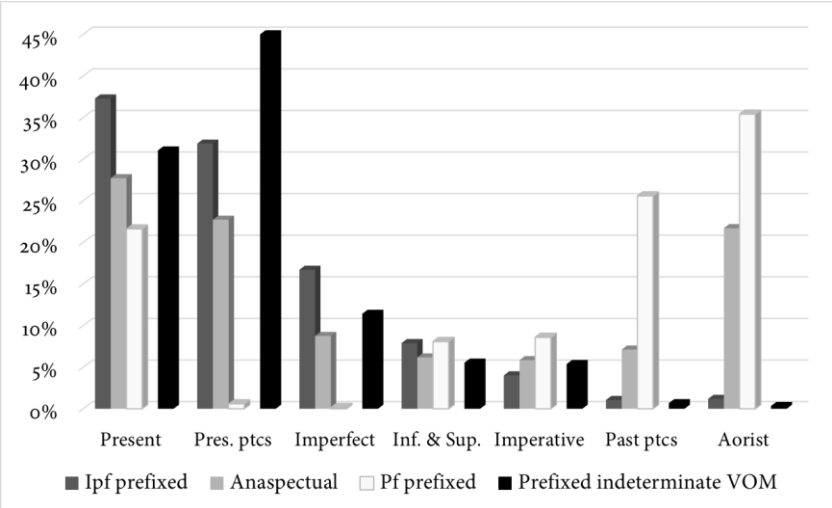


*Figure 9.6 Profile comparison Prefixed indeterminate VOMs*

The prefixed verbs of motion differ from all other verb pairs in OCS regarding their origin, which is the opposition between determinate VOMs and indeterminate VOMs, or 'manner-of-motion verbs' (Dickey 2010) (cf. section 9.4). Interestingly, even though the original VOMs do not express an aspect opposition, as I will discuss in section 9.4, the prefixed VOMs not only cluster together with the perfective and imperfective groups when it comes to their grammatical profile, but also show the same division of functions.

In the opposition between prefixed VOMs, the prefixed determinate VOMs behave as perfective verbs. This can be seen in the profile that is very compatible with aorist and past participles as well as in the functions of these verbs, like the use of the present tense to translate Greek subjunctive aorists and future forms:

(275) azъ esmь dvьri . mъnojǫ ašte kъto ***vъnidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ . ***s[ъ]p[ase]tъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ ***sę*** . i ***vъnidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ i ***izidetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ . i pažitь ***obrěštetъ***$^{\text{pres}}$ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
I am the door; if anyone *enters* through Me, he *will be saved*, and *will go in* and *out* and *find* pasture (John 10:9)

The first present tense of *vъniti* 'enter' translates a Greek subjunctive aorist (*εἰσέλθῃ*). The subsequent present tense forms, including the two prefixed determinate present tense forms of *vъniti* and *iziti* 'go out' are all translations of Greek future forms and express complete events. In this case, the complete events are used as an example for a general rule, a function in which perfective present forms occur frequently in OCS (cf. Chapter 8, section 8.1.2.2).

Although prefixed determinate VOMs are the standard choice for the translation of Greek future forms, as opposed to prefixed indeterminate VOMs, this does not mean that they are not used to translate other Greek forms, like the present tense. For example, when the Greek *ἔρχομαι* 'come' is used in a present tense form to refer to a future event, OCS translates with a present tense form of *priiti*, not with the prefixed indeterminate partner *prixoditi* 'come' in example (276):

(276) slyšaste ěko azъ rěxъ vamъ . idǫ[pres] i ***pridǫ***[pres] kъ vamъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][30]
you heard that I said to you, "I go away, and I *will come* to you" (John 14:28)

This shows, first of all, that the difference between present and future in Greek is not completely equal to the difference between an imperfective present and a perfective present (cf. Chapter 8) and, secondly, that the translation was not simply an automated job of replacing one Greek form with one OCS form.

The present tense of *prixoditi*, the derived partner of *priiti*, is used to defocus the attainment of the inherent boundary, like in the following habitual utterances, translating the present tense of the same Greek verb *ἔρχομαι*:

(277) g[lago]la kъ nemu g[ospod]i . daždь mi sijǫ vodǫ . da ni žęždǫ[pres] . ni ***prixoždǫ***[pres] cěmo počrъpatъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*]
the woman said to Him, "Sir, give me this water, so I will not be thirsty nor *come* all the way here to draw" (John 4:15)

(278) se tretie lěto . otъneliže ***prixoždǫ***[pres] . ištę ploda na smokovьnici sei i ne ***obrětajǫ***[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
behold, for three years *I have come* looking for fruit on this fig tree without *finding* any (Luke 13:7)

In both cases the predicate is clearly terminative, it includes the goal of the movement. The last example is interesting in comparison to example (275), where the perfective *obrěsti* 'find' and *priiti* 'come' are used, while in (278) *prixoditi* and the derived partner of *obrěsti*, the prefixed imperfective *obrětati* occur together. The difference is that in (275) one event is singled out as an example for a general rule, while in this example the derived forms are used to express unboundedness at the macro-level; this is a typical habitual usage that is also found with the core imperfective verbs.

There are also a few extra derived prefixed verbs of motion, derived from the prefixed indeterminate verb of motion with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, just as with

[30] The form *idǫ* from the verb *iti* (cf. section 9.4) is a translation of the Greek present tense form *ὑπάγω*.

the Leskien's class II verbs. I have not included these verbs in the analysis, because of the very infrequent attestations (9 verbs with a total of 14 attestations). The only attestations are in the present tense, imperfect, imperative and present participles, which are typically imperfective forms. Of the 14 attestations, 12 are from the *Suprasliensis*, one is from the *Psalterium Sinaiticum* and one occurs in the *Zographensis*: an imperfect of *izganjati* 'expel'. In this case the parallel corpus proved useful as the parallel text in the *Marianus* has a 'normal' prefixed indeterminate verb of motion *izgoniti* 'expel':

(279) i běsy mnogy ***izganěaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*Z*]
i běsy mъnogy ***izgoněaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*M*]
and they *were casting out* many demons (Mark 6:13)

Based on the small number of attestations, it is hard to say what the exact nature of these extra derived verbs in OCS was. They appear to be modelled on Leskien's class IV verbs like *ostaviti - ostavljati* 'leave', or *sъtvoriti - sъtvarjati* 'do', as a way of using 'regular' imperfective morphology for these verbs that functionally are equal to imperfective verbs. The fact that there is only one attestation of an *unprefixed* extra derived verb, an imperfect of *xaždati* 'go' (perhaps the result of deprefixation?), strengthens the hypothesis that this derivation of extra derived VOMs could have to do with being part of the aspect opposition, since unprefixed VOMs are not part of the aspect opposition. The profile of the indeterminate prefixed VOMs that have an extra derived partner (e.g. *isxoditi* 'go out', *privoditi* 'bring' *progoniti* 'drive away') does not differ significantly from that of those that do not have such a derived partner (e.g. *prinositi* 'bring', *vъxoditi* 'go into', *vъvoditi* 'lead into'.[31] There may have been a situation in OCS in which, for example, *isxoditi* was the perfective partner of *isxaždati*, but also the imperfective partner to *iziti*, similar to *isxodit'* in Modern Russian, which is perfective in the meaning 'walk all over' and otherwise imperfective. However, the attestations of *isxoditi* do not point in that direction. Another possibility is that the 'accidental' derivation of *isxaždati* on the model of *ostaviti - ostavljati* made room for a later perfective function of *isxoditi*.

Just as the Leskien's class II verbs and partners, the prefixed VOMs show that the aspect opposition in OCS is not to limited pairs in which the imperfective partner is derived with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, but that pairs that have a different derivational relationship and different origins can also be absorbed in the system (Galton 1997: 71). However, unlike the Leskien's class II verbs and partners, in which only a minority of the verbs express an opposition that is

[31] $\chi 2$ (6) =7.260, $p$ = 0.29747 (n.s.), Cramér's V = 0.085.

equal to the opposition between the core perfective and imperfective verbs, the prefixed VOMs appear to be a regular part of the system. Again, this indicates that the aspect system is already firmly established in OCS. The difference with unprefixed Leskien's class II and their partners can be explained as follows: while the unprefixed partners of Leskien's class II verbs are not inherently terminative, the prefixed derived VOMs are all terminative, as indicated by the prefix. The difference with the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs and their partners is that the prefixed indeterminate verbs of motion are prefixed compounds of inherently aterminative verbs (see section 9.4). Apparently, this results in prefixed verbs that automatically defocus the terminus.

### *9.4 Unprefixed verbs of motion*

As I already mentioned and as becomes apparent from Figure 7.7 and Table 7.3 in Chapter 7, the determinate VOMs (e.g. *iti*, with indeterminate partner *xoditi*) are not part of the perfective cluster, even though they are closer to the perfective groups than to the imperfective groups. The profile of the determinate VOMs shows similarity to that of the anaspectual group, in the sense that all verbs forms are well attested:[32]

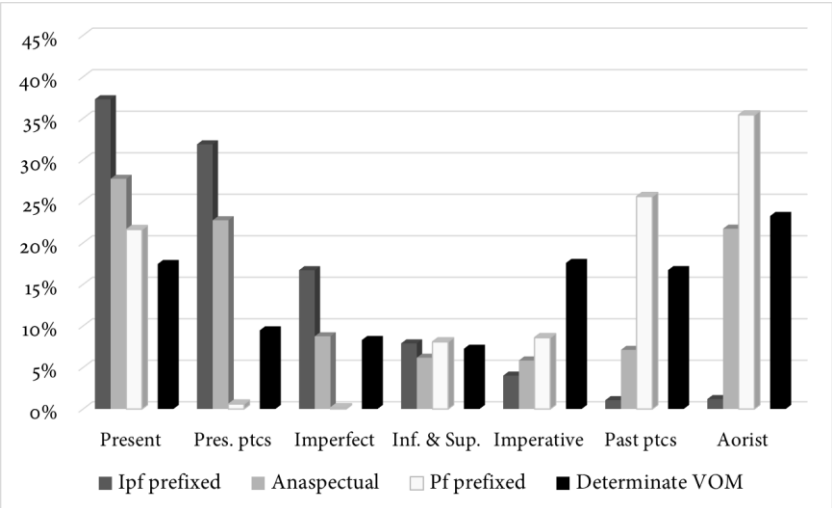


*Figure 9.7 Profile comparison Determinate VOM*

[32] No supines are attested of motion verbs, which seems to be the only lexical restriction on the inflection of motion verbs. The difference of the profile of the determinate VOMs with the anaspectual verbs is significant with a medium effect size: $\chi 2\ (6) = 696.423$, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.297.

Interestingly, the indeterminate VOMs show a profile similar to the prefixed imperfective group:

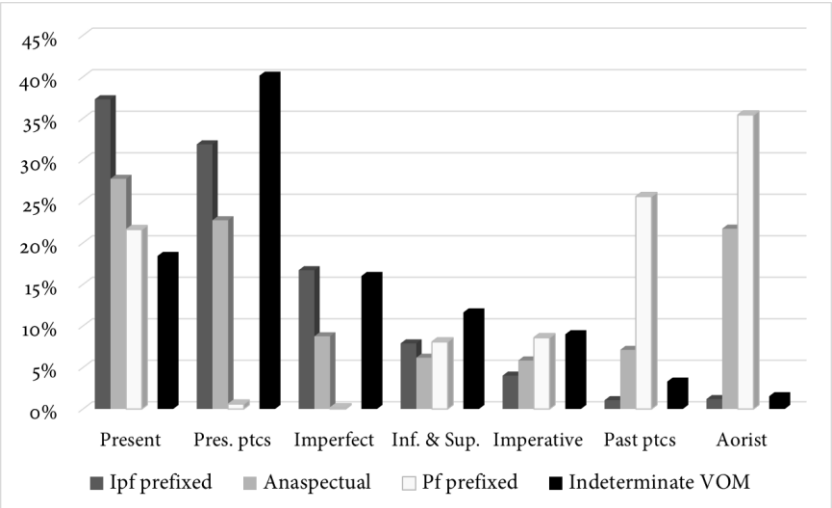


*Figure 9.8 Profile comparison Indeterminate VOM*

An important difference with the imperfective verbs is the rather low share of present tense forms. In this respect the profile resembles the profile of the determinate VOMs. For the determinate VOMs this difference is made up for by a rather large share of imperatives and past participles, while the indeterminate VOMs are attested relatively often as present participles.

I have already mentioned Dickey's (2010) study of OCS verbs of motion. He concludes that the verbs that are traditionally called 'indeterminate verbs of motion' are in fact 'manner-of-motion verbs' in OCS. Dickey's conclusion is based on examples like:

(280) psalmъ davydovъ egda ***běgaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ otъ lica [a]veseluma s[y]na svoego [*Ps*]
Psalm of David, when he *fled* from Absalom his son (Psalm 3:1)

(281) i izlězъ is korablě petrъ . ***xoždaaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ na vodaxъ . i pride ky is[o]vi [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and Peter got out of the boat, and *walked* on the water and came toward Jesus (Matthew 14:29)

In (280) the 'indeterminate' verb *běgati, běgajǫ* 'flee' is used and not the 'determinate' *bežati, běžǫ, bežiši* 'flee', even though the motion is clearly

determinate.[33] In (281) it is indeterminate *xoditi* instead of determinate *iti* 'go', again referring to determinate motion. These, and a number of other examples, show that the motion verbs in OCS behave differently from the motion verbs in modern North Slavic (Dickey 2010: 92). For the sake of clarity I will keep using the traditional terminology 'indeterminate verb of motion (VOM)' when referring to verbs in the *xoditi*-group, even though I believe Dickey convincingly shows that these verbs in OCS are really manner-of-motion verbs.

Dickey (2010: 94) calls the indeterminate VOMs "aspectually vague from the outset", which could be interpreted as anaspectual: they do not express aspect. However, this is a special type of anaspectual verbs. According to Dickey (2010: 94, 99) these verbs are always aterminative (cf. section 8.3.1) and do not combine with a goal in their basic sense, even though they occur with a goal from time to time (e.g. in examples (280) and (281)). In OCS indeterminate VOMs are paired up with the determinate VOMs, which express (source-oriented) directional motion, which "is potentially terminative, yet also frequently construed as ongoing and not reaching its terminus" (ibidem: 99). These determinate VOMs are very compatible with sequences of events (ibidem: 99) and occur frequently in the aorist which is the standard past tense in sequences. Indeterminate VOMs concentrate on the *manner* of motion, as already mentioned, and are mostly attested in the imperfect, a tense that focuses on the event itself and not on any boundaries, like in (280).

There are only a few examples of the use of an aorist of indeterminate VOMs. Such examples can be compared to the aorist of *ležati* 'lie', as discussed in example (34), Chapter 4: the use of the aorist results in an event being presented as having stopped at some point in time, even though no inherent boundary is present. In the following example, the aorist of *xoditi* translates a Greek aorist of the verb *πορεύομαι* 'go, proceed':

(282) sǫdi mję g[ospod]i ěko azъ nezъlobojǫ mojǫ ***xodixъ***[aor] [*Ps*]
vindicate me, o Lord, for I *have walked* in my integrity (Psalm 25:1)

In almost all cases where the direction or the goal of the motion event is emphasized, the verb *iti* (or prefixed formations, like *priiti* 'come') is used to translate the same Greek verb, rather than *xoditi*:

(283) edinъi že na desęte učenikъ ***idošę***[aor] vъ galilejǫ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*][34]
but the eleven disciples *proceeded* to Galilee (Matthew 28:16)

[33] The Russian Synodal Orthodox Version uses determinate *bežal*.

[34] *Marianus* and *Assemanianus* have *idǫ*, which is the thematic aorist 3pl. *Zographensis* and *Savvina Kniga* have the sigmatic aorist.

This is also the case in other verb forms, like the imperative:

(284) ***iděte***$^{\text{impr}}$ že pače kъ ovьcamъ pogybъšiimъ domu i[zdrai]l[je]va [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
but rather *go* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matthew 10:6)

Also when Greek uses an imperfect, referring to a temporally unbounded event, the verb *iti* is preferred when the motion has a clear direction:

(285) i išedъ is[usъ] i cr[ь]kve ***iděaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ [*M*]
Jesus came out from the temple and *was going* away (Matthew 24:1)

In this case the imperfect is probably used to express conativity; Jesus plans to leave the temple, but his disciples stop him and point at the temple buildings (he has clearly not left the scene of the temple). But determinate VOMs are also used in a progressive function, like in the following example with the verb *vesti* 'lead, take' (not *voditi* 'lead, take'):

(286) ***veděaxǫ***$^{\text{impf}}$ že i . i ina zъloděě dъva . sъ nimь ubitъ[*Z*, *M*][35]
they *were leading* him *away* and two others as well to be put to death with Him (Luke 23:32, my translation)

Moreover, when the *manner* of motion is not in focus, determinate VOMs are used. Hence, when the Greek verb *πορεύομαι* 'go, proceed' does not indicate a walking event, *iti* is used instead of *xoditi*:

(287) i se dzvězda jǫže viděšę na vъstocě . ***iděaše***$^{\text{impf}}$ prědъ nimi . doideže prišedši sta vrъxu . ideže bě otročę [*A*, *Sk*]
and the star, which they had seen in the east, *went on* before them until it came and stood over the place where the Child was (Matthew 2:9)

The examples (285), (286) and (287) do not have typical Slavic-style perfective predicates. Even though a clear direction is present, the predicates do not express an inherent boundary, which becomes especially clear from (287). The choices between a determinate VOM and an indeterminate VOM are therefore clearly different from the choice between a perfective and an imperfective verb. They depend on whether the manner of motion is in focus, or whether there is a goal or direction to the movement

[35] *Assemanianus* has the 3pl sigmatic aorist *věsę* 'they led away' of *vesti* 'lead' and *Savvina Kniga* has a construction with a PastPP of *vesti* and an aorist of *byti*: *vedana běsta* 'both were led away'. These are interesting translations given the fact that the Greek original has an imperfect *ἤγοντο*.

Since both the determinate VOMs and the indeterminate VOMs occur in aterminative predicates, I regard both groups as anaspectual. The difference in profile has to do with the lexical difference between these verbs. Determinate VOMs are compatible with terminative predicates, they are terminativizable:

(288) oni že poslušavъšePastAPI c[ěsa]rě ***idǫ***aor [*A*, *Sk*]
after hearing the king, they *went* their way (Matthew 2:9)

In this sense they are comparable to the group of anaspectual verbs that easily allow for terminative construals, like the aorist of *viděti* in the following example (cf. 8.3.2):

(289) i vъšedъšePastAPI vъ xraminǫ . ***viděšę***aor otročę [*Sk*, *A*]
after coming into the house they *saw* the Child (Matthew 2:11)

Determinate VOMs are thus used in both terminative predicates and aterminative predicates and are similar to terminativizable anaspectual verbs (e.g. *viděti* 'see', *jasti* 'eat', *bojati sę* 'be afraid'). This is also reflected in their profile that is even more evenly distributed than that of the core group of anaspectual verbs (with a clear preference for the imperative compared to other anaspectual verbs; apparently people like to tell each other to go somewhere):

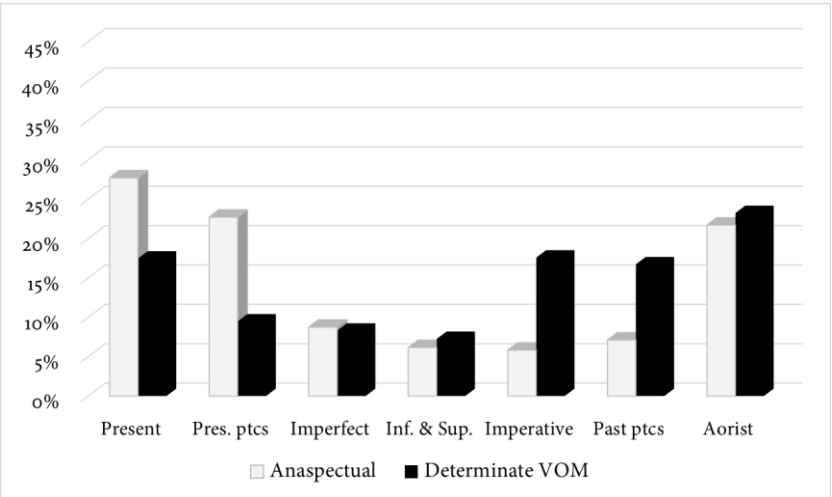


*Figure 9.9 Profile comparison Anaspectual and Determinate VOM*

The other half of the pair, the indeterminate VOMs show a profile that is quite similar to that of the imperfective verbs (cf. Figure 9.8). The reason why the indeterminate VOMs occur on the imperfective side of the dimension, and do not cluster with the anaspectual group, probably lies in the fact that

they only allow aterminative construals and do not combine easily with the aorist. In this respect they are similar to anaspectual verbs that are not compatible with terminative construals (e.g. *ležati* 'lie', *podobati* 'behove', *alъkati* 'be hungry'). The inability to occur in aterminative predicates correlates with incompatibility with aorists and past participles, forms that are also highly incompatible with imperfective verbs. The distribution of the forms over the determinate and indeterminate VOMs is therefore a result of lexical factors and is not directly linked to the aspect opposition.

### *9.5 Derivational chains with extra derived verbs*

In the discussion of the prefixed Leskien's class II verbs, I showed a link between deviating behaviour of what at first sight appeared to be the imperfective partner in a pair and the presence of an extra derived verb. The supposedly imperfective partner turned out to behave as a perfective verb and the extra derived verb turned out to be the only true imperfective verb in the chain. Except for Leskien's class II verbs, there are a number of other verb families that show extra derived formations (e.g. *sъpověděti - sъpovědati - sъpovědovati*). Important families in this group include prefixed formations of *-věděti*, *-dati*, *-rešti*, and *-jęti*. In Table 9.2 there are some examples of such derivational chains.

| ***Simplex*** | ***Suffixed*** | ***Prefixed*** | ***Prefixed suffixed*** | ***Extra derived***[36] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *věděti* | N/A | *sъpověděti* | *sъpovědati* | *sъpovědovati* |
| 'know' | 'move' | 'announce' | 'announce' | 'announce' |
| *dati* | *dajati* | *podati* | *podajati* | *podavati* |
| 'give' | 'give' | 'give' | 'give' | 'give' |
| *rešti* | N/A | *narešti* | *naricati* | *naricati* |
| 'say' | | 'call' | 'call' | 'call' |
| *jęti* | *imati* | *vъnęti* | *vъnimati* | *vъnimati* |
| 'take' | 'take' | 'notice' | 'notice' | 'notice' |

*Table 9.2 Examples of deviating derivation chains*

The prefixed verbs (*sъpověděti* etc.) have a profile that is similar to that of the prefixed perfective verbs:

[36] When the extra derived infinitive is the same as the prefixed infinitive, the difference is only visible in the present tense stem. The extra derived verbs are derived with the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-*, e.g. prefixed suffixed *naricati, naričǫ* and extra derived *naricati, naricajǫ*.

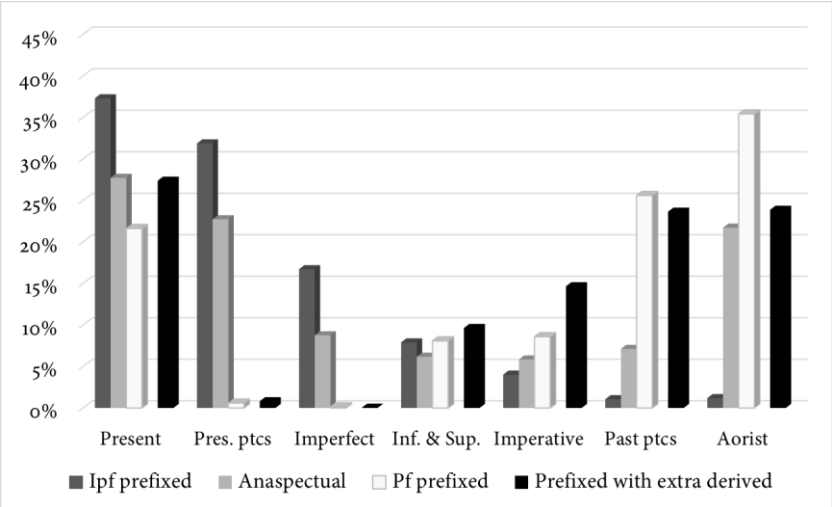


*Figure 9.10 Profile comparison Prefixed with extra derived*

There is a significant albeit small difference between this profile and the perfective prefixed profile,[37] however, functionally I found no difference. The functional similarity to perfective verbs emerges most clearly in the use of present tense forms of these verbs in the translation of Greek future forms:

(290) i togda ***ispověmъ***[pres] imъ . ěko nikoliže znaxъ vasъ [*Z*, *M*]
and then I *will declare* to them, "I never knew you" (Matthew 7:23)

(291) i eže kъ uxu gl[agol]aste . vъ tailištixъ . ***propověstъ***[pres] ***sę*** na krověxъ [*Z*, *M*]
and what you have whispered in the inner rooms *will be proclaimed* upon the housetops (Luke 12:3)

The present tense forms of prefixed formations of derived *-vědatĭ*[38] behave as expected for suffixed verbs, translating Greek present tense forms when used in the present tense:

(292) ***ispovědajǫ***[pres] ***sę*** tebě o[tь]če . g[ospod]i nebu i zemli [*Z*, *M*]
I *praise* You, Father, Lord of heaven and earth (Matthew 11:25)

[37] $\chi 2\ (6) = 255.617, p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.155.
[38] Actually, all forms that occur as either suffixed and/or extra derived are forms of *povědĕti - povědati - povědovati* and prefixed formations of those verbs like *propovědĕti - propovědati - propovědovati*. Hence, there are no attestations of derivations of *sъvědĕti* 'know' or *uvědĕti* 'recognize'.

However, there are some deviating facts. First, extra derived verbs are attested, next to the verbs that look like the imperfective partner, like in the following examples where it occurs as variation between codices:

(293) i ide . i ***načętъ***[aor] ***propovědovati***[inf] . vъ dekapoli . eliko sъtvori emu is[usъ] [*Z*]
i ide i ***načętъ***[aor] ***propovědati***[inf] vъ dekapoli eliko sъtvori emu is[us]ъ [*M*]
and he went away and began *to proclaim* in Decapolis what great things Jesus had done for him (Mark 5:20)

(294) rǫgaaxǫ že sę emu i voini pristǫpajǫšte[PresAP] . i ocetъ ***pridavajǫšte***[PresAP] . emu [*A*]
rǫgajǫšte sę že emu . i voini pristǫpajǫšte[PresAP] . i ocьtъ emu ***pridajǫšte***[PresAP] [*Sk*]
the soldiers also mocked Him, coming up to Him, *offering* Him sour wine (Luke 23:36)

Secondly, there is the deviating profile of the prefixed suffixed verbs of which an extra derived verb is attested, which is similar to the profile of the anaspectual group regarding the rather even distribution of verb forms:[39]

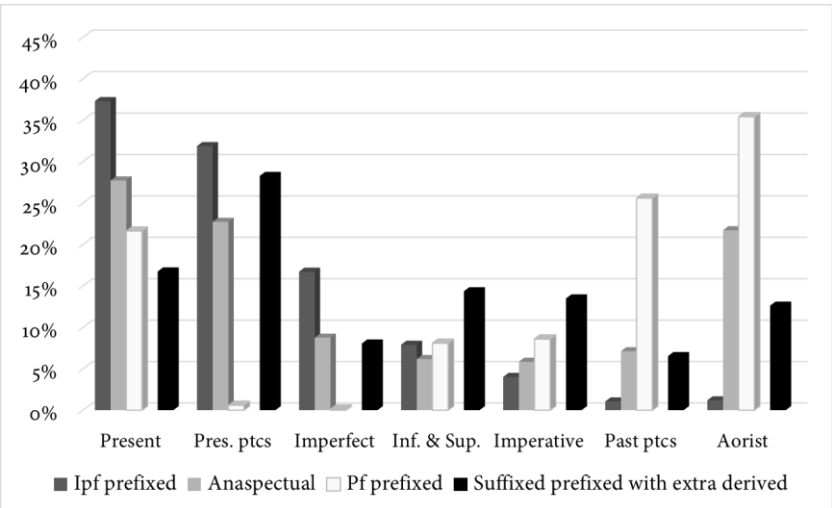


*Figure 9.11 Profile comparison Suffixed prefixed with extra derived*

[39] The profiles differ significantly with a small to medium effect size: $\chi 2$ (6) =135.96, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's V = 0.246. The main difference with the anaspectual profile is the relatively low frequency of present tense attestations as well as aorist attestations.

I should mention that the deviating profile is mostly the result of prefixed forms of *-vědati* (i.e. *povědati* and prefixed formations thereof like *propovědati*). Of the other verbs in this group only *obъmati* (also *obimati*) 'embrace', *oblьgъčati* 'alleviate' and *razdajati* 'distribute' occur in the aorist or past participle (one attestation per verb), which gives the impression that these verbs behave mostly as imperfective verbs. One would need to individually analyse the various verbs more in detail to reach a firmer conclusion, something that is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, there is variation between codices, where one will use prefixed forms of *-věděti* and the other prefixed forms of *-vědati* in the same context in aorist form, without a clear difference in meaning. So while in the present tense the difference is as expected, in the aorist the *-vědati* are functionally indiscernible from their *-věděti* partners. In the following example, *Zographensis* uses an aorist of *ispovědě̀ti* 'confess' and *Assemanianus* an aorist of *ispovědati* 'confess', both translating the Greek aorist *ὡμολόγησεν* 'he confessed':

(295) i ***ispovědě̀***$^{aor}$ ěko něsmь azъ x[rist(os)]ъ [*Z*]
i ***ispověda***$^{aor}$ […] ěko něsmъ azь x[rist(os)]ь [*A*][40]
and he *confessed* […] "I am not the Christ" (John 1:20)

Similar variation can be found in the Gospel codices between *povědě̀ti* 'proclaim' and *povědati* 'proclaim' and *propovědě̀ti* 'preach' and *propovědati* 'preach':

(296) ***povědašę***$^{aor}$ že emu . ěko is[usъ] . nazarěninъ mimoxoditъ [*Z*, *A*, *Sk*]
***povědě̀šę***$^{aor}$ že emu ěko is[us]ъ nazarěninъ [mi]moxoditъ [*M*]
they *told* him that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by (Luke 18:37)

(297) oni že šedъše ***propovědašę***$^{aor}$ vъsǫdu [*A*]
oni že išedъše ***propovědě̀šę***$^{aor}$ vъsǫdě [*M*]
and they went out and *preached* everywhere (Mark 16:20)

The fact that these forms occur as variants could serve as evidence for the hypothesis that the extra derived verbs (*sъpovědovati* etc.) emerged as a means of disambiguation, because, as Schuyt (1990: 7) observes "certain prefixed derived imperfective formations in *-ati -aje-* […] were perfective or aspectually unclear […], [or] could be confused with perfective compounds

[40] *Assemanianus* has the full text, including the middle part where it says: *i ne otvrъže sę . i* ***pověda***$^{aor}$ . 'and did not deny, but *confessed*', with an aorist of *povědati* 'proclaim', again as a translation of the Greek aorist *ὡμολόγησεν*.
A similar variation between *Zographensis* and *Assemanianus* can be found in John 1:18.

[…], or […] had an aorist stem which was homonymous with that of their perfective correlate" (cf. also Chapter 10).

These extra derived verbs have a profile similar to the imperfective prefixed verbs:

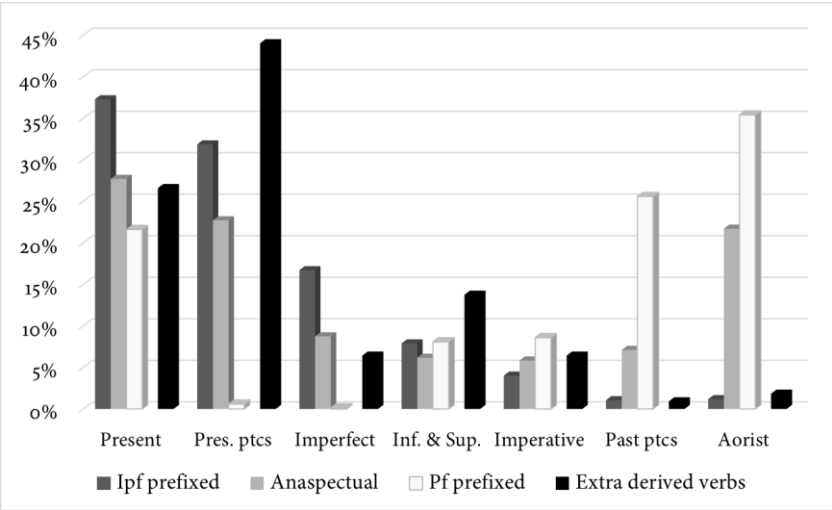


*Figure 9.12 Profile comparison Extra derived verbs*

It is difficult to establish why certain derivational peculiarities have developed. The disambiguation theory as posited by Schuyt (1990) offers a plausible solution, although it works somewhat differently for the various verbs within this group. The division is between the *-vedati* verbs and the other verbs in the group.

First, with regard to *-věděti - -vědati*, confusion between underived and derived forms can be deduced from the variation between codices. The other verb families in this group do not show such variation, nor do the profiles of the other derived verbs show as strong deviations from the imperfective profile as verbs in *-vědati*, that have a large number of aorist and past participle forms.

For prefixed formations of *-vědati* one could hypothesize that the clearest cases of the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* are forms based on the present tense stem, where the *-aje-* element emerges. In the aorist there is no difference between verbs derived with *-ati*, *-je-* and *-ati*, *-aje-*, the aorist ends in *-a-* in both cases. Another form based on the present tense stem is the imperative and it is indeed used to translate Greek present imperatives, indicating a general command, like in the following examples:

(298) poite[impr] g[ospodo]vi prěpodobii ego . ***ispovědaite***[impr] pamjętь sv[ę]tyniję (e)go [*Ps*]
sing praise to the Lord, you His godly ones, And *give thanks* to His holy name (Psalm 29:5)

(299) xodęšte[PresAP] že ***propovědaite***[impr] gl[agol]jǫšte . ěko približi sę c[ěsa]r[ь]s[tv]ie neb[e]skoe [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
and as you go, *preach*, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matthew 10:7)

Possibly, the *-vědati* verbs were felt to express perfective aspect in forms based on the infinitive stem and imperfective aspect in forms based on the present stem (cf. Chapter 10).

All other verbs in this group, except for the *-věděti -vedati* pairs, share the characteristic that the derived verb has an *-ati -je-* suffix (e.g. *narešti, naričǫ* 'call', *obьmati, obemljǫ* 'embrace', *razdajati, razdajǫ* 'distribute'). This is a situation that is reminiscent of the partners of Leskien's class II verbs. It appears that the presence of a prefix in absence of suffixation with the suffix *-ati, -aje-*, results in uncertainty about the aspectual status of the verb (cf. Chapter 10). Or, as Schuyt (1990: 416) puts it: "prefixed formations of such verbs [i.e. verbs with the suffix *-ati, -je-*, JK] were often felt to be perfective compounds". So even if these verbs were not the derivational base verb, they did not 'feel' imperfective in OCS and could thus become part of the perfective half of the system. This can also account for the extra derived verbs that occur in this group. However, unlike the prefixed formations of *-vedati*, the other verbs in this group do not show perfective behaviour.

By taking into account the deviating morphological properties of these verbs, I was able to eliminate verbs like *povědati* 'proclaim' and *zapovědati* 'charge' from the core group. This resulted in a much clearer profile for the imperfective verbs, with much less aorist and past participle attestations.

### *9.6 The verb byti*

As I already noted, the profile of the verb *byti* cannot really be compared to other verb profiles, simply because of the fact that *byti* has forms that other verbs do not have, namely the forms I refer to as future forms (*bǫdǫ, bǫdeší*) the conditional (*bimь, bî*) and the participle I refer to as future participle (*bǫdy, bǫdǫšta*) [41]. Dostál (1954: 146-154) ascribes different aspectual characteristics to the various forms of *byti* as follows:

[41] The nominative singular *bǫdy* is not attested in OCS.

| *Verb form* | *Aspect according to Dostál* |
|---|---|
| Pres (*esmъ, esi*) | Imperfective |
| Impf (*běaxъ, běaše* and *běxъ, bě*)[42] | Imperfective |
| Aor (*byxъ, by*) | Both perfective and imperfective |
| Impr (*bǫdi, bǫdemъ*) | Both perfective and imperfective |
| PresAPI (*sy, sǫšta*) | Imperfective |
| PastAPI (*byvъ, byvъša*) | Both perfective and imperfective |
| PastAPII (*bylъ*) | Imperfective |
| Inf (*byti*) | Both perfective and imperfective |
| Future (*bǫdǫ, bǫdeši*) | Both perfective and imperfective |
| Future participle (*bǫdy, bǫdǫšta*) | Imperfective[43] |
| Conditional (*bimъ, bi*)[44] | Depends on main verb |

*Table 9.3 Dostál's aspectual classification of forms of byti*

The main dividing line for Dostál is the question whether the verb *byti* expresses 'become' (*fieri*) or 'be' (*esse*). This is reminiscent of the difference between 'be afraid' and 'become afraid', which can both be expressed by the anaspectual verb *bojati sę* (cf. section 8.3.2). Translated into the terminology I use in this study, it appears that some of the forms of *byti* like present tense *esmъ* and imperfect *běaxъ/bě* are used only in aterminative predicates with the meaning 'be', while other forms, like the future *bǫdǫ* and the aorist *byxъ* occur in both terminative and aterminative predicates. In both cases the verb would classify as an anaspectual verb, since it occurs in aterminative predicates.

For a detailed discussion of the verb *byti* and its grammatical profile, the question whether it concerns one verb or two verbs, the various constructions in which it occurs and comparison with the Greek original, I refer to Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014a and 2014b). Below, I will give a few examples which for the present study suffice to explain the position of *byti* within the OCS aspect system. For this I will concentrate mainly on the future forms (*bǫdǫ*), since these are actually a second set of present tense forms (formed on another stem) that usually have a future interpretation, which are opposed to the

[42] The form *bě* is sometimes also referred to as aorist. For a discussion and an overview of the various views on this subject see Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014a).

[43] Dostál (1954: 148-149) notes that the future participle is only used as an adjective and he does not consider it to be a participle in OCS.

[44] The conditional is morphologically strongly influenced by the aorist and there are many attestations of an aorist in a conditional context like in the *Zographensis* and *Marianus* in John 8:39 *ašte čęda avramlě* ***byste*** *byli . děla avraamlě tvorili* ***byste*** [*Z, M*] 'If you were Abraham's children, you would do the deeds of Abraham' (my translation). Codex *Assemanianus* has the expected conditional forms: *ašte čęda avramlě* ***biste*** *byli . děla avraamlě tvorili* ***biste*** [*A*] (cf. Diels 1963: 280).

'normal' present tense forms (*esmь*).[45] This results in an opposition between *esmь* and *bodǫ* that is reminiscent of the opposition between perfective and imperfective present tense forms (e.g. *ostavljǫ - ostavljajǫ*). However, I will argue that the future forms of *byti* are not perfective.

First, the future forms of *byti* can also occur in generalized utterances, like in the following example translating a Greek present tense form (*γίνεται* 'it becomes') alongside present tense forms of imperfective verbs, like *pristavljati* and the derived verb *vъzimati*:

(300) nikъtože pristavlenič plata ne bělena . ne pristavlěetъ[pres] rizě vetъsě . ašte li že ni . vъzъmetъ[pres] konьcь otъ neję novoe . otъ vetъxaego . i gorьši dirě ***bǫdetъ***[fut] [*Z*, *M*]
no one sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment; otherwise the patch pulls away from it, the new from the old, and a worse tear *results* (Mark 2:21)

While (300) could still be seen as a terminative predicate in which the inherent boundary is presented as being attained (cf. the exemplary use of perfective present forms, section 8.1.2.1), there are plenty of examples that are undoubtedly aterminative, like the following example which also occurs as example (28) in Chapter 4 and example (99) in Chapter 9:

(301) gl[agol]jǫ že vamъ . vъ tǫ noštь ***bǫdete***[fut] dъva . na loži edinomь . edinъ poemletъ[pres] sę a drugy ostavlěetъ[pres] [*Z*, *M*]
I tell you, on that night there *will be* two in one bed; one will be taken and the other will be left (Luke 17:34)

Again the future form of *byti* occurs in the same context as the present tense of an imperfective verb *ostavljati* 'leave' as well as the present tense of *poimati* 'take away' which generally appears to behave as the an imperfective verb in opposition to perfective *pojęti* 'take away'.[46]

The future of *byti* is also used in translation of the Greek present subjunctive, again not indicating a change of state, only a desired state:

[45] Which is not to say that the 'normal present tense forms' do not occur in the translation of Greek future forms. However, when it does, it is in a context in which the future form is used in a generalized utterance like in Matthew 12:11 *onъ že reče imъ . kъto* ***estъ***[pres] *otъ vasъ č[love]kъ iže imatъ ovьcę edino . i ašte vъpadetъ sę vъ sǫbotǫ vъ ěmǫ . ne izъmetъ li ego* [*Z*, *M*] 'And He said to them, "What man *is* there among you who has a sheep, and if it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will he not take hold of it and lift it out?"'. Note that the English translation also does not translate Greek *ἔσται* with a future construction (some translations do, like the *New American Standard Bible 1995* 'What man shall there be among you, who shall have one sheep, and if it falls into a pit on the Sabbath, will he not take hold of it, and lift it out?').

[46] The Greek original has only future forms in this text.

(302) ***da bǫdetъ***[fut] milostyni tvoě vъ taině [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
so that your giving *will be* in secret (Matthew 6:4)

Such examples demonstrate that the future forms of *byti* and the present tense forms are not equal to perfective presents, even though they share the future function with the perfective present. In the sense of 'be', the future forms are aterminative, irrespective of the question whether it refers to a future event, or to a generalized event.

There are also instances in which the future forms of *byti* are used in terminative predicates. The following is such an example, where *bǫdetъ* translates a Greek subjunctive aorist, *γένηται* 'it becomes':

(303) dobre estъ solь . ašte li že solь neslana ***bǫdetъ***[fut] . o čemь jǫ osolite [*Z*, *M*]
salt is good; but if the salt *becomes* unsalty, with what will you make it salty (Mark 9:50)

The fact that future forms of *byti* are used in both terminative and aterminative predicates, indicate that *byti* is an anaspectual verb. However, it is not an ordinary anaspectual verb, because there is a derived partner *byvati*. Dostál (1954: 147, 151) considers the verb *byvati* to be the derived partner for the terminative usage of *byti* (303). In other words: while forms of *byti* never inherently express a change of situation like a perfective verbs would, they allow a terminative interpretation and in some predicates this interpretation can hardly be avoided. In cases where the speaker explicitly wants to defocus the inherent boundary, *byvati* can be used. The verb *byvati* is therefore used in habitual utterances or to express incremental change (ibidem: 501). The following two examples demonstrate the habitual use:

(304) i eliko ašte prikasaaxǫ[impf] sę emь . s[ъ]p[as]eni ***byvaaxǫ***[impf] [*Z*, *M*]
and as many as touched it *were* cured (Mark 6:56, my translation)

(305) a[n]ǵ[e]lъ bo g[ospodi]nь na vьsě lěta . myěše sę vъ kǫpěli . i vъzmǫštaaše vodǫ . i iže prъvěe vъlažaše po vъzmǫšteni vody . sъdravъ ***byvaaše***[impf] [*Z*, *M*, *A*] [47]
for an angel of the Lord went down at certain seasons into the pool and stirred up the water; whoever then first, after the stirring up of the water, stepped in *was made* well (John 5:4)

[47] It is interesting to see that Greek uses the infrequently attested indicative imperfect of *γίγνομαι* 'become', *ἐγίνετο*, in this text. The indicative aorist of *γίγνομαι*, *ἐγένετο* occurs 255 times in the New Testament, while *ἐγίνετο* appears only three times; once in John 5:4 and twice in Acts (Acts 2:43 and 5:12). The shared characteristic of all three attestations is habituality or iterativity.

The imperfect of *byti* would not fit in these examples as it is almost never used to translate forms of Greek *γίγνομαι* 'become' (cf. Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset 2014b); it normally translates Greek *εἰμὶ* 'be'.[48]

The use of *byvati* is, as mentioned, in contexts of incremental change, as in the following example translating the Greek indicative present *γίνεται* 'become':

(306) viděvъ že pilatъ . ěko ničьsože uspěetъ . nъ pače mlьva ***byvaetъ***[pres] . priimъ vodǫ umy rǫcě prěda narodomь [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
when Pilate saw that he was accomplishing nothing, but rather that a riot *was starting,* he took water and washed his hands in front of the multitude (Matthew 27:24)

This example contrasts with the following example, in which a Greek subjunctive aorist *γένηται* 'it becomes' is translated and the event referred to is presented as a future complete event:

(307) g[lago]laxǫ že . nъ ne vъ prazdьnikъ . da ne mlьva ***bǫdetъ***[fut] vъ ljudexъ [*Z*, *M*, *A*, *Sk*]
but they were saying, "Not during the festival, otherwise a riot might *occur* among the people" (Matthew 26:5)

In the *Zographensis* there is an example where the present tense of *byvati* is used where other codices use the future forms of *byti* (again translating the Greek indicative present *γίνεται*):

(308) věste ěko po vъvoju dьnu pasxa ***byvaetъ***[pres] [*Z*]
věste ěko po vъvoju dьnu pasxa ***bǫdetъ***[fut] [*M*, *A*, *Sk*]
you know that after two days the Passover *is coming* (Matthew 26:2)[49]

This variation can be compared to the variation in example (273), where the derived form *pogybaemъ* 'we are perishing' is used to express the imminence of the event (like *byvaetъ* does), the event is construed as actually occurring the moment of speech, while the underived form *pogyblemъ* 'we will perish' focuses on the occurrence of the event after the moment of speech (like *bǫdetъ*).

The examples of *byvati* in contrast with *byti* show an opposition that has similarities with the aspect opposition, although *byti* cannot be seen as a true

[48] Out of the 47 examples Eckhoff, Janda & Nesset (2014b) found, only 1 is a translation of *γίγνομαι*.

[49] The modern Macedonian Bible translation uses an imperfective present *nastapuva* 'come, arrive', much like *Zographensis*, while the modern Bulgarian translation uses a future tense, *šte bъde* 'will be', much like the other codices.

perfective partner, because it often occurs in aterminative predicates and, hence, does not present a complete terminative event. As said, the opposition between the 'be' and the 'become' meaning within the paradigm of *byti* can be compared to the different construals (terminative and aterminative) that *bojati sę* 'be afraid' or *diviti sę* 'marvel' allow and is thus different from the opposition that Slavic-style aspect expresses. The plasticity of the future forms of *byti* with regard to allowing terminative and aterminative construals is a characteristic of anaspectual verbs, which fits in with the position on the aspect dimension in Figure 7.7 and Table 7.3.

With the analysis of *byti* I have reached the end of the discussion of the position of the 'other groups'.

### *9.7 Concluding remarks*

In this chapter I have analysed a number of groups that are less central to the aspect system, and of which it was not clear at the outset how they would score on the aspect dimension. Interestingly, the inclusion of these other groups did not change the basic picture of the aspect dimension. However, the functional analysis of individual attestations of verbs from the various groups reveals a lot about the mechanisms that are at work in the OCS verbal aspect system. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the position of the groups on the aspect dimension and the semantic analysis of individual examples:

1. Prefixation without suffixation often results in terminative verbs (Prefixed verbs without a partner, prefixed Leskien's class II partners, prefixed VOMs);
2. Suffixation with the suffix *-nǫti*, *-ne-* also often results in terminative verbs (Leskien's class II verbs);
3. Such terminative verbs have a perfective profile and show perfective functions;
4. One characteristic seen in verbs that cluster with the anaspectual group (Determinate VOMs, *byti*) is the possibility to allow both aterminative and terminative construals ;
5. Morphological categorization is only the first step in the determination of the aspect of a verb. It needs to be followed up with a semantic analysis. A closer look often reveals variation within a morphologically defined group (Prefixed verbs without a partner, Leskien's class II verbs and partners, Derivational chains with extra derived verbs);
6. Some verb pairs with a different origin show the exact same aspectual opposition as perfective and imperfective verbs (Prefixed VOMs);
7. Some pairs that are not completely identical to aspect pairs still show a distribution of forms and functions that reveals parallels to the

distribution as found for perfective and imperfective verbs (Unprefixed Leskien's class II verbs);

8. The existence of extra derived forms are an indication of straightening out irregularities in the system, showing the importance of the suffix *-ati*, *-aje-* in the system and possibly the rise of the suffix *-ovati*, *-uje-*(*-yvat'*, *-yva-*/*-ivat'*, *-iva-* in Modern Russian) as the new standard for aspectual suffixation;
9. Grammatical profiles are a good indicator of the aspect of the verb, but lexical characteristics influence the group profile too (Determinate VOMs, indeterminate VOMs).

In the following chapter, I will discuss a number of verbs that only show an aspectual opposition in forms that are derived from the present stem. These verbs could not be statistically analysed like the other verbs, because their paradigm differs greatly from the standard paradigm, but the morphological means by which some forms are derived, are the same as in the derivation of imperfective verbs. I will analyse the use of the various verb forms and compare it to the findings for perfective, imperfective and anaspectual verbs in the present chapter.