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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

by Heather R. Bissonette

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Studies

Ottawa, Canada, 1977
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor Constantine Bida, Ph.D., and Professor Zbigniew Folejewski, Ph.D.; Chairman, of the Department of Slavic Studies and Modern Languages of the University of Ottawa.

Research for the thesis was facilitated by a Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship travel grant, and by association with the University of Illinois Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe.
CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.- THE DISCUSSION.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Argument</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Determinate:Indeterminate Category</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Application of Aspect as a Binary System</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Methodology</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.- THE ANALYSIS.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tense Polarization</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Determinate Imperfect</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Indeterminate Aorist</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cognitive Verbs</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Verbs of Motion</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix  NOTE ON APPENDICES | 93 |
| 1. VERB GROUPS DISPLAYING TENSE POLARIZATION | 94 |
| 2. VERB GROUPS CONTAINING THE DETERMINATE IMPERFECT FORM. | 98 |
| 3. VERB GROUPS CONTAINING THE INDETERMINATE AORIST FORM | 106 |
| 4. VERB GROUPS CONTAINING A COMMON INDETERMINATE: DETERMINATE STEM. | 108 |
| 6. ABSTRACT | 113 |
INTRODUCTION

Most of the literature dealing with the historical development of verbal aspect agrees that aspect did exist in the Old Church Slavonic and Old East Slavic texts, in at least some stage of completion. However, based on the study of imperfect and aorist verb forms occurring in the Povest' Vremennykh Let, I have come to the conclusion that aspect as such was not yet evident. My position is basically that the values, which in the literature are called aspectual, are in fact combinations of the determinate-indeterminate category and tense, and that aspect is a later binary structure encompassing both of these categories.

This position is advantageous according to the law of parsimony in that it simplifies many more complex theories, and does not, on the other hand, appear to be contradicted by data introduced by other text analyses. An analysis of the Povest' shows that a binary opposition, called determinate-indeterminate, does structure the verbal system, and that tense usage is strictly defined by this opposition. This category, which encompasses the verbs of motion, was a factor in the development of verbal aspect. Since aspect combines the values of this category and tense, aspect cannot be seen in this text as an independent or perfectly realized grammatical category, structuring the entire verbal system. The advantage of this approach, therefore, lies in the fact
that as a descriptive tool it posits only two elements: the determinate:indeterminate category and tense; and that, it offers as a corollary an explanation of the development of verbal aspect.

The problem of the development of verbal aspect has been a very complicated one. Literature on the subject deals with the interplay of four basic categories: the perfective and imperfective aspects, the aorist and imperfect tenses, the determinate:indeterminate category of the verbs of motion, and an earlier I.E. determinate:indeterminate category.

I have accepted from the literature that the original category was the determinate:indeterminate category, which was common to all I.E. languages, Slavic and non-Slavic. The modern determinate:indeterminate category of the verbs of motion is seen as a remnant of this original opposition.

The present study contradicts literature which assesses the stages of aspect development according to the correspondence or lack of correspondence between tense and aspect.

This study demonstrates a correspondence between the determinate:indeterminate category and tense, but instead of imposing a binary grammatical structure over the system which existed, it will suggest that it was the very synthesis of these elements through normalization and simplification which should be seen as aspectualization.
INTRODUCTION

This approach, which shifts the entire process of aspectualization into a later period, offers a solution to some of the problems which result from prematurely forcing the aspect system to come to terms with these other categories.
CHAPTER I

THE DISCUSSION

1. Argument

This study is based on the assumption that verbal aspect as such did not exist in the language reflected in the Povest' Vremennykh Let'. Instead, the system was structured by the older indeterminate:determinate category and tense and, further, aspectual value is a combination of the values of the indeterminate:determinate category plus the imperfect and aorist tenses. Aspect, therefore, is not a binary grammatical category structuring the entire verbal system of the Povest'.

The thesis is based on the fact of polarization of tense use relative to the determinate and indeterminate stems in the Povest'. The discussion will demonstrate that (excluding the verbs of motion) the indeterminate stem was used with the imperfect tense, and the determinate stem was used with the aorist tense; and exceptions (the determinate imperfect and indeterminate aorist forms) are special uses, and therefore predictable.

I would suggest that the polarized combinations of indeterminate plus imperfect and determinate plus aorist constitute redundancies and that, therefore, during the process of simplification to a binary grammatical structure
(aspect), the tense endings normalized with the -N ending. This does not mean that the morphological value of the imperfect and aorist tenses was lost, or that the morphological value of "perfect" was borrowed. On the contrary, both the aorist and imperfect tense values were retained. Therefore, aspectual value appears in the verbs of the Povest' only as combinations of tense and stem values, e.g., the combination of determinate stem plus aorist tense corresponds to the perfective aspect; and the combination of indeterminate stem plus imperfect tense corresponds to the imperfective aspect.

The verbs of motion, however, did not demonstrate a polarized use of tense, i.e., the unprefixed verbs of motion occur in both tenses. Thus, during the process of aspectualization, the determinate and indeterminate stems did not combine with the aorist and imperfect tenses to become perfective and imperfective, and the verbs of motion preserved the old determinate:indeterminate category.

2. The Determinate:Indeterminate Category

Many scholars have agreed that the perfective:imperfective distinction developed from an original I.E. determinate:indeterminate category. N. Van Wijk (1929) agrees with A. Meillet (1922) that the determinate:indeterminate opposition characterized not only the verbs of motion,
but encompassed the entire system. According to Van Wijk, at the time of the formation of the new preterites, it still occupied its dominant place in the verbal system. C. G. Regnell (1944) also describes the formation of aspect as the historical continuation of the I.E. determinate:indeterminate category, and includes verbs other than the verbs of motion in this category.

According to V. V. Borodich (1951, 1954) also, the determinate:indeterminate (opredelennyy:neopredelennyy) was the initial opposition in all I.E. languages, and was characteristic of the Slavic verbs in general. However, unlike Van Wijk, who defines determinate action as simple action leading directly to an end, and indeterminate action as action composed of many acts, or as extended or repeated, Borodich suggests that the original determinate:indeterminate relation, which existed in all I.E. languages, was one of action versus state. In Slavic verbs, this opposition was realized in two subtypes: the opposition of factitive vs. state (e.g., \( \text{cdanum} \) vs. \( \text{dastum} \)), which was not productive; and the opposition of transition to a state vs. state (e.g., \( \text{cmam} \) vs. \( \text{dastum} \)). The latter developed into the determinate:indeterminate category, which was the basic opposition in Slavic verbs until the development of aspect. Determinacy is characterized as concrete action; and indeterminacy as a statal action, capability for action or collectivity.
THE DISCUSSION

Although Yu. S. Maslov (1958, 1959) calls the pre-aspect opposition terminative:ate terminative (predel'nyy : nepredel'nyy), he also (as Borodich) traces it to earlier Aktionsarten of state and change of state, which in the pre-Slavic period formed the opposition terminative:ate terminative: neutral.

Ye. V. Cheshko (1951), in her work on the verbs of motion in the Codex Zographensis, demonstrated that the indeterminate and determinate verbs of motion do not have the same meaning as in modern Russian. Искуш , for example, describes the very act of carrying; it refers more closely to the physical means of carrying out an action. Thus the action as abstraction is emphasized, rather than spatial diversity (as in modern indeterminate verbs). The indeterminate stems expressed action per se, isolated from environmental conditions, while the determinate stem expressed concrete action, i.e., action in a definite moment of time, directed to the achievement of a goal or result. Cheshko suggests that the opposition abstract:concrete was common to all verbal stems, not only the verbs of motion, until the development of aspect.

Herbert Galton (1976), from the initial definition of succession as the invariant function of time, has formulated the essential features of process in time as change vs. nonchange. This opposition is reflected in the perfective
and imperfective aspects, such that the perfective aspect is the morphological means for presenting temporal succession, while the imperfective aspect presents immutability, a state lasting unchanged while other events change. Completion and duration are not features of aspect, but only of the events themselves. Perfectivity denotes only a link in succession (the temporal chain), while imperfectivity means that a state persists despite the flux of time, and is viewed in isolation from it.

Although Galton is defining essential features of aspect, the opposition of change vs. nonchange corresponds to the notion of state vs. transition to state employed by Borodich when referring to the determinate:indeterminate category, and Maslov when referring to the terminative: aterminative category] and to Cheshko's definitions of the verbs of motion in Old Church Slavonic. The verbal forms of the Povest have been described in this present study in terms of the traditional determinate:indeterminate category, which I have defined as reference to events vs. reference to action per se. This also corresponds to Galton's definitions of perfectivity and imperfectivity as points in succession vs. immutability.

According to Tine H. Amse-de Jong (1974, pp. 33, 26), linguists who refer to "aspect" when speaking of non-Slavic languages are actually referring to the opposition telic: atelic, which exists in all I.E. languages, including Slavic
and non-Slavic. A telic event is one limited by natural limits (termini). It implies a contrast period lying on either side of the event period, i.e., on the time line beyond the termini. An atelic event is an event of unlimited duration. This opposition is also characteristic of the verbs of motion, e.g., the determinate verb *mečiu* is telic, since it covers the distance A - B in one direction; the contrast periods are "be in A" and "be in B." *Mocuru* is atelic, referring to carrying without direction, or in (or from) more than one direction.

In other words, if we subtract the notion of duration (which, according to Galton (1976, p. 11) is not an essential feature of aspect or the basic time opposition) from Amsel-de Jong's definition of action, the telic:atelic opposition corresponds to definitions of the basic opposition already discussed (i.e., those of Borodich, Maslov, Cheshko, and Galton), and is similar in meaning to event (i.e., event bounded by contrast periods) and action per se (i.e., event without reference to a contrast period), which is the definition of determinate:indeterminate action used in the present study.

Scholars who oppose the concept that the aspect system developed from the determinate:indeterminate opposition, which was a general category encompassing also the verbs of motion, point to the fact that the aspect opposition does
not correspond to the determinate:indeterminate category of the verbs of motion. According to Antonín Dostal (1963), for example, the fact that both ручу and олучу are imperfective in modern Russian demonstrates the lack of correspondence between the determinate:indeterminate category of the verbs of motion and aspect.

Rudolf Růžička (1962) discusses the problems of I. Némec and Regnell, who found it necessary to place ручу in a group of semantically unmarked verbs in order to explain its later imperfective value, and objects that the very verbs which are the clearest representatives of determinacy must thereby be called unmarked. Ruzicka also points out that it was the fact that determinate verbs did not become perfective that led Maslov to define a terminative: a terminative opposition (realized predominantly through the prefix), in order to distinguish it from the verbs of motion. A related argument presented by Růžička, demonstrating that the aspect system was not inherited from an I.E. opposition, centers on the fact that, although the Greek aorist ηνεκά and the determinate verb ручу are genetically identical and semantically similar, in this case, since ручу is imperfective, the verbs are not aspectually equivalent.

An explanation for the lack of correspondence between determinate and perfective values is that the stems of the determinate verbs of motion, as evidenced by the forms found in the Povest', entertained a liberated use of the imperfect
and aorist tenses, and therefore, during the process of normalization did not retain the value of the aorist tense, and remained a remnant of the old system. (It is suggested also by Van Wijk (1929, p. 244) and others that the determinate and indeterminate verbs of motion preserved a trait which was at one time characteristic of the Slavic verb in general.) When the determinate verb of motion did occur in the aorist tense, however, it possessed a value equal to perfectivity. This explains how the determinate verb of motion was equivalent to the other determinate verbs, and yet did not like them become perfective. Further, in response to the problem presented by Růžička concerning the comparison of the Greek aorist and the Slavic determinate verb of motion, it should be said that although ἔπεσι is not imperfective, it is determinate, and it was the determinate: indeterminate category which was inherited from the I.E. system.

It has been suggested that the unprefixed determinate verb of motion in the aorist tense has perfective value (Cheshko, 1951, p. 304; Regnell, 1944, p. 88; Růžička, 1957, p. 16; and others). This corroborates the view that the perfective aspect is a combination of the values of the determinate stem plus the aorist tense, and means that ἔπεσι and τοῦσα are aspectual equivalents.

According to D. G. Huntley (1967), on the other hand, neither ἔπεσι nor τοῦσα expresses the attainment of
the limit of action, and therefore both are imperfective. Huntley gives the example: ἵππα ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ὅπλον (Ass. πονάδε) (Luke 15, 20, Mar. Sav.). He disagrees with Van Wijk, who does not find a difference between μαν and the Assemanianus variation πονάδε, and Huntley suggests that the form μαν indicates that the action has not yet achieved its goal and is, therefore, imperfective. I would suggest, however, that it is the aorist tense, referring to the action as discrete, which imposes the limit, and that since both μαν and πονάδε are determinate verbs in the aorist, they have equivalent aspectual value. Moreover, in order to assess whether or not the action of the verb has reached its limits, it is necessary to define the semantic value of μαν.

Jose Johannet (1957), in fact, found that μαν, as well as referring to a voyage or expedition, can refer to the pure and simple act of going, without reference to duration or accompanying circumstances. He found that the difference between μαν and πονάδε is not aspectual, but the difference of a simple verb versus a prefixed verb. He concluded that this use of μαν is a remnant of pre-aspectual usage.
3. The Application of Aspect as a Binary System

I have suggested that aspect as such, i.e., a binary grammatical structure encompassing the entire verbal system, did not exist in the Povest', although combinations such as determinate-plus-aorist (a discrete act in past time), indeterminate-plus-imperfect (action per se as process), correspond to modern aspeectual values. On the contrary, the system was characterized by the interplay of two separate categories, i.e., the determinate:indeterminate category and tense. The determinate imperfect form, which expressed repeated discrete action, and the indeterminate aorist form, which expressed action per se with a specific time period, did not represent arbitrary use of tense, but were characterized by specific functions of the imperfect and aorist tenses, and did not contradict the law of indeterminate-plus-imperfect and determinate-plus-aorist. During the process of simplification (aspectualization) of the verbal system, these hybrids fell together with the determinate or indeterminate forms.

Although the evidence of the Povest' is not a sufficient basis for the formulation of a theory concerning the actual process of aspectualization, the many later variations of the determinate imperfect as indeterminate imperfect, such as 8уаєшіві, the Academy and Radziwill
variation of the original $\beta\varepsilon\iota\nu\tau\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\nu\varsigma$ on page 214 of the text (see Galton, 1976, p. 181); the modern perfective value of the determinate aorist verb of motion ($\nu\alpha\epsilon$ became $\nu\omega\omega\epsilon$); and the modern perfective value of the indeterminate aorist ($\varsigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha$ became $\nu\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha$) constitute a partial indication at least, that during the process of aspectualization the stem was conditioned by the regressive action of the tense, i.e., the determinate stem of $\beta\varepsilon\iota\nu\tau\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\nu\varsigma$ became indeterminate, and the stems of $\nu\alpha\epsilon$ and $\varsigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha$, by means of the prefix $\nu\omega\cdot$, clearly indicate conservation of the value of the aorist tense.

The main point, however, and the one which is essential to the thesis, is that aspect is a combination of these values, i.e., both stem and tense, and therefore one cannot impose aspectual value entirely on one or the other; and secondly, that aspect as a universal binary grammatical system was not yet evident.

Some scholars see aspectualization as the subordination of tense and stem to aspect. According to Antonin Dostal (1963), for example, aspect existed as a remarkably well developed system in the Old Church Slavonic, encompassing 98 percent of the verbs. He found that the imperfect tense was used with imperfective aspect 99 percent of the time, but that the aorist is used with both perfective and imperfective verbs.
T. P. Lomtev (1948) also imposed a binary structure on the verbal system. Because forms such as *ympaue* and *post-panaka* (the imperfect tense with perfective stem) would be incompatible, he concluded that the verb is not yet perfective, and that therefore the prefix does not perfectivize. This means that the aspect value (i.e., process vs. completed action) was carried by the imperfect and aorist tense until the prefix began to perfectivize, and then the aspect value was carried by the stem. At this point, contradictions in the tense and stem led to the loss of incompatible tense endings. Lomtev assesses the stage of development as the extent to which the arbitrary use of tense is lost, e.g., he found that in the chronicles, the process whereby the aorist tense is lost from the imperfective verb is evident, but the process whereby the imperfect tense is lost from the perfective verb has gone even further.

As Dostal, Lomtev assesses aspect as the degree to which tense and stem are subordinated to an imposed binary structure. But, in fact, in the *Povest*, apart from the verbs of motion, there is no evidence of a liberated use of tense.

Borodich (1951, 1954), as Lomtev, explained the process of aspectualization in terms of the collision and confusion of stem and tense ending and the shifting of aspectual meaning between stem and ending. According to
THE DISCUSSION

Borodich, the primary meaning of the aorist and imperfect tense was not perfectivity and imperfectivity, but determinacy and indeterminacy (concrete vs. collective action). Originally, the imperfect was formed only from the indeterminate verb and the aorist from the determinate. Later, the imperfect tense was used with all stems and developed the meaning of duration (imperfectivity), while the aorist of prefixed stems developed the meaning of completion (perfectivity) which spread to all forms of the aorist and could also be used with any stem. According to Borodich, the process of development of the indeterminate verb from the determinate (the secondary prefixed form) was unusually productive in the development of aspect. The collision of determinacy plus indeterminacy (expressed by the imperfect tense) confused the determinate meaning and created a new concept: a single concrete action was presented as a state or process, which was opposed to the old imperfect meaning of repeated or habitual action.

According to Borodich (1954, p. 62), the Old Church Slavonic Gospels reflect the beginning of the tendency toward a liberated use of tense, while in the later Old Church Slavonic manuscripts any combination of tense and stem is possible. I have not found evidence of a liberated use of tense in the Povest' except in the verbs of motion. The aorist (except for a few cases of the special use of
aorist with an indeterminate verb accompanied by a specific time period) always refers to a discrete event in the past, i.e., occurs with a determinate stem, and completion is not an essential meaning of the aorist tense. The secondary prefixed verb is always indeterminate, referring to the content of action, and always occurs in the imperfect tense, which describes action as process. The determinate imperfect verb form, whether of prefixed or simple verbs, refers to event as repeated discrete action. The individual forms which Borodich presents as new developments (i.e., verbs of state in the aorist tense, or verbs of action in the imperfect) appear similar to those of the Rovest', but most of these forms are discussed in this study as special uses, as verbs of motion or as verbs of cognition. I would agree with Van Wijk and others, therefore, that the prefixed form, as well as the form extended by an "a"-theme suffix, were manifestations of the determinate:indeterminate category.

Wulf Budich (1969) and Amse-de Jong (1974) have defined aspect as an abstract grammatical category, applied this definition to the Old East Slavic and Old Church Slavonic language, and concluded that, in fact, aspect only does exist in the old texts according to the same definitions, i.e., as pairs which are distinguished only by the morphology of aspect (prefixed pairs distinguished by the suffix or pairs distinguished by the empty prefix).
According to Budich's (1969, p. 199) definitions, the category of perfective aspect includes verbs which are complexive and verbs which have displexive partners, while imperfective verbs are displexive verbs and verbs with complexive partners. A complexive verb is defined as durative action which is limited (by an empty prefix); a displexive verb is one which is extended (by lengthening or suffix). In other words, the stem is defined as either curative or non-durative, and aspect is indicated by the presence of pairs formed either by means of the empty prefix or by means of the secondary imperfective. In the Novgorod Chronicle (Synodal Copy), according to Budich, aspect pairs are attested generally with the secondary prefixed form, and only a few were formed by means of the prefix (e.g., поперебу and поелата).

Amse-de Jong (1974, p. 34) also recognized aspect as pairs which were formally distinguished by the "a" suffix. She defined perfective as action which is telic (the action is confined to its natural limits); exclusive, i.e., the Full Event Period (FEP) is equal to the Narrated Period (NP) (NP is the part of the time line indicated by the verb form); and with Orientation Period (OP) lying outside the NP. Imperfective action is telic; non-exclusive, i.e., the FEP is not equal to the NP (or the FEP = NP, but is not equal to the Marked Period, which forms a larger
background against which repeated action occurs); and the
OP is inside the NP.

Action, therefore, must be telic to participate in
aspect, although (as discussed above) the telic:atelic
relationship corresponds to the determinate:indeterminate
category which, according to the present study, is a com-
ponent of aspect. Simplex verbs which occur in the Old
Church Slavonic texts are thus non-aspectual according to
Amse-de Jong. молитву and помолитву do not constitute
an aspect pair. And as long as *помолитву, the non-
exclusive member, is missing, the most one can say is that
the п о of помолитву presents a condition for a possible
aspect opposition, i.e., it is a telic event.

Both Budich and Amse-de Jong have imposed an external
structure on the old language, and have concluded that aspect
encompasses only those verbs which correspond to that
structure. It should be pointed out that, according to
both Budich and Amse-de Jong, duration is a component of
aspect: Budich recognizes verbs as durative or nondurative,
while Amse-de Jong describes action as events on a time line.
This approach is contrary to the view of Galton, who suggests
that duration is a feature of event, but not an essential
feature of aspect.

Another inherent problem in the application of a
modern structure to the old language is reflected in the
work by Ružička (1957) on the aspect system of the Povest. He tests for the existence of aspect by comparing the forms with a modern translation. However, this approach does not take into account possible changes in the meaning of a verb during the process of aspectualization. For example, it is possible that verbs such as ®boriti and moliti, which occur in the text with determinate value, but commonly occur in the imperfect to express repeated action, have shifted from determinate to indeterminate function with the loss of the tense ending. In other words, all forms should be analyzed in terms of the total system in which they occur.

4. Methodology

In order to demonstrate that the polarized use of tense exists in the text, I have analyzed all of those verb groups which contain both the aorist and imperfect tense. A verb group consists of all simple, prefixed and suffixed forms of the stem.

Polarization, which is indicated by the fact that a single stem cannot be used with both the imperfect and aorist tense ending, implies a binary structure which is defined in terms of the determinate:indeterminate category discussed above, i.e., as event versus action per se.

Stems which occur with both the aorist and imperfect tense are treated as exceptions to the evident pattern.
of determinate-plus-aorist and indeterminate-plus-imperfect, and are analyzed in terms of their specific functions.

The text used is the Laurentian Copy of the Povest' Vremennykh Let (excluding the "Instruction" of Prince Vladimir Monomach) in the Polnoye Sobraniye Russkikh Letopisey edition, and page numbers refer to this edition. The numbers of occurrences of a specific form (simple, prefixed, or suffixed in the aorist or imperfect tense) are given in brackets.

Translations of excerpts from the text are usually taken from the Samuel Hazzard Cross translation, and translations which are significantly divergent from Cross's interpretation have been commented on.

The appendices represent a complete list of all verb groups which occur in the text in both the imperfect and aorist tense. They give the number of occurrences of all simple, prefixed and suffixed forms of each group in the aorist or imperfect tense.

The London School of Slavonic Studies system of transliteration was used in the bibliography.
CHAPTER II

THE ANALYSIS

1. Tense Polarization

The following verb groups are taken from Appendix I. Members of the 51 groups in this section have mutually exclusive use of tense; both the aorist and imperfect tense are not used with the same stem. The indeterminate stem, which describes action per se, always occurs in the imperfect tense, while the determinate stem, which refers to action as event, always occurs in the aorist. The values of indeterminate-plus-imperfect:determinate-plus-aorist correspond to the values of modern imperfective:perfective.

Бола́ше (1): разболе́ша (7)

130 после́ противу имь бориса соме бо бола́ше вельми

he sent Boris out against them, for he himself was very ill.

39 [и] окульогу в ногу и е то разболе́ши и умер

and (the serpent) bit him in the foot, so that he sickened and died.

The determinate verb разболе́ша occurs seven times, always in the aorist. It expresses the discrete occurrence of an event in past time. The indeterminate imperfect verb бола́ше occurs once. It expresses the action as content, in this case, the state of being ill.
THE ANALYSIS

δεσκαραξυςα; ως (3); δεσκορφωσα(α); ως; ας (3)
πο-; αρας (6)

59 и тако δεσκαραξуя α гољубиниця ωσо клети
ωσо вежб ωσо ли зарини и не бф двора
и одже не горалицес и не бф лисц гасити
вси бо двори δεσκορφωσа

thus the dove-cotes, the coops, the porches and
the haymows caught on fire. There was not a
house which was not burning, and it was impossible
to extinguish the flames because all of the houses
had caught on fire

All six aorists are formed from the primary prefixed
stem, while the three imperfects are formed from the secon-
dary prefixed stem. In the example given, δεσκαραξуя (indeterminate imperfect) describes the action itself as a
process, while δεσκορφωσа (determinate aorist) refers
to the burning of all the houses as a fact which made the
extinguishing of the fires impossible.

σαλιραξу (1): ωφαρ; αρας (5)

154 тако и рече деишующиме конем σαλιраху
хези с нихе толико бо бф мори в коня

they tore the skins off while the horses were
still breathing, so violent was the plague
from which the animals suffered
103 Ἰερουσαλήμ τοίχονα ῥαζαράσα Νασβοε:

πρεσβύτευν Βετσαλαννος

the veil of the temple was rent in twain, and
many of the dead arose.

The indeterminate (σαμπακά) is often used in
the description of dramatic events, where the emphasis is
on the content of the action. ῥαζαράσα (determinate
aorist) refers to the action as an historic event. Deter-
minate verbs often express action in sequence, and here it
is followed by the determinate aorist Βετσαλα

αὐτλάχυς (1): οὐαυιβισά; Πο—(3)

9 τοί Σαλασαφες αὐτλάχυς

those listening to him marvelled.

129 ρασα κλασις Πεχενεζατινι καὶ Ποσιβισσαρα

the Pecheneg princes took (the porridge) and
were amazed.

The determinate aorist form Ποσιβισσαρα expresses
the discrete occurrence of an event in past time. αὐτλάχυς
(indeterminate imperfect) focuses on the content of the
verb. Notice that Ποσιβισσαρα follows the determinate
aorist verb ρασα, while αὐτλάχυς, which does not
express action in sequence, is preceded by a present
participle.
THE ANALYSIS

посохи распространен (3); спосохиа (4)

223 пособие на [преданные быти] в руки

we deserved to be delivered into the hands of an alien people

207 но венком жизни и покоя спосохиа

but he was found worthy of eternal life and peace

The determinate aorist form спосохиа describes the occurrence of an event, while the indeterminate imperfect form пособие describes the state of being unworthy.

шалаги (1): шалаги (12)

69 и бысть велика и шалаги болгаре

и ро Святослав воемъ своимъ.... и къ

вечеру шалаги Святослав

there was great carnage and the Bulgarians were winning. And Svyatoslav said to his men .... Towards evening Svyatoslav gained the upper hand

All twelve aorists occur with the determinate verb. The single imperfect is formed from the indeterminate secondary prefixed verb. The use of both forms in the above excerpt indicates a switch from "winning" as a situation to "winning" as a fait accompli.
THE ANALYSIS

38αυλ (VI) (5) προζώβαλκα ντρυ; τζ- (3) της βασιλικά; κο- (2) πρυ; πρι- (4)

28 άκα υνο Πολιανας ζβακας ην σλοβενέςκαα
ρς 5ς

they were called Polyanians, but their language was Slavic

165 ζβακας ήπειρα ην τε ροσας εν ποδοτι που ποράρειν
γυνα τονο κροζώβαλκα πλιστονυνο

a star arose in the west, which emitted rays, and which men called a brilliant star

159 α τοσον ποζέσα Πεχερσκυ Μαναστήρι

and because of this they called it the Pechersky Monastery

There is complete polarization of tense usage among the 54 nonprefixed, prefixed and secondary prefixed variations of ζβοτνι. Both ζβακας and προζώβαλκα are indeterminate and focus attention on the action per se, which is expressed in the imperfect tense as continued action. In contrast, ποζέσα (determinate aorist) refers to an event occurring in discrete past time.

Кусанес (1): βκυςυ τεις; δυ- (5)

194/195 ζα ρσλια λεμαςι ην κιλβα ης
βκυςυ υν θοςι .... υ πομαλι ηγιδαθεςι
κουσαλε κιλβα

he lay for two years, tasting neither bread nor water .... gradually he became aware of the bread and ate it
THE ANALYSIS

The only occurrence of the imperfect tense is the nonprefixed indeterminate form (κυκώσε), which emphasizes the content of the verb itself, the action of tasting.

προλύβωσε (1); λεγασά (1); ηαλγωσά -;
βέλ -; μέ -; προ - (7)

279 Το γεμνή τους κελασά σινή σοιχια και ροδα συνεικόμενον παρευπανται λότα: και
προλύβωσε κροβα έλγανακακά

why did you not admonish your sons and your kinsmen not to violate their oaths by the shedding of Christian blood?

129 Η γεμνή, αλλα κροβα μάθα και λέγασά έ βαττήκα

they drew up some (brew) in a pail, and poured it into pots

129 λεγασά και ηαλγωσά ορμαγα ιόμα

so they poured out a bowl of brew

λεγασά and ηαλγωσά occur only in the aorist; both are determinate, expressing action as a discrete event. 1 According to Ruzicka (1957), προλύβωσε occurs in the Povest' as a perfective aorist. προλύβωσε, on the contrary, emphasizes (the evil of) the action itself.

1 A verb which occurs only in the aorist tense, and refers to action as a discrete event, is considered to be determinate.
THE ANALYSIS

любаше (6): беслоби (9)

78 и въд его не любаше

his father did not love him

10 приш къ дунаби [и] беслоби място
и сруби градове мале

he arrived at the Danube. The place pleased
him and he built a small town

любаше, found only in the imperfect, describes
an emotional state; while беслоби, found only in the
aorist, refers to the "coming to love" as an event.

мучаху (2): примучи (2)

12 си же добръ боеваху на Словени и
примучишя Дунбъи .... и насиле
твораху женице .... таку мучаху Дунбъи

these Avars made war on the Slavs, and harassed
the Dulebians .... did violence to the Dulebian
women .... Thus they harassed the Dulebians

Here again (as with любаше: беслоби), the
nonprefixed verb in the imperfect complements the prefixed
occurring in the aorist. примучиша (determinate aorist)
is a statement of fact, in contrast with the indeterminate
мучаху (and thus they harassed them), which is a state-
ment about the mode of harassment, and thus about the
content of the action.
THE ANALYSIS

\[ \text{създадохаша} (6): \text{създадохаша}; \text{по} - (2) \]

for at this time the Russes were ignorant pagans. The devil rejoiced thereat.

The Derevlians re-entered their city with gladness and reported to the inhabitants, and the people in the city rejoiced.

The nonprefixed indeterminate imperfect form expresses an emotional state. The prefixed determinate aorist refers to an event resulting from a previous event.

2. The Determine Imperfect

The 42 verb groups in this section (Appendix 2) contain determinate imperfect forms. These are exceptions to the rule of polarization in that a common determinate stem is used in both the imperfect and aorist tense. The determinate verb occurs normally in the aorist, referring to a discrete event in past time. In all cases where it occurs in the imperfect, it refers to repeated discrete action. Often the determinate imperfect describes a recurring sequence of events, or an event which habitually precedes
another event or action. Therefore, the determinate imperfect is a particular use of the determinate verb.

The examples presented include the more difficult cases, e.g., where the occurrences of the determinate imperfect exceed the occurrences of the determinate aorist, or where the determinate:indeterminate category does not correspond to the modern perfective:imperfective category.

υζαβαβωσετε (1) vs. υζαβω (3)

97 ένα α ηαχαυ καιατι και τομιλωβωσετε

η ενα α υζαβαβωσετε ιε υζαβω

ουκλαμαγιτα κα να έπεσεμενε

when they repented, he had mercy upon them. When he had freed them, they returned nevertheless to the worship of devils

163 τακο δε υζαβω γιανη ι οπανικη

thus God delivered the Christians from the infidels

υζαβαβωσετε is determinate imperfect, occurring in the aorist with the same determinate stem. In the example given above, where it is found in company with other determinate imperfect verbs (ηαχαυ and τομιλωβωσετε), it refers to repeated discrete actions preceding the action of the indeterminate form ουκλαμαγιτα. The determinate aorist υζαβω refers to a single discrete action in the past.
THE ANALYSIS

Στοπολκό και Βολοσίμερε στούπιστα
υ στό τάξι [μ] ξανάσα χρήσικο
υ στον προσταταν κε γράφω

Syvatopolk and Vladimir then laid siege to the town. The inhabitants made effective sallies from the town, while the former kept attacking it.

Το τό [η] ξισά ταράλλας κε δορόβορο
μύα μάρτα δε τέ δεν κε πολέμην
πι ταράλλας

on March 4th of this year, Yaroslav fought with Mordva and was overcome.

It is difficult to determine the value of the unprefixed verb бити, since it occurs only once in the imperfect and once in the aorist. According to Borodich (1954) and Budich (1969), бити expresses multiple action and is therefore indeterminate. According to Ruzicka (1957), it is translated by both the Russian perfective and (meaning "fight, struggle") by the imperfective. In the example from p. 280, the verb is determinate aorist, referring to a discrete event; and in the example from p. 230, it can be read as determinate imperfect, i.e., it can refer to a series of sallies (translation by Cross).

The prefixed forms of бити (numbering 59) demonstrate complete tense polarization (убиваш, убили, etc.).
\textbf{THE ANALYSIS}

\textit{белыше} (1) vs. \textit{белыша} (1)

12 аще пошату будыше швейну не дадыше вспрачи коми ни вола ни велыше вспрачи.

Whenever an Avar made a journey, he did not cause either a horse or a steer to be harnessed, but gave command instead that three or four or five women should be yoked to his cart.

46 привела въ ручки сла и \textit{белыша} гиту и писати обокъ рѣчи на харахь.

They brought forward the Russian envoys and ordered them to speak, and ordered that the speech of both sides be written down on parchment.

As \textit{гиту} (above), \textit{белыш} occurs only twice in the text, once in the imperfect and once in the aorist tense. \textit{белыша} clearly refers to an event, and is therefore determinate. \textit{белыше} describes repeated discrete actions, as a determinate imperfect, and occurs with other determinate forms: \textit{будыше} and \textit{дадыше}.

\textit{позвелыша} occurs 68 times, only in the aorist.

\textbf{верже} (2) vs. \textbf{верже} (1)

190 взимата излона пловк \textbf{верже} на кого любо ... аще ли \textbf{верже} на другого.

Taking a flower from his bosom he would throw it at someone .... if he threw it at someone else
and he threw it from heaven to earth.

The imperfect tense вержове refers to habitual action, while the aorist верже is clearly a determinate aorist form.

The form вержове is an irregular determinate imperfect, as it should have been formed from the determinate stem верж-. (See возвращается below.) The soft ending probably distinguished it from an indeterminate verb (imperfect вержаве).

возвращается (2) vs. возвращатся; п. 193-199

190 аще принаше кому юздыне ... изнаше ис ѣркви ... и не возвращается в ѣркви до в р о т а.

if the flower attached itself to anyone .... he left the church .... and did not return until the end of the service

125 и возвращается на Освящение ствра

he returned to Kiev on the feast of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God.

The determinate imperfect verb form возвращается occurs on p. 190 together with other determinate imperfect forms: принаше and изнаше, all of which express repeated discrete action.
THE ANALYSIS

It is interesting to compare ΒΙΩΒΡΑΤΑΩΣΣΑ, the imperfect of the determinate stem, with the indeterminate imperfect ΒΙΩΒΡΑΔΑΩΣΣΑ (p. 125). Here, the imperfect tense is the normal ending for the indeterminate verb, and does not indicate repeated action.

ΠΟΣΘΑΔΥ: ΠΡΟΣΟ- (5) vs. ΠΟΣΘΑΑ: ΟΥ-; ΙΣΙΟ-;

ΣΑΠΟ-; ΣΠΟ-; ΠΡΟΣΟ- (46)

90 Διαδευχε τε κοσμικού ζα. Νυ και ΠΟΣΘΑΩΣΕ

Hou ῥακο διήτι ποτού καὶ ΠΟΣΜΒΑΧΥΣΑ επί

the ark was one hundred years building, and Noah foretold that there would be a flood, and they mocked him

There are five cases of the prefixed verb in the imperfect tense, compared with 46 occurrences of the aorist. All of the imperfect verbs can express repeated action. Such forms as the example on p. 90 might be considered ambiguous, if one were to ignore the other data of the present study. However, based on the fact that, logically speaking, Noah must have spoken about the flood several times during the hundred years required for the construction of the ark, and based on the presence of the determinate imperfect ΠΟΣΜΒΑΧΥΣΑ, it is considered that this example also is determinate.
THE ANALYSIS

271 и боняк погнашё съка вспать а

Алтунопа взвраташе са вспать и не
dопустаху огру вспать

Bonyak, who wheeled and attacked them from the rear. Altunopa then faced about, and they did not allow the Hungarians to give ground, (but thus killed a great number as they drove them back and forth)

This occurrence of погнашё is the only determinate imperfect among 28 prefixed verbs. It occurs here with other determinate imperfect forms (взвраташе and допустаху), and refers to repeated discrete action.

сожомаху. (1) vs. пожигаше; 3a -; 80 - (20)

14 аге кто умраше .... взвложаху и на

kladu mřívah сошомаху

if someone died .... they laid the corpse on a pyre and burned it

The short vowel and soft stem distinguish the determinate imperfect сошомаху from the indeterminate imperfect (пожигаху). Together with the other determinate imperfect forms умраше and взвложаху, it refers to a usual sequence of events.
THE ANALYSIS

- знаменаве (1) vs. знаменала (2)

197 и знаменаве лице свое кръвим
образо и тако ищешнаху

he would make the sign of the cross and they would disappear

197 и знамена кръвь и ищешнуша

he made the sign of the cross and they disappeared.

These excerpts, both occurring in the text on page 197, nicely contrast the difference between знаменаве ... ищешнаху and знамена ... ищешнуша.

ΔΣΤΑΧΥΣΑ (1)

76 и паки разгъки съвим и ΔΣΤΑΧΥΣΑ
сути имт бе

and it is further written, "Their tongues have spoken falsely. Judge them, God".
This is the only example of the imperfect or aorist unprefixed form. It refers to events rather than to the action itself, and is therefore considered to be a determinate imperfect form.

\[\text{Помаза́шес} \quad (1) \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{Помаза́ша́с} \quad (1)\]

189 и абы створи́шас я́рата мзда́на и помаза́ша́с сукли́то

as soon as he prayed and anointed (the sick), they would be cured

236 и ту створи́шас я́рата мзда́нал и помаза́ша́с сукли́то
gates of brass were erected there, and they were covered with indestructible metal

The determinate imperfect forms (створи́шес and помаза́шес) in the first example are distinguished in meaning from the determinate aorist forms (створи́шас and помаза́ша́с) only by their reference to habitual action.

\[\text{Молу́шес} \quad (10) \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{Молиса́} \quad (2)\]

275 и приве́с к Ки́еву и меде́й и не метрополи́т и игу́мен и гумпо́лша

and he brought him to Kiev. The metropolitan and priors interceded on his behalf and persuaded Svyatoopalk
THE ANALYSIS

264 Βσεβολομέα με ι μετροπολίτη
προσωπή κ Βολόμερη ι μοιστάκα

the widow of Vsevolod and the metropolitan
came to Vladimir and made known to him their
plea

156 Πριγολαίνα ι σ Βεστένοιο Οόσσωσα χαι
και μολασχίσα τυ μην Βτομε

coming here from Berestovo, he chanted the
hours and offered his prayers to God in
secret

207 και μολασχίσα να Βεστία για τυ μην Μου

he used to pray to God exclaiming "O Lord
my God"

278 Πριελινά μοι Καναίν και Βσι Βσι μολαχύλα
και ο Βσαλτί κα ΒσαλCCI ΒΥ

the princes of Rus' and all the soldiery
offered their prayers to God and made their
vows to God

The aorist forms on pp. 275 and 264, meaning "asked,
beseached," refer to discrete events, and therefore appear
as determinate. The imperfect tense form, however, appears
much more frequently, and has the meaning "prayed." According
to Borodich (1954), μοιτι in the imperfect tense
refers to a religious state, whereas the aorist refers to
a concrete request. Although the imperfect in this text
generally refers to repeated action (as on p. 156, where it
occurs with the determinate imperfect Οόσσωσα, and on
p. 207), the example on p. 278 is ambiguous. It is also
not clear in some cases whether the reference is to events or to content of action. It is possible that μολασσα, when it meant "to pray," was originally conceptualized as a series of discrete acts of seeking God, and thus has the form of determinate imperfect, referring not to a state of prayer but to a repetition of acts.

πρεμβασως (2) vs. πρεμβυσα; πρεμβσα (2)

180 и са πρεμβασετσα ω̄δο, σταρς ω̄δο μολασσα

οπο λυ υνο πρεμβασως ω̄δο υνο

ωστα:

and he changed his own aspect, appearing sometimes old, sometimes young, and sometimes he even changed one man to the semblance of another

164 πρεμβυσα χε βρέμενης και ελπις

πρεμβυσα και η ας εβη σβριλο

before this time the sun also suffered alteration, and was not bright

The two incidences of πρεμβασετσα obviously express repeated determinate action, in contrast to the discrete action expressed by πρεμβυσα.
THE ANALYSIS

(1) vs. почау и наку (163)

и черномышни почау множитися
и монастырь почасу бъяти

the number of monks increased and new monasteries came into being

(97) едва съ наку каати и помиловашеть

when they repented, he would have mercy on them

The determinate verb накати / почати
occurs normally in the aorist (163 times), and only once in the imperfect. On page 97, наку refers to repeated discrete action antecedent to the action of помиловашеть (also determinate imperfect). The determinate aorist on page 151 refers to the increase as fact, while the indeterminate imperfect refers to a situation.
THE ANALYSIS

(1) vs. Просима (1)

157 приходя к нему просиму от него благослов

those who approached him sought his blessing

(1) vs. Рече (454)

190 аще к нему что рече ли добро ли зло сбодавесца старе слово

if he made any prophecy, whether good or evil, the ancient's word was fulfilled

2 Вопросш; ου -. (3): Вопросати is a determinate verb, which in the text means "enquire," in contrast with the determinate verb просити, which means "ask for, demand." It was probably formed from просати, an indeterminate verb expressing a state of mind, i.e., to enquire. The example below (p. 102) demonstrates the determinate quality of the verb. All of the occurrences of the aorist in the text refer to a discrete act.

102 привзвав книжники и старцы пролеки и впроша и разре уде

having called together the scribes and elders of the people, he enquired of them where Christ should be born
THE ANALYSIS

рёшь occurs consistently in the text as a
determinate aorist form (454 times). The only exception is
the determinate imperfect found on p. 190 (above): рёшье
expresses repeated discrete action, and is followed in the
apodosis by the determinate imperfect verb сбыдалошеше.

посвяташе (1) vs. просвяте; ω - (2)

148 и διε сла на силна како позвсташе

мрежа, блицошеша, оружие

the combat was terrible. As the lightning
flashed, the weapons gleamed

The determinate imperfect form позвятаве (p. 148)
expresses action antecedent to the action of the indeter-
determinate imperfect verb блицошеша. The repeated flashes
of lightning make visible the gleaming of weapons, which
is descriptively referred to in terms of the content of the
action.

послушай (3) vs. послуша; πρε - (29)

85 Владимир же слушаше их δι

бо сало люба жена и блужение,

много послушаше, сладко

Vladimir listened to them, for he himself was
fond of women, and liked to hear about great
débauchery

The meanings of слушаше (indeterminate imper-
flect) and послушаше (determinate imperfect) in this
example are quite different. Cloywame refers to the content of listening in this specific situation, whereas Perywoypne refers to Vladimir's usual practice of listening, i.e., a series of events.

роспелахь (l) vs. растпилаша (l)

30 ὡσὶ ποσεκακε ἀρογια γε μνακε

и мыга же роспелахь а броугиа

в море вметахоу

some they beheaded, some they tortured, some they shot, and still others they threw into the sea

268 ι растпилаша: стрломи Василиковичи

and they shot the sons of Vasil'ko

роспелахь (p. 30) is a determinate imperfect form, referring to repeated discrete events.

cудадхо (l) vs. осудаще (l) vs. судашохме (l)

33 мно́гожои прево судашохме

we have often deemed it proper

97 по сихе же судадхо или жрею

next Eli the priest was judge

264 ове коно судадхо ли шрона ... не осудаще

if he saw anyone uproarious ... he did not condemn him
THE ANALYSIS

CoBatu has clear determinate meaning on p. 33 (CoBauBou). Ruzicka (1957) also ascribes to this occurrence modern perfective meaning. If the verb CoBatu is determinate, CyBaWu on p. 97 should be read as referring to a series of acts of judging performed by the Priest Eli, i.e., he acted as 'judge.' OcyBaWu on page 264 is clearly determinate imperfect, as is the form ByBaWu.

\[ \text{Zaccipawu, } \pi \nu - (2) \text{ vs. Nocipawu, } \rho \alpha \zeta - (4) \]

56 ι πολειβα ζαζιπατα γα ζυβι και ποζιπατα γα

and she ordered them to bury them alive. And they buried them

185 [μ] Бицс в печеру и Затворавше двери

пoчep в и Зaccipawu пepepьro

entering the crypt, and closing the door, he would cover himself with dust

109 Вoвни же practipoxy Bold

the soldiers kept rebuilding the earthwork

Nocipawu (p. 56), which refers to a discrete event, is an example of the determinate aorist form. Zaccipawu (p. 185) refers to repeated acts, and is found in a series of other determinate imperfects, e.g.,

ZatBoRawa. The imperfect of p. 109 is not as clear, and has the Cross translation "the soldiers kept on building" (while the inhabitants stole the heaped-up earth). However,
in view of the evidence of the other forms, it could be interpreted that the soldiers were repeatedly rebuilding the earthwork.

\[ (14) \text{πρωεσε} (2): \text{σβαε (56)}: \]
\[ \text{σβαε : \upsilon : \upsilon : \upsilon :} \]  

29 полами же просоами были. Занес в

поли седаху

they were known as Polyanians because they lived in the fields

31 по тым бо городонев седаху велины

in these cities lived great princes

192 како трудашетсѧ седаює на седал]

свое рединую же ему седаш то

when he tired he sat on his stool. Once when he was sitting

These verbs are listed in Appendix 1, but are presented here because of the ambiguous nature of the form седавше on p. 192. It seems to describe indeterminate action following the action of the determinate imperfect verb трудашетсѧ (when he became tired, he would sit on his stool); but could be interpreted as the imperfect tense of the determinate verb сестѧ (when he become tired, he would sit down on his stool). Cross translates both трудашетсѧ and седавше as determinate but not as
THE ANALYSIS

repeated action: "When he was wearied, he sat down upon his stool." The other 13 occurrences of εἰλαμεν (as on pp. 29 and 31) are indeterminate. They are static verbs expressing the content of the action. Borodin (1954) found no exceptions to the use of the imperfect tense with εἰλαμεν and the aorist with εἰλτε.

13 ἀ Οὐλίνιῳ Τιβερίῳ εἰλαμὲν οὗ ἂς ἄνδρῳ
καὶ Αὐλαδεῦ
but the Ulichians and the Tivercians lived by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube

189 ποσεὶς ἐπὶ προς Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ εἰλτὼν καὶ
προς εἰλαμὲν ὑπὸ ἑρῶ

later Theodosius came with the brethren, and they sat beside him.

Both occurrences of προς εἰλαμὲν (pp. 13 and 189) appear to be indeterminate imperfect forms. If so, the latter example should be read as "sat with him," rather than "sat down beside the sick man" (Cross translation).

Τωρακῃ (23) vs. τωριχε (3); and στωραπε; ι
Ζα - (2) vs. στορισμα; ια - (114)

58 κοφο τωριχε τραίσμυ νυμαεγμα σβογμυ
when I held a funeral feast for my husband

92 φαρα ἐκ τωρι πυμπρικεν ἕνωσεν υ ω ω σβογμυ
Λατρείᾳ ἐπὶ προς[ος] ἐπὶ βυνμα βορισα να ἐπιτο
... ἔφωνεστηνα να ἐκτε ἔτο
Terah built idols, having learned the art from his father. But Abraham (son of Terah), when he
came to reason, looked up to heaven ... and said "In truth, that is God"

Although творыти occurs only three times in the aorist tense, compared to 23 times in the imperfect, it has the value of a determinate verb. All cases of the aorist (pp. 58, 93, and 266) refer to past events rather than to the action itself. According to Borodich (1954), творыти occurs twice in the aorist in the codex Zographensis; and Ruzicka (1957) ascribes modern perfective value to some incidences of творыти (including the example from p. 266).

they did violence to the Dulebian women. If an Avar wanted to make a journey, he did not cause either a horse or a steer to be harnessed, but instead commanded that three or four or five women should be yoked to his cart.
When someone died, a feast was held over the corpse, and then a great pyre was constructed on which the deceased was laid and burned. After the bones were collected, they were placed in a small urn and set upon a post by the roadside, even as the Vyatchians do to this day. Such customs were observed by the Krivichians.

Yaroslav had many Varangians under his command, and they did violence to the inhabitants of Novgorod and their wives.

All cases of the imperfect tense describe repeated action. On p. 12 творах refers to repeated discrete acts and occurs with other determinate imperfect forms: буда́ше, даа́ра́ше and велла́ше. In the excerpt from p. 14 творах occurs three times and, together with the other determinate imperfect verbs in the passage (вмра́ше, веложаху́те, сожа́ра́ше и веложаху́ and постава́ше), refers to an habitual sequence of events. The determinate imperfect value of the forms on pp. 140 and 82 is not as obvious from the contexts. However, the action may easily be interpreted as repeated, and it is logically more probable that the action in both cases was, in fact, repeated.
then he would leave the monastery ... enter a crypt and close the door.

The two imperfect prefixed forms are clearly determinate. For example, σατωρασε on p. 185 occurs with the determinate imperfect ὑπενδωσαι and refers to an habitual event.

τρυςασεις (1) vs. τρυςασότα (3)
See the discussion for σαμάσε, which occurs with the determinate imperfect τρυςασεις on p. 192 of the text.

οὐρσάσωμαι (3) vs. οὐρσάσωμαν (3)

188 ὁμοιοι τοιούτου βρατί το ετερο πρεσσωμενείτ
οὑρσασω μοῦρσασωμαι

if any brother feel into some sinful way they consoled him

οὐρσασωμαι is an ambiguous form, as it could be formed from either the indeterminate or indeterminate stem. In the text, however, it always occurs with other determinate imperfect forms, and refers to recurring past events.
THE ANALYSIS

рады (5) vs. рача (3)

См. текст и в таки мужо своему и
рада и швероестал шуи ума

she ate of it and gave it to her husband. They
ate and their eyes were opened

рады скверну всаку ... и смертвец
не погребаху, но рады

they ate all manner of unclean things ... and
did not bury their dead, but ate them

рады is a determinate imperfect form, and in
all cases refers to repeated action. (The indeterminate
imperfect рады does not occur in the text.)

везмате (1) vs. привт; по--; ваз--; на--; пере--;
поле--; заж--; поред--; пре--; сн--; вспря--; иот--;
из--; няя (123)

и положаху пред ни и не везмате
него но ли, вложити в рук в нему

they would place bread near him, but he would not
take it unless they placed it in his hands

The determinate imperfect form везмате is the only
imperfect among 124 prefixed determinate verbs found in the
text. It refers to repeated action following the action of:
the determinate imperfect verb положаху, and conditional
on the action of the determinate verb вложити.
THE ANALYSIS

изимакура; \( \text{Вн-}; \text{при-}; \text{ш-} \) (13) \( \text{вс.измака} \); \( \text{поп-}; \text{рн-}; \text{пере-}; \text{при-} \) (9)

237 \( \text{олег же по приходу града измака ростовщин в блюзорых и суздалах} \)

after the capture of the city, Oleg arrested the men of Rostov, Beloozero and Suzdal.

204 \( \text{всеволод же свое княжение... пирена} \)

Vsevolod reigned in Kiev... he assumed sovereignty over all Rus.

188/189 \( \text{аще брате егерь выидавше из монастыря} \) ... и приимаху брата 8 монастыря

if some brother left the monastery ... they would take the brother (back) into the monastery

63 \( \text{олга часто глашет... они же не внимаше того} \)

Olga would often say (to him) ... but he did not heed her

Various prefixed forms of the indeterminate verb \( \text{имати} \) occur in the aorist nine times (e.g., \( \text{измака} \) and \( \text{перема} \) on pp. 237 and 204), and have determinate value, referring to discrete events in the past.

The imperfect form, occurring 13 times, expresses repeated action, and functions as determinate imperfect.

\( \text{приимаху} \), on p. 188/9, occurs in a parallel construction with the determinate imperfect verb \( \text{выидавше} \). On p. 63 \( \text{внимаше} \) refers to Syvatoslav's behavior on many occasions.
The Polovcians began to press them hard and cut off their water supply.

On p. 221 is not as clearly a determinate imperfect form. To be consistent, it must refer to repeated holding back of water, although there are no other indications from the context that this was the case.

3. The Indeterminate Aorist

This section includes all of the 10 verb groups listed in Appendix 3. Although the indeterminate verb, expressing the content of action, normally occurs in the imperfect tense, which denotes process, these groups contain indeterminate aorist exceptions, i.e., the indeterminate verb occurs in the aorist tense. In all cases of the indeterminate aorist, the action is limited by a specific time reference, usually explicit, and for this reason appears in the aorist tense. The verb preserves its indeterminate imperfect value: action per se as process.

 בביתו (1) vs. בֶּרֶזֶה (2)

His mother urged him to be baptised, but he would not heed her suggestion.
he began to walk. He would not go faithfully to church.

he did not eat for a week.

Брежове appears to be indeterminate and occurs twice in the imperfect tense. On pp. 63 and 194 (the first example) it describes a heedless state of mind. In the second example from p. 194, the verb occurs in the aorist tense, but is defined by an explicit time reference (за недея). The action of the verb is indeterminate, but it occurs in the aorist because the action of the verb is limited by a specific time period.

Although the imperfect tense does not occur in the text, Блечити is considered to be indeterminate. It appears so on p. 75, where it refers to the content of the action. Here it expresses indeterminate action defined by the time phrase ω ουτα и до полуде.
THE ANALYSIS

ждуа (1)

79 не ждуа замедли и не властите
they waited for a month, and he gave them
nothing

ждуу also occurs only once, and that occurrence
is in the aorist tense. The verb is indeterminate, drawing
focus on the waiting itself, but occurs in the aorist be-
cause the time period of the action is explicitly stated.

жусе (1) vs. жуваше (12)

121 поеми же Володимер жуваше въ
законъ храмъ
after these events Vladimir lived, in the
Christian faith

162 жусе же всѣхъ 75. о. и. і.
he lived altogether seventy-six years

жуту is an indeterminate verb, which normally
occurs in the imperfect tense. (as on p. 121). The single
occurrence of the aorist tense is accompanied by a reference
to a specific time period. In the Old Church Slavonic
texts studied by Borodich (1954) there are no occurrences
of the aorist tense of жуту.

Кнаже (3) vs. Кнажаше (2)

10 но ёс Кий Кнажаше в пост своємь
but Kiy was chief of his kin
Yaropolk ruled eight years

Княжити occurs three times in the aorist tense and only twice in the imperfect. The verb is indeterminate, however, and refers to the content of the action. All three occurrences of the aorist tense describe action which is explicitly limited by a time period (as on p. 18).

179 Кудесник же лежаще, спящи
the magician lay in a trance

194 бы бо расслаблен, тюлом... но лежаще
на единои стороне... [см. же бз, дубно
чюно тако за... в. лт, лежа си... но;
нэмъ и глу лежа за... в. лт]
for he was so weakened in body... he lay always upon one side... it is wondrous and strange that he lay thus for two years... [but lay deaf and mute for two years]

145 жь же в необыча лежа [и] въехолъ въ съ
he lay in a trance, and recovering cried out

Лежаще is an indeterminate verb describing a state of being, and occurs twice in the imperfect tense (as on p. 179).

The aorist tense occurs twice on p. 194, and in both cases is defined by a specific time period. Although
the indeterminate aorist \( \lambda\gamma\alpha \) on p. 145 is not limited by an explicit time reference, the duration of the action is limited by the following past participle \( \varepsilon\epsilon\kappa\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\beta\omicron\omicron \) (having recovered). \( \lambda\gamma\alpha \) occurs once in the gospels studied by Borodich (1959). In that example also, the end of the time period is only implied by the text.

\[ \text{σταρα} (3) \text{vs. στοραω} (21): \text{στοραω} \text{σταραω} (2) \text{vs. στα (40)} \]

141 \( \text{ι εστω} \text{στααω} \text{μεθ' ει} \).

they stood for three months

214 \( \text{δι μεντι} \text{σε} \text{βιβαωε} \text{ς νομιν} \text{τυγχε} \text{στααωε} \) \text{πο} \text{βλημι} \text{νι} \text{στααωε} \text{τα} \text{στε}.\text{α}.

at night there would be heard a clatter in the streets

219 \( \text{ι προστολαχε} \text{σοβ} \text{υ} \text{ες} \text{με} \text{στισι} \text{λε} \text{νιν} \text{συ} \text{μυ}

\text{η κανι} \text{ι} \text{πρεφιν} \text{κι} \text{νι} \text{ι} \text{νι} \text{στι} \).

Yan and other prudent men supported this opinion.

This verb group provides a good example of tense polarization: the indeterminate imperfect (including prefixed forms) occurs 22 times, while the determinate aorist forms (including prefixed forms) numbers 63. The five exceptions, which include both determinate imperfect and indeterminate aorist forms, are regular. The action of the determinate aorist form (e.g., \( \text{στοραω} \) on p. 141) is always limited by a time period, and both occurrences of the determinate
imperfect (e.g., ставаюе on p. 214) refer to repeated events. пристаяюу (p. 219) is presented as an example of the prefixed indeterminate verb, similar to пристаяюу, which is discussed above.

because they drowned the children of the Jews for 10 months

The aorist топиша, on p. 95, is иndeterminate, and appears to refer to the action itself. The time period of the action is explicitly stated.

The two following verbs, обладати and пакатиа, are indeterminate verbs occurring in the aorist, but without an explicitly stated time period for the action.

they had no tsar, but the high priests ruled over them until the time of the foreigner Herod, who ruled over them. In his reign

Rurik ruled them all

омладати occurs three times in the imperfect tense, and refers to the action as content (e.g., pp. 102 and 20).
THE ANALYSIS

The form ωμέλεα on p. 102 also is indeterminate, but must refer to the period of Herod's reign (βλαστέω), and for that reason be expressed by the aorist tense.

πλακασά (13) vs. πλακαχυσά (4)

188 η μεμυγιωμένο πλακαχυσά βραγά
γις ζητε μελετά τα. η μικ η ημί
and when he was speaking these words the brothers wept saying, "Father, pray to God for us"

57 ὦλγα ... πρως κε γροσύ εγό [μι]

πλακασά πο μιμι κλειστε

Olga ... came to her husband's grave and mourned for him

πλακαχυσά, meaning "wept," is indeterminate and always occurs in the imperfect tense (e.g., on p. 188).

πλακασά, however, which occurs 13 times meaning "mourned," always occurs in the aorist (e.g., on p. 57). The explanation for the indeterminate aorist form must be that the verb πλακατάω is indeterminate, but is idiomatically used in the aorist when it means mourned, and implies the period of mourning.

4. Cognitive Verbs

The six verb groups in this section (listed in Appendix 4) are the only ones of the 109 groups studied (excluding the verbs of motion) which contain stems which
do not formally distinguish between indeterminate and determinate, i.e., the unprefixed stem functions as both a determinate and indeterminate stem. The use of tense, however, is consistent with the use described in other sections, in that the verb occurring in the imperfect tense has indeterminate value (describes a state or process); while the verb occurring in the aorist has determinate value (refers to an event).

Видавше (4) and вицю (33)

8 и приде в Слов'яни ... и вицю
ту люди сущера

he reached the Slavs ... and saw the people dwelling there

190 и аще кого видавше в помышленні
вблічавше в бтайств

if he beheld any brother lost in reflection, he reproved him in secret

264 аще кого видавше ли шматна ли в
кое зазорє не осудавше

if he saw anyone uproarious or committing some excess, he did not condemn him

88 и б'є Алонга в раї. видавше б'є
и слававше

Adam was in paradise. He saw God and praised him
THE ANALYSIS

111 В се време разболался Володимир воними
и не видавше ничто же
at this time Vladimir fell ill and was unable
to see

Видети can be either indeterminate or determinate.
It occurs most frequently in the aorist, where the action
is expressed as an objective fact in the manner of a deter-
minate verb, e.g., on p. 8. It also functions as an indeter-
minate verb, referring to the sense of sight or ability to
see, and in this case appears in the imperfect tense, as on
pp. 88 and 111. The other two occurrences of the imperfect
tense (pp. 190 and 264) are not indeterminate. They are
regular determinate imperfect forms, containing the deter-
minate value of Видети as it appears in the aorist sense,
and refer to repeated discrete events in the past.

Greek:

ραχύ (26) and ρισά (7)

118 α Διαβόλος счела ρισά ουβί σειν
but the Devil, moaning, said, "Woe is me

196 многажды бо бсци пакости Δημαχу
κεμυ и ραχύ нассе реси
many times the demons harassed him, and said,
"You belong to us

132 послала к борису ρισε рако с тобою
любови имаши
he sent a message to Boris, saying that he
desired to live at peace with him
Глаголати, as εἴωθτι above, serves as both an indeterminate and determinate verb. It occurs most frequently in the imperfect tense, as on pp. 118, 196, and 132, where it functions as an indeterminate verb and refers to the content of the action. The imperfect is the regular tense for the indeterminate verb, and does not in itself refer to repeated action. Thus it need not be translated as "commonly said," as is done in the Cross translations of pp. 215 and 271 (not presented here). In the same way, позиляга ... гише (p. 132) need not be translated "He sent messages" (plural).

256 и гише к собе речуше по что губи

they spoke to each other saying, "Why do we destroy the land of Rus?"

136 каси суги словаеса твоа также гиа ки мнз

where are the words you spoke to me

260 още ли неправо гиа абои

if David spoke untruthfully

193 приде Антоний по остайято ко

Antonius came to the window according to his

шкончо и гиа ги блиби оце

habit and said, "May the Lord bless you, Father

исакио и не би под вста

Isaac." But there was no reply.
he entered a crypt, closed the door behind him, and covered himself with dust. He spoke to no one.

In all 7 occurrences of the aorist tense, the verb is determinate, and refers to the objective act of speaking, rather than to the action of communicating. It may be translated as "spoke," as opposed to "said." On p. 256 the determinate form ἔγραψε requires a second verbal form (ἔγραψε) to express the actual communication. A similar construction appears on p. 106: ἔγραψεν εἰς ἑαυτόν (they spoke about the beginning of the world). On pp. 136 and 260 we are concerned with speech as an objective fact. The excerpt from p. 193 is not as clear, but I think that the determinate aorist form must mean that Antonius spoke, whereas Isaac did not reply.

Since the verb is sometimes determinate, ἔγραψε may function as a determinate imperfect form, as on p. 185. Here it occurs with other determinate imperfects: ἔγραψαν and ἔγραψεν, and refers to repeated objective events. This is the only occurrence of the determinate imperfect in the text; all other verbs in the imperfect tense appear to be indeterminate.
THE ANALYSIS

можахе (5) and могоша (4)

145 не можахе смърти (на кони)
he was unable to ride

66 Печенеги остренишали на не... и не могоша ему ничтоше створит
the Pechenegs hurried in pursuit... but did not succeed in doing any harm

This verb also functions as an indeterminate imperfect and a determinate aorist verb. In the imperfect tense it describes a capability; and in the aorist, it refers to an objective event.

Мнахитъ (3) and Мноша (1)

66 бо острени Печенежки и Мнахитъ и своего
for he knew the Pecheneg language, and they thought that he was one of them

66 и родие богов кнiшах Мноша Печенежи же Мноша Князя пришедова
the people in the city raised a shout, so that the Pechenegs thought that the Prince himself had arrived

Мнахитъ functions as an indeterminate verb, describing a cognitive state, while Мноша appears to be determinate, referring to a discrete event.
THE ANALYSIS

смáху (4) and смóт (2)

141 прислóг и стáша противу в поле
днáпра и не смáху ни си шóмк нá
шнá сихе макати и стогаши мýг. 1

Yaroslav arrived and the brothers stood over against each other on both banks of the Dnieper, but neither party dared to attack. And they remained there for three months.

35 ёдáтв тóе еже смóт. створати

he shall return what he has dared to appropriate

смáху and смóт are similar to мнáхуг and мýшна in form, meaning and function.

хóтáше (13) and хóтó (5)

219 Володимерó хóтáше мира Стóполкк.

нáе хóтáше рати

Vladimir favored peace, but Svyatopolk wanted war.

263 Стóполкк нáе хóтó побýгнáти: нáе
 Киёфá [и] не дáша нéму Кýтана.

Svyatopolk wanted to flee from Kiev, but the Kievan would not let him.

The indeterminate imperfect form occurs most frequently and means "desired, wanted," as on p. 219. However, хóтáт occurs in the aorist five times, always with indeterminate meaning, and can be translated by "was about to."

The determinate form is probably functionally related to хóтáт as future auxiliary.
5. The Verbs of Motion

The indeterminate and determinate verbs of motion display a liberated use of tense: the indeterminate verb (prefixed and nonprefixed) occurs in the aorist tense to express discrete action; and the determinate nonprefixed verb occurs in the imperfect tense to express extended determinate action (as well as iterated action). On the other hand, tense polarization is evident in the use of the determinate nonprefixed verb, which occurs most frequently in the aorist; and in the use of the determinate prefixed verb, which occurs almost exclusively in the aorist, except to express iteration.

The verb groups быти and дати : дарати are included in this section because they display patterns of tense usage similar to those of the verbs of motion.

202 паки же брата его проникает и  и
ходи по чужем земли булы и сольщо гему панки на столб своеим

the brothers expelled him, and he went wandering through foreign lands. Later, when he was again restored to his throne

156 и ходи по монастырями и не взвлоби

he went about the monasteries and liked none of them
THE ANALYSIS

54 а ХЕРАНУЮ РУСь ВОДИШЪ, РОТЪ Б

ЦРКВИ СТРО УЛЬИ

and the Christian Russes took oath in the Church of St. Elias

297 БАШЕ СЪ КНЯЗЬ ТИХЪ ... ДЕСЯТИНУ

ОАРИ СИФИ БЕНИ ЩО СВОЕГО ИМЪНИЯ

ПО БСА ЛЯТА

this blessed prince was calm ... he gave a tithe of all his possessions yearly to the Blessed Virgin

282 И БЗЪ Т. ЧАДИЕ. БРОДИЩЪ СА УРЕСТЬ СУЛУ

И КЛЮНУША НА НИ

at the sixth hour of the day, they crossed the Sula and shouted at them

The indeterminate nonprefixed verb occurs regularly in the aorist as well as the imperfect tense. The forms presented here are indeterminate and refer to the content of the action: e.g., ходи (pp. 202 and 156) refers to wandering or walking as such; and the indeterminate form бродишъ са (p. 282) refers to the action of crossing, rather than to the event. The aorist tense imposes a limit on the action, but does not occur with a specific reference to the time period of the action, as it does with non-motion verbs. This use of the indeterminate verb in the aorist tense is contrary to the law of polarization, and does not occur outside the verbs of motion.
THE ANALYSIS

29 ἤγορευεν ἄβαρακτως καὶ ἡχομένη
πο ὄλωσε καὶ στόμωσα (στόμωσε)

when Igor grew up he followed after Oleg and obeyed his instructions

105 Δὲν βῇς καὶ ἡμοῦσκελα θάρσει θάρσει
the Holy Ghost hovered over the waters

64 ἡδὲ νοῦς ἐπὶ σοι ἢς ἐς ἡμεῖς· ηὐ
κοτῆλα ἐπὶ κατε ἀρα
upon his expeditions he carried with him
neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no
meat

196 Δα δρύβυνι πάρει τεμυ ἀραχύ
so that the others dealt him blows

The indeterminate unfixed verb occurs here in
the imperfect tense. ἡχομένη (p. 29) and ἡμοῦσκελα (p. 105)
appear to be regular indeterminate imperfect verbs, referring
to the process of action per se. On the other hand, because
the indeterminate may be expressed as completed action in
the aorist tense, it may be that the imperfect tense refers
to repeated action in such forms as ἐς ἡμεῖς on p. 64 or
ἀραχύ on p. 196. However, no variation of these
indeterminate imperfect forms is attested in the text, and
it is thus difficult to impose an interpretation on these
particular forms.
there was a great famine in the city ... the siege was prolonged, and the famine was severe

this was in fact a parish church, since many of the Varangians were Christian

during the reign of Domition there was a certain soothsayer named Apollonius of Tyana. He attained celebrity journeying about performing infernal miracles throughout the cities and towns

The indeterminate of ἐκήρυγμα occurs normally in the aorist tense (148 times) and only three times in the imperfect. The excerpt from p. 127 demonstrates the difference between the determinate and indeterminate aorist form. The determinate form ἐκήρυγμα introduces the fact of the famine, while the indeterminate form ἐκήρυγμα is a static verb, used in reference to the quality of the famine. ἐκήρυγμα and ἐκήρυγμα (p. 54) also refer to the content of being rather than to the existence of being. ἐκήρυγμα (p. 39) is one of the three occurrences of the indeterminate imperfect. It describes indeterminate action as process.
231 и придоства къ Зарубу [и ту] перебродиствас

they arrived at Zarub and crossed the river
without being detected by the Polovcians

231 Стополкъ же и Володимеръ въ бродоста

Svyatopolk and Vladimir crossed the Trubezh
to engage the Polovcians

206 и ВСИ КИЯНЕ ВЕЛИКЪ ПЛАЧЪ СТВОРИША

all the people of Kiev raised great lamenta-
tions for him, and brought him with chants and
hymns to St. Demetrius

106 и рѣ имъ се приходиша ко мнѣ

he said to them, "Behold, the Bulgars came to

БОЛГЕРѢ ... Посемъ же приходиша

me ... After that the Germans came ... After

НѢМѢ ... по сихъ придоша жидовѣ се же

them arrived the Jews and finally the Greeks.

послѣ же придоша Гръци

The indeterminate prefixed verb may appear in the

аорист tense. The two examples from p. 231 demonstrate the
difference between the indeterminate and determinate stems.

In the first example перебродиствас refers to the
content of the action, i.e., they crossed without being
seen, while in the second example, въ бродоста refers
strictly to the event. Both are expressed in the aorist,
which contradicts the law of polarization.
THE ANALYSIS

Прихожа (p. 206) and Прихожа (p. 106) also provide examples of the indeterminate prefixed verb in the aorist tense. The stylistic effect of a shift from indeterminate to determinate verbs on p. 106 is a shift in emphasis from the coming itself to further arrivals as events.

104 и се реку Възнозашеса на Небо
having thus spoken, he ascended into heaven

175 и ПРИВОЖАХУ к НИМЪ сестри своя
and they brought to them their sisters, mothers

and wives

190 се же старецъ послъ Исхожаше и съ
церкви душъо же ему гединогу
съсъ спочивата подъ билиотъ
the starets came out of the church later by himself, and sat down to rest under the bell

197 свора же пакъ в ночи ПРИВОЖАХУ
к Нему
sometimes, however, (the demons) came to him again by night

The indeterminate prefixed verb may also occur in the imperfect tense. Възнозашеса (p. 104), Прихожаху (p. 175) and Исхожаше (p. 190) are regular imperfect tense forms. Although Прихожаху (p. 197) refers to
repeated action, this is not an essential meaning of the form: the verbal action is neither completed nor repeated.

192 ἐν ἰδίῳ ἐπιτίθεται χάριν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ ὁ Βασίλιος ἐδρεύει ἐν Ῥώμῃ περισσότερον ἐν χριστιανικῷ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ἐπέδωκεν τῷ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκείνῳ ὁ Ἰωάκημ.

His sustenance was one wafer, and that only once a day, and he drank but moderately of water. The great Antonius carried it to him, and passed it to him through a window.

216 ἐστιν ὁ λαός ὁ ἐρωτότατος τῆς ὑπερήφανης τῆς Τυρσίας ὁ Ἰωάκημ.

He was extremely fond of monks and ministered to their needs.

157 καὶ ἔρχομαι καὶ ἐνέπληθήσαντο ἐν τῷ Ἱεροσόλυμῳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀποκάλυψης του Ἰωάκημ.

People came to him, bringing whatever he needed.

An interesting phenomenon, concomitant with the possibility of the indeterminate aorist form, i.e., the capability of expressing indeterminate action as completed, is the indeterminate imperfect form which functions in a manner similar to the determinate imperfect, and describes repeated discrete action. Προσέθενται and Ποιεῖται on p. 192 refer to a repeated sequence of actions. The form Προσέθενται may be contrasted with the soft stem Προσέμεθα (p. 104 above); and Ποιεῖται may be contrasted with
THE ANALYSIS

после on p. 216. "пакоану" (р. 157) occurs frequently and describes repeated completed action.

13 браччи вбиваи имахи не хоже не
зато по себесту по прибодаху вечеря
а завтра приношахи по нем что
владыч

they had their wedding customs, whereby the groom's brother did not fetch the bride, but she was brought to the bridegroom in the evening, and in the morning they brought her dowry

130 и орского даощу киеву дб.
тыисёг гринь в год а до года
а тыисью новгородс гримень
раздабахи
(Yaropolk) paid two thousand grivny a year as tribute to Kiev, and another thousand to his garrison in Novgorod

On p. 13 the hard stem прибодахи occurs with regular indeterminate imperfect forms хоже и, and приношахи. An explanation for the form прибодахи (as opposed to the form прибожахи) is that it describes habitual action which precedes the action of приношахи, and therefore refers to repeated completed action.

The imperfect раздабахи (p. 130) occurs twice in the text, always with a hard stem to express repeated action. This corresponds with the general usage of the indeterminate verb раздарати, which occurs seven times in the aorist (раздара). (раздорахи does not occur.)
THE ANALYSIS

75 слышав же це Володимеръ в Новгороде
како Яропolkъ убъшь Олегъ убьовался
бьшь за море

when Vladimir in Novgorod heard that Yaropolk had killed Oleg, he was afraid and fled abroad

225 люди раздѣлиша и бедова в веж
к сердеболѣ

they separated the people and led them into tents to their relatives

Although 90% of the determinate nonprefixed verbs do occur in the aorist tense, as бьшь (p. 75) and бедова (p. 225), the examples below demonstrate that the determinate nonprefixed verb does reflect a tendency to liberate tense from the determinate-plus-aorist law operating among the non-motion verbs.

220 Стополкъ же и Володимеръ и Ростиславъ
исполнише дружину поновова и идше на десяти сторонѣ Стополкъ

after marshalling their troops, Svyatopolk, Vladimir and Rostislav moved forward. Svyatopolk marched on the right wing

145 и послачуть и на носилкѣ принесоша
и къ бесто бѣгоше с нимь ... и бьшаху с нимъ иже в немощи лежа

they carried him on a litter and brought him to Brest, fleeing with him ... and they fled with him, while he lay in a faint
THE ANALYSIS

284 И Моисей великий не ви́м же ви́дя́ти ангела́

если́вься Бога́ въ нь́ду столпъ

внешне въ но́чи столпъ воДа́ше

гдь не се́ столпъ воДа́ше ихъ но ангела

ида́ше предь ними въ но́чи и въ дне

even the great Moses could not view the angelic being, for a pillar of cloud led them by day and a pillar of fire by night. This was not a pillar leading them, but an angel was going before them by night and day.

This usage is peculiar to the verbs of motion, i.e., the determinate imperfect (nonprefixed) form expresses extended determinate action, as demonstrated by ида́ше on p. 220, and нсмаку́ть and бмаку́ть on p. 145. On p. 284 the extended determinate action (ида́ше) refers to the angel going before, as an event, in contrast to the indeterminate action (воДа́ше), which refers to the manner in which they were led (the content of the action).

282 такъ бо вбличаи имбла́ше Стополкь

коли ида́ше) на во́ину

for it was Svyatopolk's custom that whenever he went to war.

The determinate imperfect (nonprefixed) may also express repeated discrete action, as does ида́ше (p. 282). Among the non-motion verbs, this is the only function of the determinate imperfect form.
The verb быть with determinate meaning is most frequently found in the aorist tense (127 times, compared with 45 in the imperfect tense). быть on p. 8 and p. 127 (above) refers to being as a fact of existence.

around the town lay a wood and a great pine forest. There were hunters and wise and prudent men. And they were called Polyanians.

but Oleg and Boris were not there.

they gave Oleg a shilling apiece, as they had paid the Khazars.

expresses extended determinate action. Occurrences on

4 According to C. H. van Schoonveld (1959, Chap. III), быть is the Old Russian equivalent of the Old Church Slavonic imperfective imperfect быть. Citing from the Povest' (983) быть варяги едины и быть дворе его, идеме... (there was one Varangian, and his manor was where), he describes the difference between быть and быть in terms of the imperfect and aorist tense, i.e., the imperfect denotes a fact of importance for the whole story, while the aorist denotes a simple fact. I would suggest that the verb быть is determinate and (as the determinate verb быть) refers to a fact of existence, here extended in the imperfect tense (as the determinate imperfect быть); whereas быть is indeterminate, and refers to a mode of existence.
pp. 9 and 201 refer to extended events. \( \Delta \alpha \gamma \nu \) (p. 24), the imperfect tense of the determinate verb \( \Delta \alpha \gamma \nu \), also refers to an extended fact. This usage is identical with the function of the determinate imperfect peculiar to the verbs of motion.

185 тако изидаше из монастыря...
затвораше двери и пети и сасипаше
перстю... аще ли будаше нежное орудие
to кончение малы беседоваше

Thus he would leave the monastery ... and shut the door of his cave and cover himself with dust ... if he needed anything he would converse through a small window.

127 [и] пришлова и стая школо благорода
и не \( \Delta \alpha \gamma \nu \) встали из города.

They came and took up positions around Belgorod, and allowed no sally from the city.

12 аще подхоти будаше вобрину не!
\( \Delta \alpha \gamma \nu \) впрача кона но велаше велрача
\( \tilde{\varepsilon}, \) ли \( \tilde{\varepsilon}, \) лу \( \tilde{\varepsilon}, \) лу жене \( \varepsilon \) телагу

If they wanted to ride they did not have a horse harnessed, but instead gave directions for three, four or five women to be harnessed to a cart.

\( \text{Бы} \text{т} \text{и} \text{у} \) and \( \Delta \alpha \gamma \nu \) also occur with the regular determinate imperfect of repeated discrete action. However, these two verbs possess a separate stem for this function, i.e., the hard stems \( \text{бьд} \) - and \( \text{бод} \), \( \text{будаше} \), on p. 185, refers to repeated events, and occurs with other regular determinate imperfect verb forms: \( \text{изидаше} \).
THE ANALYSIS

Затворите and закупите. The use of 

The use of 

p. 127 corresponds to repeated attempts to sally from the city. Будьте and дойдуе both occur on p. 12 together with the determinate imperfect ведало, and obviously refer to repeated discrete action.

whenever anyone brought a child suffering from some kind of disease (to the monastery)

whenever he said anything to anybody, whether good or bad, the word of the elder was fulfilled

he departed out of the Land of Egypt. And the Lord led them over the road through the desert to the Red Sea, preceding them by night as a fiery pillar.

The determinate prefixed verbs most closely conform to the law of polarization. They occur most frequently in the aorist tense (examples were given above in excerpts from pp. 220, 106, and 231), and occur in the imperfect only to express repeated discrete action. принесли (p. 189) and сбуждества (p. 190) both refer to discrete events.
THE ANALYSIS

πρεανάωε (p. 95), however, is an exception, and could refer to extended determinate action (in analogy with μανάωε). It occurs here with βεανάωε, a nonprefixed determinate imperfect expressing extended determinate action.

The Old Church Slavonic verbs of motion did not manifest liberation of tense relative to the determinate-indeterminate opposition to the same degree as we find in the Povest'. Ye. V. Cheshko (1951), in her study of the Codex Zographensis, found a complete absence of the indeterminate aorist (such as хоуна and маносиуна) and the prefixed determinate imperfect (such as принесеаху), i.e., forms which occur in the Old East Slavic chronicles, etc. According to V. V. Borodich (1954, p. 87) also, the aorist of indeterminate stems and the imperfect of prefixed determinate stems is not met in the earliest Old Church Slavonic texts.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Tense polarization is an essential feature of the verbal system represented by the forms of the Povest' Vremennych let. Fifty-one groups display complete polarization, i.e., the aorist tense always occurs with the determinate stem, and the imperfect tense always occurs with the indeterminate stem. The determinate imperfect and indeterminate aorist exceptions (found in 37 and 10 verb groups, respectively) are special uses occurring in verb groups which otherwise display polarization.

The determinate imperfect form always expresses a repeated discrete event, thereby retaining both the values of determinate (event) and aorist (discrete). The indeterminate aorist form is always accompanied by a specific time period, generally explicit. Thus it retains the values of indeterminate (action per se) as well as imperfect (process). These special uses of the imperfect and aorist tenses are therefore precisely defined by the stem, and do not reflect an arbitrary use of tense.

In the group which has been named cognitive, i.e., the indeterminate value implies a consciousness of a cognitive act or process itself, a common unprefixed stem is used with both the imperfect and aorist tenses, although the prefixed forms conform to the pattern of polarization. As these stems number only six of a total of 109 non-motion
verb groups (some groups have members in more than one section), they do not significantly undermine the main thesis. Moreover, these verbs maintain the determinate-indeterminate distinction, in that the stem used with the imperfect tense always refers to the content of the action, while the stem used with the aorist refers to an event.

The verbs of motion, on the other hand, do not display tense polarization relative to the determinate-indeterminate opposition, i.e., the imperfect and aorist tenses occur with both the determinate and indeterminate stems. The indeterminate verb οὐκ ἔχει occurs in the aorist to express the act of carrying performed as a discrete act in the past (οὐκ); the determinate verb ἔχει occurs in the imperfect to express an extended event (ἔχασε).

Δοκεῖ: οὐκ ἔχει and ἔχει verb groups are included in this section because they display the same patterns of tense usage.

An interesting phenomenon reflected in the verbs of motion is that if an indeterminate verb can occur in the aorist tense as discrete action, it can also appear in the imperfect as repeated action. These two functions are distinguished in the prefixed indeterminate form by means of hard and soft endings of the stem, i.e., πρύμος does not express repeated action, whereas πρύκοσ does not.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Δατιν, Δατιν, and Σετιν groups distinguish these functions in the simple determinate as well, by means of stem variations: Δαρέκ�ε and Σύδαρέκ�ε refer to repeated action, while Δαρη and Δαρε refer to extended action.

As I discuss below, the liberation of tense usage among the verbs of motion is a point in favor of the argument concerning the role of polarization in the development of aspect, not a problem.

The phenomenon of the determinate:indeterminate opposition (reflected in tense polarization) leads to a theory of the development of aspect. The predictability of tense usage implies a redundancy, and according to the linguistic principle of simplification, we can expect a normalization of tense endings—which did occur with the -Λ ending of the perfect tense. It must be emphasized that normalization does not mean morphological borrowing, or even morphological change. (A possible reason for the use of the -Λ ending is that among the past tenses it was only in the perfect tense that both the indeterminate and determinate stem occurred.) The values of the imperfect and aorist tenses were retained by the -Λ ending, and were a part of the later aspect system.

It has been observed that the verbs of motion did not (except in the prefixed determinate forms) reflect
polarization. An explanation, therefore, for the emergence of the category of determinate:indeterminate which exists in the modern verbs of motion is that the liberation of tense in the Old East Slavic verbs of motion occurred before the normalization of tense endings, and therefore the universal -A ending of the past tense did not retain the value of a specific tense, i.e., the stem did not combine with predictable aorist or imperfect tense value. It is the absence of this formation which allowed the determinate:indeterminate category of the verbs of motion to remain in the language as a remnant of the old system (modified, of course, during the process of aspectualization).

If we consider the modern aspect system as the result of combinations of determinate-plus-aorist and indeterminate-plus-imperfect values, some of the anomalies of the modern aspect structure can be explained. For example, iterativity (the combination of determinate stem and imperfect tense) had to accommodate the new structure by sacrificing the determinate stem and joining the indeterminate imperfect verb group. It is possibly for this reason that repeated action requires a special definition within the structure of aspect.

Another well known anomaly is the use of the verb type писал', as in Кто писал этот роман? where an imperfective verb expresses completed action. This may be
explained by keeping in mind that the aorist and imperfect tense endings were normalized with the -я ending, which did not indicate the value of the perfect tense. However, it is possible that the form πνηκά in the context mentioned is a remnant of the perfect tense of the indeterminate verb, and means "Who has performed the action of writing the novel?"

These examples demonstrate the efficacy of the present theory, which not only provides a more parsimonious model for the description of the Old East Slavic verbal system, but also serves as the basis for a description of aspect formation which clarifies some of the anomalies of the modern system.
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NOTE ON APPENDICES

The appendices list all verbs used in the study, and give the number of occurrences of aorist and imperfect tense forms. Only verb groups which have members attested in the text in both tenses were used.

Appendix 1 contains verbs which display complete tense polarization, i.e., the imperfect tense occurs only with the indeterminate verb, while the aorist tense occurs only with the determinate. Appendices 2 and 3 contain determinate imperfect and indeterminate aorist forms (underlined). These occurrences reflect special uses of the imperfect and aorist tenses. Appendix 4 lists six verb groups which express both indeterminate and determinate meaning with the same unprefixed stem. Appendix 5 contains the verbs of motion. These verbs reflect a liberation in the use of tense—a tendency away from polarization.
APPENDIX 1

VERB GROUPS DISPLAYING TENSE POLARIZATION
APPENDIX I

VERB GROUPS DISPLAYING TENSE POLARIZATION

**Indeterminate**

болаше (1)
себе вбаху (1)
гнебашес (1)
взвраху; из- (3)
погребаху (1)
самираху (1)
дваждаше (1)
диляху (1)
подобашто (3)
шеанаху (1)
дряху (1)
зваху (3)
прозвбаху; при-; се- (3)

**Determinate**

разболис (7)
свеоша (1)
прозвбаша; раз- (8)
бзворбша (йа); ил-; се-;
по-; раз- (6)
погребоша (13)
шарас; раз- (3)
бзвбинес (3)
оудивес (13)
способес (4)
шоолс (12)
совес (йа); по; (5)
прозвбша; ео- (5)
прозвбва; при-; пре- (46)
искаше (3)
приискиваку (1)
прекладаше; вс- (3)
克莱аху (3)
оукланахуиса (1)
копахоме (1)
куповаяше (1)
кусааше (1)
проливааше (1)
люблаше (6)
мучаху (2)
шмиваше (1)
мышлаше (1)
премишлаше; до-; оу-; по- (4)
вметахоу (2)
шбрэтаку (1)
доискахоме; сн- (4)
покладоша (1)
поклониса (9)
ископа; про-; о- (12)
совокупи (8)
вкусы; ис-; оу- (5)
легаша (1)
налегаша; про-; вс-; из- (7)
взълоби (9)
примучи (2)
шмиса (1)
помислиша; оу-; с-; про-; по- (11)
шмласте (1)
шбретоша; с-; устрете (13)
палаху (2)
плалахе (1)
паслахе (1)
пухаху (1)
плаваше (1)
пленоваху (2)
полозаху (1)
родоваше (6)
подражаху (1)
сугаше (2)
всквернаху (1)
славаше (3)
прославлаху (1)
наследоваста (1)
приспиваше (2)
палае (9)
напалае; по-; ве-; ие-; се-;
спехмуша (2)
блому (1)
прилуща (2)
поляни (5)
пополесса (1)
шброздоша; по- (2)
поразих; преоб- (4)
восига (4)
шскверниша (3)
прославиш (3)
наслѣдыша (2)
приспѣ; оу- (6)
приступаше (2)
ступиша (3)
шетушиша; θε.; πρε.; σε.; за.; рα.; πρι.; θε.; ποδ.; па.; по. (50)
сфас (56)
сфас; θ; ο.; ω; θε. (6)
пополе.; ου.; ικ. (7)
всемужишна (1)
роста (1)
разум (6)
научи; по- (сА) (4)
похвали (3)
покули (1)
почти (4)
похале (1)
гавис (15)
APPENDIX 2

VERB GROUPS CONTAINING THE DETERMINATE IMPERFECT FORM
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indeterminate</th>
<th>Determinate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>избави</strong> (3)</td>
<td><strong>избавляться</strong> (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>быть</strong> (1)</td>
<td><strong>быть узнала</strong> (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>избить; ог; рез; из; с</strong> - (52)</td>
<td><strong>освоить; ог; рез; из; с</strong> - (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**БЕЗБОЯ» (1)</td>
<td>**БЕЗБОЯ» (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**побег» (68)</td>
<td>**побег» (68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>проверить; оп; с; в</strong> - (10)</td>
<td><strong>проверить; оп; с; в</strong> - (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ВИЗБРАШАЧИСЯ (1)</td>
<td>**ВИЗБРАШАЧИСЯ (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ВИЗБОЛОКОВА» (2)</td>
<td>**ВИЗБОЛОКОВА» (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ВОРОГИ (1)»; ВРАГИ (1)» (2)</td>
<td>**ВОРОГИ (1)»; ВРАГИ (1)» (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ВИЗБРАТИСЯ; раз» (34)</td>
<td>**ВИЗБРАТИСЯ; раз» (34)</td>
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<tr>
<td>**ВИЗБРАЛАЯ (2)</td>
<td>**ВИЗБРАЛАЯ (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>**ВИЗБРАЛАЯ (2)»; обл» (8)</td>
<td>**ВИЗБРАЛАЯ (2)»; обл» (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ПРИВЛЕКАЮТСЯ» (1)</td>
<td>**ПРИВЛЕКАЮТСЯ» (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See Appendix 3.
Воева (10)
Воево (3)
побоеваста (2)

Вещь (5)
побда; оу; испо; за по;
испо; пропо (46)
побдаху; пропо (5)

Вещебааху (1)
свощва; шб-(с)а (18)
свощшеса (1)
гнаша (3)
изгнанша; по; пропо;
в2; в2; в23 (27)
погнаш (1)

разделишь (14)
разделяху (1)

жагаху (1)
пожигова; за; во- (20)
сожжаху (1)
знаменаса (2)
знаменаш (1)

позоровахоме (1)
зрв (1)
оузрв; за; во; пропо; по (12)
оузраше (1)
APPENDIX 2

изъезнуша (2)
изъезнаху (1)
показаша; с.; предпо- (14)
наказаху (2)
възвложи; за.; по.; прес- (20)
възвложаху; в.- по- (3)

льстахуса (1)
прельсти (5)

налъзаша; в.- из.; наэс-;
вз- (21)
въдьзаше (1)
помахаша (1)
помазаше (1)

помраша; оу- (29)
оумраше (1)
помилова (2)
помиловаше (1)
молиса (2)
моляшеса (10)
oумолиша; по- (4)
Помншес (1)

помниша; премвел (2)
премвнаше (2)

научрчат; начинашу (2) 

гпуша; нн- (163)
накау (1)
посиша (1)
просаху (1)
испосиша; с-; б- (3)
спрат (2)
спратшесе (1)
pоуги (15)
шпоуги; ис-; пт-; бш-; пд- (16)
dопустаху; при- (2)

нарау (2)

нахаршес (1)
подпрахутса (1)
наричашцал
профяху (4)

реце (454)
реташе (1)
нарекош; прркша (26)
посвтш; ш- (2)
посвтшаше (1)

2 See Appendix 4 for other forms.
Посеаху (1)
Слаше (1)
Послаше; в- (3)
Сложенше (2)
Стораше (21)
Стора (3)³
Пришорашу (1)
Ставлаше (1)
Стрелаху (1)
Салаху (1)
Исбье; по-; рас-; вег- (15)
Посла; при-; со- (129)
Послаше (1)
Послуша; пре- (29)
Послушаху (3)
Слуша (2)
Слушашу (1)
Ста (40)
Стораше (2)
Постави; оу-; ст-; пре-; (4) (89)
Поставлаше (1)
Строли (1)
Растролаша (1)
Растрелаху (1)
Судихомех (1)
Судаше (1)
Осудаше (1)

3 See Appendix 3.
APPENDIX 2

посилюва; рвз.; се- (4)
засилюва; пнр- (2)
творища (3)
твора́ху (23)
творища; за- (114)
твора́ше; за- (2)
груди (3)
груда́шетса (1)
отфра (3)
отфра́ху (3)
гаста (3)
гола́ху (5)
нокри; пнр- (3)
гаха́ (20)
прима.; пнр.; влг.; на-; пеража;
поздр.; за-; перэ; ппре.; сн-;
вспри-; вт-; из-; ппд (123)
вздма́ве (1)
иззнака; пнр.; вси.; пеража;
пр- (9)
иззнаку́ше; вси.; прр-;
йа (13)
APPENDIX 3

VERB GROUPS CONTAINING THE INDETERMINATE AORIST FORM
APPENDIX 3

VERB GROUPS CONTAINING THE INDETERMINATE AORIST FORM

Indeterminate

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Determinate

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4 See Appendix 2 for other forms. 5 Ibid.
APPENDIX 4

VERB GROUPS CONTAINING A COMMON INDETERMINATE:

...DETERMINATE STEM
APPENDIX 4

VERB GROUPS CONTAINING A COMMON INDETERMINATE:
DETERMINATE STEM

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6 See Appendix 2.
APPENDIX 5

VERBS OF MOTION AND ḃiṭṭu AND ḍāṭu : ḍāṭu ḍāṭu GROUPS
APPENDIX 5

VERBS OF MOTION AND быти AND дати: датати, GROUPS

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хожа́с (3)  
ходи́ (6)  
схожа́ху́; ид.; пр. - (4)  
приходи́; на- (7)  
прихода́ху́; (3)  

нашаху́; (3)  
принахаху́; вс.; (2)  
приноса́ште; из- (2)  

Бдаше; бда́ше (3)  
Бд (148)  
бива́ше (6)  
пребива́ше (2)  

дога́ше (4)  
дога́ (2)  
пода́га́ше; вс- (2)  
раздога́ (7)  
раздива́ху́; по- (3)  

иа́с (102)  
иала́ше (13)  
рази́дова; сн.; по-; при-  
на; вс.; вс-; вс-; вс; вс;  
вс; вс; вс; вс; вс; вс-;  
пред- (429)  
пресида́ше; из-; вс- (5)  
несова́ (8)  
неса́ху́; (1)  
принесо́ва; по-; вс-; при-;  
вс-; вс; вс; вс; вс; вс;  
пере- (19)  
принеса́ху́; (2)  

бди́ (172)  
бда́ше (42)  
буда́ше (3)  
сбы́ла; вс; вс; из-; за- (19)  
сбуда́шета; (1)  
доса́ (25)  
доса́ху́ (1)  
доса́ше (2)  
вда́ша; вс; вс; вс; вс-;  
в (59)
APPENDIX 6

ABSTRACT
APPENDIX 6

ABSTRACT

The thesis analyzes the verb forms of the Povest' Vremennykh Let' in terms of the determinate-indeterminate opposition (defined as event vs. action per se) and the aorist and imperfect tense. It examines all verb groups (including simple, prefixed, and suffixed variations) which occur in the text in both the imperfect and aorist tense forms. Verb groups are presented in five sections: (1) those in which the aorist and imperfect tense forms are completely polarized relative to the determinate and indeterminate stem, i.e., the aorist tense only occurs with the determinate stem and the imperfect tense only occurs with the indeterminate stem; (2) those containing the determinate imperfect form (a special use); (3) those containing the indeterminate aorist (a special use); (4) those containing a common unprefixed stem for both the aorist and imperfect forms (cognitive verb groups); and (5) the verbs of motion.

The study demonstrates that in 103 of 109 verb groups (excluding the verbs of motion) the occurrence of the aorist and imperfect tense forms reflect the determinate-indeterminate opposition. The verbs of motion, however, entertain a liberation of tense use relative to the stem, i.e., the aorist and imperfect tense forms may occur with any stem.
An argument is presented that tense polarization implies predictability of tense use, which led to simplification of the system, whereby the tense endings normalized with the  nap - ending of the perfect tense. The verbs of motion, on the contrary, in which the use of tense is not structured by polarization, retain the determinate: indeterminate category as a remnant of the old system. Aspect, therefore, is a later combination of the determinate: indeterminate category and aorist and imperfect tense values, and does not structure the verb forms of the Povest.