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Future Constructions in the Medieval South Slavonic Translations of *Vita Antonii Magni*

Abstract. This paper aims at systemising the observations on the constructions used for expressing Future tense in the three known Old Slavonic translations of *Vita Antonii Magni* by Athansius Alexandrinus. The text was first translated in the early Old Church Slavonic period, while two other (Middle Bulgarian) translations were written in ca. 14th century. This makes the text suitable for observing the different strategies for expressing Future tense, both regarding the translation technique and its dynamics on a synchronic level, i.e., vis-à-vis other translations from the period, and from a diachronic perspective, i.e., paying closer attention to the discrepancies between the three translations themselves. The paper focuses on the Future periphrastic constructions used in the three Slavonic translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great by Athanasius of Alexandria. The approach is based on the relation with the Greek *Vorlage*, thus analysing closely the situation attested in the Greek original. Observations are made regarding the usage of the periphrases in the Slavonic texts adducing comparative material for similar phenomena from other early (Preslavian) and Middle Bulgarian texts. Some examples provided, as well as those from other texts, might suggest that the Old Church Slavonic periphrases were used not only to express Future tense per se, but for every non-Indicative (or non-factual) Present.

Keywords: Anthony the Great, Hagiography, Old Church Slavonic translations, Future tense, Periphrastic Future, Conjunctive, Optative, Non-Indicative forms

Future tense and its expression with periphrastic constructions is a widely explored topic in the Paleoslavonic field[1]. Nevertheless, focusing on specific authors or works could always provide a new perspective or extend our scope of understanding[2].

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[1] As a point of reference and previous literature, cf. H. Birnbaum, *Untersuchungen zu den Zukunfsumschreibungen mit dem Infinitiv im Altkirchenslavischen. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Verbalsyntax des Slavischen*, Stockholm 1958; cf. also А. Давидов, *Бъдеще време*, [in:] *Граматика на старобългарски език*, ed. И. Дуриданов, София 1991, p. 301–307; И. Харалампиев, *Бъдеще време*, [in:] Д. Иванова-Мирчева, И. Харалампиев, *История на българския език*, Велико Търново 1999, p. 140–147; К. Мирчев, *Историческа граматика на българския език*, София 1978, p. 221–230; Т. Славова, *Старобългарски език*, София 2018, p. 288–296.

[2] Cf. for example the paper by T. Slavova on the Future tense constructions in the *Didactic Gospel* by Constantine of Preslav: Т. Славова, *Изразяване на футур в Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, БРе 2, 2016, p. 50–58.

As generally accepted, Old Church Slavonic (OCS) did not have separately marked grammemes for expressing Future tense. Except probably for the relict бѫшѫцѩ/бѫшѫцѩ, nothing has been left from the (P)IE sigmatic future, thus nearing Slavic more to the situation of, say, the Germanic branch. This might explain grammatical development of periphrastic constructions with semantically close verbs (i.e., *werden* + inf. vs. бꙑти (бѫдѫ) + inf.) in some subbranches later. Such areal approach, though, is out of the scope of the present paper. The present text aims at presenting and systemising the different Future constructions attested in one specific text, that has undergone several translations in different periods. This would help both in drawing some diachronic observations about the development of future tense and understanding a bit more the translation techniques used in the researched texts. Furthermore, it could help us better understand the relations between the translations of this single text, as is the case study presented below.

The relations between Old Church Slavonic renderings of the Greek Future forms show a variability (especially in the earliest Slavic texts) that has been inspiring many suggestions about both the translation techniques in different diachronic layers and the very status of the Future tense in the system of the Old Church Slavonic verb. This is further fostered by the fact that all Slavic languages, their earliest attested relative making no difference, have additionally elaborated systems including the category of *aspect*. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter the field of the Slavic aspectology, but as a point of reference, I will follow the terminology more or less accepted traditionally by *communis opinion* in Slavistics and summarized by, e.g., B. Comrie[3].

Multiple translations are one of the key characteristics of medieval South Slavonic literacy[4]. One of the many texts that have undergone several translations among the South Slavs is the Life of St Anthony the Great (BHG 140, *PG* XXVI: 835–978, SCR 400[5], *VA* onwards). St Anthony's life is regarded as a foundational text of Christian ascetic literature and, in a way, the predecessor of the rich literary tradition that emerged after it. It was written towards the end of the 4th century, soon after the death of the 'father of all monks'.

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[3] B. Comrie, *Aspect*, Cambridge 2001 (1st ed. 1976), p. 12. More about the *Slavic-style aspect*, cf. V.S. Tomelleri, *Slavic-style Aspect in the Caucasus*, SuvL 69, 2010, p. 66sqq with some discussion on previous scholarship. Cf. also J. Lindstedt, *Understanding Perfectivity*, *Understanding Bounds*, [in:] *Temporal Reference*, *Aspect and Actionality. Typological Perspectives*, vol. II, ed. P.M. Bertinetto, V. Bianchi, Ö. Dahl, M. Squartini, Torino 1995, p. 95–103 with further literature. For Old Church Slavonic aspect and summary of the previous literature on the topic, cf. J. Kamphuis, *Verbal Aspect in Old Church Slavonic. A Corpus-Based Approach*, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= SSGL, 45].

[4] Cf. *Многократните преводи в южнославянското средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция София, 7–9 юли 2005 г.*, ed. Л. Тасева, Р. Марти, М. Йовчева, Т. Пентковская, София 2006.

[5] Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine*, praef., trans. G.J.M. Bartelink, Paris 1994 [= SC, 400].

As one of the foundational text for the Christian monastic movement, the *Vita* was translated into most of the languages of the Christian Orient. Among the Slavs, it is known in three independent translations. The **First translation** was accomplished in the Preslav school during the First Bulgarian Empire (ca. 10th century, based on a pre-metaphrastic version of the Greek text)[6]. One of the main characteristics of this translation is the omission of chapters 51–60. The other two that followed are Middle Bulgarian, exemplifying the specific traits of translations from this epoch (both are congruent with 14th century literary production). The **Second translation** is attributed to the Tărnovo school; this is the most widespread version of the *Vita* in the Middle Ages. The last one discovered[7], so-called **Third translation**, is extant in just one manuscript in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (МСПЦ 43). Although peripheral[8], this translation seems to be the most accurate, remaining true both to the Greek text while keeping a high degree of smoothness and comprehensibility in the Slavonic text. A. Dimitrova supposes that the there might be a certain relation between the Second and the Third translation as certain passages and phrases are the same. The Third one, moreover, follows a different branch of the Greek tradition, namely the "metaphrastic vulgate" (as per Bartelink)[9]. Additionally, P. Petkov[10] adduces two more Slavonic *versions* of *VA* (version B[11] and C[12] in his terminology) close to the First translation. In this

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[6] A. Santos Otero, *Die altslavische Überlieferung der Vita Antonii des Athanasius*, ZKg 90, 1979, p. 98; З. Витић, *Житие светог Антонија Великог према српским средњовековним рукописима*, Београд 2015, p. 9–15; Кр. Костова, *Правопис и фонетика на преславските текстове*, Велико Търново–София 2000. Cf. an overview of this and the other translations in I.P. Petrov, *Theoria and Optasia in the Old Church Slavonic Translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 681sqq. For a detailed study on some syntactical structures in this translation together with couple of other vitae translated in Preslav cf. A. Димитрова, *Синтактичната структура на преводната агиография*, София 2012.

[7] Кл. Иванова, *Археографски бележки от книгохранилища на Югославия*, ЕЛ 27.4, 1972, p. 51–57; eadem, *Житие на Антоний Велики*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. Петканова, София 2003, p. 174–175; T. Helland, *The Greek Archetypes of the Old and Middle Bulgarian Translations of the Life of Saint Anthony the Great*, Pbg 28.4, 2004, p. 14. For a more detailed study of the language of this translation, cf. A. Димитрова, *Третият превод на житието св. Антоний Велики*, СЛ 47, 2013, p. 92–107.

[8] Here the term 'peripheral' (cf. also A. Димитрова, *Третият…*) is used with regard to the fact that this translation is attested in only one copy in comparison with the widespread and the overall popularity of the Second (most probably accomplished in Tărnovo) translation.

[9] T. Helland, *The Greek Archetypes…*, p. 17.

[10] П. Петков, *Славянските преводи на Житие на св. Антоний Велики от св. Атанасий Александрийски*, [in:] *Трети международен конгрес по българистика 23–26 май, 2013 г., София. Кръгла маса „Кирилометодиевистика"*, София 2014, p. 126–140.

[11] This version encompasses the copies transmitted among the Eastern Slavs, cf. П. Петков, *Славянските…*, p. 130–131. T. Helland attributes this version to Nil Sorskij (T. Helland, *The Greek Archetypes…*). The text of this version used here is from TSL 648, 342r ff.

[12] Attested in only one witness – TSL 763 – and only in its first half (310–340b), after which the text continues to follow the Second translation (П. Петков, *Славянските…*, p. 131–132). According to

paper, due to the need for further elaboration on their place in *VA* transmission among the South Slavs, they are used cautiously and only when they provide some different material.

The language of the three principal translations has been an object of partial scholarly interest, mainly focused on specific aspects such as the infinitive constructions[13] or some lexical features regarding some monastic lexemes[14]. This paper is dedicated to examining the future constructions attested in the three Slavonic translations of *VA*, juxtaposing the translation techniques among them while keeping in mind the diachronic perspective of the researched problematic. Furthermore, the situation attested in the early period of the Old Church Slavonic literacy and the tendencies observed in the texts of the Middle Bulgarian period are also examined. *VA*, with its three translations, provides a chance to have a closer look at different processes of the language development, thus its choice for a focus of the present study. Moreover, the data from these text would be of use, I believe, for any future more general research endeavour in the diachrony of the (Old) Slavonic Future constructions.

The linguistic features of the three translations and their lexical relations remain an open and fluid field for research. One of the reasons for this is the lack of a critical edition of the (South) Slavonic translations, or at least a diplomatic one with parallels from each branch. When this task is accomplished, the observations shared in this article may (or, hopefully, not) need modifications. Nevertheless, until then, I shall use the texts of the translations attested in the witnesses available to me[15]. Additionally, I have checked the transcription of the passages when this is possible[16]. Regarding the First translation, I also use as a point of reference

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Р. Реткоv, the form of the saint's name here – **Аидшние** – testifies to a South Slavonic provenance with closeness to the popular Greek form of the name (*ibidem*).

[13] Mostly the First translations, cf. А. Димитрова, *Синтактичната…* Regarding the Third one: eadem, *Третият…*

[14] Cf. И.П. Петров, *L'horreur de la vie et l'exstase de la vie: първоначални бележки върху екстатичната терминология в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, [in:] *Sapere aude. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Искра Христова-Шомова*, ed. И. Трифонова, В. Савова, П. Петков, И.П. Петров, София 2019, p. 115–128; idem, *Νοῦς и νοερός в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и в старобългарската книжнина*, Sla 89.4, 2020, p. 406–415; idem, *Помислите (λογισμοί) в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, ФФ 13.1, 2021, p. 19–36; idem, *Два термина за духовни видения в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и старобългарските му преводи*, Pbg 45.1, 2021, p. 93–110. I.P. Petrov, *Theoria and Optasia…*

[15] The texts were kindly provided to me by P. Petkov, for which I express my gratitude.

[16] The earliest copy of the First translation can be found in the Zographou Monastery collection, N. 19 (dated to the 80s of the 14th century). I thank the brotherhood of the monastery for providing me with digitalized copies of this witness. For the Second translation this is the manuscript N. 4/8 from the Rila Monastery collection (Panegericum Vladislavi from 1479), ff. 323r – 396. I could

the edition by Kr. Kostova[17] (based on another witness, Chlud 195, close to the one used in this paper).

It should be noted that, of course, the Slavonic translation would have undoubtedly been influenced by the style and linguistic peculiarities of the Greek text. This is methodologically an important point in working with the medieval Slavonic translations – what were the linguistic and stylistic features of the Greek *Vorlage*, and how far could their traces be found in the translated version? I believe this question should be considered in dealing with each translated work, so below I briefly summarize the situation attested in the Life of Anthony.

VA was written in the 4th century by Athanasius of Alexandria, who demonstrates a high literary culture, keeping closer to the Attic patterns, rather than reflecting the *Koine* tendencies. On the other hand, his language in *VA* reflects some features of the current state of the Greek language, such as the emerging use of the μέλλω-constructions for future-oriented verbal periphrases and the rise of periphrastic constructions of εἰμί and ἔχω with infinitives or participles. In *VA*, the synthetic/simple future is still the most common one in the Greek text with 28 attestations (70% of all future forms in *VA*, cf. Chart 1)[18], in two occasions Present tense forms seem to have been understood (by the Slavonic translators) as carrying a future reference (here referred as *Praesens pro Futuro*). The μέλλω-constructions are the second most used means of expressing future (22.5%), although in 3 occasions the auxiliary is in Imperfect, thus rendering the whole action in the past as *Futurum Secundum*. In this ratio, the occasions where μέλλω is used as attributive participle (i.e. πρὸς τοὺς μελλόντας αἰῶνας 16.4) and thus, rather as a full-meaning verb, are not included[19]. There is one occasion where ἔχω is used in a phrase with a future meaning. The overall situation with the means of expressing Future tense is presented in Chart 1 below.

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also examine the digital copy of the *Vita* in this manuscript thanks to the *Digital Archive 'Bulgarian Manuscript Book*' of the Faculty of Slavic Studies of Sofia University and thanks to the brotherhood of the Rila Monastery. The Third translation is consulted via its publication in an online corpus by A. Dimitrova: https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_55. Pictures of this manuscript are not available to me.

[17] Кр. Костова, *Правопис и фонетика*…

[18] Intr., 7 (x2), 9, 10 (x2), 11, 17, 18, 19 (x6), 28, 31, 35 (x5), 40, 55 (x2), 71, 80 (x2). All attestations were excerpted without the help of electronic tools.

[19] Of all μέλλω-constructions (25 in *VA*), 9 were found to express a Future meaning, i.e. 36% – in 24, 28, 40, 54, 57, 59, 82, 86.
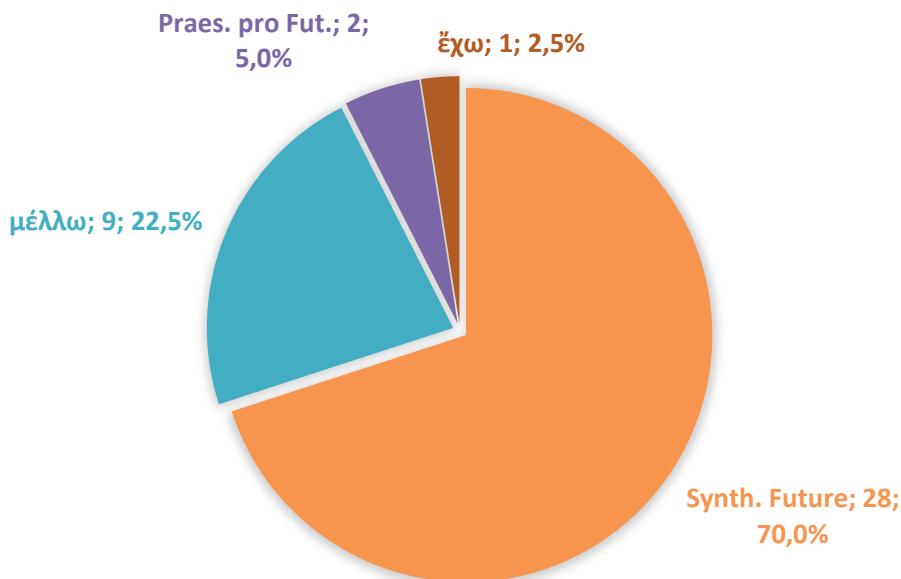
Chart 1. Expressing Future in *VA*

In the following, the three translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great are regarded primarily in those passages where all three texts are preserved[20]. The Biblical quotations in the Slavonic text 1. have still not been an object of the needed scholarly attention and 2., as per my observations, present more or less firm stability in the tradition; therefore, they are not included in this study. Just as an example (one of the few cases in *VA* where the future имѣти-constructions are attested), here is what we encounter in chapter 2:

> (0) καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. [2] Mt 19: 21
> Tr.1. и̂ и̂мѣти и̂маши скровнще на нⷠⷭсехъ. 113r
> Tr.2. и̂ и̂ма́ти (sic!) и̂маши скровнще на нⷠⷭсехь· 316r
> Tr.3. и̂ и̂мѣти и̂маши скро́внще на нⷠⷭсн 3v

Here most of the early OCS monuments present a stable tradition with just a few exceptions: with хотѣти as a verbum regens in *Supr* 338.3 and въчати in *Cloz* I.400 (id.) and I.725 (in a similar expression), but in Con. Aor. δείξῃ; (начати as an auxiliary in Mih) against a Con. Praes. ἔχῃ[21]. This exact rendering of this

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synthetic Greek Future is also encountered in *Euch* 83b4, 91a19. In *Sav*, though, the synthetic form приимеши is attested.

The Greek (synthetic) Future tense is rendered chiefly with the simple synthetic Slavic Future, i.e., the perfective (by aspect), often prefixed, form of the verb. In time, this tends to become a marker of the literary style, so we find such prefixed verbs more often in the Middle Bulgarian period where the literary language is marked with stiffer constructions reflecting more formally the Greek structures and also striving for a greater quantitative correspondence with the *Vorlage*. In contrast, periphrases are encountered in monuments that possess more features of the living language of the epoch. As stated by scholars elsewhere, the simple forms were also the grammatical means of rendering the Greek Subjunctive Aorist and sometimes the Optative Aorist. The other usual constructions of expressing Future found in the Old Church Slavonic texts, i.e., with имѣти + Inf., хотѣти + Inf., начати/въчати + Inf., мощи + Inf.[22] – the last two attested either in specific contexts or quite sporadically. They are also encountered in other early translations, such as the *Didactic Gospel* by Constantine of Preslav, where T. Slavova[23] finds two other modal constructions used for rendering future forms – мощи[24] and быти + Inf. The начати/въчати-construction is attested just on few occasions in the earliest translation of *VA* (*v. infra*). The situation in the Middle Bulgarian text shows an already unified approach of translating those constructions. The periphrases that were less attested in the older texts have already been substituted in the language, aligning as well with the tendency of keeping formal closeness with the original as much as possible.

Below, each of these constructions in *VA* is approached separately.

1. Simple Future (synthetic, Present perfective verb forms)

As mentioned above, this is the most commonly attested form in all three translations and the only one attested in the later Second and Third translations (i.e., without having an auxiliary verb or periphrastic construction in the Greek *Vorlage*).

> (1) Ταῦτα κτώμενοι, εὑρήσομεν αὐτὰ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖ ποιοῦντα ἡμῖν ξενίαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν πραέων. [17]
> Tr.1. сꙗ̈ приѡбрѣтаѭще тамо. прѣд нами творѧща ѡ̈бнтал̈ннцѫ намъ на ꙁемн кротькꙑхъ. 120v
> Tr.2. сїꙗ стежа́вше, ѻбрѣ́щемь та̀ прѣ̀ на́мн та́мо мо́леща се ѻ̂ н̃а̂ на ꙁемлѝ крѡткꙑхь· 320v

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[22] Т. Славова, *Тенденции в (не)граматикализацията на старобългарския глагол мощи 'мога, в състояние съм'*, БРе 3, 2015, p. 68–75.

[23] Т. Славова, *Изразяване на футур…*

[24] In the parts assuming written by Constantine of Preslav himself, i.e. having no Greek original for now. In some of those places, though, reading without prescribing a future meaning to those constructions is, in my opinion, not impossible.

Tr.3. снꙗ̀ оу́бѡ стѧжавше, ѻ̑бращемъ ѡ̑нꙗ̀ прѣ̑ свⷪбоꙗ тамо. творꙗщаа намъ
гостилницѫ въ ꙁемли кроткыихь. 10v

(2) καὶ ὄψεσθε αὐτοὺς καὶ γινομένους ἀφανεῖς· [35]

Tr.1. и̑ оу̑ꙃрите снꙗ̑ бывшⷶ̑ беꙁ вѣ̑сти. 127v

Tr.2. и̑ оу̑ꙃрⷮи́те си́хь беꙁ вѣ̑сти соу́ще. 324v

Tr.3. и̑ видⷺи́те тѣ̑хъ бывающⷨи̑, невидлими. 19r

(3) Οὐκ ἐρίσει γάρ, οὔτε κραυγάσει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν. [35]

Tr.1. не ре́четь ни въскри́ѵнть ни ꙋслышить кто глⷶ̑ и̑хъ 127v

Tr.2. не въꙁꙁовеⷮ бѡ̀ ни въꙁꙋ́пⷨиеть. нижѐ оу̑слы́шить кто глⷶ́са е̑го 324v

Tr.3. не въꙁгⷢ́лет бѡ ни въꙁъпнеть. нижѐ слы́шⷮнⷮ ктѡ̀ глⷶ̑ е̑го. 19r

(4) Καὶ γὰρ πόθος τῶν θείων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῇ ἐπεισέρχεται, καὶ θελήσει
πάντως συναφθῆναι τούτοις, εἰ ἀπήρχετο μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. [35]

Tr.1. не бо любы бж҃ествⷶꙗ по бѫджщихь а̑ вьнидеть. и̑ вьсхощеть вьсѣко
съвькоупивши сѧ съ ними да ви ѿтишла (sic!). 127v

Tr.2. желⷶние бѡ бж҃твⷩое и̑ боу́дщее тѡн привъⷯходⷮнть. и̑ хꙿощеть въсⷶко
съꙋчетⷶ́ти се си́мь и̑ли и̑ ѿити съ ни́ми. 324v

Tr.3. желⷶние бѡ бж҃твены̑, и̑ бѫджихъ е̑̑и въхо́дⷮнть. и̑ хотⷷ́ни̑емь паче
вълⷨѣ́стити сѧ и̑̑лⷶъ, а̑ще пои̑ти съ ни́лⷨъ. 19v

(5) ὅτι, ὄντος τοῦ Κυρίου μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιήσουσιν. [42]

Tr.1. ꙗ̑ко сꙑ́и гв҃и съ нами. нинⷷсꙋже враꙁⷯи не сътворⷶть намъ 130r

Tr.2. ꙗ̑ко въ и̑стинꙋ̑ гⷢⷩоу съ на́ми, ниꙿчⷮоже на́мь бⷷксⷪве сътвⷪ́реⷮ· 326r

Tr.3. ꙗ̑ко бж҃мⷩоу гⷢⷩоу съ нами, ниꙿсⷮѡ бо на́мъ враꙁⷯи сътвⷪ́рⷶть. 22v

(6) Καὶ τίς δείξει μοι τὴν ὁδόν; [49]

Tr.1. да кто ми покⷶжеть пѫть 133r

Tr.2. и̑ ктѡ̀ покⷶ́жеⷮ ми поу́ть 327v

Tr.3. кто покⷶ́жет ли̑н пѫ́ть 26r

In *VA*, the perfective verbs are also used in translating the Conj. and Opt. of the
Aorist. This is a common situation in the oldest monuments, although there are
instances where the Conjunctive and Optative are translated using periphrastic
structures (same as the ones for Fut.). The older and the more recent translations
do not present strong discrepancies in rendering the Greek Future in the examples
above. It could be noted that in some instances (3, 4) the Middle Bulgarian trans-
lations use an additionally prefixed verb, probably as a marker of the perfective
aspect. This 'Simple Future' is assumed to be in the process of disappearing in the
Middle Bulgarian period[25]. It is notable that periphrastic Future constructions
translating Greek Conj. and Opt. were found neither in the Preslav translation
(Tr.1), nor the other two Middle Bulgarian ones (Tr.2 and Tr.3). In compar-
ison with other texts from the period, this situation is closer to the one found
in the later periods of the language.

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[25] К. Мирчев, *Историческа…*, p. 222.

Example (4) is illustrative for translating τὸ μέλλων / τὰ μέλλοντα with the participle form the stem бѫд-[26]. Similarly, the same morphological base is employed for rendering various non-Indicative forms of γίγνομαι, such as:

(7) ἀλλ’ ἵνα συνεργὸς ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου νίκην ὁ Κύριος γένηται [34]

Tr.1. нꙁ помощникъ да бѫдеть намь гь. на побѣжденїе дїаволе. 127r

Tr.2. нь ꙗко да поспѣшникь намь на ѥже на дїавола побѣдѹ гь боудѣ· 324v

Tr.3. нꙁ да помощникъ намъ ѥже на дїавола побѣда 18v

2. хотѣти + Inf.

a. corresponding to Greek μέλλω + Inf.

i. In Participle construction

(8) Καὶ γὰρ μέλλων ἐσθίειν καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις τοῦ σώματος ἔρχεσθαι, ἠσχύνετο, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς λογιζόμενος νοερόν. Πολλάκις γοῦν μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων μοναχῶν μέλλων ἐσθίειν, ἀναμνησθεὶς τῆς πνευματικῆς τροφῆς [45]

Tr.1. не бо нꙁ хотѧ ꙗсти и спати. и ѿ непотрѣбахъ тѣлесныхъ. и нѫжныхъ разоумѣ многащи. шедъ съ мнозѣми иноки хотѧ ꙗсти. въспомѣнѫвь дшевнѫѧ пищѫ 131r

Tr.2. нбѡ и хѡте ꙗсти и спати и ѡ нныи ноужда тѣлесны, стыдѣше се помышлꙗе дшн мысльное. мнѡжицею ѹбѡ съ мнѡꙁѣми инымн минѧхы хѡте ꙗсти. въспомѣнѫвь дховноую пищѹ 326v

Tr.3. нбѡ хотѧ ꙗсти и спати. и ѡ иной нѫжн пльтьстѣн прнхѡднти тъщаше сѧ. дшевным съмыслъ въспомннаѫ. многажн бѡ съ многыми инѣмн минѧхы хѡтѧ ꙗсти. въспомѧнѫвь дховнѫѫ пищѫ 24r

(9) εὐθὺς ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοὺς μέλλοντας ὁδεύειν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην. [49]

Tr.1. вь скорѣ показа емоу срацнны хотѧще ити пѫтемъ тѣмъ. 133r

Tr.2. абїе показа емѹ срацнны хѡтеще шѣствовати поутемь ѡнѣмь. 327v

Tr.3. абїе показа емоу саракнны, хотѧщѧ шествовати пѫтемь ѡнѣмъ 26r

(10) Ἕκαστος τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς μέλλοντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπαγγέλλειν, σημειώμεθα καὶ γράφωμεν· [55]

Tr.1. -

Tr.2. къѫждо дѣанїа и движенїа дшн ꙗко хѡтеще дроугь дроугѹ въꙁвѣщавати, наꙁнаменоунмь и напнсѹнмь. 329v

Tr.3. кьждо дѣанїа и движанїа дшевнаа. ꙗко хѡтѧще дроугь дроугоу вѣщавати. ꙁнаменѹемь и пишемь. 29v

(11) Μέλλων γὰρ ἐσθίειν ποτέ [65]

Tr.1. хотѧ бо ꙗсти нѣколн 135r

Tr.2. Хѡте бѡ ꙗсти иногда̀ 331r

Tr.3. хѡтѧ бѡ ꙗсти 32v

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[26] Similarly in 14.7, 16.4, 24.9, 35.1, 5, 42.7, 44.2, 81.5.

ii. In Impf. construction

(12) ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κοπιᾷν [53]
  Tr.1. -
  Tr.2. хо́тѣше вꙋ̀ и̑ са́мь и̑ троу́дити се 328v
  Tr.3. бѣ́ше вв томоу троудити сѧ. 27v

(13) πάντες ἔμελλον κινδυνεύειν. [54]
  Tr.1. -
  Tr.2. вꙑ̈сꙑ̂ хѡтѣхѹ̈ коу́пно оӱмрѣ́ти. 328v
  Tr.3. вꙑ̈сн хотѣшѫ погꙑбнѫти. 28r

(14) καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔμελλε βλάπτεσθαι [57]
  Tr.1. -
  Tr.2. и̑ ѻ̂чи свои̑ хѡтѣше врѣ́дити 328v
  Tr.3. и̑ ѻ̈чи свои̑ хѡ́тѣше погоу́бити 28r

Most of the correspondences above cover the constructions of μέλλω (Impf.) + Inf. and μέλλω (Part. Praes.) + Inf. The first is typical for rendering Fut. II (i.e., Future in the Past). Unfortunately, the examples of this usage (13, 14) are from the chapters omitted in the First translation, which does not allow us to see how they were translated in the Preslav period[27]. As for the other two Middle Bulgarian translations, it could be observed that both perfective and imperfective verbs could have followed the imperf. of хотѣти. Here it is worth noting that the combination with a perfective verb is more common in the earlier period of the Old Church Slavonic monuments[28]. It is often stated that the хотѣти-construction preserved its lexical nuance for a long time and its actual desemanticisation started first in the Middle Bulgarian period[29]. In the instances above, it is hard to determine the degree of delexicalisation both of μέλλω and хотѣти. No future forms with this auxiliary were found for rendering Simple Future tense from the Greek text (ex. 16 presents a small exception, cf. below).

  Here an interesting case is presented in (12) where Tr.2 shows a literal rendering of the Greek construction (Aor. of μέλω 'to be an object of care or thought[30]; to set one's thoughts on' + Inf.) with misreading μέλω as μέλλω already mainly used mainly as an auxiliary for Future constructions. The Third translation presents a slightly different understanding of the phrase by rendering the meaning (*car il avait soin de prendre de la peine* in Bartelink's translation)[31] with a *Dativus cum Infinitivo* construction with бꙑти. This could also be accepted as evidence of a relatively

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[27] Cf. with another Preslav monument – the Chrysorrhoas, where A. Dimitrova finds that most of the time ἤμελλε + Inf. is translated with бѣаше + Dat. Cum Inf. (А. Димитрова, *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София 2016, p. 94).

[28] *Граматика…*, p. 305.

[29] *Ibidem*; Т. Славова, *Старобългарски…*, p. 291–293.

[30] *LSJ*. Online edition: https://lsj.gr/wiki/Main_Page [1 V 2022].

[31] Trans. G.J.M. Bartelink, p. 277.

earlier time of the Third translation when the tendency of *ad litteram* closeness with the Greek *Vorlage* was not as strong and almost petrified as we usually find it in the texts of the 14th century[32].

Similar misreading is also found in the following example:

(15) Εἰ δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ <u>τοῦ προγινώσκειν ἡμῖν μέλει</u>, καθαρεύωμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ. [34]
  Tr.1. а̂ще ли же <u>и̂ в҃ѣд́ѣти се намъ хощѫтъ</u>. оу҆чнстнм сѧ оу҆момъ. 127r
  Tr.2. -
  Tr.3. а̂ще ли̂, <u>како се̏ проразоу҆мѣвати намъ бѫдетъ</u>. да о́ницаемъ съ́мыслъ. 19r

Here in Tr.3, the phrase was rendered similarly to (12) but with a Future form of the auxiliary copula, thus: 1. keeping closer semantic connection with the Greek μέλω, and 2. keeping a clear lexical difference in translating μέλλω and μέλω.

b. Corresponding to synthetic Greek Future

(16) οὐκ ἴσασιν εἰ <u>περιπατήσει</u> [31]
  Tr.1. не разоу҆мѣѫ̑тъ <u>поѝде</u> ли. 126v
  Tr.2. не в҃ѣде̑ а̂ще <u>ша́ствовати хо́ще̑</u>. 324r
  Tr.3. не в҃ѣд(ѧ) а̂ще <u>хо́цетъ понти</u>. 17v

(17) Ἐπειδὴ χθὲς εἰργασάμην, <u>οὐκ ἐργάζομαι σήμερον</u>· οὐδὲ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον μετρῶν, παύσεται τῶν ἑξῆς ἡμερῶν [18]
  Tr.1. понеже вчера д́ѣлахъ не <u>д́ѣлаѫ̑ дн҃ь</u> нн мнижъвшаго дн҃е уьты. пръстанетъ во съ проучнлн дн҃ьмн. 120v
  Tr.2. і̂ако ѿнелн̂ вчара ра́ботꙗ̏, <u>не хⱂщꙋ ра́ботати дн҃ь</u>. нниже пръшьше връ́ме мꙟ́ре пръста́нетъ 320v
  Tr.3. поне́же вчера работахъ, <u>не работаѫ дн҃е̑</u>. нниже мнлмниꙟ́шааго д́ѣта начн-нати ста́нетъ. и̂ находѧцѧѫ̏ дн҃н. 10v

In the examples above (16, 17) the later translations render the Simple Future form in Greek with a periphrastic construction. In ex. (17), only the Second translation uses a хотѣти-construction to render a Greek Praes. (*pro Futuro*). A possible explanation would be that the Greek *Vorlage* of the translator, unknown to the critical edition of Bartelink, might have already replaced the Future form here. Such correspondences, where a periphrastic construction is used to render a Greek simple Future form, are not unknown in the classical corpus of text, where the translation technique did not strive for such a literal and formal closeness with the original, as is characteristic of the later period. This example also presents the already advanced tendency in the 14th century of eliminating all other periphrastic constructions in favour of those with хотѣти[33]. Here, we might

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[32] This observation was expressed earlier by A. Dimitrova, cf. А. Димитрова, *Третият…*

[33] К. Мирчев, *Историческа…*, p. 224.

observe a rare occasion where the living language has gained over the literary norm of *ad litteram* correspondence with the source text.

The хотѣти-expansion reaches even to the substantivised participles as could be observed in the following example where a Greek Part. Praes. (with a clear contextual future connotation) is rendered with a periphrastic construction only in the Second translation:

(18) Καὶ προσποιοῦνται μαντεύεσθαι, καὶ προλέγειν <u>τὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐρχόμενα</u> [23]
    Tr.1. и творать са влъхвоуѧще. и проѷчѧще <u>по днехъ прнходащаа</u>. 123r
    Tr.2. и протвараѭт се влъхвовати и прорчьствовати, <u>ꙗже по днехь слоучати се хотещаа</u>. 321v
    Tr.3. и творат са влъшьствовати. и прорицати <u>по днехъ прнходащаа</u>. 13r

Once again, only the Second translation presents a periphrastic Future against the Greek Present [*pro futuro*?].

The current texts that is the focus of this research and the manuscripts it is attested in seem to indicate that хотѣти-constructions were used mostly as corresponding to Greek phrases with μέλλω and only on few occasions in the later Middle Bulgarian translations as correspondences to the Greek Future. As mentioned above (cf. 1. Simple Future), in the Slavic translations of *VA*, no хотѣти-constructions were found for rendering Greek Conjunctives or Optatives. However, this situation is diversified, should data from other texts be considered. For example, in other texts of Preslav origin, the situation is more varying: e.g., in the translation of *Vita Niphontis* (BGH 1371z) A. Dimitrova finds occasions when хотѣти-constructions are used for translating Conj., final sentences with ἵνα (ἵνα λέγω τὸ ψεῦδος да хощоу лъжю рещи), and πρὸς τὸ + Inf. construction (πρὸς τὸ μηδένα θεάσασθαι не хотꙗ видѣти)[34]. This type of usage is probably the most interesting, as it reveals a translation that transmits Greek morphological features expressed in the Slavonic text with lexical means, cf. the following example for Constantine of Preslav's *Didactic Gospel* where OCS translation follows Chrysostom's Homily[35]: τί ἄν τις εἴποι λοιδορίας къто можеть нищнн оклеветанниа 96c11–13[36]; ἴδοι τίς ἄν оудобь ѥстъ… вѣдѣтї 187b12–13[37].

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[34] А. Димитрова, *Синтактичната*…, p. 61.

[35] Д. Котова, *Слово 19 от Учителното евангелие и неговите гръцки източници*, Pbg 46.1, 2022, p. 13. The exact correspondence here needs a longer explanation that could be provided on another occasion, because the translator is freely combining and mixing the Greek construction on several occasions in the passage.

[36] М. Тихова, *Старобългарското Учително евангелие от Константин Преславски. С детайлното описание от Елена Уханова на най-стария препис (ГИМ Син. 262)*, Freiburg i. Br. 2012 [= MLSDV, 58], p. 202.

[37] I express my gratitude to D. Kotova for providing me with these two examples.

Those instances could lead to the preliminary, cautious and slightly generalised conclusion that the so-called periphrastic Future(s) in OCS might have been perceived rather as non-indicative or non-factual presents, rather than pure, future-oriented grammemes. As for the history of the *VA* translations, the lack of such Optative and Conjunctive renderings might be regarded as a specific marker of the unknown translator of Tr.1 or as a sign of a relatively later time of provenance.

3. ᲘᲛ҃ᲚᲦᲘ + Inf.

> (19) Οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι, καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν οὕτω ζῶντες, οὔτε ἁμαρτήσομεν, οὔτε τινὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἕξομεν, οὔτε μηνιοῦμέν τινι, οὔτε θησαυρίσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· [19]
> Tr.1. ᲂ�‍ᲘᲪᲔ ᲖᲘ�95 ᲘᲛ҃Ღ ᲘᲮ ᲛᲘᲘ ᲪᲮ᲻ᲒᲠᲰᲨᲘᲛᲮ. ᲜᲮ ᲜᲘ ѿ ᲧᲔᲪᲝᲛᲮ ᲖᲔ ᲞᲝᲛᲮᲘᲪᲚᲐ ᲘᲛᲐᲛᲔᲘ ᲘᲛ҃ᲦᲘ. [ᲘᲛᲝᲧᲨᲔ ᲘᲛ҃ᲦᲘ Chlud 195 218d] ᲜᲘ ᲙᲚᲘᲢᲒᲦ ᲧᲘᲜᲘᲢᲘ ᲜᲘᲙᲐᲙᲝᲐᲖᲔ. ᲜᲘ ᲒᲝᲒᲐᲢᲦᲒᲛᲦ ᲜᲐ ᲖᲔᲛᲘ. 121r
> Tr.2. ᲢᲘ҃ᲪᲔ ᲖᲔ ᲜᲐᲚᲔᲖᲔᲛᲔ, Ი ᲜᲐ ᲒᲮᲪᲐᲙᲦ Დ҃ᲜᲦ ᲢᲘ҃ᲪᲔ ᲖᲘ҃ᲢᲔᲚᲢᲒᲝᲧᲘᲧᲔ, ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲪᲮ᲻ᲒᲠᲦᲨᲘᲛᲦ. ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲙᲝᲔ ᲖᲔᲚᲐᲜᲘᲔ ᲘᲛ҃ᲦᲘ ᲒᲮᲪᲮᲧᲨᲔᲛᲦ. ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲖᲐᲞᲘᲜᲐᲔᲛᲘ ѿ ᲜᲦᲧᲔᲪᲝᲒᲝ ᲒᲝᲧᲓᲔᲛᲦ. ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲪᲙᲠᲝᲒᲜᲘᲪᲢᲒᲝᲧᲧᲔ ᲜᲐ ᲖᲔᲛᲘ 320v
> Tr.3. ᲢᲐᲙᲝ ᲒᲝ ᲞᲠᲘᲚᲔᲖᲐᲧᲔ. Ი ᲜᲐ ᲒᲮᲪᲦᲙᲦ Დ҃ᲜᲦ ᲢᲝᲛᲦ ᲖᲘ95ᲧᲔ ᲜᲔ ᲪᲮ᲻ᲒᲠᲦᲨᲘᲛᲦ. ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲙᲝᲐ ᲞᲝᲮᲝᲢᲘ ᲝᲒᲠᲐᲧᲔᲛᲦ, ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲜᲐ ᲙᲝᲒᲝ ᲞᲠᲝᲒᲜᲦᲒᲐᲔᲛ ᲪᲐ. ᲜᲘ ᲪᲙᲠᲝ᲻ᲒᲜᲘᲧᲐ ᲪᲮᲢᲒᲝᲠᲘᲛᲦ ᲜᲐ ᲖᲔᲛᲘ. 11r

> (20) ἄνθρωπος εἶ καὶ σύ, καὶ μέλλεις ἀσθενεῖν. [40]
> Tr.1. ᲧᲚ҃ᲒᲙᲦ ᲒᲝ ᲔᲪᲘ. Ი ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲢᲘ ᲘᲛ҃ᲐᲨᲘ ᲜᲐᲧᲦᲜᲦ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲖᲜᲘ. (sic!) 129v [Ი ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲢᲘ ᲘᲛᲐᲨᲘ ᲜᲐᲧᲦᲜᲦ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲖᲜ῾ᲜᲘ Chlud 195 225c 8–9]
>   Versio B: ᲧᲚ҃ᲙᲮ ᲒᲝ ᲔᲪᲘ Ი ᲘᲛᲐᲨᲘ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲢᲘ. 373v
>   Versio C: ᲧᲚ҃ᲙᲮ ᲔᲪᲘ, Ი ᲢᲮ ᲮᲝᲧᲔᲨᲘ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲢᲘ 338r
> Tr.2. ᲧᲚ҃ᲙᲦ ᲒᲝ ᲔᲪᲘ Ი ᲢᲮ᲻ Ი ᲮᲝᲧᲔᲨᲘ ᲒᲮ ᲜᲔᲓᲝᲧᲒᲦ ᲒᲮᲞᲐᲪᲢᲘ. 325v
> Tr.3. ᲧᲚ҃ᲙᲮ ᲔᲪᲘ Ი ᲢᲮ᲻ Ი ᲮᲝᲧᲔᲨᲘ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲢᲘ. 21v

In example (19), the only deviance in translating the Greek synthetic form is found in Tr.2, where the translator rendered Gr (οὔτε τινὸς) ἐπιθυμίαν ἕξομεν 'neither will we have any desire about anything' as ᲜᲘᲖᲔ ᲙᲝᲔ ᲖᲔᲚᲐᲜᲘᲔ ᲘᲛ҃ᲦᲘ ᲒᲮᲪᲮᲧᲨᲔᲛᲦ 'neither will we have (or: will we want to have) whatsoever desire'. The prefixed perfective from of the auxiliary in the Slavic text allows no clear interpretation of its function – as a modal or as an auxiliary verb.

In example (20), the Greek μέλλω-phrase is rendered with an ᲘᲛ҃ᲦᲘ-construction in the Preslav translation which could testify for the desemanticisation of μέλλω in the original. What is interesting is the continuations of the phrase in the earliest translation with ᲜᲐᲧᲦᲜᲦ ᲒᲝᲚᲦᲖᲜᲘ, which remains a *locus obscurus* to me. Moreover, the Greek tradition does not supply a reading that would support such a translation. It seems that the common protograph of the Zographou and Chludov witnesses had already had this phrase, which for now I will assume as a mistake. However, it is tempting to search for a translation intention with

something like a phrase with начати[38]. We see this phrase appearing in a somewhat corrected form (i.e., without the unclear extension) in only one of the versions of Tr.1. In the later translations, it is already replaced by a хотѣти-construction, which in my view is a full auxiliarisation of хотѣти.

On another occasion, the имѣти-construction corresponds formally with the one (i.e. with ἔχω) in the Greek text:

> (21) πλείω καὶ διπλασίονα τὸν κάματον ἔχεις ὑπομένειν. [49]
> Tr.1. множайши соугоувъ имаши троудъ подънемати 132v
> Tr.2. множаншїй и пространнѣншїй троудь имаши трьпѣти. 327v
> Tr.3. вѧщьши соугоувъ трѫдъ имаши трьпѣти. 26r

In this case, though, it might be understood as a debitive construction and not purely future-orientated. Combining ἔχω with an Inf. is a periphrasis attested since the early stages of Greek; its future connotations, though, are to be found in the later development of the language[39]. These nuances are sometimes preserved even in the later texts that were of interest for the early Slavic translators who were rendering them *ad sensum* with different grammatical devices, e.g., Conj. Aor. again with имѣти-construction (cf. *Vita Niphontis*[40]: εἰς κρίσιν πορεύῃ и на соудъ имаши ити and in some parts of the long *Zlatostry*: τί δὲ ἂν εἴποις що имаши рещи[41]). This fluidity is also partially attested in one of the later translations of *VA* where an имѣти-construction stands for a Greek Optative:

> (22) Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος· [21]
> Tr.1. и ѿ естьствѣ же тѣхъ и разлинии многа рѣчь бѫдеть. и инѣхъ большихъ. 122r
> Tr.2. и оубо ѿ естве ихь и ѿ разлинїи, въ дльготѫ произыти имать слово
> Tr.3. и ѣже ѿ сѫщьствѣ ихъ и разлинїи многѡ оубѡ естъ слово. 12r

The Optative has already been a disappeared morphological feature in the *spoken* Greek language of the time when the earliest Slavonic translations were being accomplished. However, it was still a *highly vivid* feature used in the *literary* language (which aimed at imitating the Classical pre-*Koine* models) and since the first (and generally *all* early) Slavonic translations were made exclusively from works pertaining to the high literary genres, it is not irrelevant to have in mind how this grammatical feature fits in the translation paradigms. Its Old Slavonic correspondences included constructions with имѣти, e.g., in different parts of

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[38] Cf. the next paragraph (4.) about the начати-constructions.

[39] А. Димитрова, *Синтактичната…*, p. 62, cf. note 79 for literature.

[40] *Ibidem*.

[41] А. Димитрова, *Златоструят…*, p. 224.

the long *Chrysorroas* (*Zlatostruy*) where this was also the preferred way of translating both simple and μέλλω-Future[42]. It could be claimed that the translators were perceiving it as a non-indicative and, therefore, the same as the Conjunctive, non-present-oriented verbal action, which at the same time was markedly differentiated in its semantics from the past-oriented verbal forms.

4. начѧти + Inf.

(23) καὶ ὄψεσθε, ὅτι οὐ τέχνη λόγων τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνεργουμένης· ἥντινα ἐὰν σχοίητε καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὐκέτι τὰς διὰ λόγων ἀποδείξεις ζητήσετε· ἀλλ᾽ αὐτάρκη τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστιν ἡγήσεσθε. [80]

Tr.1. и да оу҄зрите ꙗко не хꙑтрость словеснаа въ насъ е҄сть. нъ в҄ѣра любовнаа къ Хоу҄ д҄ѣиствоу҄щи. ꙗже а҄ще и вꙑ имати а҄ начьнете, к томоу же ѿ словесъ оу҄казъ не наꙋьне҄ и҄скати. нъ доволна ꙗже въ Х҃а в҄ѣрж начьн҄ѣте ми҄ти си 139v

Versio B: и оу҄зрите. ꙗко не хꙑтрость словенаа в насъ е҄сть но в҄ѣра любве ради къ Х҃ж д҄ѣиствꙋющи. ю҄же а҄ще и вꙑ начнете ими҄ти, к томж оу҄же не ѿ словесъ оу҄казанꙗ бѫдете ими҄ти. но доволно съдержати ими҄ти 391r

Tr.2. и оу҄зри҄те ꙗко не хоу҄дожьство словесное оу҄ на и҃. нъ в҄ѣра любовꙗю н҃же въ Х҃а д҄ѣиствꙋема. ю҄же н҄ѣка҄ко а҄ще приимете и вꙑ҄, не к томꙋ же ѿ слова показанꙗ въꙁꙑщете. нъ доволнꙋ е҄же въ Х҃а в҄ѣрꙋ въꙁне҄пщете. 334v

Tr.3. и оу҄зри҄те. ꙗко не хꙑтрꙋ҄стꙗж словесь, ꙗже о насъ сѫть. нъ в҄ѣра любве ради ꙗже въ Х҃а || д҄ѣꙗма. ꙗже а҄ще и вꙑ приимете, ктомоу҄ не ѿ словесь ска҄занꙗ въꙁꙑщете. нъ и доволно҄, е҄же о Х҃ѣ в҄ѣрѣ въмѣните. 40r–40v

This type is less attested in the classical Old Church Slavonic corpus, though findable as well in other early translations such as the *Scete Patericon*[43], cf. E:23 тако бо мощи начьнемъ на небо въꙁлетѣти οὕτω γὰρ δυνησώμεθα πρὸτ τὸν οὐρανὸν στῆναι; 3:4B:6 и жити начьнетъ съ тобоѭ доухъ свѧтꙑи καὶ οἰκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν σοί. In Constantine of Preslav's *Didactic Gospel*, T. Slavova identifies only 4 such constructions (among 60 periphrastic Futures in total) in the translated parts alone[44]. In Symeon's Miscellania[45] (*Izbornik*) of 1073, those forms are also attested, cf. 71a10ff и мощи начьнеши большее приꙗти отъраждениѥ καὶ δυνήσῃ πλείονος τυχεῖν ἀνέσεως; as rendering an Opt. 47c8ff пришьдъ довъльнꙑимь сꙑ

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[42] *Ibidem*, p. 310; for specific parts of the *Zlatostruy*, cf. *ibidem*, p. 89, 95, 102, 110, 115, 123, 134, 142, 151, 161, 176, 180, 184, 188, 196, 200, 204, 214, 220, 224, 228, 239, 242, 247, 259, 264, 271, 280, 286, 290, 296, 310.

[43] Used through the edition of W. Veder: *The Scete Patericon. Introduction, maps and indices by* W.R. VEDER. *Patericon Sceticum. Greek text. Latin translations of the 6ᵗʰ c. English translation of the Slavonic textus receptus*, ed. J.G. VAN DER TAK, W.R. VEDER. *Skitskij paterik. Slavjanskij perevod v prinjatom tekste i v rekonstrukcii glagoličeskogo archetipa izdal* W.R. VEDER, Amsterdam 2012.

[44] Т. СЛАВОВА, *Старобългарски…*, p. 51.

[45] *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. III, *Гръцки извори. Гръцки текст и изследване* П. ЯНЕВА. *Славянски текст, прегледан и сверен допълнително* А. МИНЧЕВА, Цв. РАЛЕВА, Ц. ДОСЕВА, П. ЯНЕВА, София 2015.

самъ мьнѣти начьнетъ къ богоначальноуоугоумꙋ прнблнженнѫ ἐληλυθώς ἱκανὸν ἑαυτὸν οἰηθείη πρὸς θεαρχικὴν ὁμιλίαν; 55b8ff и пьрати сѧ не мощн начьнетъ οὐδὲ πλυθῆναι δύναται.

It is often claimed that in this construction, the 'auxiliary' начѧти always preserved its lexical meaning[46]. In the example above (23), the reading of Tr.1 could be understandable: using начѧти-constructions in this context might instead be expressing an action starting from the moment of speaking and continuing further. This semantic hue is not so clear in the examples from other early texts, though (cf. *supra*). It is noticeable that the same construction is used in rendering ἐάν + Opt. Aor. (ἐάν σχοίητε)[47]. Version *B* of Tr.1, on the other hand, already replaces this periphrasis, using the primarily Northern Slavic бꙑти + Inf. construction in the ἐάν-phrase, i.e., again a Slavic Future-periphrasis is rendering a Greek non-indicative verbal form.

5. бꙑти (бѫдѫ) + Part.

(24) ἀλλ' ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἀποθνῄσκειν, <u>ἀκτήμονες ἐσόμεθα</u> [19]
    Tr.1. нѫ ꙗкы по вьсѧ дни чаѭщемъ оумрѣти. <u>не берѫще имѣннꙗ бѫдѣмъ</u>. 121r
    Tr.2. нь ꙗкоже на вьсꙗкь дн чающе ꙋмрѣти <u>нестежателие боудѣ</u> 320v
    Tr.3. нѫ ꙗко на вьсꙗкъ дн чажще оумрѣти, <u>безъ сьмнѣнїꙗ бѫдемъ</u>. 11r

This construction is usually regarded as a literal calque from Greek[48] and is sporadically attested in the classical corpus. In the phrase above, it is the adjective ἀκτήμων that actually triggers the use of a (present) participle. It is attested just once in the classical corpus, in *codex Supraslensis* (432:24), again translated with a Part. Praes. phrase – небрѣгꙑ имѣннꙗ[49]. The translation in Tr.3 is probably due to an erroneous reading.

In the Third translation, there is an occasion where the Third Future (*Futurum exactum*) in its usual form of бꙑти + *l*-participium appears to be translating a Greek conditional period, possibly keeping some grammatical closeness with the Perfect form in the original:

(25) ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις ἕκαστος ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν, <u>εἰ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκε</u>, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς γνησίως ἐφύλαξεν. [33]
    Tr.1. ѿ семь имать сѫдъ <u>аще вѣрѫ сьблюде</u>. и ꙁаповѣди чисты съхрани. 127r

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[46] Д. Иванова-Мирчева, *История на българския език*, Велико Търново 1999, p. 141.

[47] We could only guess whether this Optative in the Greek text was recognizable for the translator who might have as well hear/perceived it as the Conj. Aor. σχοίτε.

[48] *Граматика…*, p. 308.

[49] *Řecko-staroslověnský Index. Index verborum graeco-palaeoslovenicus*, vol. I, Fasc. 5, Praha 2011, p. 290.

Tr.2. нѣ въ сихь къждо имать соудь, <u>аще вѣроу съхрани</u> и <u>заповѣди искрьню</u> <u>съблюде</u>. 324r

Tr.3. нѫ въ сихъ къжо имать сѫдъ. <u>аще вѣрѫ съблюлъ бѫдетъ</u>. и <u>заповѣди</u> <u>оусрѣдно съхранилъ</u>. 18v

Concluding remarks

As a conclusion, it seems useful to assemble the general data and present the ratios between the Greek Future forms and their Slavonic correspondences.

Of all 28 occasions of simple (synthetic) Future forms in the Greek text, two are of the verb εἰμί[50], they are not going to be considered below as they are consequently translated with the corresponding form in Old Church Slavonic from the stem бѫд-. There is one single occasion where the Greek synthetical form is rendered with хотѣти-construction (ex. 16 *supra*) in the two Middle Bulgarian translations and one where a Present (*pro Futuro*) form is rendered in the same way in Tr.2 (ex. 17). Moreover, there is a slight tendency that could be observed on some occasions in rendering the simple Greek Future with a perfective verb in Slavonic – namely, some of those verb forms are perfectivised with the prefix въz-. The exact data is as follows: of all 23 translated Future forms in Tr.1, excluding the two examples of εἰμί, 2 verbs were perfectivised with въz- (ca. 9.5%). In Tr.2, all 27 Greek synthetic forms were translated, from which, excluding the two of εἰμί – 7 were with въz-perfectives (28%), whereas in Tr.3 those were 5 out of the 22 translated forms (without εἰμί), or ca. 23%. The ratios of the tree translations are presented in comparison below in Chart 2. This might be interpreted as a confirmation of the overall tendency of connecting futurity with the prefixed perfective verbs in Slavic[51].

Not surprisingly, the earliest translation of *VA* in Preslav presents the widest variety of Future constructions rendering the Greek Future. This translation does not show many occasions with such periphrastic constructions in the hypotaxis, despite other early texts. The most attested way of rendering the Greek Future (and Conjunctives and Optatives) is the perfective present form of the verbs. In only two occasions is the Greek simple Future rendered with a periphrasis using the verb начѧти, a construction which diachronically never met further development among the South Slavs. From the other ways of conveying Future, besides the μέλλω-хотѣти strict parallelism (all 9 occasions in all the three translations), once an ἔχω-construction and, similarly, once a μέλλω-construction were translated with имѣти (cf. Chart 3 *infra*).

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[50] In chapter 10 and 28.
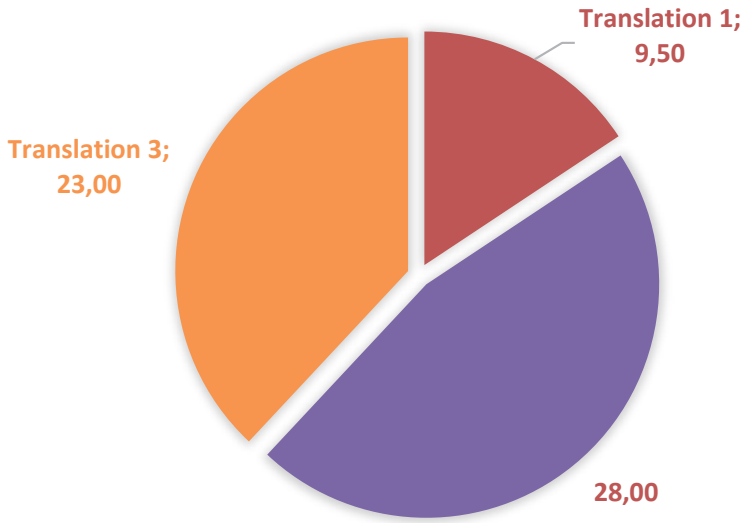[51] Cf. J. Kamphuis, *Verbal Aspect…*, p. 151sqq.

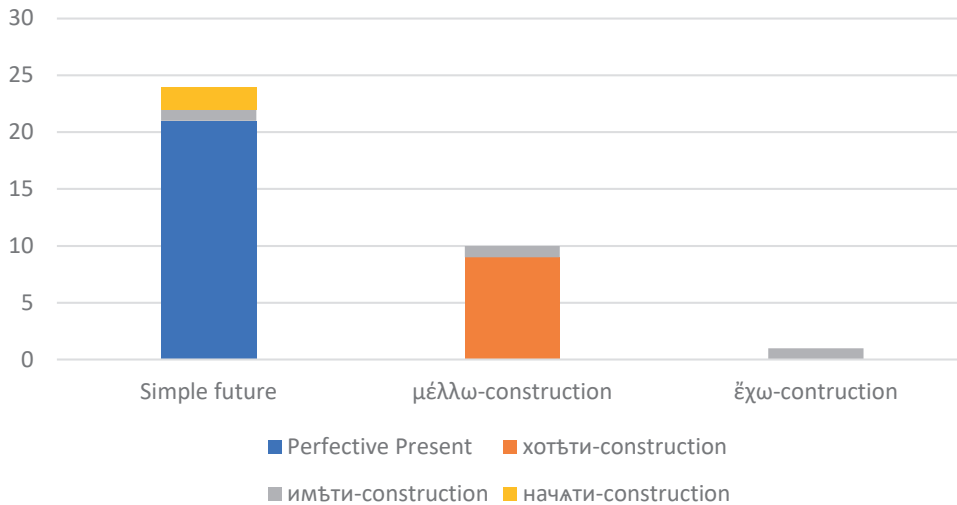**Chart 2. ЄЪζ**-perfectives rendering Future (in %)

Chart 3. Future constructions in **Tr.1** in correspondence with the Greek text

The next most commonly attested construction is the one with the verb хотѣти, which almost always corresponds to Greek periphrastic constructions with μέλλω. This is especially true for the Second and Third Middle Bulgarian translations, where this construction has already completely replaced the other periphrases with auxiliary verbs. This construction appears exclusively rendering the Greek μέλλω-periphrases with the auxiliary in Impf. and Participle. Only the Second translation of *VA* shows one occasion where the хотѣти-construction corresponds to a simple Future tense form in the Greek *Vorlage* and one for *Praes. pro Fut.* (see above and ex. 16, 17). The data for Tr.2 is presented in Chart 4. This also applies to Tr.3 where the situation is similar (with exception of very few occasions due to omissions in the Slavonic text).
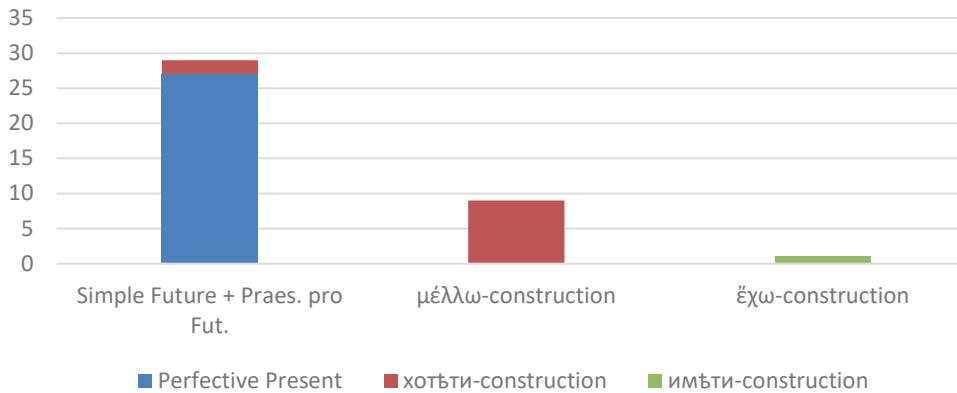

Chart 4. Future constructions in **Tr.2** in correspondence with the Greek text

In addition to the data presented above, it could also be observed that only the Third translation keeps a clear distinction between the хотѣти-construction and бꙑти + Dat. c. Inf., using the former for translating the most frequently attested μέλλω-Futures and the latter for phrases with the almost homonymous verb μέλω. This closely retained lexical discrepancy could speak of 1. a deep understanding of the Greek text and language, as well as 2. the tendency to stay as close as possible to the Greek original. It could be cautiously supposed that this translation was of an Athonite origin. On a morphological level, the texts of the Athonite redaction tend to distance themselves from some typical features of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation techniques, especially regarding the Future tense. The analytical forms are replaced with syntactic ones derived from verbs in a perfective

aspect, so that the quantitative symmetry with the Greek original may remain the same[52]. This is also partly applicable to the Tărnovo literary school.

The influence of the Greek periphrastic means in expressing the Future tense is clear, while remaining debatable: we cannot claim for sure whether the Slavonic constructions are calques or have emerged independently, though the data from translations later than those of Cyrill and Methodius tend to show a tight formal closeness between the Greek and Salvonic ways of expressing Future. Another possibility is that both languages present the influence from a third trigger, such as some Balkanic substrate or popular Latin (Future was rendered with *habeo* + Inf.), and so on. Again, what the data from *VA* presents, though, is a tight formal closeness in translating the constructions.

In a further and more general perspective, the Old Church Slavonic Future periphrases notably covered not only the Greek Indicative Futures but were actually employed for all others (mostly Aorist) non-Indicatives, i.e., Conjunctives and Optatives. Thus, the widespread use of perfective verb forms could be explained by the formal aspectual closeness of the aorist and the perfective aspect in Slavic, insofar as both cover a finished action regardless of its position in time (the Greek Aorist has a temporal value only in the Indicative). In time, this has become a technique characteristic of the literary language.

A further reason for this fusion would be the modality expressed in the Greek non-Indicatives, which seems to be transferable only through lexical means into Old Church Slavonic and later in the following literary tradition among the South Slavs. Those periphrases could have risen through language contact with the non-literary Greek language of the period or independently coined in the proto-Slavic language. In any case, the earliest monuments show a somewhat fluid variety of phrasal verbs that could be used for expressing verbal action more or less oriented in the future. What is particularly interesting is that this 'primordial soup' of periphrases developed differently in the subsequent periods and (Slavonic) branches.

In the translations of *VA*, though, this diversity of periphrases is rather diminished even in the First translation, usually assumed to be accomplished in Preslav, e.g., the small number of ИМѢТИ-constructions which are more numerously attested in other monuments of this circle. This could have at least two explanations: 1. The translation was done later in time, when the Future constructions employed in the language started to differentiate and thus some have started undergoing a grammaticalisation replacing the others that retained more of the initial lexical/modal meaning. 2. The copies that have reached us have an archetype of a later provenance where the more archaic (and presumably, diverse) constructions were replaced.

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[52] Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, *Езиковите образци на атонските редактори*, [in:] *Българска филологическа медиевистика. Научни изследвания в чест на проф. дфн Иван Харалампиев*, ed. А. Давидов, Велико Търново 2006, p. 221–240.

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