OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC PERFECT:  
SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES UNDERLYING FORMAL VARIATION?

A periphrastic construction including the l-participle of the main verb and the auxiliary ‘be’ in the present tense – as, e.g., in dalŭ jestĭ give:PRS.3SG ‘(he) has given’.

(1) рѣдахѫ жє вѫсі. и плакаахѫ сѧ еѩ. онъ же речє. не плачите сѧ еѩ. нѣсть охмрѣла ић сѫпитъ (Lk 8.52)

And all wept, and bewailed her, but he said: Weep not; she is not dead (lit. ‘has not died’), but sleepeth (KJB)

Some formal variations are attested (though never analyzed systematically).

The main source of data: Codex Marianus (an early 11th-cent. fourfold glagolitic Gospel book) and Codex Suprasliensis (an extensive 11th-cent. Cyrillic manuscript), where the observed degree of formal variation seems to be the most pronounced; digitalized version from PROIEL corpus (http://foni.uio.no:3000/).

Parameters of formal variation:

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I. Position of the auxiliary

Contrastive perfect construction

a) non-predicate focus / declarative sentence / main clause:

(2) отъвѣшташѧ слоугы. николиже тако естъ гѫлъ чѫвѫкъ. яко сѫ чѫвѫкъ. (Jn 7.46)
The officers answered, “Never has a man spoken the way this man speaks.” (NASB)

(3) 1 пристѫпь приимы дъ таланътъ. принесе дроугѫѭ дъ таланътъ гѫл. гѫн ѣпѧ таланътъ ми еси прѣдѧлъ. се дроугѫѭ дъ таланътъ приобрѣтъ ими. (Mt 25.20)

And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. (KJB)
(4) 1 стъфках людие зърамте. подрѣжаахѫ же н и кънизи глище съ ними. ины есть съспаль да спистъ и сѧ. аште съ есть хъ сѫнъ бѫин.
иисѣрваны. (Lk 23.35)
And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God. (KJB)

(5) Рѣшѧ же иудеи къ немоу. плати десѧтъ лѫть не оу имаши. и абрама ли еси видѣлѧ. (Jn 8.57)
Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? (KJB)

(6) не вѣчѧ ли ти рекаъ ѵѣ (= 12) позѣвати. то како безъ моѧго повелѣниѧ трꙇ на десѧтѧ еси позѣвалѧ. (Supr)
Have not I told you to call twelve (guests)? Why did you call thirteen of them without my permission?

b) relative clause:

(7) рече тѧ къ немоу. ныгѡ вы фарисѣи выкѣштѣете стѣклицы и мистѣ очищааете. а вънѫтрѣ ваща паѧна сѫтъ ѫштѣнѧтъ и зълобы. вѣзоумны не иже ли есть сѫтворилѧ въкѣштѣнѣе. и вънѫтрѣ сѫтворил. (Lk 11.39—40)
And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also? (KJB)

(8) си гла ѵсъ. вѣ вѣчѣ вѣчѧ оу очи сион на ѵѣко и рече. отѧ приде година. прослави сѫнъ свѧго. да и ѵсѧ тв郏 прославитъ тѧ. щко даѧ емѹ есѫ власть вѣчѧко пѫтѧ. да вѣчѧко есѫ емѹ далѧ дѧстъ имъ жиста вѣчнѧго. (Jn 17.1—2)
Jesus spoke these things; and lifting up His eyes to heaven, He said, "Father, the hour has come; glorify Your Son, that the Son may glorify You, even as You gave Him authority over all flesh, that to all whom You have given Him, He may give eternal life. (NASB)

c) special questions (with the question word focused):

(9) гла емѹ юноша. вѣсѧ си сѫхранѣхъ отъ юности моѧд. чесѧ есѫмъ еште не докончѧлѧ. (Mt 19.20)
The young man said unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet? (lit. ‘what have I not yet done?’) (KJB)

(10) 1 альѣ пристѫпь къ нѣв рече емѹ. радоуи сѧ равьви. и облобыза н. исоуствѧ же рече емѹ. дрѫже на нѣвѧ есѫ пришєлѧ. (Mt 26.49—50)
And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come? (KJB)
Neutral perfect construction (marking predicate focus)

And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand: And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how shall then his kingdom stand? (KJB)

Let her alone; why trouble ye her? she hath wrought a good work on me. For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will, ye may do them good: but me ye have not always. She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying. (KJB)

And what about Dionis, which you consider a god? Was not he born in fornication?
b) complement of the verb of reasoning / thinking (only Supr.):

(18) *многу же часоу минѫвшоу. повелѣ ὑζατи и ὑз вѣтшитга. мѣна іако ὑμѣрѣлѣ κ.*
After a considerable period of time he ordered to pull him (= the martyr) out of the sack *thinking* that he has died.

(19) *ѣ видѣвъ α νѣ дрѫжићь мнѫкѫше іако съ пѫти сѫ пришылѣ почити.*
And when he saw them coming with their weapons he *thought* that they *came* after a long journey to rest.

(20) *тѣмже и ведѣ і на видѣнѣ дα обоммоу вѣдєта сѣвѣдѣтелу и гробу и вѣскрѣсении не ко нѣ помышлалу іако никтоже єго нѣ вѣсталъ вѣномъ многамъ сѣдѧштемъ.*
That is why he (= angel of the Lord) brought them (Mary Magdalene and the other Mary) to see both the tomb and the resurrection: they *understood* than no one has taken Him away because there were many guards sitting around.

(21) *тѣ же дома стоѧше поуштѧ си очи на вѣса сѫды сѫпасоу и обѣзираѧ коегожде і пытѧ вѣ истинѣ ли страдавъший вѣскрѣсны тѣ же є пришьлѣ.*
And he was standing in the house looking all over his limbs, examining them one by one and questioning whether really the One who had suffered and resurrected has *come*.

Cf. also the similar distribution of truncated / full forms of the verb *мощи* 'can' in (22)-(23):

(22) *а помажѫ єго χρυνιλъмъ. да вѣдѧ може ли нѣзмытѣ себѣ. і дади́те ми мѣлътъ желѣзнъ і сѣкрошъ єго. і вѣдимъ може ли пакъ вѣ образѣ своємъ быти.*
Let me smear him (the idol) with the ink and I *will see* whether he *can* to wash himself. Give me the iron hammer and I will destroy him, and we *will see* whether he *can* recover his image.

(23) *може́ть ли чрѣво вѣдѣстити невѣдѣстимаго Can the womb embrace the Unembraceable?
III. Absence of the auxiliary

(24) И съверъ ризы къ нагыймъ са промѣн. а вѣна такде звѣвани свѧтыхъ. крѣстиянъ ясмъ. и чоудо сътворилъ зѣраштнѣймъ. числа же напльнилъ. и печалъ зѣвѣстихъ. о съткавшемъ приложениемъ своиымъ сътворили. подражанье корицъ прѣдъдѣлъ вѣсны. цин въ прадѣлѣ штитѣ падѣшаго яснѣ напльнилъ трѣй. да не чело ихъ вѣзвѣстить са. падѣшнѣймъ. таково же и двѣ сътворилъ. вѣдѣ небесная вѣстки. позна истинѣ. прибѣже къ владыцѣ. причете са съ мѣченицы. ожилъ ихъ о счѣницѣ. омѣ двигѣ и подѣла. и вѣнѣ за нѣ матѣшъ.

<Forty Christians were left nude for the whole night on the ice, and one of them did not endure the torture and fled away, but one of the soldiers, standing around, was deeply impressed by the faith of the remaining Christians and joined them.> And having cast off his garments he joined the naked people, shouting “I am a Christian”. And thus he showed a miracle to all who were standing around. He filled in the number and comforted the sorrow at the flow away, doing like a warrior, who takes place of his killed companion in the formation. He did the same thing. He saw the Lords miracle, learned the truth, turned to the Lord, joined the martyrs. He repeated the story of disciples: Judas left and Matthew entered to substitute him.

(25) Волѣ же чѣто сътворилъ тѣгда владыка тѣ.

Well, what did the ruler then?

(26) Мы же надѣахомъ са иако тѣ кѣтъ нѣмѣ илѣйтъ избавити нѣшѣ. въ како лукѣ весь страхъ клеоповъ поманѣтъ. Не рече сагѣ мы надѣахомъ са иѣ мы же надѣахомъ са.

“But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel” Oh, how did the Evangelist Luke convey the deep fear of Kleopa! He did not tell “We trust”, but “We trusted”.

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