

Доумати (dumati) and съдоумати (sъdumati): are they a perfect aspectual pair?

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Slavic aspect and (diachronic) corpora

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Object of Study

- Aspectual status of Old Russian and Middle Russian verbs with the root -дум- (-dum-) :

думати (dumati)

съ-думати (sъ-dumati)

оу-думати (u-dumati)

въз-думати (vъz-dumati)

Object of Study

- In Modern Russian *dumati* denotes the mental process ('to think')
- In Old Russian and almost until the end of Middle Russian *dumati* was close to the speech act verbs: 'to discuss a problem with somebody' / 'to exchange ideas, trying to resolve a problem' (Dictionary 11-17 cc)
- Сѣdumati, udumati, възdumati -- the result of the discussion

Sources

- Historical subcorpus (a part of RNC – www.ruscorpora.ru):
 - Old Russian corpus (11th – 14th cc): Russian chronicles mainly;
 - Middle Russian corpus (15th – 17th cc): chronicles, travelogues, business documents, private letters etc.
- Historical dictionaries
- Original Russian texts only

Questions

- Is *dumati*, being a simplex, a non-characterized verb, as it was in the earliest period, at the start point? Is it true, for example, for the Old Russian of the 12th century? (see Mishina 2018)
Is *dumati* still normal for forms / contexts which are typical for imperfective aspect as well as for perfective aspect?
- If it is not non-characterized verb in the Old Russian and especially in the Middle Russian, what is its aspectual status?
(We suppose it to become an imperfective verb.)
- If *dumati* is an imperfective (or almost imperfective) verb, has it an aspectual pair?
If yes, what verb can we regard as its pair?

Dumati in Old Russian

- 67 tokens in the Old Russian corpus
- *Dumati* is usually used in forms and in constructions which are typical for imperfective aspect (52 / 67):
 - construction почати / начати 'to begin' + inf. (36)
 - Imperfect (8)
 - Present Participle (5)
 - Extended Presens (3)

почати / начати (to begin) + inf

- **и перельсти давидъ сѣтополка і начаста доумати ѡ васильцѣ а василько сего не вѣдаше** (Povest' Vremennyx let') – 'And Svyatopolk was tempted by Davyd and they two began to think about Vasilko [how to blind him] and Vasilko didn't know that';

изяславъ же то слыша поча доумати съ дружиною своею (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – 'And Izyaslav having heard this began to discuss with his men [what to do]';

рюрикъ же поча доумати с моужи своими како бы ємоу дати во(ло)сть всеволодоу (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – 'Ryurik began to discuss with his men how he could give the land to Vsevolod'.

Imperfect

- **И доумашеть [князь Глеб] з дружиною св(о)єю в томъ г которы(м) поидемъ передъ** – And [prince Gleb] was discussing with his men “to whom shall we go first” (Suzdal Chronicle, 1169);

И поча доумати товтивилъ . хотѣ оубити тренѣтоу . а тренѣта собѣ думашеть . на товтивила пакъ (Volynian Chronicle, 13th c.) – ‘And Tovtivil began to think (= to discuss) intending to kill Trenyata, and Trenyata himself thought to kill Tovtivil’

того же вечера (sic!) доумахутъ камъ поидемъ (Galician Chronicle, 13th c.) – ‘That evening they were discussing where to go’

Present Participle

- **ГДѢ БОЯРЕ ДОУМАЮЩЕИ ГДѢ МОУЖИ ХРАБОРЬСТВОУЮЩЕИ ГДѢ РАДѢ ПОЛЪЧНЫИ** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘Where are boyars who are thinking, where are men who are brave, where is a row of regiments?’

И СЪБРАЧЕ СѦ ЧЕРНЬ И ВОЛОЧАХОУ ДОБРЫЕ МОУЖА ДУМАЮЩЕ С НИМИ КОГО Ц(С)РА ПОСТАВАТЬ (Novgorod I Chronicle, 13th - 14th cc) – ‘And commoners having got together brought lords discussing with them whom should they choose to be a tsar’.

Extended Presence

- **БЫ(С) ЖЕ ВѢСТЬ КЪ КСНАТКОВИ МОУЖЮ СЪОСЛАВЛЮ WЖЕ ДВѢВНЧА ДОУМАЕТА ЯТИ БРА(Т) СВОЕГО СЪОСЛАВА** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) –
'There was news to Kosnyatko, a man of Svyatoslav, that two Davyd's sons are thinking how to catch his brother Svyatoslav'

(3 / 67)

Other forms

- Aorist (5; really 4!)
- Past Participle (3)
- Perfect (3)
- Pluperfect (2)

- (+ 1 inf, 1 imperat.)

Aorist

- **ЛЕВЪ ЖЕ ОУСМОТРѢВЪ ЛЕСТЬ ИХЪ И ДОУМА МНОГО С БОЯРЫ СВОИМИ** (Volynian Chronicle, 13th c.) – ‘And Lev having understood their lie discussed [the situation] with his boyars for a long time’.
- **И Р(Ч)Е ВОЛОДИМИРЪ ПОСЛОУ ИЗАСЛАВЛЮ ПОИДИ ВОНЪ ПОСѢДИ ШПАТЬ ВЗОВЕМЪ ДОЛГО ЖЕ ДОУМАША** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘And said Volodimir to Izyaslav's envoy: Go away and sit for a while; we will call you once more. And they were taking council for a long time’.
- **НАШИ ЖЕ СЛЫШАВШЕ ДУМАША ШЖЕ МЫ ДАДИМЪ СИМЪ ЖИВОТЪ А ПОЛОВѢЦЬ МНОГО ЕСТЬ НАЗАДЪ** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c. / Suzdal Chronicle, 12th -14th cc.) – ‘Our people having heard [this] discussed it: If we give lives to them (to captive Polovtsy) then there are many of Polovtsy behind’
- **БѢ БО ЛЮБАШЕ ВО(Л)ОДИМИРЪ ДРУЖИНУ И С НИМИ ДУМА Ш СТРОЕНЬИ ЗЕМЛИНЕМЪ** (Povest' Vremennykh let) – ‘Volodimir liked his squad and discussed with them the arranging of the lands’

Aorist

- Only 4 examples
- 2 examples with temporal adverbials **долго, много!**
- Aorist was not strictly prohibited for imperfective verbs

Past Participle

- И ТА(К) ДОУМАВЪШЕ МНОГО О СОБЕ ЯША СА ПО ПУТЬ (Novgorod I Chronicle, 13th - 14th cc) – ‘And so having discussed separately for a long time they hit the road’

NB! много

- И ДОУМАВЪ С БРАТОМЪ СВОИМЪ И ПОЊХА КО БАТЫКВИ РЕКА НЕ ДАМЪ ПОЛОУ ѠЧИНЫ СВОЕИ (Galician Chronicle, 13th c.) – ‘And having decided with his brother [to go] went to Batyj saying: I'll not give you half of my father's land’.

Rather a result than a process

- (3 / 67)

Perfect

- а доумоу є(с)ми с ними доумалъ а всако сего поутн не хочю
w(т)ложити (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘I have discussed (this) with
them and I don’t want to give up this way’

Rather a result than a process

- доумалъ есмъ с бра(т)мъ своимъ ростиславо(м) и съ
володимиромъ (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘I have discussed (this)
with my brother Rostislav and with Volodimir’
- (2 / 67)

Pluperfect

- **хр(с)тъ къ нама **БЫЛА** цѣловала и доумоу **доумала** поити с нама на стрья (sic!) наю** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘They two had kissed the cross to us and had thought together with us to go against our uncle’
- **КДЕ **ЕСМЕ БЫЛИ** доумали** поити на стрья своего то оуже тамо не ходи (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘Where we had decided to go against our uncle don’t go there!’

cancelled result in both cases!

- (2 / 67)

Dumati in Old Russian

- 52 examples of “imperfective” usages / 9 examples of “ambivalent” usages / 4 examples of “perfect” usages
- Almost imperfective (clearly not non-characterized!)
- May be, it’s better to say it is an imperfective verb with some traces of biaspectuality

Dumati in Middle Russian

- more than 200 tokens
- In the vast majority of examples – in particular, in the construction like **МНОГО ДУМАВ(ШЕ)** – *dumati* is certainly an imperfective verb.
- There are also a number of ambivalent cases, where the both aspects are possible:
**КНАЗЬ ЖЕ ВЕЛИКІИ ИВАНЪ ВАСИЛЬЕВИЧЬ <...> СЛОЖИЛЪ СЪ СЕБА
КРЕСТНОЕ ЦѢЛОВАНИЕ БРАТУ СВОЕМУ <...> ЗА ЕГО ИЗМѢНУ ЧТО ОН <...>
ЧРЕЗЪ КРЕСТНОЕ ЦѢЛОВАНИЕ ДУМАЛЪ НА ВЕЛИКОГО КНАЗЯ ИВАНА
ВАСИЛЬЕВИЧА** (Nikonovskaya Chronicle, 16th c.) – ‘The Grand Prince Ivan Vasiljevich refused to keep the oath for his brother because of his treason: he thought / decided to take action against the Grand Prince Ivan Vasiljevich’.

Ѓdumati in Old Russian

- Perfective verb

117 tokens totally:

- Past Participle (87)
- Aorist (26)
- Perfect (2)
- Pluperfect (1)
- Simple Future (1)

Sъdumati in Old Russian: examples

- **а новгородци сдоумавше рекоша дан ны шюрина своего мстиславича** (Suzdal Chronicle 12th-14th c.) – ‘And Novgorodians having discussed [and decided] said: Give us your brother-in-law Mstislavich’
- **Того (ж) лѣ(т) здоумаша ѡговѣ внүци на половци занеже бѣхоу не ходили томь лѣ(т) со всею князьею** (Suzdal Chronicle 12th-14th c.) – ‘The same year Oleg’s grandchildren decided to go against Polovtsy because they hadn’t gone this year with all princes’

Ѕѣdumati in Old Russian: examples

- **аже бра(т)ѣ кнѣзь нашъ тако сѣоумалъ с нашими кр(с)топереступники оно имъ бѣ и стая софѣя** (Novgorod I Chronicle, 13th - 14th cc) – ‘If, o brothers, our prince has decided so with our traitors, here the God and Saint Sofia’
- **сѣоумали же бахоутъ тако уже бы имъ всѣмъ вземше новѣгородокъ тоже потомъ пойти въ землю литовскую** (Volynian Chronicle, 13th c.) – ‘They had decided to go to Lithuanian land having taken Novgorodok’
- **яко же на дому на вѣча сходатса на что же старѣиши сѣоумаютъ на томъ же пригородѣ станутъ** (Suzdal Chronicle 13th - 14th c.) – ‘As they go to veche at home – what elders decide the suburb inhabitants agree’

Iterative context

Dumati -- sьdumati

- Aspectual pair ('process' – 'result'):

и ѿсобѣ дѹмахѹ ѿ двѣѣ и сдѹмавшє послаша къ двѣѣ (Povest Vremennykh Let) – 'And they were discussing separately [what to do] with Davyd and having decided sent [the envoys] to Davyd'

Udumati in Old Russian

- Съdumati \leftrightarrow udumati: a rivalry
- But!
117 tokens // 4 tokens
- NB! The meaning of prefix съ = 'together' (duplicated by preposition: **сѣдоумати сѣ**)

Udumati in Old Russian

- **почаша доумати хотаче поѣхати по ни(х) и не оудумаша зане идахоу прочь** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘They wanted to go after them and began to discuss [it] but decided not to do it because they (their enemies) went away’
- **и тако оудумавша тоу перебрѣдоста днѣпръ** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘And having decided so they two crossed the Dnieper’
- **или есте на на(с) оудоумали тѣ мы противоу васъ съ сѣю бѣю** (Novgorod I Chronicle, 13th - 14th cc) – ‘And if you have decided [to go] against us then we are against you with the Holy Virgin’
- **ты же еси бра(т) оудоумалъ былъ тако <...>** (Kiev Chronicle, 12th c.) – ‘You, brother, had decided that <...>’

Udumati in Middle Russian

- Only 3 tokens! (sѣdumati – more than 200)

Vъzdumati

- No examples in Old Russian and in Middle Russian corpora!
- Dictionaries -- the only usage:

ЎЗДОУМАЛЪ КНАЗЪ СМОЛЕНЬСКЫИ МСТИСЛАВЪ < > ПРИСЛАЛЪ В
РИГОУ СВОЕГО ЛОУЧШЕГО ПОПА ЕРЕМѢЯ И С НИМЪ ОУМНА МОУЖА
ПАНТЕЛѢЯ (Trade agreement of the prince of Smolensk Mstislav
Davydovich with Riga and Gotland, 1229; the orthography is
normalized) – ‘The prince of Smolensk Mstislav has decided and sent
to Riga his best pop Yeremey and a learned man Panteley’

Conclusions

- *Dumati* has almost become an imperfective verb in Old Russian
- It has some traces of its original biaspectuality
- It has an aspectual pair in Old Russian
- The perfect member of this pair is *sъdumati* which has won the competition with *udumati* and *vъzdumati*