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## SEMANTICS OF PAIRED VERBS OF MOTION IN OLD BULGARIAN

This paper is concerned with the lexical distinction between so-called determined and non-determined verbs of motion in Old Bulgarian. Six pairs of these verbs are sufficiently well attested for one to attempt to formulate adequately the semantic distinction between the two series:<sup>1</sup>

Determined	Non-determined	
ИТИ	ХОДАТИ	'go'
ВЕСТИ	ВОДАТИ	'lead'
НЕСТИ	НОСИТИ	'carry'
БЕЖАТИ	БЕГАТИ	'flee'
ГЪНАТИ	ГОНИТИ	'pursue, drive'
ВЛЕШТИ	ВЛАЧИТИ	'drag'

The basic lexical distinction between these two series lies not so much in different types of temporal or spatial referential meaning, but rather in the way in which each series characterizes the event to which it refers. With respect to temporal referential features, both determined and non-determined verbs may refer to a single event or to a repeated event. These two types of referential feature are attested for both series in the present tense, the present active and passive participles, the imperfect, the aorist, and the past active and passive participles. Thus there would appear to be no referential or formal temporal constraints with respect to one series or the other<sup>2</sup>.

With respect to spatial features, determined verbs usually refer to a single motion in one direction, but occasionally they refer to a repeated motion of this type. In a few examples the actual direction of the motion is not clearly specified.<sup>3</sup> In such examples the verb characterizes the event as resulting in

<sup>1</sup> Meillet (1902:12,44), Dostál (1954:487), Huntley (1965:30—31) and Amse-de Jong (1971:84—8) suppose that *tešti* — *točiti* belong to these series. In fact *tešti* 'flow, run' is intransitive, and *točiti* 'cause to flow or run' is transitive. For the details, see Huntley (1982).

<sup>2</sup> This statement also holds true when the present tense refers to a future event, since the present tense of non-determined as well as of determined verbs is attested with reference to future events. See, for example Musić (1902:492) on ГОНАТЬ Mt 10.23 Zo Mar, example (17) in this paper, and Vaillant (1964:318) on ВОДАТЬ Mk 13.11 Zo Mar.

<sup>3</sup> This is particularly the case where ἀκολουθεῖν 'follow' is translated either by *iti* or *xoditi* followed either by the prepositional phrase *po* + loc or *vs slěds* + gen. There is nothing in the Greek sources to give us a clue as to the semantic distinction between these four types of circumlocution. One can only extrapolate from other attested examples of these verbs in supposing that here, too, the distinction was the same between them as it was elsewhere. In this respect НАДЕТЬ ВЪ СЕДЪ in (11) which sums up a multidirectional motion as a change of location, and ХОЖДАШЮ ... по всехъ (83) below which itself signals a multidirectional investigation, are crucial.

an eventual change of location of the referent of the subject of the verb. Thus the general lexical meaning of the determined verbs is that they explicitly characterize the event as an eventual change of location of the referent of the subject of the verb.

The non-determined verbs, on the other hand, may refer to any type of spatial feature, including explicit reference to the absence of an eventual change of location, which is precisely the feature that is excluded from the referential meaning of the determined verbs. There are, however, a number of examples of non-determined verbs in the present active and passive participles and the imperfect which do refer to a change of location of the referent of the subject of the verb<sup>4</sup>. In such examples, the verb does not explicitly characterize the event as being a change of location, but bears only the lexical meaning of the type of motion, for example 'go', 'lead', which it shares with its determined counterpart, while the direction of the motion is always specified elsewhere in the context in which such examples of non-determined verbs occur. Since examples of non-determined verbs other than these do not refer to a change of location at all, the invariant lexical meaning of the two series is that determined verbs explicitly characterize the event as resulting in an eventual change of location, whereas non-determined verbs are unmarked for this feature.<sup>5</sup>

In this paper a number of characteristic examples will be discussed showing that both determined and non-determined verbs may refer to a single or to a repeated motion. Then there will be discussed a few examples in which verbs of both series refer to a single motion in one direction. It will be shown that the use of non-determined verbs with this type of reference is originally a Common Slavic feature, rather than just a feature of Old Bulgarian alone. In the main body of examples, (1)–(90), all of those verbs will be cited for which there is an example of the particular referential type being discussed.

In the examples cited below, each Old Bulgarian form that is being discussed will be followed by the Greek form in parentheses wherever a comparison of the particular reading in the Greek and in the Old Bulgarian version throws light upon the arguments advanced here. The translation technique from the Greek will be discussed explicitly only for those examples where such a discussion would appear to be crucial. In examples attested in the Old Bulgarian version of the Gospels, the manuscript from which the example is actually cited will be the one mentioned first where the source of the citation is identified at the end of each example. Trivial textual variants which do not involve the forms discussed here will not be cited.

Single events in the present tense

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this paper there is no need to discuss examples of the present tense, such as БЪРАЧЕТЕ Supr 229.21, or of the infinitive, such as ПОСНТИ Lk 23.26 Zo Mar.

<sup>5</sup> For different descriptions of the semantic distinction between these series in Old Bulgarian, see Smith (1875: 15), Miklosich (1883: 772), Potebnja (1941: 77–78), Leskien (1962: 170), Meillet (1902: 44), Van Wijk (1927: 99), (1929: 252), Vaillant (1939: 295–6), (1964: 318), Holt (1943: 62), Češko (1951: 330), Lunt (1959: 69). Without summarizing these various descriptions, it seems fair to say that none of them would be able to account for the fact that the past participle of *xoditi* is used in (75) below, while the past participle of *iti* is used in (57) and (82). In these examples, *xoditi* refers to a single round trip, whereas in (57) a series of round trips may have been involved, while in (82) three round trips were involved. The point is, though, that in these two examples *iti* characterizes the events as being changes of location, whereas in (75) *xoditi* must be used since *iti* excludes the feature of characterizing the event as a round trip. The postulate that the determined verbs explicitly characterize the event as a change of location, while the non-determined verb do not carry this explicit characterization of the event, allows one to explain not only (57), (75) and (82), but also the rest of the data as well.

(1) КЕДННЪ БО ОТ КЕЛЕННО УЛОБЕВУСКОМЪ ГЛАСОМЪ ГЛАГОЛА ИАКО ПРЕЗВУТЕРЪ  
 И РАБЪ БОЖИИ АРТЕМОНЪ АТЪ БЗІЕВЪ НЕУНСТЪИИМЪ КОМНСОМЪ НДЕТЪ (ἀπερχεται)  
 ЕЪ КЕСАРИИЖ 'For one of the two deer said with a human voice, "The priest and  
 servant of God, Artemon, has been arrested by the foul magistrate and is  
 going to Caesarea.'" Supr 224. 21—25

(2) К'ТО ИЕТЪ ИГОЖЕ ВЕДАЖЪ (φέρουσιν) НАШЕГО УИНА ВОННИ 'Who is it that the  
 soldiers of our regiment are leading? 'Supr 146.16—17

(3) ДАНЫСЪ ГЪ ХЪ ВОДАТЪ (ἄγεται) І ОТЬ СЖДА НА СЖЛЪ І СЪЛЖЪ 'Today  
 they are leading the Lord Christ and sending him from court to court.' Cloz  
 10b. 25—27

In (1) and (2) the speakers in the narrative are stating that a motion  
 in one direction is taking place at the time at which they are speaking, so  
 that the referent of the subject of the verb is changing location from one  
 place to another. In (3) it is stated that Christ is being led around from  
 place to place; it is possible that he may be taken back to the place from  
 which he was first led away. Thus in (2) ВЕДАЖЪ 'they are leading' states  
 explicitly that a change of location is taking place, whereas in (3) ВОДАТЪ  
 'they are leading' refers to the same manner of action, 'leading', but neither  
 specifies nor excludes the possibility of an eventual change of location.

(4) ПОСЛАА ЖЕ КРЪКЪИЖ ДА ВЕЛОЖИВЪШЕ ЕЪ НЪ УСТЪНОЕ ТЪЛО ПРЕПОДОБЪ-  
 НАГО ПРИВЕЗЖЪ ВЪ ВЕЛНЖИЖ ЦРЪКЪЕЕ . . . И СЪТЪДАДОУ И ПАКЪИ НЕСЖЪ НА  
 ПОГРЕБЕННИК. 'Then he sent a bearse so that, having put the revered body of  
 the devout man in it, they would take it to the cathedral . . . and from there  
 again carry it to the burial'. Supr 208.13—15 . . . 16—17

(5) СЕГО НА РАМЕХЪ ИУСИФЪ И НИКОДИМЪ НОСИТЕ (φέρουσιν) ИАКО И ВЪСН БЕС-  
 ПАТЬНЪИИХЪ УИНОЕ СЪ НИИИ НОСАТЪ (συνχομιζουσιν). 'Joseph and Nicodemus  
 are carrying this man on their shoulders just as all the ranks of the incorpo-  
 real are carrying him with them'. Supr 458.9—11

In (4), НЕСЖЪ 'carry' states that the body of Isaacius is finally to be carried  
 from the cathedral to the grave, whereas in (5) НОСИТЕ, НОСАТЪ 'carry' refer  
 to the carrying of Christ's body to the grave, but in this particular context do  
 not specify anything about the direction at all, but simply signal the lexical  
 feature 'carry'.

(6) ДА ВЪСКРЪСНЕТЪ БОГЪ И РАЗНАЖЪ СА ВРАЗИ ИЕГО И БЪЖАТЪ (φυγέτωσαν)  
 ОТЬ ЛИЦА КМОУ НЕНАВНДАШТИ ИЕГО (ом. ДА Ps 67.2) 'Let God arise and  
 let his enemies be scattered and let those who hate him flee from his face.'  
 Supr 22.17—20

(7) МИРА И СЪВЪКОУПИЕННИА БЪГАИШИ<sup>6</sup> (φεύγεις) ДА БЪГАТИ (φεύγειν) ТИ ОТ  
 СЕАТЪИИХЪ ЦРЪКЪЕВЪ РЕАЖ. 'Are you avoiding peace and unity? Then I order  
 you to keep away from the holy churches.' Supr 200.10—12.

In (6), БЪЖАТЪ almost literally orders the ungodly to flee from God's  
 presence. In (7), the present tense БЪГАИШИ and the infinitive БЪГАТИ are  
 used quite metaphorically, in the senses of avoidance and excommunication,  
 respectively. The reference here is to a state rather than to a motion.

(8) ЖЕНЕТЪ (ἐλαύνει) БО МА И НЕ ВЕДЕЪ КАМО НАДЖ (ἀπέλθω) 'He is driving  
 me out and I do not know where I may go.' Supr 173.21—22

<sup>6</sup> In Huntley (1968:46) the first sentence of this example is incorrectly translated as a  
 statement, rather than as a question.

(9) ЮНЬЦЬ ГНЬВА ИСПАБНЬ БЗІЕЗ ГОННТ' ВСА НА ТОАНЦЬ, ЕАКОЖЕ КЕМОУ Н ВЪ ІАТЪХΟΥΑΒΗΝΗΚ ΚΛΑΪΣΤΗ. '... the bull having become full of rage was chasing everyone so much that he had even gone into the monastery kitchen' Supr 566.2—5

The present tense ЖЕНЕТЪ 'drive', with respect to the features examined here is in every way identical with (1) and (2).

The present tense ГОННТ' 'chase' in (9) is possibly a historic present.<sup>7</sup> Probably the bull had been chasing around in several directions, but it is the fierceness of the bull's actions, rather than his eventual destination, which is relevant here.

(10) СИЦЕ Н АЗЪ ВНАДЪВЪ ДЪЛЕСЕ ПОРЕСТЬ СЕВЪДЪЖ Н ДОБРЪ СЖШТЪ ТАМО ДРЪЖЪ ОУМЪ СІ ВЪСПАТЬ ВЛЪКЪ ЖЕ СА (ὄνθόλομαι) ΔΟΥΧΟΒΗΝΖΗΜЪ ВНАДОМЪ 'Thus I, too, seeing the story of the deed to be radiant and beautiful, keep my mind on it, but am again drawn back by the vision of the soul.' Supr 344.10—14

Here the determined verb ВЛЪКЪ СА 'I am drawn back' is used metaphorically, just like the non-determined verbs in (7). In (10), though, it is stated that the speaker is drawn back from the actual story of the cursing of the fig tree to the contemplation of its spirituality.

Repeated events in the present tense

(11) КЪИ ЧЛЪКЪ ОТ ВАСЪ НМЪИ СЪТО ОВЕЦЪ Н ПОГОУВАЪ ЕДИНЪ ОТЪ НИХЪ НЕ ОСТАВНТЪ АН ДЕВАТИ ДЕСАТЪ Н ДЕВАТИ ВЪ ПОУСТЫНИИ Н НДЕТЪ ВЪ СЛЪДЪ ПОГЪВЪШАНА (πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός) ΔОНЪДЕЖЕ ОБРАШТЕТЪ ІЖ 'Which man of you having a hundred sheep and losing one of them does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness and go after the lost one until he finds it?' Lk 15.4 Mar Zo

Since the shepherd probably goes around in several directions trying to find the lost sheep there is no explicit reference in (11) to a motion in one direction. However, the lost sheep is obviously not in the same place as the others, НДЕТЪ in (11) explicitly characterizes the event as a change of location which is repeated habitually.

(12) АШТЕ КЪТО ХОДНТЪ (περιπατῆ) ВЪ ДЪНЕ НЕ ПОТЪКНЕТЪ СА (προσκόπτει) ЁКО СЕВЪТЪ МНРА СЕГО ВНАДНТЪ АШТЕ АН КЪТО ХОДНТЪ (περιπατῆ) НОШТНІЖ ПОТЪКНЕТЪ СА (προσκόπτει) ЁКО СЕВЪТЪ НВЕТЪ О НЕМЪ 'If anyone walks during the day he does not stumble, since he sees the light of this world. But if anyone walks at night he does stumble, since the light is not in him.' Jn 11.9—10 Zo Mar Ass Sav

The reference here is to the act of walking in general; the direction is quite irrelevant. In Old Bulgarian both НТН and ХОДНТН can refer to motion by transport as well as motion by foot.<sup>8</sup> In (12) it is our pragmatic knowledge of man that tells us that the reference is to walking if we examine only the Old Bulgarian version and not the Greek as well.

(13) Н ПО КОМЪКАНЪН НМЕТЪ ППЪ ЗА РЖКЪ СТАРЪШИААГО А ТЪ ПАКЪИ БРАТРА СІ ЗА РЖКЪ Н ВЕДЖТЪ Ъ НА ОБЪДЪ 'And after the Communion the priest takes the older one by the hand and he turn takes his in brother by the hand and they take the two of them to the feast.' Euch 11b.5—8

<sup>7</sup> This example should be added to those discussed in Huntley (1979).

<sup>8</sup> See (58) for an example in which xoditi refers to both riding and walking.

(14) СЛѢПЕЦЪ ЖЕ СЛѢПЪЦА ДИТЕ ВЪДНЪТЪ (ὁδῳγῆ) ОВА ВЪ ЁМѢ ВЪПАДЕТЕ СѦ (πεσοῦνται) 'If a blind man leads a blind man, they will both fall into a pit.' Mt 15.14 Mar Zo

In (13), ВЕДѦТЪ 'lead' refers clearly to an eventual and habitual change of location, whereas ВЪДНЪТЪ 'lead' in (14) like ЧОДНЪТЪ in (12) says nothing about direction or change of location whatsoever, but signals only the lexical feature 'lead'. This latter feature is common to both verbs in (13) and (14), which are distinct one from the other only because (13) explicitly signals a change of location.

(15) СЕ ІЖЕ МАККА НОСАТЪ (οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες) ВЪ ДОМОХЪ ЦРХЪ СѦТЪ 'For those who wear soft things are in the houses of kings.' Mt 11.8 Zo Mar

Here there is not any reference to motion at all, but rather a particular contextual meaning of НОСИТИ, namely 'to wear'.

(16) А НАИМЪННЪКЪ ІЖЕ НБСТЪ ПАСТЫРЬ ЕМОУЖЕ НЕ СѦТЪ ОВЦА СВОѦ ЕНДНЪТЪ ВЛЪКА ГРАДЪШТА І ОСТАВЛѢЕТЪ ОВЦА І БЪГАЕТЪ (φεύγει) І ВЛЪКЪ РАСХЪТИТЪ (ἄρπάζει) ІА І РАСПЪДНЪТЪ (σκορπίσει) ОВЦА. А НАИМЪННЪКЪ БЪЖНЪТЪ (φεύγει) ЁКО НАИМЪННЪКЪ СТЪ Н НЕ ВРЪЖЕТЪ О ОВЦАХЪ 'But the hireling who is not a shepherd and does not own the sheep sees the wolf coming and abandons the sheep and flees. And the wolf snatches them off and scatters the sheep, but the hireling flees because he is a hireling and does not care for the sheep.' Jn 10.12-13 Zo Mar Ass

This passage is perhaps the most brilliant exploitation attested in the Old Bulgarian texts of the stylistic possibilities of both the perfective and imperfective aspect and of determined and non-determined verbs. In this statement of habitually repeated actions the non-determined БЪГАЕТЪ 'flee' is linked to an imperfective verb ОСТАВЛѢЕТЪ 'abandon'. These verbs present the events in a stylistically unmarked way. If one compares this text with other examples of the verb such as (7) or better still, (26) below, it is reasonable to conclude that БЪГАЕТЪ in (16) states, somewhat neutrally, that the hireling flees without presenting him as taking to his heels and running. After this, in depicting the violent onslaught of the wolf, for two Greek present tense forms, the Old Bulgarian version uses two perfective verbs, РАСХЪТИТЪ 'snatch off' and РАСПЪДНЪТЪ 'scatter'. These present the events in a much more vivid style than the imperfective aspect would. When фεύγει occurs for the second time in this passage, the Old Bulgarian version uses the determined БЪЖНЪТЪ 'flee' as a vivid contrast to the preceding БЪГАЕТЪ, this time depicting the hireling as taking to his heels. This passage is only one outstanding example of the many creative and imaginative translations that one can find throughout all the Old Bulgarian versions.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Meillet (1902:27) and Dostál (1954:117) think that БЪЖНЪТЪ is perfective in this example. One might well come to this conclusion if one examines only the translation technique of this passage. However, all the attested examples of *bězati* do refer to a change of location, though this is not necessarily the case with *běgati*, see for example, (26). Even if БЪГАЕТЪ and БЪЖНЪТЪ were aspectually distinct in this example, there seems no reason to suppose that, as compared with example (93), БЪГАЕТЪ differs in its characterization of the spatial feature from the imperfective БЪГАА Ps 54.8, or that БЪЖНЪТЪ differs from the imperfective БЪЖА Supr 286.20.

(17) **ΕΓΔΑ** **ЖЕ** **ΓΟΝΑΤΩ** (*διώκωσιν*) **ΕΞΙ** **ΕΣ** **ΓΡΑΔΕ** **ΣΕΜΒ** **ΕΒΓΑΝΤΕ** (*φεύγετε*) **ΕΣ** **ΔΡΟΥΓΙ** 'When they persecute you in this town, flee to the other one.' Mt 10.23 Zo Mar

This is an instructive example of a contextual contrast between two non-determined verbs. Here **ΓΟΝΑΤΩ** does not present the events as a set of motions that will occur in the future, for since it is collocated with **ΕΣ ΓΡΑΔΕ ΣΕΜΒ**, the verb has one of its contextual lexical meanings 'persecute'. The imperative **ΕΒΓΑΝΤΕ** does refer to a series of changes of location, a clear example of the unmarked form bearing, by implication, in a particular context a feature that its determined counterpart always signals explicitly.

(18) **ΟΚΟ** **ΟΥΒΟ** **ΕΝΔΑ** **ΗΛΗ** **ΔΑΞΕΣ** **ЦЕΒΕΤЬУΑΝΩΣ** **ΗΛΗ** **ΗΣΤΟΥΛΗΗΚΩΣ** **ΣΗΛΗΘ** **ΤΕΚΩΣΤΩ** **ΤΕΜΒ** **ΕΝΔ** **ΕΝΗΗΜΩ** **ΤΑΜΟ** **ΣΑ** **ΕΛ'ΕΥΕΤΣ** (*έλκεται*) 'Whenever the eye sees a blossoming tree or a fast flowing spring it is drawn there by this sight.' Supr 343.4—6

This example is taken from the sermon in which (10) also occurs. These two examples show that a determined verb could refer equally well either to a single or to an habitual event, depending upon the contexts in which they occur. Single events in the present active participle.

(19) **ΠΟ** **ΜΟΡΟΥ** **ΚΓΟ** **ΗΔΩΣΤΑ** (*περιπατούντα*) **ΑΚΩ** **ΠΟ** **ΖΕΜΗ** **ΕΝΔ** **ΕΧΟΜΩ** 'We saw him walking on the sea as if on the land.' Supr 388.4—5

(20) **ΞΕΡΩ** **ΥΛΟΒΕΚΩ** **ΕΚΟ** **ΔΡΕΒΟ** **ΕΗΖΑ** **ΧΟΔΩΣΤΑ** (*περιπατούντας*) 'I look at men and I see them walking like trees.' Mk 8.24 Mar Zo

Example (19) refers to the episode narrated in the Gospels, see (91) below, where Jesus goes walking towards the disciples on the water. In the renarration in (19) the direction of the motion is not specified contextually, but by the participle **ΗΔΩΣΤΑ** 'walking' which by itself specifies that a change of location is taking place, whereas **ΧΟΔΩΣΤΑ** 'walking' in (20) says nothing about the direction of the motion but specifies only the manner of the action, a lexical feature which it shares with the participle in (19).

(21) **ΔΑ** **ΠΟΒ'ΕΔΑΤΩ** **ΥΟΥΔΕΣΑ** **ΒΑ** **ΜΟΙΕΓΟ** **ΚΕΖΕ** **ΕΝΔ'ΕΣΑ** **ΗΑ** **ΠΩΤΗ** **ΕΕΔΩΣΤΗΗ** (*οἱ ἀγαγόντες*) **ΜΕΝΕ** 'Let those who are leading me tell of the miracles of my God which they saw on the road.' Supr 20.15—16

(22) **ΞΕΛΟ** **ΑΝΤΕ** **ΒΕΣΑΩΣΤΩ** **ΣΑ** **ΚΗΩΣΑ** **ΠΗΚΕΔΕΝΩ** **ΕΞΙΣΤΩ** **ΚΩ** **ΕΛΑΖΕΝΟΥΟΥΜΟΥ** **ΑΝΤΟΝΗΩ** **ΕΖΞΕΡ'ΕΒΩ** **ЖЕ** **ΒΕΛΗΚΩ** **ΑΝΤΟΝΗΗ** **ΗΑ** **ΚΗΩΣΑ** **ΓΑΔΓΟΛΑ** **ΒΟΔΩΣΤΗΗΜΩ** (*τοῖς ἄγουσιν*) **Η** **ΗΕΣΤΩ** **ΣΕ** **ΜΟΚ** **Δ'ΕΛΟ** 'There was brought to the blessed Anthony a young man most terribly possessed by a demon. Looking at the young man, the great Anthony said to those who were leading him, "This is not my affair."' Supr 171.16—21

In (21) **ΕΕΔΩΣΤΗΗ** 'those leading' is the only word in the passage referring to a motion. From examples such as (2) and (13), and from events previously narrated in the *Vita* in which (21) occurs, for example Suprasliensis 17.16—20.1, there seems no doubt that the participle in (21) specifies a change of location, even though Basiliscus is not at the moment of speech actually being led anywhere. In (22) the direction of the motion is signalled by **ΠΗΚΕΔΕΝΩ** **ΕΞΙΣΤΩ** 'was brought' so that **ΒΟΔΩΣΤΗΗΜΩ** refers to the same kind of action as does **ΕΕΔΩΣΤΗΗ** in (21), but in itself does not state anything explicitly about the direction of the motion. Since in (22) the young man, unlike Basiliscus in (21) is actually being led somewhere at that

particular point in the narration, it is clear from these examples that determined verbs were not necessarily 'actual' and that non-determined verbs were not necessarily 'non-actual'.

(23) **НЗНДЕ НА МАЛЪАНАЗНОЕ МЕСТО ВЪ РЖКОУ НЕСЪИ (ФΕΡΩΝ) ЯКО ОРЖИИЕ НА ОУТЕРЪЖДЕННИЕ СЕБЕЪ НГОУМЕНА МОЛНТЕЪИ** 'He went out to the place of silence carrying in his hands, like a weapon to fortify himself, the abbot's prayers.' Supr 273.23—25

(24) **ДЪНЕСЪ АНГЕАН СЪ УЛОВЕЪКЪИ РАЗМЪСНША СЪ И НОСАШТНН (ΠΕΡΙΧΕΙΜΕΝΟΙ) ТЪЛО СЪ БЕСПАЛЪТЪНЪИМНН СЛААМН ПЪТИИЕ ВЪСПЕВАЮТЪ** 'Today angels are mingling with men and those wearing the body are sending up hymns along with the incorporeal powers'. Supr 486.29—487.1

In (23) both **НЗНДЕ** 'went out' and **НЕСЪИ** 'carrying' signal a change of location explicitly, whereas in (24) the contrast is made between those with bodies and those without them so that **НОСАШТНН** 'wearing', like **НОСАТЪ** in (15) does not refer to a motion at all.

(25) **МНОЖАШИИИ ЖЕ НХЪ ВЪ ДОУНАВЪ БЪЖАШТЕ (ἔν τῷ φεύγειν) НСТЖПНЖША** 'Many of them were drowned in the Danube while fleeing.' Supr 197.9—11

(26) **ПРОУИИ ЖЕ ВЪСН ОЪЪ ОУЖАСЕНЬА ЮНЬА НА ХЛЪБЕННЪИ ГОРЪ ВЪЗЛЪВОША ПРАВЪДНЪИИ ЖЕ ОУГОУВЪ ПАНШТЪ БЪГАЖШТННХЪ ПЪТААШЕ КЪИИ НЪБЕЪЪ СЪМАТЕНЬА ТОГО** 'But the rest of them, from fear of the bull had climbed up onto the buildings. So the just man, hearing the laments of those who were taking refuge, was asking what was the cause of this terror.' Supr 565.29—566.2

In (25) **БЪЖАШТЕ** 'fleeing' states explicitly that they were trying to escape, whereas **БЪГАЖШТННХЪ** 'those taking refuge' in (26) no longer refers to a motion at all.

(27) **ЖЕНШТНН ЖЕ (οἱ οὖν διώκοντες) ПОГАНИИ ВНАДЪВЪШЕ ЯКО В ПЛЪВЪННЦЪ ВЪСКОУИ БЪЖА, ВЪЗМЪШЕ ОГНЪ ЗАПАЛНША ПЛЪВЪННЦЪ** 'The pursuing pagans seeing that he had jumped into a straw barn while fleeing, took fire and set light to the barn.' Supr 196.19—22

Here **ЖЕНШТНН** 'those pursuing' and **БЪЖА** 'fleeing' explicitly present pursuit and flight, respectively, in one direction.

(28) **А ДРОУСИИ ОУЧЕННИИ КОРАБЕНЦЪМЪ ПРНДЪ . . . ВЛЪКШТЕ (σύροντες), МРЪЖЪ РЪИВЪ** 'But the other disciples came by boat . . . dragging a netful of fish.' J 21.8 Mar Zo Ass Sav

(29) **И ПОВЕЛЪ СЪВЪЗАТИ А И ВЛАУАШТЕ (σύρόντας) ВЕСТИ А ВЪ ТЕМ'НИЦЪ** 'And he ordered them to tie them up, and to lead them, dragging them, to prison.' Supr 71.26—28

In these particular contexts, **ВЛЪКШТЕ** and **ВЛАУАШТЕ** 'dragging' like **НЕСЪИ** in (23) and **ВОДАШТНМЪ** in (22) once more illustrate the way in which determined and non-determined verbs could refer, respectively, to an explicit and to an implicit change of location.

Repeated events in the present active participle

(30) **АШТЕ ЖЕ СЪ СЪЛОУААШЕ КЪГДА НДЖШТОУ (ἀπιόντι) КМОУ ВЪ ГРАДЪ КЪ ВЪЗЪВЪВЪШННМЪ ЯГО ВЪ ДОМЪИ СВОА** 'If he ever happened to be going to the city to those who had invited him to their homes . . .' Supr 207. 7—10

(31) **БЪАШЕТЕ ЖЕ ОБА ПРАВЪДНА ПРЪДЪ БМЪ ХОДАШТА (πορευόμενοι) ВЪ ЗАПОВЕДЪХЪ ВСЕХЪ I ОПРАВЪДАННХЪ ГНИХЪ ВЕС ПОРОКА** 'And they were both

just before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord without fault.' Lk 1.6 Zo Mar Ass

Example (30) introduces a passage narrating what would happen to Isaacius on a number of occasions when he was going from the monastery to the city. In (31), the participle is used metaphorically and refers to a state rather than to a motion.

(32) **ΠΟ ΜΑΛΟΥ ΒΕΔΖΙ (ἄγων) Ἀ Η ΒΟЖДСΤЕВЪНЗИМН НАΠΑΑ ΠΗΤΗ ΠΛΟΔΟΝΟΣЪС-ΤΕΟΕΑΤΗ ΠΟΔΟΒΕΝΟ ΖΒΕΑΝΗΑ СЪСЖДААШЕ** 'Leading them little by little, and watering them with godly drinks, he would form them to bear fruit according to their calling.' Supr 280.2—4

(33) **ΕΟΔΑΙ (ὁ ὀδηγῶν) ΕΚΟ ΟΒΥΑ ΙΟСНФА СЕДАΙ НА ΧΙΡΟΥΕΙΜΕ ΒΕΗ СΑ** 'You who lead Joseph like a sheep, you who sit among the Cherubim, reveal yourself.' Ps 79.2

In (32) it is related how the monks were gradually brought towards a certain goal, whereas in (33) it is stated only that God led Joseph. This example is comparable with (14).

(34) **ТЪМЪ Δ'ΧΟΒΕΝΖΙМН ПЕСНМН ΠΗΤΑΑШЕ СΑ ΗΝΟΣΤΑΝЪ ΒΟΔΟΝΟΣЪ ЖЕ НА ΒΑΜΟΥ НΟΣΑ** 'Thus he fed himself constantly with spiritual songs, while carrying the water jug on his shoulders.' Supr 550.12—14

We know from an earlier passage in this *Vita*, Suprasliensis 550.7—8, that Aninas went back and forth from the monastery carrying water from the river, a series of round trips, but in this particular example nothing is said about the direction at all.

(35) **КАКО СЕ СΛΟΥΥΗ СΑ НАМЪ ДА ΒΑΖΟΥΜΕΙΕΜЪ ΙΑΚΟ ΗΗ ΧΟΤΑШТОУΟΥМОУ ΗΗ ΤΕΚШШТОУΟΥМОУ ΗΗ ЖЕНШШТОУΟΥМОУ (τοῦ διώκοντος) ΗЪ МΗΛΟΥИШШТОУΟΥМОУ БОГОУ** 'Now how did it happen that we understand? "Not through he who wishes, nor through he who runs, nor through he who pursues, but through the God who shows mercy."' Supr 312.19—22

(36) **ΙΖΒΑΒΙ ΜΑ ΗΖΔ ΡЖКЗИ ВРАГЪ ΜΟΗΧЪ ΟΤЪ ΓΟΝΑШТИХЪ (τῶν καταδιωκόντων) ΜΑ** 'Deliver me out of the hand of my enemies, from those who persecute me.' Ps 30.16

In (35) **ЖЕНШШТОУΟΥМОУ** 'he who pursues', like **ΒΕΔΖΙ** in (32), presents the subject as constantly pursuing an eventual goal, whereas **ΓΟΝΑШТИХЪ** 'the persecutors' in (36) like **ΓΟΝΑТЪ** in (17) presents the events without reference to a motion or to any temporal limitation.

(37) **ДА ВЪЗНЕΑΒΕΗΔΗМЪ ВΛΕΚШШШШ (ἐλκουσας) ΝΖΙ ΗΗΖЪ ΠΟΧΟТЪ ВСШ** 'Let us hate all the desire which drags us downwards.' Euch 90b.23—26

(38) **ΠΡΕΒΑΔΕΤЕ ΟΥΒΟ ΝΕЦЕСΑΡΟΥКМН РАВОТЪНЗИН ΙΑΡЪМЪ ΕΒΟΥΝЗИН ВΛΑΥΑШТЕ (ἐλκοντες)** 'Remain then without a king, dragging the eternal yoke of slavery.' Supr 435.25—27

The distinction between (35) and (36) is very close to that between (37) and (38), where there is a contrast between a constant motion towards a certain end, and an unending motion whose direction is not specified.

Single events in the present passive participle

(39) **ΒΕΔΟМЪ (ἀπαγόμενος) ЖЕ МЪРЕНИКЪ ΧΟΒЪ КЪ ΚΟΜΑΝЪ ВЪ ВЕАНЦЪ МЩЦЪ СЪΙ ΝΑΥΑ ΠΕΤΗ СЪИИ** 'As the martyr of Christ was being led towards Komana, being in great torment, the holy one began to sing.' Supr 17.25—27

In (39) **ΒΕΔΟМЪ** 'being led', which refers to the event that is also related in

(21), refers explicitly to a motion being carried out towards a particular destination.

(40) | ΠΡΗΔΨ ΚΨ ΝΕΜΟΥ ΝΟΣΑΨΤΕ (ΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ) ΟΣΑΒΕΛΕΝΨ ΖΗΛΑΜΗ ΝΟΣΗΜΨ (αἰρόμενον) ΥΨΤΨΡΙΨΜΗ 'And they came to him bringing a paralytic being carried by four men.' Mk 2.3 Mar Zo Ass Sav

Both the present active participle ΝΟΣΑΨΤΕ and the present passive participle ΝΟΣΗΜΨ in (40) refer to a motion actually being carried out in one direction on one occasion. The direction of the motion is also signalled explicitly by the phrase ΠΡΗΔΨ ΚΨ ΝΕΜΟΥ 'they came to him', so that the participles themselves, like ΕΟΔΑΨΤΗΜΨ in (22) and ΒΛΑΨΨΤΕ in (29), signal explicitly only the manner of the action and not its direction.

(41) ΟΝΨ ΖΕ ΟΚΨΙ ΟΤΨ ΠΑΨΤΟΥΧΑ ΖΕΝΟΜΨ ΤΑΚΟ ΗΔΨΒΑΨΕ ΝΑ ΠΟΒΕΛΕΝΨΕ ΣΤΑΔΓΟ 'But he, as if being driven by a shepherd just kept going on at the order of the holy one.' Supr 558. 20—21

(42) ΟΤΨΠΟΥΨΤΕΝΟΜΨ ΖΕ ΗΜΨ ΒΨΒΨΨΕΜΨ ΤΑΚΟ ΤΕΚΨΨΤΕ ΒΨΓΑΛΧΨ ΑΚΨΙ ΟΓΨΕΜΨ ΠΑΚΨΙ ΓΟΝΗΜΗ ΔΟΗΔΕΖΕ ΔΟΗΔΟΨΑ ΜΕΨΤΑ ΗΔΕΖΕ ΒΨ ΚΟΠΗΨ ΣΤΑΡΨΝΨΨΗΝΗ ΗΜΨ<sup>10</sup> 'But after they had been let go, just running they were fleeing as if being again chased by fire until they reached the place where their leader Kottis was.' Supr 39.19 23

Like other forms of ΓΨΝΑΤΗ cited in (8) and (27), the participle ΖΕΝΟΜΨ in (41) refers explicitly to a motion being carried out in one direction. In (42) the aorist ΔΟΗΔΟΨΑ states that the robbers eventually reached their destination. Here, not only the non-determined participle ΓΟΝΗΜΗ, but also the non-determined imperfect ΒΨΓΑΛΧΨ states only what they were doing while reaching their goal. Probably they did go only in one direction, but these forms do not signal this feature explicitly.

(43) Η ΟΥΨΨΡΨΕ ΣΤΑΔΓΟ ΣΑΒΗΝΗ ΒΛΨΚΟΜΑ (ἐλκόμενον) ΣΨ ΝΨΖΔΕΨ ΒΕΛΗΚΟΨ 'And he saw the holy Sabinus being dragged along with great force.' Supr 146.14—15

(44) ΒΕΨ ΟΥΜΑ ΗΨΙ ΣΨΥΕΤΕ ΕΗΔΑΨΤΕ ΕΗΨΨΡΨΙ ΨΡΨΚΨΒΨΖΗΨΙΑ ΟΤΨ ΣΕΗΝΗ ΠΟΠΨΡΑΝΨΙ Η ΨΕΨΨΑΨΙ ΝΕΒΕΨΨΗΨΙΑ ΠΟΔΨ ΟΠΑΨΨΨ ΖΜΗΝΗΟΨ ΝΑ ΖΕΜΑΨ ΒΛΑΨΨΜΨΙ (σεσυρμένους) 'You are slaughtering us senselessly, seeing the pearls of the church trampled by swine and the stars of heaven being dragged down to earth under the tail of the dragon.' Supr 134.23—37

The text cited in (43) immediately precedes that cited in (2), and like the latter refers to a motion being carried out in one direction on one occasion. The present participle passive in (44) has the same referential meaning as that in (43), but signals explicitly only the action of being dragged and not the direction or destination, which is signalled by ΝΑ ΖΕΜΑΨ 'to earth'.

Repeated events in the present passive participle

(45) ΕΨΨΛΟΖΑΤΨ ΝΑ ΕΨΙ ΡΨΚΨΙ ΣΒΟΨΑ | ΗΨΔΕΝΨΤΨ ΠΡΨΔΑΨΨΤΕ ΝΑ ΣΨΨΨΜΨΨΤΑ | ΕΨ ΤΨΜΨΝΨΨΑ ΕΨΔΟΜΨΙ (ἀπαγομένους) ΚΨ ΨΡΨΕΜΨ | ΒΛΑΨΨΙΚΑΜΨ ΨΝΕΜΟΨΓΟ ΡΑΔΗ 'And they will lay their hands on you and persecute you, handing you over to synagogues and prisons, taking you to kings and governors for my name's sake.' Lk 21.12 Zo Mar Ass Sav

<sup>10</sup> Smith (1875: 42) points out that this is a strong counterexample to the postulate that non-determined verbs were iteratives, when this latter term has any semantic content.

(46) *НАΚΑΛΑΔΑΕΤΕ ΝΑ ΥΛΚΕΙ ΒΡΎΜΕΝΑ ΝΕ ΟΥΔΟΒΉ ΝΟΣΗΜΑ (δυσβάστακτα)* 'You lay on men burdens that are hard to bear.' Lk 11.46 Zo Mar

(47) *ΜΝΟΓΉ ΝΕΔΉΓΓΙ ΥΛΟΒΕΥΉΣΚΕΨΗ ΖΥΒΑΑΨΕ ΣΑ ΡΟΔΉ ΚΉ ΚΑΠΗΨΤΕΜΉ ΣΛΟΥ-  
ΖΗΝΗΟ Η ΝΑ ΠΕΣΗΗ Η ΝΑ ΒΛΉΖΔΕΝΗΗ ΖΕΝΟΜΉ (ἐλαυνόμενον)* 'The human race was shaken by many diseases, being driven to idolatry, to songs of revelry and to acts of copulation.' Supr 352.10-13

(48) *ΒΗΔΉ ΛΗ ΚΟΛΗΚΟ ΗΨΉ ΓΟΗΗΜΗ (διωκόμενοι) ΨΉΨΤΕΨΕ ΒΉΖΕΜΗΨΤΉ* 'Did you see how many of them that are persecuted receive the kingdom?' Supr 406.20-21

(49) *Η ΟΤΉΒΉΨΔΟΥ ΟΤΉ ΜΝΟΓΉΨΗΨ ΉΒΉΚΟΜΉ ΙΑΚΟΖΕ ΚΉ ΗΗΜΉ ΒΕΡΑΤΗΤΗ ΣΑ Η ΣΚΡΉΒΉ ΟΤ ΤΟΓΟ ΣΤΡΑΖΔΑ ΗΗΚΟΑΗΖΕ ΟΠΕΥΑΛΗΒΉ ΣΑ ΡΕΥΕ ΥΉΤΟ* 'And being attracted by many people from everywhere so that he should turn to them, and suffering grief from this, having become sorrowful, he never said anything.' Supr 557.16-19

In these examples, the determined present passive participles, *ΒΕΔΟΜΉ*, *ΖΕΝΟΜΉ* and *ΒΛΉΚΟΜΉ* signal explicitly a repeated change of location, whereas the non-determined forms *ΝΟΣΗΜΑ* and *ΓΟΗΗΜΗ* signal an action whose temporal limits are not specified, but do not refer to a motion at all.

Single events in the imperfect

(50) *Ι ΠΡΟΨΉΔΉ ΠΟ ΣΉΒΔΉ ΗΨΉ ΙΔΉΨΨΕ Ι ΧΟΖΔΑΨΕ ΤΑΚΟ (ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγει οὐτως)* 'And having gone through the midst of them, he went straight on and so continued on his way.' Jn 8.58 Zo Ass (om. *ΤΑΚΟ* Mar)

While the imperfect *ΗΔΉΨΨΕ* clearly means here that Jesus was departing, the imperfect *ΧΟΖΔΑΨΕ* states only that the motion was continued without stating where he was going.

(51) *Η ΚΕΜΨΨΕ Η ΖΑ ΒΛΑΨΉ ΒΛΉΥΑΑΨΉ (ἔσυρον) Ι ΠΛΑΥΨΨΤΑ ΚΕΔΉΒΑΨΉ (ἔφερον) ΣΉΒΔΑΨΨΨΕ ΚΉ ΝΟΓΑΜΑ ΡΑΒΟΥ ΒΉΗΟ* 'And taking hold of them they dragged them by the hair and led the two of them, having bound them, to the feet of the servant of God.' Supr 40.17-19

(52) *ΚΉΙΑ ΠΟΜΉΚΑΨΙ ΒΉ ΣΉΔΉΨΗ ΝΟΨΑΑΨΕ (ἔφερον)* 'What thoughts was he bearing in his heart?' Supr 66.13-14

(53) *ΟΗΗ ΟΥΒΟ ΒΉΖΑΑΨΉ (ἔφυγον) ΒΉ ΓΟΡΉ ΟΗΗ ΖΕ ΝΑ ΣΕΛΉΨΉ ΣΨΨΤΕ ΤΑΨΑΨΉ ΣΑ* 'For some were fleeing to the hills, while others who were in the fields were hiding.' Supr 98.8-9

(54) *ΒΗΨΨΤΕ ΕΓΟ ΖΕΝΉΒΑΨΉ (ἤλαυνον)* 'They drove him, beating him'. Supr 17.21

(55) *Η ΒΗΑ ΚΕΓΟ ΣΉΔΕ ΝΑ ΠΛΕΨΤΟΥ ΚΕΜΉ Η ΓΟΨΑΨΕ (ἤλαυνεν) Η ΚΉ ΝΟΓΑΜΑ ΣΤΑΔΟ ΚΟΝΟΝΑ* 'And beating him, he sat on his shoulders and drove him to the feet of the holy Cononus.' Supr 41.15-16

(56) *Η ΟΒΡΕΨΨΨΕ ΚΕΓΟ Η ΠΟΒΡΉΨΨΨΕ Η ΖΑ ΝΟΖΉ ΒΛΑΥΑΑΨΉ Η ΠΟ ΓΟΨΤΗΗΨΟΥ ΓΡΑΔΗΟΨΟΥΜΟΥ* 'And having found him and tied him by the feet, they dragged him through the streets of the city.' Supr 537.19-20

While the imperfects *ΒΛΉΥΑΑΨΉ*, *ΒΕΔΉΒΑΨΉ*, *ΒΉΖΑΑΨΉ* and *ΖΕΝΉΒΑΨΉ*, the latter referring to events related in (21) and (39), all refer to a change of location, the non-determined verbs may do so, (55) and (42), or may not do so, (52), while (56) is vague with respect to this feature.

Repeated events in the imperfect

(57) ΜΝΟΓΑΙΣ<sup>11</sup> ΔΗ ΖΕ ΜΕΝΕΝΑΙΑ ΟΝΑ ΣΛΑΒΩΝΑΙΑ ΜΩΖΑ ΝΕ ΗΔΎΒΑΣΤΑ (ἀνῆσαν) ΠΡΕΨΑΔΕ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΑΤΩ ΚΩ ΠΡΩΥ ΑΣΤΕ ΝΕ ΒΑΝΟ ΕΣ ΖΟΡΑ ΣΩΔΩΣΙΑ (ὄρθριζόντες παρεγίνοντο) ΚΩ ΠΡΕΠΟΔΟΒΕΝΟΥΟΥΜΟΥ ΠΟΚΛΑΝΙΑΣΤΑ ΣΑ ΗΜΟΥ 'Those two frequently mentioned highly esteemed men would not go first to the emperor in the palace unless early at dawn, having gone to the venerable man, they had paid their respects to him.' Supr 205.18—22

(58) ΠΡΕΨΕΩΡΩΣΟΥ ΜΡΑΩΣ ΚΕΟ Η ΣΩΜΩΣΩΣΕ ΒΕΑΜΗ ΠΕΣΗ Η ΣΩΜΩΣΗΗ ΠΟ ΗΜΟΥ ΧΟΖΔΑΑΧΩ 'When the frost had transformed it and it had become very frozen, pedestrians and riders went about on it.' Supr 90.6—8

(59) ΝΟΨΑΑΣΕ ΒΟΔΩ ΟΤ ΡΕΚΩΙ ΕΦΡΑΤΑ ΝΑ ΒΑΜΟΥ ΣΒΟΕΙΟ Η ΠΗΑΧΩ ΠΡΗΧΟΔΑΣΤΗΗ Κ ΗΜΩΣ 'He would carry water from the river Euphrates on his shoulders and those who came to him would drink.' Supr 550.7—8

(60) ΕΓΟΥΠΤΕΝΩΙΝΕΑ ΓΗΨΑΑΣΕ ΣΑ Η ΒΕΓΑΑΣΕ ΠΡΕΛΟΥΒΟΔΩΒΕΤΒΕΝΑΑΓΟ ΔΎΒΕΣΕ 'He was disgusted with the Egyptian woman and avoided the adulterous affair.' Supr 365.17—19

(61) Ι ΣΕΓΟ ΒΑΔΗ ΓΟΝΒΑΧΩ (ἐδίωκον) ΗΩΔΕΗ ΗΣΑ 'And because of this the Jews persecuted Jesus.' Jn 5.16 Mar Zo

In (57), the imperfect ΗΔΎΒΑΣΤΑ and the past participle ΣΩΔΩΣΙΑ present the events as a series of changes of location, and not as a series of round trips. The non-determined verbs in these examples have various spatial connotations. In (58) ΧΟΖΔΑΑΧΩ says nothing about the direction, in (59) ΝΟΨΑΑΣΕ refers to a series of round trips undertaken by the subject, but not the object of the verb, while in (60) and (61) ΒΕΓΑΑΣΕ and ΓΟΝΒΑΧΩ do not refer to motions at all.

Single events in the aorist

(62) ΒΕΣΛΕΔΩΣΤΕΩΒΑΣΤΑ ΖΕ ΕΣ ΣΛΕΔΩ ΚΕΟ ΔΩΒΑ ΣΕΜΗ Η ΣΕΣΤΩ ΔΗΒΗΗΧΩ ΚΟΩΣ ΗΖΕ ΗΔΩΨΑ<sup>11</sup> (ἀπήεισαν) ΚΩ ΕΠΗΣΚΟΥΟΥ ΣΗΣΗΗΗ 'There followed him two deer and six wild goats which were going to the bishop Sisinius.' Supr 223.6—9

This is a quite uncharacteristic example of the aorist of a determined verb in that ΗΔΩΨΑ here is unambiguously imperfective, which is not normally the case with the aorists of determined verbs. Clearly, the reference is explicitly to a change of location which is in progress at this particular point in the narrative.

(63) ΒΩΣΑΛΚΑ ΗΖΕ ΠΟ ΠΕΝΑΜΩ ΒΛΩΝΩΝΩΙΗΜΩ ΧΟΔΗ (ὁ . . . περιπατήσας) 'He hungered who walked on the waving foam.' Supr 344.22—23

This example states merely that Jesus walked on the waters, and nothing about the direction.

(64) ΟΠΗ ΖΕ ΕΜΩΣΗ ΗΣΑ ΕΒΕΑ (ἀπήγαγον) ΚΩ ΚΑΝΕΦΕ ΔΡΧΗΕΡΩΗ 'Taking Jesus, they led him to Caiaphas, the high priest.' Mt 26.57 Zo Mar Ass Sav

(65) Ι ΠΡΗΒΕΑ (ἤνεχθη) ΓΛΑΩΖ ΕΓΟ ΝΑ ΜΗΣΕ Η ΔΑΨΑ ΔΎΒΕΠΗ Η ΝΕΣΕ (ἔνευκεν) ΜΑΤΕΡΗ ΣΒΟΗ 'And they brought his head on a dish and gave it to the girl and she took it to her mother.' Mt 14.11 Mar Zo

While both (64) and (65) clearly refer to a change of location, ΝΕΣΕ in (65)

<sup>11</sup> This is a much stronger example of the imperfectivity of the aorist of *iti* than John 11.29 and Luke 15.20 discussed in Huntley (1967: 18—19). Only after that article was published did I become aware that Jagić (1922:100) had already made similar remarks concerning the two examples from the Gospels.

is one of the many of the examples of an aorist of a determined verb which one might claim to be perfective, partly on the basis of the translation technique, and partly on the basis of the fact that it occurs as one of a chain of verbs in which the other verbs in the chain are invariably perfective.

(66) ΔΥΝΕΣΘΙ ΟΒΡΑΖΘΕ ΒΟΘΗΣΤΕΒΗΖΗΝ ΗΟΣΗ (ἐφόρεσε) 'Today he bore the divine image.' Supr 429.9—10

Similar to some other examples of ΗΟΣΗΤΗ, the aorist in (66) signals no motion whatsoever.

(67) Ι ΗΥΒΑΔΨΑ ΒΕΪΑΨΑ (ἐφυγον) ΟΤΨ ΓΡΟΒΑ 'And having gone out, they fled from the tomb.' Mk 16.8 Zo Mar Ass

(68) Ι ΓΖΗΑΨΑ (κατεδίωξαν) Ι ΣΗΜΟΝΪ Ι ΗΖΕ ΒΕΑΧΪ ΣΪ ΗΗΜΪ Ι ΟΒΡΕΤΪΨΕ Ι ΓΑΑΨΑ ΕΜΟΥ ΪΚΟ ΒΣΗ ΨΤΪΤΪ ΤΕΒΕ 'And Simon and those who were with him went hunting for him and when they found him, they said "Everyone is looking for you"'. Mk 1.36—37 Zo Mar Ass Sav

(69) Η ΟΒΡΕΤΟΨΑ ΣΤΑΔΟ ΣΑΒΗΝΑ ΣΪ ΗΗΕΜΗ ΨΕΣΤΗΪ ΒΡΑΤΗΑ Η ΣΪΒΑΖΒΕΪΨΕ ΒΑΪΚΟΨΑ (ἐσούραν) ΕΪΝΪ ΗΣ ΚΑΪΤΗ 'And they found the holy Sabinus with the other six brethren and tying them up, they dragged them out of the hut. Supr 145.30 - 146.2

While the aorists in (67) and (69) refer to a motion in one direction, the aorist ΓΖΗΑΨΑ in (68) has a contextual meaning similar to that of the present tense ΗΔΕΤΪ in (11). It is most probable that in (68) they went to various places looking for Jesus, but this process is summed up here as the eventual achievement of a goal and therefore of a change of location of the subject of the verb.

Repeated events in the aorist

(70) ΣΪΔΙ ΜΙ ΓΙ ΪΚΟ ΔΪΪ ΗΕΖΪΛΟΒΟΪΪ ΜΟΪΪ ΧΟΔΙΧΪ (ἐπορεύθην) 'Judge me o Lord, for I have walked in my innocence.' Ps 25.1

(71) ΒΪ ΧΡΑΜΪ ΕΪΪ ΧΟΔΙΧΟΚΪ (ἐπορεύθημεν) Ι ΗΟΜΪΨΑΛΕΝΕΪΕΜΪ 'We walked in God's house in harmony.' Ps 54.15

(72) ΒΪ ΠΪΤΕΧΪ ΕΓΟ ΧΟΔΗΨΑ (ἐπορεύθησαν) 'They walked in his ways'. Ps 118.3

(73) ΗΗ ΧΟΔΗΧΪ (ἐπορεύθην) ΕΪ ΒΕΑΗΚΪΧΪ ΗΗ ΚΪ ΔΗΕΪΖΗΪΧΪ ΠΑΪΕ ΜΕΝΕ 'Neither did I walk in great things or in marvellous things that were beyond me.' Ps 130.1

All of these aorists are used metaphorically, with the possible exception of (71), and none of them refers in any way to a change of location of the subject.

Single events in the past active participle

(74) ΗΪΨΕΔΪΨΟΥ ΪΕ ΚΜΟΥ ΗΖ ΓΡΑΔΑ ΛΑΟΔΗΚΗΝΚΑΔΟ Η ΨΪΔΪΨΟΥ (γενομένου) ΤΡΙΗ ΠΟΠΡΗΨΤΪ ΣΪΡΪΤΕ Η ΡΑΒΪ ΒΟΪΗΗ ΑΡΤΕΜΟΝΪ ΗΔΪ ΗΖ' ΛΟΒΑ 'After he had left the town of Laodicea and had gone three miles, there met him the servant of God, Artemon, coming from the hunt.' Supr 223.1—5

(75) ΧΟΔΗΪΨΗΗ ΪΕ (ΟΪ οὐν πορευθέντες) Η ΕΗΔΪΒΕΪΨΗΗ ΔΟΪΤΟΗΗΟΒΪΡΪΗΗΗ ΟΤΪΤΗ ΤΗ ΣΪΠΟΪΒΑΔΪΨΑ ΗΑΜΪ ΟΪΪΠΪΧΑ ΡΑΔΗ 'The trustworthy fathers who went and saw, told us to our advantage.' Supr 168.18—21

In (74) the subject of the participle  $\sigma\lambda\delta\alpha\sigma\omega\gamma$  has covered three miles on the way from Laodicea to Caesarea; in (75), however, the fathers have gone and seen something and then returned. Thrity-four of the examples of the aorist participle of  $\mu\tau\eta$ , and all of these refer to a change of location. Example (75) is the only attested instance in which this form refers to a round trip, and the only instance in which this form is translated by the past participle of  $\chi\omicron\delta\alpha\mu\tau\eta$ . (76)  $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\upsilon\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\eta\sigma\alpha\ \eta\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\eta\iota\ \eta\delta\iota\ \iota\ \epsilon\epsilon\delta\omega\sigma\eta\iota$  ( $\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ )  $\eta\delta\iota\ \pi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$  'For there those who took us captive and those who led us away asked us for songs.' Ps 136.3

(77)  $\eta\epsilon\varsigma\omega\sigma\eta\eta$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\sigma\alpha$ )  $\gamma\epsilon\ \eta\ \mu\tau\eta$   $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron$   $\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta\eta\epsilon$   $\eta\ \epsilon\rho\beta\chi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$   $\eta\chi\omega$  'Having carried him, his mother threw him on top of them.' Supr 80.21—22

(78)  $\epsilon\lambda\delta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\theta\ \upsilon\tau\epsilon\beta\omicron\ \eta\omega\sigma\eta\sigma\eta\epsilon$  ( $\acute{\eta}\ \beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ )  $\tau\alpha$  'Blessed is the womb which bore you.' Lk 11.27 Zo Mar Ass ( $\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\lambda\ \eta\omega\sigma\eta\sigma\eta\eta\alpha$  Sav)

In (76), the captors have taken their prisoners from one place to another, just as the mother has in (77). In (78), however, the mother has borne the son in her womb, just once, over a period of about nine months.

(79)  $\eta\epsilon\delta\eta\eta\omega\zeta\ \gamma\epsilon\ \omicron\tau\omega\zeta\ \upsilon\eta\sigma\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\ \omicron\sigma\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\beta\omega\zeta$   $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\epsilon\kappa\ \lambda\omicron\tau\omega\zeta\eta\eta\mu\omega\zeta$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\epsilon\omega\zeta$  ( $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\chi\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ )  $\omicron\tau\eta\delta\epsilon$  'But one of the number, having weakened before these terrible things, took flight and departed.' Supr 92.11—13

While the past participle  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta\alpha\epsilon\omega\zeta$  in (79) clearly refers to a change of location, it would appear that this verb is perfective here since it presents the event in its entirety. However, the entirety of the event is signalled here also by the context. When the same Greek lexical item occurs a few lines later and the entirety of the event has to be signalled by the participle itself, the Old Bulgarian version has a clearly perfective derivative of the root  $b\acute{e}g$  : —  $\epsilon\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron$   $\omicron\tau\omega\zeta\epsilon\beta\gamma\alpha\sigma\eta\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$   $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\eta\upsilon$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\chi\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\omega\upsilon\alpha\upsilon$  'in the place of the one who had fled'. Supr 93.19.

(80)  $\sigma\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$   $\sigma\alpha$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\gamma$   $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\gamma$   $\gamma\zeta\eta\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota\omega\gamma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ )  $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\delta\omega\zeta$   $\sigma\epsilon\omega\lambda$   $\eta$   $\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\eta$   $\delta\ \eta\alpha$   $\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon$  'A certain merchant happened to have driven his camels to pasture them in that place.' Supr 217.25—28

In this example the merchant has driven his camels from somewhere else to the pasture.

(81)  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron$   $\gamma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\prime\sigma\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\lambda\eta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omega\zeta$   $\sigma\lambda\omega\sigma\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\eta\chi\omega\zeta$   $\sigma\alpha$   $\eta\epsilon\rho\lambda$   $\eta\zeta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\prime\sigma\eta\epsilon$   $\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta\eta\alpha$   $\pi\omicron\sigma\mu\omega\zeta$   $\eta\alpha$   $\eta\delta\epsilon$  'Having dragged the body outside of the gates called 'Hiera', after they had dragged it out, they threw it to the dogs for food.' Supr 537.23—25

Like all the other examples of past active participles of determined verbs cited in this section,  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa\prime\sigma\eta\epsilon$  refers to a single change of location.

Repeated events in the past active participle

(82)  $\iota$   $\sigma\eta\epsilon\delta\omega\zeta$   $\eta\alpha$   $\gamma\omicron\rho\omega\zeta$   $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omicron\eta\omega\zeta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omega\zeta\eta\epsilon$   $\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\eta$   $\sigma\alpha$   $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omega\zeta$   $\tau\rho\eta\mu\eta$  'And having gone to the Mount of Olives he prayed three times in the evening.' Euch 46b.23—25

This example refers to an episode in which Jesus went to the Mount of Olives each time before praying. Thus the participle here, like (57), but unlike (75), presents the event as a series of changes of location, even though three round trips must actually have taken place.

(83) **ΙΒΕΩΛΗ ΣΑ Ι ΜΝΉΒ ΧΟЖΔΨΙΩ** (παρηκολουθηκότι) **ΙΣ ΠΡΉΒΑ ΠΟ ΕΣΉΧΉ ΒΖ ΚΤΗΗΚ ΠΟ ΡΑΔΟΥ ΠΣΑΤΗ ΤΕΒΉ** 'It seemed good also to me, having followed up everything from the beginning, to write a truthful and orderly account to you.' Lk 1.3 Zo Mar

(84) **Β̄ЖЕ В̄ЖЕ НАШЪ ХОЖДЕН** (συνοδοεύσας) **СЪ СΛΟΥΓΟΙЖ СЕОНМЪ Н̄ЕКОВОМЪ. . .** 'O God, our God, who walked with your servant, Jacob. . . ' Euch 18a. 11—12

(85) **Н̄ КЖЕ ῩΣΤΕΝΟМЪ Б̄ИТН ВЪ ΠΡΑΒ̄ΗΚ̄ ΧΟΔНΕΨΗΗΗМ'** (τούς κατορθοῦντας) 'And that those who walked upright would be honoured.' Supr 412.30

In (83) the participle refers metaphorically to an investigation carried out in several directions, in (84) only the act of walking is signalled, while in (85) reference is metaphorically only to the manner in which the walking occurred, and not to its direction.

(86) **Н̄ ΠΟСТАВЛЕНЪ Б̄ИВЪ ΚΛΗΡΟСЪ ДНІАКЪ Н̄ НОСНЕЪ** (ἐγχειρίσας) **ΠΡ̄ΕΥΗСТΨΙΑ ΤΑΙΗΖИ** '... and having been appointed to the clergy as a deacon, and having carried the immaculate mysteries . . . ' Supr 214.8—10

This example states that when Julian was a deacon he used to carry the sacraments in his hands while serving during Communion.

Single events in the past passive participle

(87) **ΔΚΖИ ΟΒΛΥΑ НА ΖΑΚΟΛΕΝЬЕ ВЕΔЕНЪ ВΖΙСΤЪ** (ἡχθῆ) 'He was lead like a sheep to the slaughter.' Supr 437. 1—2

(88) **ΒΖΙСΤЪ ЖЕ ΟΥΜΒ̄Ρ̄ΕΤН ННШТКОМУ Ι ΝЕСЕНОУ** **ΒΖИТН** (ἀπενεχθῆναι) **ΔН̄ΒΛΖИ НА ΛΟНО ΑΒΡΑΜΛЕ** 'The beggar happened to die and was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom.' Lk 16.22 Mar Zo Ass Sav

(89) **Н̄ НОШЕНО** (τὸ φοροῦμενον) **ΟΒΖИШАΔΑШЕ СΑ** 'And that which was borne was being exalted.' Supr 511.27

In (87) and (88), the reference is to a motion towards a destination, while in (89) the reference is to Christ's wounds, and therefore to no motion at all. Repeated events in the past passive participle

(90) **Ι ΠΡ̄ΒΔЪ ВЛАДЪΙΚЪИ ЖЕ Ι Ц̄Р̄А ВЕΔЕНН** **Б̄ДДЕТЕ** (ἀχθῆσεσθε) **ΜΕΝЕ ΡΑΔΗ** 'And you will be brought before governors and kings for my sake.' Mt 10.18 Zo Mar (ΒЕΔΟМН Ass)

Non-determined verbs referring to a single motion in one direction

Amongst the examples cited above there are several in which non-determined verbs refer to a single motion carried out in one direction, involving a change of location of the subject of the verb, in the present active and passive participles and in the imperfect. This particular usage is perhaps best illustrated by the following example:

(91) **ВЪ ῩΕΤΕΡ̄ΖТ̄ΗΚ̄ ЖЕ СТ̄ΑЖ̄К̄ НОШТН** **ΙΔЕ ΚЪ Н̄ΗМЪ Н̄С̄ ΧΟДА** (περιπατῶν) **ΠΟ ΜΟΡЮ Ι ВНАД̄ВЪЗШЕ Н̄ ΟῩΥΕΝΗЦН** **ΧΟДАШТЪ** (περιπατοῦντα) **ΠΟ ΜΟΡЮ СЪМА-ΤΟША СΑ . . . Ι ΗΖΑΉЗЪ** **ΙС ΚΟΡΑΒΛ̄Е ΠΕΤΡ̄Ъ** **ΧΟЖДАШЕ** (περιεπάτησεν) **НА ВО-ΔΑΧЪ Ι ΠР̄НДЕ** **ΚΖИ Н̄С̄Н** 'In the fourth watch of the night Jesus went to them walking on the sea. And seeing him walking on the sea, his disciples were terrified . . . And having got out of the boat, Peter walked on the waters and came to Jesus.' Mt 14.25—26 . . . 29 Zo Mar Ass Sav

It is clear from the context in such an example that both the participle and the imperfect of **ΧΟΔΗΤН** are being used to refer to a change of location oc-

curing on one occasion. In (19) above, the present participle of ΠΗ is used to refer to the first incident related in (91). However, no change of location is signalled in the context of (19) where this feature is signalled by the participle alone. In (91) a change of location is unambiguously signalled in the context, so that the participles specify only the lexical meaning 'walking' since the reference is to a motion performed by a person.

All of the critical and diplomatic editions of the Greek New Testament to which I have access have the aorist περιεπάτησεν in Matthew 14.29, the second incident narrated in (91). There seems no doubt, then, that in the Old Bulgarian version of (91) the imperfect  $\chi\omicron\mu\delta\lambda\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$ , quite unusually translates a Greek aorist. From the few examples of aorists of non-determined verbs attested in Old Bulgarian, (63), (66) and (70)–(73) above, it would appear that in this form the non-determined verb could be used for an isolated event. In (91) the imperfect tells us only what Peter was doing while he went from the boat to Jesus; it seems unlikely that the aorist of  $\chi\omicron\delta\alpha\eta\tau\eta$  could be used in this way. Such a use of the present participle and the imperfect is attested in Old West Slavic texts, e. g., Old Czech *przygide k nym chodye na morzy... Wystupyw petr z lodyckzi chodyessie na wodach aby przyssiel k giezyssozi Mt 14.25 . . . 29 Mat Hom, Old Polish *prziszedel k nym chodzac po morzu Mk 6.48 Ew, Lower Sorbian *przysyssel won k nym a chosasche po moru Mk 6.48 NT 1548. Since present participles and imperfects, rather than past participles and aorists were used in Slavic in general to signal an event accompanying another event, the aorist and past participles of non-determined verbs were constrained against referring to a change of location carried out on one occasion. The imperfect and the present participles of determined verbs could be used in contexts in which a change of location was signalled in the context, so that in such examples one may say that the change of location is signalled redundantly. The examples which illustrate this point most clearly are those where determined and non-determined verbs occur as textual variants for a given passage:***

(92)  $\text{I } \text{CAMA} \text{ CH } \text{NESYI} \text{ (}\overline{\text{BASTAZOV}}\text{) } \overline{\text{K}^{\text{R}}\text{ST}^{\text{Z}} \text{ IZHDE } \text{JE } \text{EZ } \text{NARHCLAE} \text{MOE } \text{K}^{\text{R}}\text{AHNEBO}$   
 MЪCTO 'And carrying his own cross, he went out to the place called the Place of a Skull.' J 19.17 Zo Mar (HOCА Ass Sav)

(93)  $\text{C}^{\text{E}} \text{ OYDALHX}^{\text{Z}} \text{ CA } \text{B}^{\text{E}}\text{GAA} \text{ (}\overline{\text{OYUAD}^{\text{E}}\text{UOV)} \text{ I } \text{EZ}^{\text{D}}\text{EOPHX}^{\text{Z}} \text{ CA } \text{EZ } \text{POYCT}^{\text{Z}}\text{INH}$  'So I departed fleeing and settled in the wilderness.' Ps 54.8 (BЪЖА H BЪДВОРHXЪ CA EZ POYCTЪHЖ Supr 286.20–21)

In the same way that in West Slavic there are attested parallel passages similar to (91), so there are East Slavic passages similar to (92), for example,  $\text{A } \text{CAMA} \text{ PPHDE } \text{HOCА } \text{H}^{\text{O}}\text{P}^{\text{O}}\text{A } \text{D}^{\text{E}}\text{T}^{\text{C}}\text{KA}$  'And he himself came carrying the young Igor' Laur 8a Hyr 9b.<sup>12</sup> Thus the apparent synonymy of determined and non-determined verbs in certain contexts is not a feature of Old Bulgarian alone, but rather a feature once general for Slavic. In East and West, though, the constraints became more rigid on the use of the non-determined verbs, along

<sup>12</sup> Uřjanov (1895:132–3), Kuznecov (1954:58), Kolln (1959), Johannet (1957:86), Češko (1960:209–10) and Kuznecova (1961:35–36) cite instances of Old East Slavic non-determined verbs referring to a single motion in one direction. Some of the examples cited in Bulatova (1963) from Old Serbian may be analogous to the Old East Slavic examples, others, though may be explained by the fact that at this stage the opposition was being lost in Serbian. It should be noted that with respect to military campaigns in Old East Slavic chronicles, the aorist of *xoditi* may well characterized the campaign as a round trip.

with the retention of the opposition. In Bulgarian, though, the constraints weakened, and led to the disappearance of the opposition. Thus the material attested for these verbs in Old Bulgarian provides us not only with a corpus for establishing a synchronic model, but, once again, provides us with evidence of more general Common Slavic features, on whose basis, when compared with the evidence of other Slavic languages, one may obtain important insights into developments of different kinds which took place subsequently in divergent ways across all the Slavic languages.

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