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## The Old Church Slavic Conditional in Comparative Syntactic Perspective

### 1. Major Categories of employment of OCS conditional clauses:

- A. Contrary-to-fact conditional clauses showing *ašte* ‘if’ + conditional in the protasis and the apodosis (31x, 68 occurrences)
- B. purpose or complement clauses signaled by *da* (21x, 21 occurrences)
- C. Complement clauses involving an indirect question (7x, 7 occurrences)

### 2. Paradigm of OCS conditional

Sg 1 *bimī/byxŭ*    Pl 1 *bimŭ/byxomŭ*    Du 1 *byxově*

2 *bi/by*                      2 *biste byste*

3 *bi/by*                      3 *biše/byše/bŏ*

*bi-* < \*bh(w)ī-, (cf. OLith. subjunctive pl. 1 *būtumbime*, 2 *būtumbite*)

*bŏ* probably of subjunctive origin

These are accompanied normally by the *l*-participle, e.g. *bimī bylŭ* ‘I would have been’

- (3) a. ‘And *if* the Lord *had not shortened* those days, *no flesh would have been saved*’ (Mk. 13.20)

Gk. *καὶ εἰ μὲν κύριος ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ*

OCS *ašte ni bi gospodŭ překratilŭ dñii. ne bi byla sŭpasena všěka plŭti*

Goth. jah *ni* frauja *gamaurgidedi* þans dagans, *ni* þauh *ganesi* ainhun leike  
 Arm. Ew *et'e oč' ēr karč'al AY* zawowrsn zaynosik ... *oč' aprēr* amenayn marmin  
 Lat. Et *nisi breuiasset* Dominus dies *non fuisset salva* omnis caro  
 OE And *gif* Drihten ðas dagas *ne gescyrte*, nán fláesc *ne wurde hál*

b. 'If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have had sin' (Jh. 15.22)

Gk. *ei mè ēlthon* kai *elálēsa* autoīs, hamartían *ouk eīkhon* (v.l. *ékhosan*)  
 OCS *ašte ne bimī prišelū i glagolalū imū. grěxa ne bō iměli*  
 Goth. *nih qemjau* jah *rodidedjau* du im, frawaurht *ni habaidedeina*  
 Arm. *Im et'e č'ēr ekeal ew xawsec'eal* and nosa. meł inč' *oč' goyr noc'a*  
 Lat. *Si non venissem et locutus fuissem* eis peccatum *non haberent*  
 OE *Gif ic ne come*, and to him *ne spráce*, *næfdon hig náne synne*

c. 'If in Sodom there had been the miracles that occurred in you, they would have abided to the present day' (Mt. 11.23)

Gk. *ei en Sodómois egénonto* hai dunámeis hai genómenai en soí, *émeinan àn mékhri tēs sémeron*  
 OCS *ašte vū Sodoměxū bō sily byvūšeję vī tebě. přěbyly bō do (dines) iněgo dīne*  
 Goth. [...*jaba i in S] audaumjam [waur]þe[ina m]ahteis þos waurþanons in izwis, aiþpau eis weseina* und hina dag  
 Arm. *et'e i Sidom [M: sodovm] eleal ein* zawrowt'iwnk'n or elen i k'ez. apak'ēn *kayin* ewš minč'ew c'aysawr  
 Lat. *si in Sodomis factae fuissent* virtutes quae factae sunt in te forte *mansissent* usque in hunc diem  
 OE *gyf on Sodomum wáeron gedóne* ða mægnu ðe gedóne synt on ðé, witodlice *hí wunedun* oð ðysne dæg

d. 'Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died' (Jh. 11.21)

Gk. kúrie, *ei ēs hōde*, *ouk àn apéthanen* ho adelphós mou

OCS Gospodī. *ašte bi sīde bylū. ne bi bratrū moi umrūlū*

Goth. frauja, *ip weseis her, ni þau gadaupnodedi broþar meins*

Arm. TR. *et'e ast lieal eir. ełbayrn im č'ēr meřeal*

Lat. Domine *si fuisses hic frater meus non fuisset mortuus*

OE Drihten, *gif đú wære hér, náere mín bróðor dead.*

(4) a. 'If those days had not been shortened, no flesh would have been saved.' (Mt. 24.22)

Gk. *ei mē ekolobóthēsan* hai hēmérai ekeinai, ouk *àn esóthē* pāsa sárx

OCS *ašte ne bišę překratili sę* dine ti. ne *bi* ubo *sūpasla sę* vīsěka plūtī

Goth. ---

Arm. *et'e oč' karčein* awowrk'n aynok'ik. oč' *aprēr* amenayn marmin

Lat. *nisi breuiati fuissent* dies illi non *fieret salva* omnis caro

OE *búton* ða dagas *gescyrte wæron*, *nære* nán mann *hál* geworden

b. 'Woe unto you, Chorazein, woe unto you Bethsaida; for *if* in Tyre and Sidon *there had been* the miracles occurring in you, *they would* long ago *have repented* in sackcloth ash.' (Mt. 11.21)

Gk. ouaí soi Xorazeín, ouaí soi Bēthsaidán · hótī *eien* Túrōi kai Sodōni *egénonto* hai

dunámeis hai genómenai en humīn, pálai *àn* en sákkōi kai spodōi *metenóēsan*

OCS Gore tebě Xorazinū. gore tebě Vitūsaida. ěko *ašte* vū Turě i Sidoně. *bę sily byly*

byvūšęję vū vasū. drevle ubo vū vrětišti i popelě *pokaali sę bę*

Goth. [wai þus Kaurazein, wai þ]us Beþ[saïdan; unte *ip wa]urþeina* [in Twre jah Seidon]e

landa mah[teis þos waur]þanons in izwis, [airis þ]au in sakkau jah azgon

[idreig]odedeina

Arm. Vay k'ez K'ovrazin. vay k'ez Bet'sayida. Zi *et'e* i Tiwros ew i Sidovn *eleal ein*

zawrowt'iwk'n or i jez elen vałow ews ardewk' xorgov ew moxrov *apašxareal ēr*

Lat. vae tibi Corazain vae tibi Bethsaida quia *si* in Tyro et Didone *factae essent* virtutes

quae factae sunt in vobis olim in cilicio et cinere *paenitentiam egissent*

OE Wá dé! Corozaim, wá dé! Bethsaida; forðam *gyf* on Tyro and Sydne *wærun gedóne*  
 ða mægnu ðe gedóne synt on eow, gefyrn *hí dydun dáed-bóte* on háeran and on axan

(5) a. ‘*If you knew* the gift of God and who it is that is saying to you, “Give me to drink,” *you would have asked* him and *he would have given* you living water.’ (Jh. 4.10)

Gk. *ei éideis* tèn dōreàn toũ theoũ kai tís estin ho légōn soi · dós moi pieĩn, *sù àn éitēsas*  
 autòn kai *édōken án* soi húdōr zōn

OCS *ašte bi věděla* darũ božii. i kto estũ glagoleĩ ti daždĩ mi piti. *ty bi prosila* u nego i *dalũ*  
 ti *bivodq živo*

Goth. ---

Arm. *et’e giteir* dowzpargewsn AY. ew ov ē or asēd c’k’ez. t’e towr inj ōmpel. *dow ardewk’*  
*xndreir* i nmanē. ew *tayr k’ez jowr* [ardewk’] kendani

Lat. *si scires* donum Dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere *tu forsitan petisses* ab eo et  
*dedisset* tibi aquam vivam

OE *Gif dú wistest* Godes gyfe, and hwæt se is, ðe cwyþ to dé, Syle me drincan, witodlice  
*dú bæde* hine, ðæt *he sealde* dé lifes wæter.

b. ‘*If you had known* what is (the meaning of) “I desire mercy and not sacrifice”, *you would not have condemned* the innocent.’ (Mt. 12.7)

Gk. *ei dè egnōkeite* tí estin · éleos thélō kai ouk thusían, *ouk àn katedikásate* toũs  
 anaitíous

OCS *ašte li biste věděli*. čũto estũ milosti xoštq a ne žrůtvě. *nikoliže ubo biste osqđili*  
 nepovinũnyxũ

Goth. ---

Arm. Ew [M: Ø] *et’e giteik’ zinc’?* ē zołormowt’iwnn kamim ew oć’ zzoh. apa oć’  
*dataparteik’ dowk’ zampartsn*

Lat. *si autem sciretis* quid est misericordiam volo et non sacrificium *numquam*  
*condemnassetis* innocentes

OE *Gyf ge sóþlice wistun, hwæt ys, Ic wylle mild-heortnesse, and ná onsægdnyse, ne genyðrude ge áefre unscyldige*

- (6) a. ‘And the scribes and chief priests heard and sought *how they might kill him.*’ (Mk. 11.18)

Gk. καὶ ἐκούσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐζήτησαν *pōs autòn apolésōsin*

OCS I slyšašę kŭnežŭnici i arxierei. i iskaaxŭ *kako i bŭ pogubili*

Goth. jah gahausidedun þai bokarjos jah gudjane auhmistans jah sokidedun, *hwaiwa ina usqistidedeina*

Arm. Lowan k‘ahanayapetk‘n ew dþirk‘. ew xndrein t‘e *orpēs korusc‘en zna*

Lat. Quo audito principes sacerdotum et scribae quaerebant *quomodo eum perderent*

OE Ðá ðæra sacerda ealdras and ðá bóceras ðis gehýrdon, hí þohton *hú hí hine forspildon*

- b. ‘And going out, the Pharisees immediately took counsel with the Herodians concerning him (as to) *how they might kill him.*’ (Mk. 3.6)

Gk. καὶ ἐxelthóntes οἱ Φαρισαῖοι euthéōs metà tōn Hērōdianōn sumboúlion epoíoun kat’ autoū, *hópōs autòn apolésōsin*

OCS I abie išedŭše farisěi sŭ Irodiěny. sŭvětŭ tvorěšŭ na nĭ *kako i bŭ pogubili*

Goth. jah gaggandans þan Fareisaieis sunsaiw miþ þaim Herodianum garuni gatawidedun bi ina, *ei imma usqemeina*

Arm. Ew eleal artak‘s vałvałaki p‘arisec‘ik‘n Hērovdianosawk‘n handerj. xo[M:r]howrd aġnein vasn nora · t‘e *ziard? korowsc‘en zna*

Lat. Exeuntes autem statim Pharisaei cum Herodianis consilium faciebant adversus eum *quomodo eum perderent*

OE Ðá Pharisei mid Herodianiscum útgangende þeahdedon ongén hine, *hú hí hine fordón mihton*

c. ‘The chief priests and the scribes deliberated as to *how they might put him to death.*’

(Lk.22.2)

Gk. ezétoun hoi arkhiereīs kai hoi grammateīs tō *pōs anélōsin autón*

OCS iskaaxq arxierei i kunižinici *kako i bq ubili*

Goth. ---

Arm. xndrein k‘ahanayapetk‘n ew dpirk‘ t‘e *orpēs spananic‘en zna*

Lat. quaerebant principes sacerdotum et scribae *quomodo eum interficerent*

OE đara sacerda ealdras and đa bóceras smeadon, *hú hig hine forspildon*

(7) ‘They discussed with each other (as to) *what they should do to Jesus*’ (Lk. 6.11)

Gk. dieláloun pròs alléλους *tí àn poiéseian* tōi Iēsoū

OCS glagolaxq drugū kŭ drugu. *čto bišę sŭtvorili* Isusŭvi

Goth. rodidedun du sis misso *hva tawidedeina* þamma Iesua

Arm. xawsein ənd mimeans . et‘e *zinč‘? ařnic‘en* YI

Lat. conloquebantur ad invicem *quidnam facerent* Iesu

OE spræcun betwux him, *hwæt hig đam Hæelende dydon*

(8) a. ‘Then they signaled to his father as to *what he would wish him to be called*’ (Lk. 1.62)

Gk. enéneuon dè tōi patrì autoŭ tò *tí àn théloi kaleīsthai autón*

OCS Pomavaaxq že otīcu ego. *kako bi xotěľŭ nareštŭ e*

Goth. gabandwidedun þan attin is, þata *hvaiwa wildedi haitan ina*

Arm. Akn arkanein hawrn nora t‘e *zinč‘? kamic‘i koč‘el zna*

Lat. innuebant autem patri eius *quem vellet vocari eum*

OE Đa bícnodon hí to hys fæder, *hwæt he wolde hine genemnedne beón*

b. ‘An argument arose among them as to *who might be/was the greatest* of them’ (Lk. 9.46)

Gk. eisēlthen dè dialogismòs en autoīs, tò *tis àn eíē meízōn* autōn

OCS Vĩnide že pomyšlenie vŭ neę. *kŭto ixŭ veštŭei bi bylŭ*

Arm. Emowt xorhowrd in nosa t‘e *o ardewk‘ mec ic‘ē i noc‘anē*

Lat. Intravit autem cogitatio in eos *quis eorum maior esset*

OE Sóplice ðæt geþanc eode on hig, *hwylc hyra yldest wære*

- (9) ‘But the Pharisees, going out, took counsel against him, (as to) *how they might destroy him.*’ (Mt. 12.14)

Gk. ekselfhóntes dè hoi Pharisaíoi sumboúlion élabon kat’ autoũ *hópōs autòn apolésōsin*

OCS Farisěi že išedůše sůvětũ sůtvorišę na nĩ. *kako i pogubětũ*

Goth. ---

Arm. Isk P’arisec’ik’n eleal artak’s. xorhowrd ařin znmanē. t’e *orpēs korowsc’en zna.*

Lat. Exeuntes autem Pharisaei consilium faciebant adversus eum *quomodo eum perderent*

OE Ða Sunder-hálgan eodun óá út sóplíce, and worhton geþeaht ongén hyne, *hú hí hyne forspildon*

- (10) ‘And they were watching him (to see) *whether he would heal him* on the Sabbath.’ (Mk. 3.2)

Gk. kai paretērounto auton, *eitoīs sabbasin therapeúsei* (v.l. *-éuei*) *autón*

OCS i naziraaxo i *ašte vũ soboto iscělitũ i*

Goth. jah witaidedun imma *hailidediu* sabbato dags

Arm. Ew spasein nma *et’e bžškic’ē* [M: *-kesc’ē*] *zna* i šabat’own [M: *-t’ow*]

Lat. et observabant eum *si sabbatis curaret*

OE And hí gýmdon, *hwæder he* on reste dagam *gehælde*

- (11) a. ‘The man<sub>x</sub> who had been possessed by a demon begged him<sub>y</sub> *that he<sub>x</sub> might be with him<sub>y</sub>*’ (Mk. 5.18)

Gk. parekálei autòn ho daimonistheìs *hína met’ autoũ ěi*

OCS molěaše i běsūnovavy se. *da bi sũ nimĩ bylũ*

Goth. baþ ina, saei was wods, *ei miþ imma wesi*

Arm. alač’ēr zna diwaharn *zi and nma ic’ē*

Lat. coepit illum deprecari qui daemonio vexatus fuerat *ut esset cum illo*

OE hine ongan biddan, se ðe ær mid deofle gedréht wæs, *ðæt he mid him wære*

- b. ‘(They sent to him some of the Pharisees and of the Herodians) *in order that they might*

*catch him in a word*’ (Mk. 12.13)

Gk. . . . *hína autòn agráúsōsin lógōi*

OCS . . . *da i bō oblistili slovomĩ*

Goth. . . . *ei ina ganuteina worda*

Arm. . . . *zi zna orsasc'en baniw*

Lat. . . . *ut eum caperent in verbo*

OE . . . *ðæt hí beféngon hine on his worde*

- c. ‘But those enemies of mine who did not want *me to be king* over them ...’ (Lk.19.27)

Gk. plèn toùs ekhthroús mou ekeinous toùs mè thelésantás *me basileúsai* ep’ autoús ...

OCS Obače vragy moje ty. ne xotovúšeje mĩne *da cěsarĩ bimĩ bylũ* nadũ nimi ...

Goth. aþþan sweþauh fijands meinans jainans, þaiei ni wildedun *mik þiudanon* ufar sis ...

Arm. Bayc' zt'snamis aynosik or oč'n kamein *zis t'agaworel* i veray noc'a ...

Lat. Verumtamen inimicos meos illos qui noluerunt *me regnare* super se ...

OE ðeah hwæðere ða míne fýnd, ðe noldon *ðæt ic ofer hig rícsode* ...

- (12) a. ‘For Herod intends to search for the child *in order to kill him*’ (Mt. 2.13)

Gk. méllel gár Hērōidēs zēteín tò paidíon toũ *apolésai autó*

OCS (Savv.) xošetũ bo Irodũ iskati otročęte. da *pogubitũ e*

Goth. ---

Arm. k'anzi i xndir ē Hērovdēs *korusanel zmanowkd*

Lat. futurum est enim ut Herodes quaerat puerum *ad perdendum eum*

OE toward ys, ðæt Herodes sécþ *ðæt cild, to forspillenne*



b. 'They were seeking testimony against Jesus *for the purpose of putting him to death*' (Mk. 14.55)

Gk. ezétoun katà toũ Iēsoũ marturían *eis tò thanatōsai autón*

OCS iskaaxo na Isusa sŭvĕdĕtelĭstva *da i ubijotŭ*

Goth. sokidedun ana Iesu weitwodip̃a *du afdaupjan ina*

Arm. xndrein hakaṙak YI vkayowt'iw n inč' . *zi spananic'en zna*

Lat. quaerebant adversum Iesum testimonium *ut eum morti traderent*

OE sóhton ... tále ágén ðone Háelend, *ðæt hí hine to deaþe sealdon*

c. 'Behold, the sower went out *in order to sow*' (Mt. 13.3)

Gk. idou eksēlthen ho speírōn *toũ speírein*

OCS Se izide sĕjĕi *da sĕetŭ*

Goth. ---

Arm. Aha el sermanahan *sermanel*

Lat. ecce exiit qui seminatur *seminare*

OE út-eode se sáedere hys sáed *to sáwenne*

d. 'And he would not allow *that anybody carry* a vessel through the temple' (Mk. 11.16)

Gk. kai ouk éphien *hína tis dienégkēi skeũos dià toũ hieroũ*

OCS i ne dadĕaše *nikomuže mimo nesti sŭsodŭ skvozĕ crŭkovi*

Goth. jah ni lailot *ei hvas þairhberi* kas þairh þo alh

Arm. ew oč' toloyr *et'e ok'anawt' inč' anc'owc'anic'ē* and tačarn

Lat. et non sinebat *ut quisquam vas transferret* per templum

OE And he ne geþafode *ðæt áenig man áenig fæt þurh ðæt templ báere*

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