Old Church Slavonic

Morphosyntactic structures – Part 2: Adpositional structures. Predication
Outline

- Adpositional structure
  - Linearization: Prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions
  - Case selection
  - Headedness

- Predication
  - Linearization. Alignment. Argument realization
  - Voice and valency change
  - Aspect
  - Tense
Adpositions

Coordinated complements

(1) *vъ slъnъc-i i lun-ě l dzvězd-axъ*
   in sun-LOC.SG and moon-LOC.SG and star-LOC.PL
   in the Sun, the Moon, and the stars

(2) *vidimy bestudi-ě radi, nevidimy že liceměriě* (Euch. 53b,22)
   visible shamelessness-GEN.SG by and invisible hypocrisy-GEN.SG
   visible by their shamelessness and invisible by their hypocrisy

Headedness

(3) *vrъxu gory* ‘on top of the mountain’
(4) *plavaxǫ vrъxu* ‘they floated on top’
Predication: Predicatives

(1) *Grigori-i postavjen-ъ by-stъ patriarch-ъ* [For: *Grigorij-ъ*]
Gregory-NOM.SG installed-NOM.SG be-AOR.3SG patriarch-NOM.SG
Gregory was installed as patriarch

(2) *sъtvorj-ǫ v-a lovьc-a člověk-omъ* (Mt 4,19)
make-PRS.1SG you-ACC.DU fisher-ACC.DU man-DAT.PL
I shall make you fishers of men
Predicatives

(3) obrět-e otrokovic-ǫ ležěšt-ǫ na odr-ě (M 7,30)
find-AOR.3SG girl(F)-ACC.SG lying-F.ACC.SG on bed-LOC.SG
he found the girl lying on the bed

(4) ne bqd-i nikto že ljud-ojǫ (Supr. 420,10)
not=be:IMPV-3SG no-one:NOM=PTCL Judas-INS
may no-one be a Judas

(5) děv-ojǫ bo bě Ey-a (Supr. 489,9)
virgin-INS.SG=for be-IPF.3SG Eve-NOM.SG
for Eve was a virgin
Agreement

- Grammatical vs. referential number

(6) *ves-_SECURITY nerod-_SECURITY divlj-_SECURITY ěax-SECURITY sę* (M 11,18)
  all-NOM.SG crowd-NOM.SG amaze-IPF-3PL REFL
  the whole crowd were amazed

(7) *ves-_SECURITY grad-_SECURITY izid-SECURITY* (Mt 8,34)
  all-NOM.SG town-NOM.SG go:out-AOR.3PL
  the whole town came out  Var. *izid-e go:out-AOR.3SG*
Agreement

- Null arguments

(8) \textit{piše-tѣ}

write-PRS.3SG ‘it is written’

(9) \textit{vedro}

[be:PRS.3SG] clear:sky

the sky is blue. Contrast: \textit{bѣ:IMPF.3SG vedro} ‘the sky was blue’
Agreement

- Zero copula

(10)  ❋  dux-ь bo bьdr-ь а plьт-ь nemoštn-a (Mt 26,41)
spirit(M)-NOM.SG=for willing-M.NOM.SG but flesh(F)-NOM.SG weak-F.NOM.SG
for the spirit *is* willing, but the flesh *is* weak

(11)  ❋  dьn-ь=s-ь zimen-ь
day(M)-NOM.SG=this.M.NOM.SG cold-M.NOM.SG
it’s cold today
Voice and valency change: Valency augmentation

(a) Causative. Verb-class derivation. Unproductive

1) ležati ‘lie’ — (po)ložiti ‘lay’
   stati ‘stand up’ — staviti ‘place’
   světěti ‘shine’ — světiti
   ‘illuminate’
   bđěti ‘wake’ — bđiti ‘waken’

(b) Causative. Auxiliated. Productive

2) sъtvor-ite člověk-y vъzleš-ti (J 6,10)
   make-IMPV.2PL man-ACC.PL lie:up-INF
   make the people lie down [to eat]
Valency augmentation

(c) Applicative. Prefixation. Productive

(3) *xoditi* intr. ‘go’ — *pro:xoditi* more ‘cross the sea’ (Mt 23,15)
   — *mimo:xoditi* *sędъ* ‘bypass justice’ (L 11,42)
   *sěsti/sędǫtъ* ‘sit down’ — *o:sędǫtъ* *tę* ‘they will besiege you’ (L 19,43)
   *sijati* ‘shine’ — *o:siē ję* ‘surrounded them with light’ (L 2,9)
   *pljьvati/pljujǫtъ* ‘spit’ — *o:pljujǫtъ* *i* ‘they will spit on him’ (M 10,34)
Valency reduction

(a) Auxiliated Passive. Productive

(4) \textit{věn-im-ě es-te} (Mt 10,29)
\begin{itemize}
  \item sold-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.DU be-3DU
  \item [two sparrows] are sold
\end{itemize}

(5) \textit{vьsěko ubo drěv-o posěka-em-o byva-etъ}
\begin{itemize}
  \item every=for tree(N)-NOM.SG fell-PRS.PASS.PTCP-N be:HAB-PRS.3SG
  \item for every tree will be felled
\end{itemize}

(6) \textit{pьsa-n-o es-tъ}
\begin{itemize}
  \item write-PST.PASS.PTCP-N be-PRS.3SG
  \item it is written
\end{itemize}
Valency reduction

(7) *juže dvъr-i zatvor-en-y s-ǫtъ*
   already door(F)-NOM.PL close-PST.PASS.PTCP-F.PL be-3PL
   already the door is closed

(8) *zatvor-en-y by-š-ę dvъr-i*
   close-PST.PASS.PTCP-F.PL be-AOR-3SG door(F)-NOM.PL
   the door was closed

(b) Reflexive passive. Productive

(9) *ved-čaš-e sę dux-ǫтъ*
   lead-IPF-3SG REFL spirit-INS.SG
   he was led by [his] spirit
Valency reduction

(10) isxodę-št-iimъ [... ] krъsti-tъ sę otъ nego
Going:out-DAT.PL.DEF baptize-SUP REFL by him:GEN.SG
For:those going out to be baptized by him

(11) tlъc-ě-te i otvъz-etъ sę v-amъ
knock-IMPV-2PL and open-PRS.3SG REFL you-DAT.PL
knock and [there] will be opened for you
Valency reduction

(c) Reflexive Middle

(12) světěti se ‘shine’, bojati se ‘be fearful’, gněvati se ‘be annoyed’,
diviti se ‘marvel’, kajati se ‘rue’, nadějati se ‘hope’, postiti se
‘fast’, ....

(13) klęti ‘curse’ vs. klęti se ‘swear’, oběštati ‘promise’ vs. oběštati se
‘commit oneself’, věděti ‘know’ vs. věděti se ‘understand’, ....

(14) ne věd-ěť bo se čýto tvorěť (L23,34)
not know-PRS.3PL=for=REFL what do-PRS.3PL
for they do not understand what they are doing
Aspect

- OCS Aspect categories

2. Imperfective verbs of (loco)motion: Determinate vs. Indeterminate verbs.
4. Retrospective: Auxiliated Perfect, Pluperfect, and Future Perfect vs. the (simple) Present vs. (Imperfect vs. Aorist) vs. Prospective.
5. Prospective: Auxiliated present (termed Future) and past (Future in the Past).
Perfective vs. imperfective

- The vast majority of simplex verbs are Imperfective.
- A small number are Perfective, and another small number are aspect neutral. Viewpoint aspect is lexicalized as Perfective vs. Imperfective verbs.
- From simplex verbs Perfective verbs are derived with a dozen preverbs and a single stem suffix (-nǫ-).
- From Perfective verbs corresponding Imperfective verbs are derived by suffixation or stem suffix replacement.
- Preverbs:
  - въ- (вън-), въз-, въ-, do-, za-, iz-, mimo-, na-, nadъ-, nizъ, obъ (o-), otъ (ot-, o-), po, podъ, pri, прѣ-, прѣдъ, raz-, съ- (сън-), u-
Perfective vs. imperfective

(1) *slyšęi slovesa moja i tvorę ja [...] podobьnъ estъ člověku ziždǫštu*

hear(IPFV)-PRS.PTCP words my and do(IPFV)-PRS.PTCP like is man build(IPFV)-PRS.PTCP
he who hears my words and does them is like a man who is building

*xraminǫ [...] na kamene; [...] slyšavyi i ne tvorjь*

house [...] on rock; [...] hear(IPFV)-PST.PTCP and not do(IPFV)-PST.PTCP
a house on a rock; [the one] who heard but was not doing

*podobьnъ estъ člověku sъzdavъšu xraminǫ bez osnovanja*

like is man build(PFV)-PST.PTCP house without foundation
is like a man who has built a house without a foundation
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Basic imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Derived imperfective</th>
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<td><em>lovi-ti</em> ‘fish’</td>
<td><em>u-lovi-ti</em> ‘catch’</td>
<td><em>u-lavlja-ti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toči-ti</em> ‘make run’</td>
<td><em>ras-točiti</em> ‘disperse’</td>
<td><em>ras-tača-ti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>prosi-ti</em> ‘ask’</td>
<td><em>νъ-prosi-ti</em> ‘ask a question’</td>
<td><em>νъ-praša-ti</em> ‘question’</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>xrani-ti</em> ‘keep’</td>
<td><em>σъ-xrani-ti</em> ‘preserve’</td>
<td><em>σъ-xranja-ti</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>da-ti</em> ‘give’</td>
<td><em>da-ja-ti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>отъ-da-ti</em> ‘give away’</td>
<td><em>отъ-da-ja-ti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pusti-ti</em> ‘let go’</td>
<td><em>pušta-ti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>do-pusti-ti</em> ‘allow’</td>
<td><em>do-pušta-ti</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Determinate vs. Indeterminate

This category is distinguished by root ablaut and stem formation or suppletion

Determinate vs. Indeterminate: nes-ti/nos-ǫtъ vs. nos-i-ti/nos-ǫtъ ‘carry’
ves-ti/ved-ǫtъ vs. vod-i-ti/vod-ǫtъ ‘lead’,
gъn-a-ti/žen-ǫtъ vs. gon-i-ti/gon-ǫtъ ‘drive, persecute’,
i-ti/i-d-ǫtъ vs. xod-i-ti/xod-ǫtъ ‘go, walk’

(2) nos-ǫ vĕnec-ъ ‘wearing a crown’
carry:INDTM-PTCP crown-ACC.SG
wearing a crown

(3) glavǫ nes-e mater-i svo-ei
head carry:DETM-AOR3SG mother-DAT.SG her:REFL-DAT.SG
she took the head to her mother
Aorist vs. Imperfect

The Aorist vs. Imperfect are two aspects of the past tense. Both occur in Determinate and Indeterminate verbs (1). Both occur in Perfective and Imperfective verbs, but with a distinct difference in text frequency: the Imperfect is much less frequent in Perfective verbs than in Imperfective verbs.

(4) *pro:iděš-e oIsus grad-y vs-ɛ* (Mt 9,35; Sav)

went:through:PFV-IMPRF.3SG Jesus city.ACC.PL all.ACC.PL

Jesus was visiting all the cities

Var. *pro:xoždaaš-e* (Mar)

went:through:IPFV-IMPRF.3SG ‘would visit’ (repeatedly or habitually)

Contrast *pro:id-e .... went:through:DET:AOR-3SG .... ‘visited ....’*
Aorist vs. Imperfect

(5) [...] id-e sъ njimъ, i po njemъ id-čaš-e narodъ mъnogъ
go-AOR.3SG with him, and after him go-IMPF-3SG crowd great
[John] went with him, and after him went a great crowd
Retrospective

The Retrospective is expressed by constructions of ’be’ and perfect (resultative) participle of the given lexical verb, the auxiliary in Present (has V-ed), Imperfect (had V-ed) or Prospective (will have V-ed).

(6) *slav-ǫ j-ǫ=že da-l-ъ e-si mьně da-x-ъ imъ* (J 17,22)

glory(F)-ACC.SG which-F.ACC.SG give-PF.PTCP-M.SG be:PRS-2SG
me:DAT give-AOR-1SG them:DAT.PL

the glory you have given me I gave to them
Retrospective

(7) čto e-si sъtvori-lъ (J 18,35)
what be-PRS.2SG made-PF.PTCP-M.SG
What have you done?

(8) č-eso es-mъ ešte ne dokonьča-lъ (Mt 19,20)
what-GEN be-PRS.1SG yet not finish-PF.PTCP-M.SG
What have I not yet finished
Retrospective

(9) *s-e bo bě znameni-e da-l-ѣ*
this-N.ACC.SG=for *be:IPF.3SG sign(N)-ACC.SG give-PF.PTCP-M.SG*
for he *had given this sign*

(10) *pad-etѣ egda udoblѣ-l-ѣ bѣde-tѣ ubog-yimѣ*
fall:PFV-PRS.3SG when *dominate:PF.PTCP-M.SG be:FUT-3SG*
poor-DEF.DAT.PL

he will fall when he *has dominated the poor*
Prospective

The Prospective is expressed by constructions of the modal verbs *xotěti* ‘want’ or *iměti/imamь* ‘have’ and the Infinitive of the given lexical verb.

(11) *i mьнěax-ǫ ěko abьe xošt-etъ 0cěsarьstvь-e 0božь-e aviti sę* (L 19,11)
and think:IPF-3PL that suddenly will-PRS.3SG kingdom of:God-N.NOM. appear-INF REFL
and they thought that the kingdom of God would appear at any moment

(12) *kogda ubo si bqd-ǫtь i čьто estь znamenьe. egda xot-ętъ si by-ti* (L 21,7)
when=for these come:to:be-3PL and what is sign when will-PRS.3PL REFL be-INF
for when will these [things] be and what is the sign when they will be
Prospective

(13) *načę-tъ imъ oglagola-ti eže xotěaš-e by-ti emu* (M 10,32)

begin:AOR-3SG them:DAT.PL tell(IMPFV)-INF that-NOM.SG=REL will:IPF-3SG be-INF him:DAT.SG

he began to tell them what *was going to* happen to him

(14) *ne ima-tъ osta-ti sę kamen-ь na kamen-e*

not have:PRS-3SG remain-INF REFL stone-NOM.SG on stone-LOC.SG

there *will* not remain one stone upon another

(15) *i imě-ti ima-ši sъkrovišt-e na ⁰nebes-e* (Mt 19,21)

and have-INF have:PRS-2SG treasure-ACC.SG on heaven-LOC

and you *will* have treasure in heaven
Tense

- Present
- Past
- The relation between tense and aspect