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**ON SOME VERBAL FEATURES IN
THE WEST RUSSIAN CHRONICLES
(CONSTRUCTIONS “БЫТИ +
PARTICIPLE IN -ЪШ- / -ВЪШ-”,
PLUPERFECT)**

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This article analyzes some verbal features in the West Russian Chronicles (WRC) (15–16th cc.). The 1st part examines contexts with the construction “*быти* + participle in *-ъш-* / *-въш-*”. This construction is extremely uncommon for Old Russian texts, nevertheless the very possibility of its use is important for understanding the history of the development of the temporal system in Russian. The material of WRC allows us to widen the list of contexts with this construction with two more examples.

The 2nd part discusses the functions of pluperfect forms. Rare forms of pluperfect with the linking verb in the aorist form are found in WRC which is quite unexpected for a late text. This article discusses possible explanations for this phenomenon. As for the semantics of the pluperfect forms, all of the basic pluperfect meanings are presented in WRC. The comparison of the contexts with these meanings with the material of the other chronicles allows us to draw a number of conclusions about the history of the pluperfect’s development in Old Russian and its dialects.

JEL Classification: Z.

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1. Introduction

The West Russian Chronicles (WRC) are “short chronicles containing legends about events concerning the former Lithuanian state” [Karsky 1894/1962: 208]. WRC were created in Smolensk and Polotsk in the 14–16th centuries. This article examines the Suprasl Chronicle (1519; hereinafter Supr.), the Vilna Chronicle (the end of the 15th century; hereinafter Vil.), the Chronicle of the Archaeological Society (16th century; hereinafter Arch.), the Uvarov Chronicle (the first quarter of the 16th century; hereinafter Uv.), the Academic Chronicle (mid-16th century; hereinafter Ak.), “Litovskomu rodu pochinok” (hereinafter LRP) in the 16th century manuscript².

WRC are written in Old Ruthenian, which is a literary adapted “supra-regional variety of the Belarusian and Ukrainian languages of the middle period” [Moser 2002: 221]. In spite of the difficult identification of the genesis of Old Ruthenian and the question of its normalization, the analysis of certain forms functioning in a particular text (in our case, WRC) seems justified: Old Ruthenian, being a literary language, in any case “is based on living language, changing with it” [Smirnova 2011: 19]. Studying certain phenomena of the written West Russian language, we can draw conclusions about the processes that took place in the dialects that formed its basis.

This article analyzes some of the verbal features noted in the chronicles. Section 2 presents the contexts with the constructions “быти + participle in -ъш- / -въш-” which are rarely found in Old Russian texts, section 3 discusses the features of the functioning of pluperfect forms.

2. Constructions “быти + participle in -ъш- / -въш-”

The constructions “быти + participle in -ъш- / -въш-” are extremely uncommon for Old Russian texts. In addition to the three examples discovered by Potebnya [1888/1958: 138–139], and four examples described in Skachedubova [2018], we know two more contexts from the Charter of Oleg Ryazansky in 1371³:

(1) ГАЗЪ КНАЗЪ ВЕЛИКИИ ШЛЕГЪ ИВАНОВИЧЬ. СГАДАВЪ КСМЬ СЪ СВОИМЪ ШЦКМЪ. СЪ В(Д)КОЮ С ВАСНАКМЪ И СЪ СВОИМИ БОГАРЫ....ДАЛЪ КСМЪ ШЦЮ СВОКМУ АРСЕНЬЮ МАНАСТЫРЬ СТОКЪ БЦИ НА

² The texts are reproduced according to the edition [PSRL, vol. 17].

³ The text is reproduced according to [Reader on the history of the Russian language: 91].

УЛОГОВѢ. ВЪ СВОБОДѢ ДО КГО ЖИВОТА – “I, Grand Duke Oleg Ivanovich, made an agreement with his father, with Vladyka Vasily and with his boyars ...”;

(2) а ВОЗРѢВЪ КСМЪ ВЪ ДАНЫИ ГРАМОТЫ – “and when I revived the certificate, I looked at [read] the missives”.

The material of WRC allows us to widen this list with two more examples:

(3) Supr. 90 ꙗ КНЗЮ ВЕЛИКОМУ ꙗГАИЛОУ. НИЧЕГО НЕ ВЧИНИЛЪ. НЕ РОУШИВЪ ЕСМО НИ СКАРБОВЪ ЕГО НИ СТА(Д) А САМИ ОУ МЕНЕ НЕ В НАТСТВЕ ХОДАТЬ. ТОЛКО ЗА МАЛОЮ СТОРОЖЕЮ – “I did nothing to the great prince Yagail; I did not rob his property or herds. And they are not in captivity but only under a small guard”;

(4) Ak. 181 и ВЗА ЕГО И НАЧА ЕГО ЛѢЧИТИ МНОГИМИ ЛѢКАРЬСТВЫ И ГЛАВЪ ЕМЪ ПОСТРИЖЕ РАНЬ РА(ДИ) ЗАНЕ МНОГО Р(А)НЕНЬ И УЧАДІВСА БЕ ЖИВОТА – “and took him, and began to heal him with many medicines, and tonsured him because of his wounds as he was badly injured and had lost hope of survival”.

Although the construction is rarely found in monuments, the very possibility of its use is important for understanding the history of the development of the temporal system in Russian. The participle in *-ѡш-* / *-вѡш-* with the verb *быти* in the present (examples (1–3)) or past (example (4)) tense could be used as a marginal alternative to the forms of perfect and pluperfect, respectively. Like perfect forms the construction of a participle with the verb *быти* in the present tense was used in various perfect meanings (for the meanings of perfect in Old Russian see, for example, [Shayakhmetova, Zholobov 2017: 1170], [Plungyan, Urmanchieva 2017b]). In examples (1–2) we are dealing with effective semantics: (1) “I agreed (= we are in agreement) and, as a result, I give a monastery”, (2) “I looked at the old letters (= now I know their content) and I will order you to comply with the conditions prescribed there”. In the context of (3) an existential meaning⁴ is presented, a statement about the presence (in our case, the absence) of a situation at a certain moment in the past. In (4) the analyzed construction has a classic pluperfect meaning and expresses the previous effective action: “tonsured him as he was badly injured and had lost hope of survival”.

⁴ This meaning is included in the spectrum of perfect meanings in different languages; it was also characterized by a perfect in Old Slavonic (see [Plungyan, Urmanchieva 2017a: 31]).

These examples, in which the construction “*быти* + participle in *-ъш-* / *-еш-*” has perfect or pluperfect semantics, confirm the hypothesis expressed in Ermolova [2020] about the functional synonymy of participles in *-ъш-* / *-еш-* and *-л-* forms.

3. Pluperfect

3.1. The form

In the history of the Russian language, there is a distinction between the “bookish” pluperfect, where the verb *быти* stands in the imperfect or aorist from the imperfect stem (ср. 3 л. *вѣше(тъ) / бѣше(тъ)*) and the “Russian” or super-compound where the verb *быти* is in the perfect⁵ (*есть*) *былъ шлъ*).

Over time bookish forms were replaced by super-compound ones. It is natural that in WRC there are only 3 “bookish” forms for 45 pluperfect forms, while 2 of them represent one ancient context repeating the context from the Suzdal chronicle (the third is considered in (10)):

(5) Supr. 11 б *ѡна же рече не хощю розѡгати ровичища. но гарополка хощю. бѣ бо Роговолодъ пришелъ. изамориа имѣ бо власть свою в Полѣцкоу* (the same context see in Uv. 81) – “Rogvolod was a person who had come from across the sea and was in charge in Polotsk” (compare Suzdal chronicle 99 б: *ѡна же рече(ѣ) не хощю розѡгати ровичища. но гарополка хощю. бѣ бо Роговолодъ перешелъ из заморья*).

The linking verb in the pluperfect form was usually either in the aorist from the imperfect stem or in the imperfect. Sitchinava [2004] in his article on the origin of the Slavic conditional mood from the pluperfect, based on typological data, suggests the existence of the once Proto-Slavic pluperfect form with *бухъ*. Later such forms were also discovered in Old Russian texts ([Krysko 2011: 830-831; Skachedubova 2019: 218-219], [Sitchinava (in press)]). According to Sitchinava's hypothesis the construction of the conditional meaning is associated with “the inherent development of pluperfect constructions towards surreal semantics” [Sitchinava (in press)]. It seems that it is in this context that the following examples from WRC should be considered:

⁵ V.I. Chernov believes that the super-complex form was formed by a combination of the auxiliary verb *был-* and the perfect of the noble verb [Chernov 1961: 16].

(6) Vil. 446 b **Вн(л)невци же тог(д)а не вдашася емѸ. зане бы тогда пра(в)доу да(л) королю СкирганлѸ;**

(7) LRP 493 **Виленцы (ж) тогда не дашася емѸ зане бы тогда правдѸ да(л) королю Скирганлоу ѡ(н) же тогда не во(з)мѡ Вилене и понде к магистрѸ и (с) своею княгинею и съ своими кня(з)ми. и Ѡтолѣ нача воевати Лито(в)сѸю землю с Немецкою помощию. ти оу(ж) взя(л) бы Лито(в)ские земли по рекѸ по Велию Полотескъ гра(д) зда(л)сѡ емѸ** – there is no doubt that the analyzed forms have a pluperfect meaning (see below (10) and (11)). However, the auxiliary verb *быти* is presented neither in the form of an imperfect aorist nor perfect but in the form of *бы*. There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon, but all of them are hypothetical since there is not enough material to recognize any of them as more or less probable.

In these contexts, one can see the archaic form of pluperfect with an auxiliary verb in the aorist and consider the usage of the singular form *бы* (instead of plural *быша*) to be erroneous. The aorist and the imperfect in the language of the chronicles are clearly artificial, these forms often contain errors, therefore it can be assumed that the scribe made a mistake rewriting the text and replaced the alien form *быша* with a more familiar form *бы*.

Sitchinava notes that in Russian since the 16th century the usage of the particle *было* instead of *бы* has been possible with modal verbs: *надо было, надлежало было, могло было* instead of *надо бы, надлежало бы, могло бы* [Sitchinava 2013: 223, 279]. Examples of such use are considered a mixing the pluperfect *было* and the subjunctive *бы* [ibid.]. Sitchinava notes that “perhaps some late examples of mixing pluperfect and subjunctive mood can also be explained by the semantic evolution in the direction of modality inherent in the first”; “if the pluperfect *был* is synonymous with a certain class of verbs to *бы*, the confusion could theoretically extend to other contexts” [Sitchinava (in press)]. It can be assumed that if the pluperfect in the original forms could be used instead of forms of the subjunctive mood, then the forms of the subjunctive mood were also used instead of pluperfect forms. With such an explanation, the use of *бы* instead of *быша* becomes clear: by the time of writing of the analyzed texts, it would have already become a particle in the subjunctive mood and would not change. The disadvantage of this hypothesis is that besides the cited examples, similar examples are not mentioned in the literature. The following context should be recognized as the result of contamination and error (the meaning of the considered form is analyzed in (20)):

(8) LRP 487 **Нѣто** паки **бы(л)** оу великого кнѣзя **Ш(л)герда** паровокъ неволнои холо(п) звали его **Вониломъ** первое **бы(л)** пекрако(м). Потомъ оустави(л) его **Ѹ** собѣа постелю стлати. и воды пити подати собѣ. Потомъ паки полюби(л)сѣа **бы(л)** емѸ **ве(л)ми да(л) бы(х)** емѸ ЛитѸ дрѣжати и повѣле(л) **бы(л)** его в добрыѣ – the auxiliary is used in singular form instead of plural. However, the last consonant is an ascender, and it is quite possible that we are dealing with an error of the publishers (the ascenders *x* and *л* can be confused), and *был* is hiding behind the one given in the edition *бых*.

3.2. Semantics

In the history of the development of the pluperfect in Old Russian several basic meanings are distinguished. All of them are presented in the WRC.

Recent research agrees that the “bookish” Old Russian pluperfect was originally not just a taxis time denoting a pre-past action [Gorshkova, Khaburgaev 1981: 304], but had the aspectual meaning of perfectness in the past [Sheveleva 2007: 216]. As to whether the Russian pluperfect had a resultative meaning, opinions differ. Petrukhin and Sitchinava believe that the super-compound form was used primarily to indicate the irrelevant past [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2006: 234-235; Sitchinava 2013: 196-197]. Sheveleva believes that the “new” and “old” forms differed not in meaning, but in use: “The old and new pluperfect are [...] distributed not by the meaning, but by more or less characteristic types of use: old pluperfect is a form, first of all, of a narrative, a new one, first of all, of direct speech” [Sheveleva 2007: 245].

In the 15–16th centuries, in the dialects of the Center, the Russian pluperfect is not used in resultative contexts, but as a marked means of expressing an anti-resultative meaning [Sheveleva 2009]. In the South West Russian texts, according to Zhukova and Sheveleva (based on the material of the Peresopnitsia Gospel and “The Passion of Christ”) for super-compound forms the resultative meaning is the most characteristic [Zhukova, Sheveleva 2010]. This is also noted in the studied chronicles. In total, 6 resultative contexts were found repeated in different chronicles (a total of 17 forms out of 43):

(9) Уч. 10 и какъ к **Вилни** приѣхавъ. кнѣзя **Кестоутиа** дядю своего. шковавши ко **Кревоу** послалъ и оусадил оу вижю. а кнѣзя великаго **Витовта** оставили были еше оу **Вилни** и тамо оу **Креве** патамъ ноци. кнѣзя **вѣликаго Кестоутиа** оудавили.

коморники кнѣзя великаго Гѣкиловы (the context is repeated in Ac. 177 b, LRP 490 b, Arch. 64) – the main line of the narrative is the story of the capture and murder of Prince Kestut: “he chained his uncle, sent him to Krev and put him in a tower”. Further, the main line of the narrative shifts away with the use of a pluperfect form: “but they had left the Grand Duke Vitovt in Vilna” (this happened before Kestut was imprisoned). After that, the narrator again returns to the main storyline and continues the story of Kestut: “and there in Krev on the fifth night the komorniki of the Grand Duke Jagail strangled the Grand Duke Kestut”;

(10) Ув. 20 **Вилневци(ж). тогда не оудашася емоу. зане(ж) тогда были** королю правдѣ **дали** и **Скиргайлоу** (the context repeats in Supr. 98 with an erroneous form **бѣ дали** of the “bookish” pluperfect with a link in a singular instead of plural, also in Vil. and LRP, the examples are given in (6–7)) – “Vilnius then did not submit to him, because they had sworn allegiance to the king and Skirgail”;

(11) Supr. 98 b **Ѡтоле нача воевати Литовскоу землю. с Немецькою помо(ч)ю. и оуже вздалъ бы(л) Литовскон земли. по Велиню рекоу а и Полѣтексь вдася емоу. и оузриль король и кнѣзь великыи Скиргайло. како вже невозможно оудержати земли Литовъскыа пре(д) великимь кнѣземь Витовтомъ...бѣ поможе великому кнѣзю Витовтоу. и побежени быша Литовъски вон** (the context repeats in Ув. 20, Ак. л. 182, Vil. 446 b, also LRP. 493, the example is considered in (7)) – “and he began to conquer the Lithuanian land with German help, and [by that time] had already conquered the Lithuanian land to the river Viliya and Polotsk surrendered to him, the king and Grand Duke Skirgailo saw that it was impossible to keep the Lithuanian land in front of the Grand Duke Vitovt”;

(12) LRP 492 b **и нача его лечити главѣ емѣ постриже ра(н) для зане(ж) много ране(н) Ѡчата(л) бы(л) собѣ живота** – this context coincides with the context from Ак. 181 (see commentary (4));

(13) Arch. 91 **вода была ве(л)ми великая в Смоленскѣ все мѣсто поняло было мало не дошла до Покровское горы** – “There was a flood in Smolensk, the whole city had been flooded, [the water] almost reached the Pokrovskaya mountain”;

The resultative meaning is also presented in (5) with a “bookish” pluperfect form: “Rogvolod was a person who had come from across the sea and [as a result] was in charge in Polotsk”.

Rarer than the resultative meaning, the “bookish” pluperfect had the anti-resultative meaning [Plungyan 2001] and denoted an action that was later canceled or was not achieved at all: Hypatian Chronicle 180 и много дѣнь ѿполониша. иже бѣхуть взѣли половци “and they released from custody a lot of persons, who had been captured by Polovtsi” – the action бѣхуть взѣли “captured” was later canceled, because prisoners were released (see [Sheveleva 2007: 237]). The same meaning was one of the main ones for super-compound forms in Old Russian (for its originality or secondary nature, see [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2006; Sheveleva 2008]).

In the 15–16th centuries in the dialectal zone of the Center the “Russian” pluperfect had exclusively anti-resultative semantics, “changing gradually into the conjunctive mood with particle *бы*” [Sheveleva 2009: 29]. In dialects of South-West Russia of the 15–16th centuries this meaning, on the contrary, was on the periphery [ibid: 39]. In the studied texts, 6 anti-resultative contexts were found, repeated in different chronicles (13 forms out of 43):

(14) Supr. 89 кнѣзь великии Ягаило далъ бы(л) По(л)тескъ братоу своему. Скириганлоу и они его не приняли (the context is repeated in Ak. 173, Vil. 439, LRP 488) – “Prince Yagailo gave Polotsk to his brother Skirgail, but they (the Polotsk people) did not accept him”;

(15) Uv. 45 б. и король почалъ присылатисѧ к великомуу кнѣзю Витовтоу. рекъ што еси на(м) да(л) половицю По(д)льскон земли оу кѣ тысячехъ пенези и мы дали были оу кѣ же тысячехъ па(н)у Спытку и пани Спытковаѧ ш(в)довела. а дети малы. и ѿ Татаръ земли некомоу боронити. и ты ѿдай кѣ тисачен пеназен. а города поберн за себе (the context is repeated in Supr. 105) – “the king began to send ambassadors to the Grand Duke Vitovt, saying: “You gave us half of the Podolsk land for 20,000, and we gave 20,000 to Pan Spytku, and his wife is now a widow, and the children are small, and there is no one to defend the land from the Tatars. Give us back 20,000, and take the towns for yourself”;

(16) Arch. 80 и мешкаючи емѧ в Великко(м) Лѣ(ц)кѣ и хотѣ(л) бы(л) на себя корѣны во(з)ложити, и его неприятели Поляки не перепѣстили емѧ корѣны – “and living in Velikiy Luchka, he wanted to crown himself, but his enemies, the Poles, did not allow him”. In the following, Jagiello first conspired with the Germans against Vitovt and Kestut, but then swore allegiance to them:

(17) Sup. 90 **внѣ же рече снѣу своему кнѣзю великому Витовтоу ты мнѣ не вѣрнѣ. а се тые грамоты. записалиса были на на(с). но бѣ насъ востерегѣ. но га кнѣзю великому Гданлоу. ничего не вчинилѣ...и кнѣзь великий Гданло. великому Витовтоу. и дади своему великому кнѣзю Кестоутию што николи противоу его не стоимати** (the context is repeated in Uv. 2);

(18) Sup. 104 **Подолъская земля не хотела была. послоушна быти кнѣза великого Витовта. и Литовской зе(м)ли какъ же пре(д) ты(м) послоушна была** (the context is repeated in Uv. 45) – “Podolsk land did not want to submit to Vitovt, as it was earlier”. Further it is reported that Vitovt conquered it;

(19) Arch. 74 **и князь Федо(р) Ко(р)ятович не хотѣ(л) бы(л) слѣжити кнѣзю Витовтѣ со всею землею Подо(л)скою, и кнѣзь Витовтъ пошо(л) со всѣмъ воинско(м) Литовскимъ к Подо(л)ю...и вси города побра(л) воеводѣ кнѣзя Федора поима(л) –** “Fedor Koryatovich did not want to serve Prince Vitovt with the Podolsk land, and then Prince Vitovt went with all the Lithuanian army, conquered all the cities and captured the governor and prince Fedor”.

In the WRC, the number of contexts with an anti-resultative meaning is the same as the number of contexts with a resultative meaning, and it is not possible to speak about the predominance of one or the other meaning on the basis of this material.

The super-compound form of the pluperfect, since ancient times, has been characterized by the meaning of the discontinuous past or, in the terminology [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2008], the remote past (it is found in birch bark manuscripts of the 12th century [Zaliznyak 2004: 176], [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2006: 200-204]). “The difference between this meaning and the usual past action [...] is in underlining the lack of connection with the present and, most likely, in the emphasizing the real fact of the action’s existence” [Sheveleva 2009: 38].

In the dialects of the Center this meaning disappears in the 15–16th centuries and gives way to the anti-resultative one, but in the South West Russian dialects it is used very widely (according to Zhukova and Sheveleva [2010] describing the language of Peresopnitsia Gospel and “The Passion of Christ”). In the WRC, however, there are only 3 contexts with the meaning of the discontinuous past (15 forms in all):

(20) Supr. 87 b – 88 **некто пакъ бы(л) оу великого кнѣза Влгирда. паровокъ неволны холопъ звали его В(о)ндоломъ. первое бы(л) пекаромъ. потомъ вставили его постелю**

слати. и водоу давати собѣ пити. и потомъ пакъ полюбилисьа были емоу далъ бы(л) емоу Лидоу держати. и повель бы(л) его в добры(х). потомъ по животе великого кнѣзя Улиг(и)рда двѣ ли лѣте минуло. кнѣзь велики Гѣгаило поведеть его велми во высокы(х) и дастъ за него сестроу свою ро(д)ноию кнѣжню Марию (the context repeats in Ak. 172, Vil. 439, LRP 487, Arch. 60; in some examples, the context is shortened and there are only one or two pluperfect forms) – the first part of the fragment is a departure from the main subject of the narrative. Before that, the author says that the Grand Duke Olgerd died, and then goes back to the events that happened much earlier: “Olgerd had a servant, Voidilo. At first, he was a baker, then he was charged to make the bed and serve the prince's drink. The prince liked Voidilo and gave him to rule the town of Lida and exalted him”. The author returns to this story to make the facts reported further clear: two years after Olgerd's death the Grand Duke Jagiello married his sister Maria to Voidilo. The pluperfect forms are used for verbs that signal the elevation of Voidilo, i.e. its emphasizing function, noted by researchers in a super-compound form in general, and in West Russian monuments in particular;

(21) Ув. 10 б по смѣрти пакъ кнѣзя великаго Кестоутиа пошлетъ кнѣзь великии Гѣгаило. кнѣзя великаго Витовта во Крево(ж). и женою. и велить его твердо стеречь в комнату. помщата Вондила. што были за него сестроу свою дали (the context is repeated in Ak. 177, Vil. 444, LRP 490) – Voidilo was killed by order of Prince Kestut. After Voidilo's death, Prince Jagiello captured his son Vitovt and his wife, in revenge for the murder of Voidilo, “to whom he married his sister”. For the last action, the pluperfect form is used. It is the discontinuous past (the action happened much earlier than the events described), at the same time it seems important to the writer.

A particular realization the “Russian” pluperfect meaning of the discontinuous past is the function of a “shift of the starting point” [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2006: 201-202]. In this case, it can denote the first action in the narrative chain, referring to a past unrelated to the present, and has an emphasizing component focusing the reader's attention on the plot's “tie-in” (for more details, see [Zhukova, Sheveleva 2010]). This function of the pluperfect, widely presented in Peresopnitsia Gospel and “The Passion of Christ” [Zhukova, Sheveleva 2010], is marked by only one form in the WRC:

(22) Sup. 27 б и тоу оубиень бы(с) и(х) воевода Спиридонъ. и епи(с)ъ и(х) и другын же Навгородець. Избыславъ Гѣкоуновичъ. сии наѣхаль многажду бишася.

єдины(м) торопомъ и торо(пм) посече много. не имѣа во сер(д)ци и паде ѿ роукоу
его. неколко вси дивша(с) силѣ его. и храбрости. трети же Иаковъ. Полочанинь
ловъчи Ѹ кнѣзѣ и бѣ си наѣхаль на полкъ с мечемъ и моужествова(л) штынде. и хвали
его кнѣзь – this fragment describes the murdered warriors and heroes in the battle. The
first is the governor Spiridon. The second is Izbyslav Yakunovich from Novgorod. The
chronicler describes his heroism and death: he fought with one ax, hacked many and
everyone marveled at his strength and courage. The third is Jacob from Polotsk, the
hunter of the prince. What follows is a story about what he did in the battle. To indicate
the first action in the story about Jacob, the pluperfect form is used: he ran into the
regiment with a sword and left, and the prince praised him.

Thus, the number of pluperfect contexts with the meaning of the discontinuous past in
the chronicles was half the number of anti-resultative or resultative ones. If we take into
account the absence of the resultative meaning of the pluperfect in those Ukrainian dialects
where it has survived [Tolstaya 2000: 137], as well as in Polish [Kowalska 1976], along with
the fact that both in the Ukrainian dialects and in Polish (from the Middle Polish period), the
remote past meaning is widely represented (see the same works), the situation in the studied
texts should be recognized as more archaic than in the Peresopnitsia Gospel and “The Passion
of Christ”: in the WRC, the resultative meaning prevails while the meaning of the discontinuous
past is peripheral. In addition, it seems logical to draw a conclusion about the development of
the meaning of super-compound forms from the resultative to the discontinuous past, which
complies to the generally accepted ideas about the simplification of the temporal system in the
East and West Slavic languages and the disappearance of the old forms expressing
grammatically the result. This statement does not contradict the fact that in the birch bark
manuscripts of the 12th century, as well as in the most ancient Russian chronicles, super-
compound forms have predominantly the meaning of the discontinuous past (on this basis,
Petrukhin and Sitchinava believe that the “Russian” pluperfect did not have the resultative
meaning and originally expressed the remote past [Petrukhin, Sitchinava 2006]). It is possible
that the restructuring of the old temporal system and the changing of the *-l-* form into the finite
one took place in the western area later than in the Central Russian and North Russian dialects.
This is also evidenced by the fact that contaminated forms such as *видѣлем* (1PL), *упалесь*
(2PL), *почалихмы* (1PL) appear in Ukrainian in the 16–17th centuries [History of Ukrainian
language 1978: 325], and in Polish forms such as *postawylesz*, *radowalysmy*, *praviachmy* from
the end of the 15th century. [Anan’eva 1994: 245].

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