

HENNING ANDERSEN

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) *въ слънѣс-и і lun-ě | 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) *plavaχq 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) *сѣтворj-ѡ 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-ŏ ležęšt-ŏ 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 bŏd-i nikto že ljud-ŏjŏ* (Supr. 420,10)
not=be:IMPV-3SG no-one:NOM=PTCL Judas-INS
may no-one be a Judas
- (5) *děv-ŏjŏ 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-**b** narod-**ъ** divlj-ěax-**q** sę* (M 11,18)

all-**NOM.SG** crowd-**NOM.SG** amaze-IPF-**3PL** REFL

the whole crowd were amazed

(7) *ves-**b** grad-**ъ** izid-**q*** (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) *piše-tь*

write-PRS.3SG 'it is written'

(9) *vedro*

[be:PRS.3SG] clear:sky

the sky is blue. Contrast: *bě:IMPF.3SG vedro* 'the sky was blue'

Agreement

- Zero copula

(10) *dux-ъ bo bьdr-ъ a plьt-ъ nemoštн-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-ъ=s-ъ zimen-ъ*

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* *bъděti* 'wake' — *buditi* 'waken'
'illuminate'

(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 sqdъ* 'bypass justice' (L 11,42)

sěsti/sędqtъ 'sit down' — *o:sędqtъ tę* 'they will besiege you' (L 19,43)

sijati 'shine' — *o:siě ję* 'surrounded them with light' (L 2,9)

pljъvati/pljujqtъ 'spit' — *o:pljujqtъ i* 'they will spit on him' (M 10,34)

Valency reduction

(a) Auxiliated Passive. Productive

(4) *věn-im-ě es-te* (Mt 10,29)

sold-PRS.PASS.PTCP-NOM.DU be-3DU

[two sparrows] are sold

(5) *vьsěko ubo dřev-o posěka-em-o byva-etъ*

every=for tree(N)-NOM.SG fell-PRS.PASS.PTCP-N be:HAB-PRS.3SG

for every tree will be felled

(6) *рѣса-n-o es-tъ*

write-PST.PASS.PTCP-N be-PRS.3SG

it is written

Valency reduction

(7) *juže dvьr-i zatvor-en-y s-qtъ*

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 dvьr-i*

close-PST.PASS.PTCP-F.PL be-AOR-3SG door(F)-NOM.PL

the door was closed

(b) Reflexive passive. Productive

(9) *ved-ěaš-e sę dux-omъ*

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) *tъc-ě-te i otvrъz-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) *světĭti sę* ‘shine’, *bojati sę* ‘be fearful’, *gněvati sę* ‘be annoyed’,
diviti sę ‘marvel’, *kajati sę* ‘rue’, *nadějati sę* ‘hope’, *postiti sę*
‘fast’,
- (13) *klęti* ‘curse’ vs. *klęti sę* ‘swear’, *oběštati* ‘promise’ vs. *oběštati sę*
‘commit oneself’, *věděti* ‘know’ vs. *věděti sę* ‘understand’,
- (14) *ne věd-ętъ bo sę čъto tvorętъ* (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
 1. Viewpoint aspect: Perfective vs. Imperfective verbs.
 2. Imperfective verbs of (loco)motion: Determinate vs. Indeterminate verbs.
 3. Past tense: Imperfect vs. Aorist.
 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 (-nq-).
- From Perfective verbs corresponding Imperfective verbs are derived by suffixation or stem suffix replacement.
- Preverbs:
вѣ- (вѣн-), вѣз-, вѣ-, до-, за-, из-, мимо-, на-, надѣ-, низѣ, обѣ (о-), отѣ (от-, о-),
по, подѣ, при, прѣ-, прѣдѣ, раз-, сѣ- (сѣн-), у-

Perfective vs. imperfective

(1) *slyšęi slovesa moja i tvoreę ja [...] podobъnъ estъ člověku zıždęřtu*

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**

xraminę [...] na kamene; [...] slyřavyi i ne tvorjъ

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**

podobъnъ estъ člověku sъzdanъřu xraminę bez osnovanja

like is man build(PFV)-PST.PTCP house without foundation
is like a man who **has built** a house without a foundation

Basic imperfective	Perfective	Derived imperfective
<i>lovi-ti</i> 'fish'	<i>u-lovi-ti</i> 'catch'	<i>u-lavlja-ti</i>
<i>toči-ti</i> 'make run'	<i>ras-točiti</i> 'disperse'	<i>ras-tača-ti</i>
<i>prosi-ti</i> 'ask'	<i>vъ-prosi-ti</i> 'ask a question'	<i>vъ-praša-ti</i> 'question'
<i>xrani-ti</i> 'keep'	<i>sъ-xrani-ti</i> 'preserve'	<i>sъ-xranja-ti</i>
	<i>da-ti</i> 'give'	<i>da-ja-ti</i>
	<i>otъ-da-ti</i> 'give away'	<i>otъ-da-ja-ti</i>
	<i>pusti-ti</i> 'let go'	<i>pušta-ti</i>
	<i>do-pusti-ti</i> 'allow'	<i>do-pušta-ti</i>

Determinate vs. Indeterminate

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

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

(2) *nos-ę vĕnec-ъ* 'wearing a crown'

carry:INDTM-PTCP crown-ACC.SG

wearing a crown

(3) *glavъ 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*⁰ *Isus grad-y vs-ę* (Mt 9,35; Sav)

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

Jesus was visiting all the cities

Var. *pro: xoždaš-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* съ њимъ, і ро њемъ *id-ěaš-e* narodъ тъногъ
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-ŏ j-ŏ=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 sьtvori-l-ъ* (J 18,35)

what **be-PRS.2SG** **made-PF.PTCPL-M.SG**

What have you done?

(8) *č-eso es-mь ešte ne dokonьča-l-ъ* (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-ъ*

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-etъ egda udoblě-l-ъ bŏde-tъ ubog-yimъ*

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 tьněax-ǝ ěko abьe xošt-etь* 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 bǝd-ǝtь* i čьto estь znamenьe. egda *xot-ętь* 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 ⁰glagola-ti eže **xotěaš-e** by-ti emu* (M 10,32)

begin:AOR-3SG them:DAT.PL tell(IMPV)-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** sьkrovišt-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

