

HENNING ANDERSEN

Old Church Slavonic

Morphosyntactic structures – Part 1: Nominal structures

Overview

- Linearization
- Gender
- Number
- Case
- Referentiality
 - Definiteness
 - Partitivity
- Possession

Linearization

N – D

očlověkъ tъ ‘that man’

srъdъce vaše ‘your heart’

N – A

voljъ otъčъ ‘the Father’s will’

otъče pravědъnyi ‘Oh just
Father’

D – N

vsěkъ grěxъ ‘every sin’

eterъ kramolъ ‘some riot’

A – N

Cěsari gradě ‘in Emperor City’

zъly rabe ‘Bad servant!’

Linearization

N – Q

Q – N

dva razboinika ‘two robbers’

devęť mužb ‘nine men’

Gender

- Lexical vs. referential gender

Inherited genders vs. Developing
Personal/Nonpersonal

(1) *ty esi učenik-ъ t-ogo*

you are disciple-NOM.SG that-M.GEN.SG

you are a disciple of **that one/man**

Gender

- Gender vs. declension class
- Gender allomorphy in o-decl. (1), a-decl. (2), i-decl. (3):

(2.a) o-declension

NOM–ACC. MASC vs. NEUT:

SG *grad-**ъ*** vs. *sel-**o***, DU *grad-**a*** vs. *sel-**ě***,
*grad-**i***.NOM.PL, *grad-**y***.ACC.PL vs. *sel-**a***.NOM–ACC.PL

‘city’ vs. ‘village’

(2.b) ACC.SG. PERS vs. NONPERS:

*učenik-**a*** vs. *grad-**ъ*** ‘disciple’ vs. ‘city’

(2.c) DAT.SG. PERS vs. NONPERS:

*syn-**ovi*** vs. *grad-**u*** ‘son’ vs. ‘city’

Gender

(3) a-declension

INS.SG: MASC VS. FEM (MASC.PERS reference)

Isaij-a – Isaij-emь vs. *Marth-a – Marth-o*

(4) i-declension

INS.SG: MASC vs. FEM

pqt-b – pqt-bmь ‘road’ vs. *kost-b – kost-bjo* ‘bone’

NOM.PL: MASC vs. FEM

pqt-bje vs. *kost-i*

Gender

- Agreement: Gender vs. inflection class

(5) *zъl-omъ sokačij-amъ*

bad-M.DAT.PL cooks(M)-DAT.PL

bad cooks

(6) *slug-y [...] moj-ę*

servants(M)-NOM.PL [...] my-F.NOM.PL

my servants

- Gender resolution: Agreement with the nearest noun

(7) *vъsěk-ъ grěx-ъ i xul-a*

every-M.NOM.SG sin(M)-NOM.SG and blasphemy(F)-
NOM.SG

every sin and blasphemy

Number

- Plural and dual are obligatory
- Number variation occurs with plural possessors of body parts:

(1) *skrъbbъ isplъni srъdъc-a vaš-a* Var. *srъdъc-e vaš-e*
grief filled hearts-**PL** your-**PL** heart-**SG** your-**SG**
grief has filled your hearts

(2) *ašte ne umyjotъ rъk-u*, var. *rъk-ъ*
if not wash.PRS.3PL hands-**GEN.DU** Var. **-GEN.PL**
if they do not wash their hands

Number

- Number agreement is with the nearest head:

(3) *ideže bo es-te dъv-a li tr-be sъbran-i* (Mt 18,20)

where for be:PRS-3DU two-DU or three-PL gathered-PL

for where two or three are gathered

- Pluralia tantum:

(4) *dъv-a* 'firewood', *pěn-y* 'foam', *slin-y* 'saliva', *ljud-ьje* 'people',

- Plural for dual

(5) *vrat-a.PL* 'gate', *ustъn-y.PL* 'lips', *prъs-i.PL* 'bosom, chest',
dvъr-i.PL 'door' (also *dvъr-ь.SG*)

Number

- Collectives for plurals:

(6) *bratr-ъ* ‘brother’ – *bratr-ъj(F)-a*.SG ‘brothers’,
kamy ~ *kamen-ъ* ‘stone’ – *kamen-ъj(N)-e*.SG ‘stones’,

(7) *bratij-a že v-s-a pristopi-v’š-e pad-ošę*
brother(COLL.F)-NOM.SG PTCL all-F.NOM.SG approach-PST.PTCP-
M.NOM.PL fall-AOR.3PL

all the brethren who came up fell

- Singulatives for members of social groups:

(8) *ljud-ъ*.SG ‘folk’ – *ljud-in-ъ*.SG ‘man of the people’, *ljud-in-a*.DU
gražd-an-e.PL ‘burghers’ – *graždan-in-ъ*.SG ‘burgher’, *graždan-in-a*.DU
žid-ov-e.PL ‘jews’ – *žid-ov-in-ъ*.SG ‘jew’, *žid-ov-in-a*.DU,

Case

- Nominative
- Accusative
- Genitive
- Locative
- Dative
- Instrumental

Case

- Numeral Phrase syntax: Nominative
 - Numerator vs. denominator

(1) 2: **dъv-a.NOM.DU** grad-**a.NOM.DU**

12: **dъv-a** na desęt-e.LOC.SG grad-**a.NOM.DU**

20: dъv-a **desęt-i.NOM.DU** grad-**ъ.GEN.PL**

(2) 3: **tr-ъje.NOM.PL** grad-**i.NOM.PL**

13: **tr-ъje** na desęte grad-**i.NOM.PL**

30: tr-ъje **desęt-e.NOM.PL** grad-**ъ.GEN.PL**

(3) 5: **pęt-ъ.NOM.SG** grad-**ъ.GEN.PL**

15: **pęt-ъ** na desęte grad-**ъ.GEN.PL**

50: **pęt-ъ desęt-ъ.GEN.PL** grad-**ъ.GEN.PL**

Case

- Numeral Phrase syntax: Gender agreement

(4) *priobrěte drug-ojŕ pęt-b talant-b* (Mt 25,16)

gain:AOR.3SG other-F.ACC.SG five(F)-ACC.SG talent-GEN.PL

he gained another five talents

(5) *poimetъ съ sob-ojŕ sedm-b in-ěxъ dux-b*

took with self-INS.SG seven(F)-ACC.SG different-M.GEN.PL

spirit(M)-GEN.PL

he took with him seven other spirits

Case

- Number agreement: Grammatical vs. referential

(6) *devět-ь muž-ь krъstijan-y zatvoren-y*

nine-ACC.SG men-GEN.PL Christian-ACC.PL imprisoned-ACC.PL

nine men, Christian prisoners

(7) *egda isplъn-i sę osm-ь dъn-ii* (L 2,21; Zogr, Ass)

when complete(AOR)-3SG REFL eight-NOM.SG day-GEN.PL

when eight days had passed Var. *isplъni(AOR)-šę.3PL sę* (Mar, Sav)

Referentiality: Definiteness

(1) privěse kъ njemu slěp-a
brought.AOR3PL to him blind-**INDF**.ACC.SG
they brought a blind [man] to him

i imъ slěp-**aego** za rōkō
and taking.PST.PTCP blind-**DEF**.ACC.SG by hand
and taking the blind [man] by the hand

Definiteness

- (a) Set phrases: Indefinite

(2) *is prъv-a*

from first-**INDF**
Wednesday

from the beginning

velik-ъ dьnъ

great-**INDF** day

Easter Sunday

въ velik-ŕ srědě

on great-**INDF**

on Ash Wednesday

- (b) Participles in apposition: Definite

(3) *za eter-ŕ kramol-ŕ byvъš-ŕjŕ въ gradě*

for some(IDEF)-**F.ACC.SG** riot(**F**)-**ACC.SG**
having:occurred-**DEF.F.ACC.SG** in city

for some riot that had occurred in the city

Definiteness

- (c) Coordinated adjectivals

(4) *zъl-yję i dobr-y*

bad-DEF.ACC.PL ... and good-INDF.ACC.PL

the bad and the good

(5) *slyš-ę-i slovesa moja i tvor-ę ja* [...] (L 6,47)

hear-ing-DEF words my and do-ing.INDF them [...]

he who hears my words and does them [...]

Definiteness

- (d) Definiteness in numerals

(6) *priemъ pęt-ъ xlěb-ъ i ob-ě ryb-ě* (Mt 14,19)

take:PST.ACT.PTCP five-ACC.SG loaf-GEN.PL and both-F.ACC.DU fish(F)-ACC.DU

having:taken [the] five loaves and the two fish

(7) *jedin-uemu na desęte* (Mk 14,16)

one-DEF.DAT.SG on ten

to the eleven [disciples]

(8) *desęt-ii* [For: ...t-b-j-b]

ten(M)-DEF.M.NOM.SG

the ten [disciples]

Partitivity

- (a) Direct object

(1) *vъkusi [...] vin-a* (J 2,9)

tasted.AOR.3SG wine-GEN.SG

he tasted the wine

(2) *da [...] život-a věčьn-aago ima-te*

OPT life-GEN.SG eternal-DEF.GEN.SG have-PRS.2PL

that you may have eternal life

Partitivity

- (b) Subject of negated verb of existence or presence

(3) *Isus-a ne bystъ tu ni učenik-ъ ego*

Jesus-GEN.SG not was there nor disciple-GEN.PL his

Jesus was not there, nor his disciples

(4) *svět-a da ne sijajetъ*

light-GEN.SG OPT not shine.PRS.3SG

May no light shine

Partitivity

- (c) Negated direct object

(5) *ne vьžizaetъ li světilynik-a i pomet-etъ xramin-y* (L 15,8)

not light-PRS.3SG=Q lamp-GEN.SG and sweep-PRS.3SG house-GEN.SG

will she not light a lamp and sweep out the house

- (d) Negated adverbial accusative of duration

(6) *ne vьzmož-e edin-ogo čas-a pobdě-ti* (Mt 26,40)

not could:AOR-2SG one-GEN.SG hour-GEN.SG wake-INF

you could not stay awake one hour

Possession

- Possessive adjectives

(1) učenic-i Ioan-**ov**-i

pupil-NOM.PL John-**POSS**-NOM.PL

John's disciples

(2) *evanġeli-ě Isuxrist-**ov**-a syn-a Bož-**ij**-a* (M 1,1)

gospel-GEN.SG Jesus-Christ-**POSS**-GEN.SG son-GEN.SG God-**POSS**-GEN.SG

the gospel of Jesus Christ, God's son

(3) *otъ [...]
gradъc-a Mari-**in**-a*

from village-GEN.SG Mary-**POSS**-GEN.SG

from Mary's village

Possession

- Plural possessor

(4) *slug-y ljuděi-sk-y* (J 18,12)

servant-NOM.PL Jews-POSS-NOM.PL

the Jew's servants

- Coordinated possessors

(5) *otъ [...] gradъc-a Mari-in-a i Mart-y sestr-y eę* (J 1,11)

from village(M)-GEN.SG Mary-POSS-M.GEN.SG and Martha-GEN sister-GEN.SG
her.GEN.SG

from the village of Mary and Martha, her sister

Possession

- Possessive dative

(6) *dělatel-e nepravьd-ě* (L 13,27)

doer-NOM.PL injustice.DAT.SG

doers of injustice

(7) *xram-ъ molitv-ě*

house-NOM.SG prayer-DAT.SG

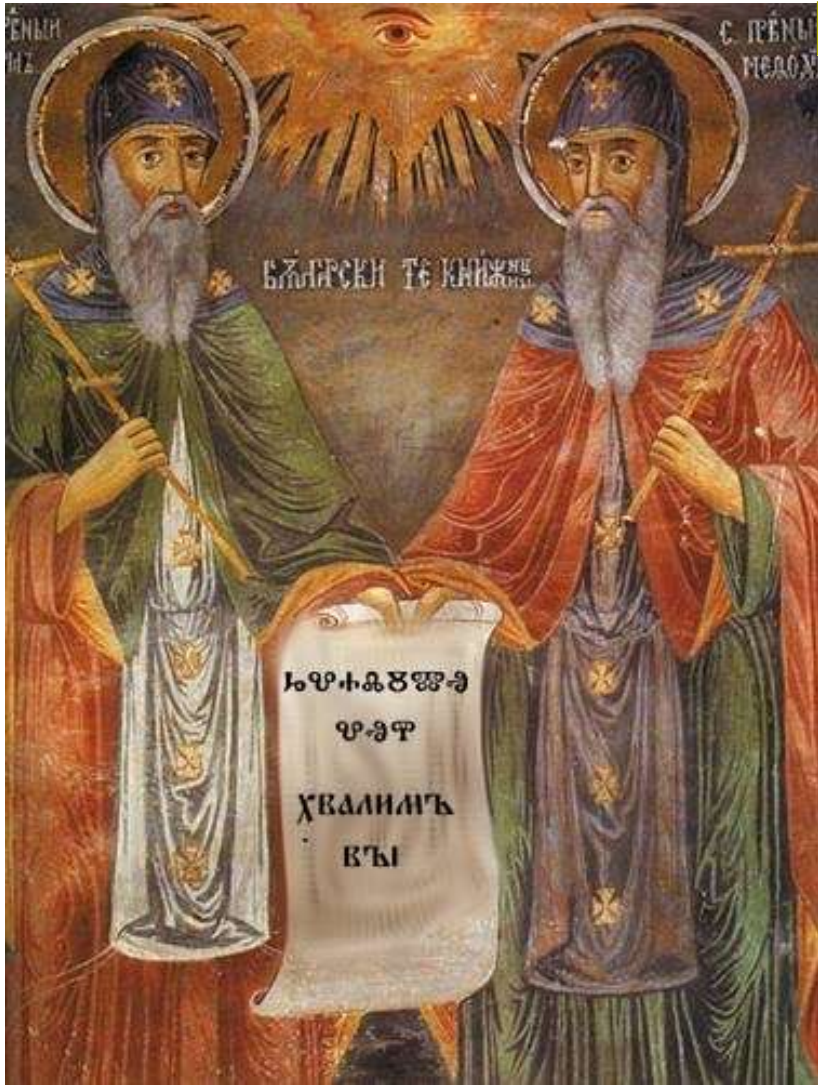
house of prayer

(8) *въ zeml-ѡ Gerъgesin-omъ* (Mt 8,28) Var. *Gergesin-sk-ѡ*

to land-ACC.SG Gergesian-DAT.PL

Gergesian-POSS-ACC.SG

to the land of the Gergesians



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ich habe es nach links geschoben, weil die Folie auf dem Schirm dann schräg ist und was rechts ist erscheint viel kleiner

Saverio Dalpedri; 16.07.2019