

**MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION IN POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
AND THE ACCUSATIVE IN OLD EAST SLAVIC TEXTS**

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures,
in the University of Toronto

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and the accusative in Old East Slavic Texts*

Ph.D. 1998

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ABSTRACT

A new outlook is provided on morphosyntactic phenomena attested in variation in the original Old East Slavic texts of the 11th-14th centuries. Two sets of constructions manifesting various types of linguistic features are analyzed as mutually related. These include: 1) possessive constructions with a bare attributive modifier in the form of either a denominative adjective or the adnominal genitive of a noun; 2) accusative case forms syncretic with either nominative or genitive, and used as the direct object of a transitive verb or the object of a preposition. Only masculine singular nouns of the major masculine/neuter declension with genitive in *-a* involved in these constructions are examined.

It is shown on the basis of the data that the selection of a particular morphosyntactic alternative in both sets of constructions is governed by the same complex of differently ranked lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic features. The hierarchy comprised of these features not only explains the synchronic pattern of attestations in both sets of constructions, but also reflects their diachronic development. Moreover, it establishes a previously unnoticed link between two concurrent processes of language change.

The multi-faceted character of the hierarchy suggests that language production is best described as an integration of all the relevant linguistic features influencing the choice of a particular construction. It also accounts for the lack of invariant distribution rules, due to the simultaneous, interrelated effects of several features on the morphosyntactic outcome. The impossibility of drawing clear-cut borders between levels of the hierarchy (supported by the existence of exceptional or atypical attestations) suggests that language is regulated by tendencies, rather than strict rules.

The gradual, synthetic character of this hierarchy reveals the essence of linguistic phenomena. The several planes simultaneously involved in the selection of a morphosyntactic alternative contribute to the hypothesis of the non-linear nature of language. Thus the main postulate of the dissertation concerns language structure and operation. Analysis of the data shows that the widely accepted division of language into discrete domains such as morphology, syntax or lexicon is unfounded, and can only be limitedly applied as a heuristic device.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Sortavala, Karelia, Elena Bratishenko received diplomas with high distinction from the Leningrad Technical School for Library Science and the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute, where she majored in foreign languages. After obtaining her Intermediate and Senior Level teaching qualifications from the Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, she completed a Master's Degree in Russian language and literature at the same institution, where she was awarded a SSHRCC Doctoral Fellowship in 1993.

Research interests center on East Slavic historical linguistics, as well as Proto-Indo-European, Russian language and medieval Slavic literature. Elena has spoken on topics ranging from Russian kinship terms to the history of the Orthodox Church. She is currently completing an article on the Smolensk-Riga Trade Treaty of 1229.

Elena has applied her professional training in foreign language pedagogy in various capacities, most recently as instructor (with full responsibility for all aspects of curriculum and programme delivery) of first- and second-year Russian courses at the University of Calgary. At the same time, she has been very active as a free-lance interpreter, translator and consultant, with assignments in Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Whitehorse and Moscow.

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INTRODUCTION

The present thesis deals with the earliest documented stage of the East Slavic language, which will be referred to here as *Old East Slavic*.¹ This term is to be preferred over *Old Russian* (*древнерусский язык*), which has been generally used with reference to the language spoken on the territory of the medieval state of Rus' (*Древняя Русь*). In this manner one avoids any anachronistic overtone of the ethnonym *Russian*, which obscures the equal claim that the Belorussian, Russian and Ukrainian languages all have as historical descendants of OESL.²

The linguistic phenomena investigated here all have to do with variation in morphosyntactic usage. The specific focus of the investigation will be on factors influencing the selection of a given construction. Two particular areas of variation in usage will be analyzed, all of which involve masculine singular animate nouns (or noun stems) of the major masculine/neuter declension denoting male persons and animals. The constructions to be examined include:

- 1) unmodified denominative adjectives versus nouns in the genitive case as a means of expressing what has traditionally been termed *possession*;

¹ Hereafter *OESL*.

² In his review of R. I. Avanesov's long-awaited *Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka* (*Dictionary of the old Russian language*), which was intended to replace that of Sreznevskij (the first of its kind, but far from perfect), de Vincenz (1993:281-282) points out the disparity between the introduction to the work, originally published in 1966, and the eventual outcome of the first couple of volumes (1988, 1989, 1990). In 1966 the reasons for producing a single dictionary of common East Slavic (until the end of the 14th century) are clearly stated, and its consequent differentiation into three daughter languages is discussed. In 1988 no reference is made to this earlier discussion, reflecting the change in political atmosphere.

- 2) the accusative case form used as direct object of a transitive verb or as object of a preposition, which can be syncretic either with genitive or nominative case;

The complex of lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic features influencing in various combinations the use of each possible construction will be closely examined. The aim of the analysis is to illustrate that language structure manifests tendencies, rather than rules.³ Strong tendencies determining the employment of one construction or the other are evident in a majority of cases. The pattern of attestations in each set of constructions is best accounted for by the presence of either favourable or inhibiting features. However, there are always some marginal examples - usually classified as exceptions of otherwise nearly complementary distribution. These marginal cases are relevant for the analysis presented in this thesis. Moreover, in some instances both alternative constructions are attested, which indicates the work of opposing tendencies. All this is best explained in terms of the concept of a hierarchy, formed by the above-mentioned features. Since one observes not only a hierarchical organization, but also a complex interplay of various features at every level of the hierarchy, there can never be distinct divisions between the levels - only fuzzy borders. Finally, certain features are undoubtedly correlated, while others are in free combination.

In visual terms, the data examined in this thesis correspond to a continuum from black to white, the endpoints representing more or less consistent use of one construction or the other, while the various shades of grey indicate free variation in usage. The gradual transition from one end of the spectrum to the other illustrates the incremental nature of the linguistic phenomena investigated in the present work.

³ Compare Borkovskij, ed. (1968:288).

Such data cannot be adequately analyzed in terms of rules yielding only positive or negative solutions. Furthermore, just as the black and white of the continuum are each in their own way a combination of all the colours of the light spectrum, so the linguistic hierarchy, while it may appear to be governed by lexical features alone, is in fact held together by a whole complex of features of differing natures.

This multi-level analysis appears to mimic the process of language production, in terms of the information available to the speaker. (Naturally, the speaker is simultaneously the encoder and decoder of the language.) In each particular instance of language production, the speaker's decision depends on a great number of linguistic features, and is not always predictable.

Variation as a symptom of language change is another important aspect of the problem. The chosen historical period of the OESl language is remarkable in that it reflects the initial stage of change in both of the constructions. In this stage both the old and the new coexist - as revealed by the alternating usage.⁴ Thus the present analysis has implications for the theory of language change, which is - like the variations represented by the hierarchy - continuous and gradual. Once the process is completed, the hierarchy ceases to exist.

The opening chapter of the thesis examines the issues surrounding OESl morphosyntactic variation and introduces the **hierarchy of features** that is at the basis of the subsequent analysis of the data. It also defines the class of nouns under investigation, which are characterized by the different features forming the

⁴ Compare Huntley (1980) on two major types of grammatical oppositions - equipollent and privative - observable in the evolution of genitive-accusative in Slavic.

hierarchy, and are attested in morphosyntactic variation. The nouns participating in the analyzed constructions are masculine singular only. These nouns form a prominent category unified on the basis of several features of various natures and different ranking order. According to the combination of features of which they are comprised, the noun categories themselves can also be arranged in a hierarchy, which can be termed an **agent/possessor hierarchy**. Gestalt quality is observable at every level of the hierarchy.⁵

The next four chapters deal directly with two sets of variant morphosyntactic constructions attested in the OESl sources described below. The focus of attention in Chapter Two is the formation of denominative adjectives with the help of various suffixes. These themselves can be organized into a **suffix hierarchy** as an extension of the hierarchy of features. Tendencies manifested in the use of the unmodified genitive case instead of the more typical denominative adjective are considered in detail in Chapter Three. Questions concerning the rise of genitive-accusative - ranging from its possible motivation to the means of its implementation - are the subject of investigation in Chapter Four. This chapter ends by proposing a link between the two historical changes represented by the alternating constructions. Chapter Five, which focuses on noun classes organized in the agent/possessor hierarchy according to their features, deals with the distribution of genitive-accusative versus nominative-accusative as the direct object of a transitive verb or the object of a preposition. It is concluded that both sets of morphosyntactic variation are sensitive to the same hierarchy of features, which plays a decisive role in the choice of a particular alternative.

⁵ The term is used here in accordance with Lakoff's (1977:246-247) loose definition of linguistic gestalts as structures used in processing, distinguishing prototypical from non-prototypical and involving a number of properties - grammatical, pragmatic, semantic, phonological, functional.

From the discussion in these chapters it will become apparent that the factors involved in the decision made by the encoder in the production of a language are multifaceted. In particular, they include the following: lexical features of the nominal stems in question, morphological features (such as the declensional membership of a particular noun and the capacity of its stem to form a denominative adjective with individual reference), syntactic features of corresponding nouns (prepositional or direct object relation) and referential features (such as definiteness).⁶

On these grounds it can be postulated that language allows simultaneous access to all of the features, rather than requiring any linear operation of a derivational type. Moreover, some linguistic categories are stored as *gestalts* - patterns of co-occurring features.

As a conclusion, Chapter Six provides a broader framework for the present research. A selection of methodological outlooks and individual studies conducted under analogous assumptions about language structure and operation will be referred to. A major theoretical principle shared with the works discussed is that of the scalar organization of linguistic categories, and of the *gestalt* qualities of language, mirroring the conceptual structure of the human mind.

This thesis is based on the principle that many, if not all, linguistic phenomena are of a hierarchical nature - that "much in a language is a matter of degree" (Langacker 1983:9). The concept of invariant meaning⁷ may appear elegant and convenient to a linguist, but it fails to find confirmation in reality. A different

⁶ Phonetic features - the expression side of a language - are given but occasional mention in this thesis, since it deals with written sources only. This does not mean, of course, that they should be excluded from the overall conclusions.

⁷ The famous example of an attempt to establish "general" invariant meaning is Jakobson's (1936/1984 and 1958/1984) analysis of the Russian case system.

notion, such as that of the *prototype* introduced by neuropsychological research and widely utilized in several branches of linguistics),⁸ is better suited for the description of the structure and operation of a language. Langacker (1988:133) explains:

Prototype is a schematized representation of typical instances. Entities that conform to this prototype are accepted unproblematically as "central" members provided that they are judged as being similar to the prototype in certain respects . . . Class membership is a matter of degree, reflecting a distance of a member from the prototype . . . Whether an entity qualifies depends on the judgment of the categorizer, and his tolerance in accepting members that diverge from the prototype.

It is difficult - and sometimes simply impossible - to determine where one category ends and the other begins. Such continuity is observable in many of the phenomena discussed below.

Lakoff (1987:465) formulates a similar idea, one central to cognitive linguistics:

syntactic categories and grammatical relations have radial structure with a prototypical centre that is predictable on semantic grounds; the noncentral members constitute extensions which are not predictable on a semantic basis, but which are typically semantically or pragmatically motivated.

The principle of a prototype is at the basis of the following investigation as well. To be specific, it is assumed that the noun hierarchy represents more and less prototypical agents of an action which are at the same time prototypical possessors. This prototype is a linguistic gestalt, in that it is comprised of a whole complex of the features previously mentioned.

On a broader scale then, it is hoped that the conclusions of this thesis will contribute to resolving some fundamental problems of linguistic science. In particular, the assumption that language consists of discrete levels - whether these be

⁸ See Posner (1986:59) on the concept of prototype and its defining features as applied by different linguists. He stresses the fact that "the term has been popular with different people because of different properties" (e.g., its graded character).

the taxonomic levels of descriptive linguistics or those of the deep and surface structures of generative grammar - will be demonstrated as untenable.

Similar ideas questioning the traditional division of grammar into separate subsystems have been repeatedly expressed within various theoretical frameworks. Already Saussure (1960:135) remarks on the "illusory distinction" between morphology and syntax:

Linguistically, morphology has no real, autonomous object. It cannot form a discipline distinct from syntax.

He goes on to say that

it is not logical to exclude lexicology from grammar (morphology and syntax). Innumerable relations may be expressed as efficiently by words as by grammar.

Hjelmslev (1939/1959:127) suggests describing morphology in terms of paradigmatic function/dependence (abstractly speaking: correlations), and syntax in terms of syntagmatic function/dependence (relations). He concludes that "le système, qui est par définition paradigmatic, n'existe qu'en vertu de la conjonction syntagmatic" (*'the system, which is paradigmatic by definition, exists only by virtue of syntagmatic relation'*).

Corbett (1987) stresses the "complex interrelationship of morphology and syntax" in his comprehensive study of denominative adjective formation and its competition with the genitive case in various Slavic languages. Huntley (1984) provides convincing evidence in support of the same argument.

S. Anderson (1982:591,610) deals at length with the impossibility of separating inflectional from derivational morphology (which would cast a shadow on a neat division between morphology and syntax). While reluctant to break from the tradition of generative linguistics, and thus trying to minimize the evident overlap among various components of grammar, he has to admit that

morphology is to be found in more than one place. Some of it is in the lexicon, where we find the principles for composing complex stems out of

other stems by derivational process. Another portion is to be found in the syntax, where the principles for constructing morphosyntactic representations are localized. Finally, the rules of inflection . . . are to be found in the "phonological" interpretative component.

Interested in the same problem, Mayerthaler (1987:5) - a proponent of the natural morphology school, which like cognitive linguistics adopts the notions of cognitive psychology - writes that

a differentiation of inflectional and derivational morphology cannot result in two distinct classes. Rather we conceive of "prototypical" inflection and "prototypical" derivation as opposite poles of a morphological scale.

Lakoff (1977:268), in postulating the theory of linguistic gestalts, introduces the device of a *viewpoint* capable of bringing different kinds of information together. Viewpoints could be phonological, morphological, lexical, semantic, etc. He, in his turn, perceives the need to reconsider previous approaches to linguistic analysis:

If there is one thing that has become clear in the past ten years it is that you cannot separate out linguistic principles by level, as structuralist and classical transformational grammarians tried to do. Linguistic principles involve the interrelation of different kinds of information.

Langacker (1988:12) emphasizes that in the cognitive school "lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic structures divided only arbitrarily into separate components of the grammar". It is imperative to realize that

to the extent that natural divisions can be found along a parameter, the divisions do not coincide neatly from one parameter to the next in such a way that we would be justified in carving up the lexicon-morphology-syntax spectrum into discrete components (Langacker 1990:113-114).

In opposition to the notion of *strata*, as proposed by stratificational linguistics, L. Anderson (1972:421) believes that grammars are much less systematic than linguists have supposed, and that language should be treated as "an ecological phenomenon, of human relevance" (424). He emphasizes that in language acquisition "the child's procedures of analysis are not the same as the linguist's, and it is of course the linguist who must change" (427).

The present study, although it clearly favours many useful concepts put forward or elaborated recently by cognitive grammar, and although it bears the influence of the general approach of this branch of linguistics, was not conceived as a proof of any major theoretical construct. Contrary to the preference of cognitive grammarians, the present analysis does not dispense with the device of a *feature* - not necessarily binary - in its description of the grammatical data.⁹ Features are found to constitute a useful and sufficient means of accounting for the specific phenomena in question. The interpretation of linguistic features offered here more closely follows another branch of linguistic theory, namely natural morphology. Mišeska Tomić (1989:4), in her introduction to a collection of articles dealing with markedness, observes that several contributors to her volume treat markedness as a scalar notion - as "a matter of degree".¹⁰ Furthermore, the idea of combined criteria, also persistent in natural morphology (for example, when the "assessment of the unmarked member of the opposition is a complex task involving the correlation of a variety of criteria") provides the backbone of this thesis.

Nevertheless, it should be reiterated that despite an obvious orientation towards certain theoretical frameworks, the major focus of attention in the following chapters will be on the attested data.¹¹

⁹ In cognitive grammar, lexicon, morphology and syntax are described exclusively by means of symbolic units possessing a semantic and a phonological pole (compare Saussure's *signifiant* and *signifié*).

¹⁰ The editor also refers to other authors who explicitly deal with the issue of scalar versus binary features.

¹¹ In order "to explain a phenomenon you describe a system which in some way exhibits that phenomenon when it operates" (Thompson 1977:665).

Clearly, whatever theory a linguist may adhere to, a strong trend has gradually emerged towards reconsidering the overly formal attitudes to language that have prevailed in the past. Language is more adequately understood in terms of a biological organism than "a well-defined algorithmically-computable set". In other words, "biology provides a better metaphor for linguistic research than the formal sciences" (Langacker 1988:4). This thesis attempts to approach language holistically, in consideration of the intricate relationships that exist between multiple features of various kinds: lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic. The material analyzed here is offered as a proof of the viability of such an outlook.

The question of the language(s) spoken on the territory of the state of Rus' in the early Middle Ages has been the source of much controversy.¹² Ideas about the autochthonous origin and independence of this language (primarily from Old Church Slavonic¹³ - the first Slavic language to possess a written form, and one suggestively close to reconstructed Common Slavic) were long promoted, for understandable reasons, by Soviet scholars. These scholars have also preferred to view what they call "Old Russian" as a standardized language, uniformly available to the speakers of the vast land of Rus' (Filin 1972:85). For others such as Issatchenko, the great disparity between written and spoken registers - a classical diglossia - becomes a convenient explanation for the fact that the East Slavic clerical translations made by East Slavs share so many features with OCS.¹⁴

¹² See for example Lunt's (1975) criticism of Filin (1972).

¹³ Hereafter *OCS*.

¹⁴ See also de Vincenz's (1993:285) remarks on the three major theories about the sociolinguistic situation in 11th - 14th century Rus', which he terms *the official Soviet theory*, *the Issatchenko theory*, and *the Horace Lunt theory*. Issatchenko's views on this and numerous other issues are strongly criticized in Lunt (1984).

Obviously, such radical conclusions are hardly appropriate for the period of the beginning of literacy.¹⁵ Little is to be gained from attempts to extract a separate language out of the relatively homogeneous, geographically immense dialectal continuum that was Slavdom in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, despite the inevitable artificiality of any divisions between genetically related languages - which, as is well known, are always significantly influenced by the position of political borders of past and present states - Slavic historical linguistics has established a reasonably solid inventory of characteristic features at the basis of historically defined dialectal divisions.

The selection of material analyzed in this thesis minimizes the task of separating native East Slavic from Church Slavonic elements, although it does not completely eliminate it. The relationship between OCS and OESL is complex, and a degree of convergence is apparent in Russian to the present day. However, enormous amounts of valuable East Slavic data (and even entire manuscripts) have often been disregarded because of supposed "contamination" from OCS elements.

All the manuscripts from which the data have been collected are original East Slavic writings, not translations. These documents represent the earliest available East Slavic sources. They cover the period from the 11th to the 15th centuries, which Russian linguistic tradition calls *древнерусский* ('ancient Russian'), as opposed to the subsequent *старорусский* ('old Russian') period (Frolova 1960:324). Apart from this, they are widely varied in terms of both style and geographical origin within the area of Rus'.

The *Laurentian Chronicle* of 1377 contains two major parts: the *Primary Chronicle* (*Повесть временныхъ лѣтъ*) in its oldest surviving redaction, and the *Suzdal*

¹⁵ See Lunt's (1975; 1984) thought-provoking discussions on this subject.

Chronicle. The former part is believed to have been completed by the early 12th century (Karskij 1929/1962:58), whereas the latter was incorporated into the compilation at a considerably later date. The *Primary Chronicle* has been traditionally assigned to Kiev, in the southern part of Rus'. The *Suzdal Chronicle*, as is clear from its title, must have originated in the north-east.

In addition to the geographical diversity of its two main parts, and the apparent lack of either genetic connections or chronological unity among the multiple components of one of these parts - the *Primary Chronicle* - the *Laurentian Chronicle* is far from homogeneous stylistically. The variety of styles represented in this text include those of: religious writing, inevitably manifesting Church Slavonic (and perhaps even West Slavic) elements; parts of legal treaties concluded between the East Slavs and the Greeks and stemming from the 10th century; sections of narrative by the unknown compiler of the early 12th century and also by a later, 14th century scribe (*Lavrentij* the monk - after whom the manuscript is known); saints' lives, modelled on the Greek canon; the Russian prince Volodimir Monomakh's instruction to his children, believed to have been initially recorded at the beginning of the 12th century; and finally some tales of a folkloric nature (Jakubinskij 1953:89-90, 302-304, 309). This extensive document offers the most varied lexical inventory of all those treated in the present thesis. At the same time, it has been sometimes devalued as not being "an ideal source" for the reason of its heterogeneity (Klenin 1987:406, 412-413).

The *Life of Boris and Gleb* and the *Life of Theodosius* from the *Uspenskij Collection* are similar to the *Primary Chronicle*, in that they also have been ascribed to the south. The *Uspenskij Collection* is considered to belong to the late 12th - early 13th century, although no date is mentioned in the text itself. This manuscript combines both translated and genuine East Slavic works - mainly of a hagiographic

nature. Some South Slavic compositions are included as well. The two saints' lives are esteemed as the most ancient extant source of original East Slavic writing.¹⁶ The manuscript of the *Life of Theodosius* is held to be especially important, because it remains relatively close to its protograph. Judging from indirect evidence, the protograph was composed sometime between 1079 and 1088, while the *Life of Boris and Gleb* must have been written even earlier (Šaxmatov 1896:47-48).

Because of their subject matter, these two pieces of writing must have fallen under the influence of OCS and/or Greek in one way or another. However, such influence would hardly concern linguistic features *per se*, but rather makes itself felt in the areas of textual organization and thematic contents. Remarkably, the *Life of Boris and Gleb* and the *Life of Theodosius* are characterized by an abundance of East Slavic features, and provide some of the most interesting (and in some cases unique) data analyzed in the present study.

Russkaja Pravda (*Russian Law*) is a rare representative of a different kind of writing. It is the oldest recorded legal code of the state of Rus'.¹⁷ *Russkaja Pravda* was probably compiled on the basis of orally transmitted rules and laws that had accumulated over the centuries. The oldest part of the code was apparently composed during the rule of Jaroslav the Wise - in the first half of the 11th century. Being a judicial and civil document, it virtually escaped outside influence of the kind

¹⁶ Earlier specimens are also attested, but the linguistic data that have been drawn from them are very limited in quantity.

¹⁷ Lunt (1975:279 fn 23) remarks that "*Правда русьская* really means '*lex Rusorum*, law of the Rus' - this is the code of a particular caste in the merchant city of Novgorod rather than a record of ancient Slavic tribal customary law." The historical origin of the name *Rus'* as the designation of a social group rather than as an ethnonym (271) does not necessarily support such a claim. The number of copies of *Russkaja Pravda* available today attest to its broad circulation, and suggest that it was applied in various places over an extended period of time. Besides, *Rus'* did eventually become the name of the state.

present in ecclesiastical writing. *Russkaja Pravda* may manifest certain Scandinavian traits, both linguistically and conceptually,¹⁸ but it is at least refreshingly devoid of the Church Slavonicisms persistent in other OESl manuscripts. It is thus much closer to the OESl vernacular.

Russkaja Pravda has survived in multiple copies¹⁹ of three redactions: the so-called short, extensive, and abridged redactions - ranging from the 13th to the 17th centuries. The oldest copy is that of the "extensive" redaction of 1282, contained in the Novgorod nomocanon from the *Synod collection*. Unfortunately, it is also one of the worst, due to the quantity of inaccuracies and/or errors. However, the data can usually be verified against other copies. The "short" redaction is perhaps the most ancient of the three redactions, with a protograph produced in the 11th century. Available copies are of a much later date (Jakubinskij 1953:290-291).

The *1229 Smolensk - Riga Trade Treaty* has been a much debated and downgraded source.²⁰ This is a document regulating trade and legal affairs of Hanseatic merchants on the territory of the Smolensk principedom, and of merchants from several principedoms of the state of Rus' during their visits to Riga and other Baltic cities of the German Hansa. Thus, it reflects a western dialect of East Slavic.

Similarly to *Russkaja Pravda*, this treaty presents a civil usage of the language. Two redactions of the treaty are extant, each preserved in several copies.

¹⁸ See Birnbaum (1962) for a comprehensive overview of this question.

¹⁹ 102 are extant, but 112 are known to have existed (Ljubimov 1940/1967:15).

²⁰ See, for example Klenin (1983:63), whose disrespect for this manuscript with its "lexical blunders" manifests her reliance on an earlier opinion expressed by Kiparsky. On closer examination, however, the text emerges as extremely consistent and almost impeccable - a fact which has been obscured by its idiosyncratic orthography (Bratishenko 1993a).

Copy A of the so-called Gotland/Visby redaction is the earliest version - if not a protograph - of the document.

Birch bark letters have been excavated (and were presumably produced) mainly in the Novgorod area in the northwest of Rus', though a few have come from the town of Staraja Russa.²¹ Many of these peculiar documents are too fragmentary - some to the extent of being illegible - and, unfortunately, are difficult to interpret with confidence. Nevertheless, they provide a precious source of linguistic information for the sketchily documented period of the 11th-15th centuries.

Some have skeptically labelled the data of the birch bark letters "bits from illiterate documents" (Lunt 1975:273) - although the illiteracy of a writing sample should not necessarily be considered a disadvantage for its linguistic study. Others, on the contrary, assign to them an indispensable status, especially for the purposes of dealing with the earliest stages of OESl. Zaliznjak (1993:192) writes:

Особую ценность для славистики представляют берестяные грамоты раннего периода (XI - нач. XIII в.). Ранний древненовгородский диалект - это вторая по времени (после старославянского) зафиксированная письменная форма славянской речи. Если же учесть литературный и переводной характер старославянских текстов, то древненовгородский диалект оказывается древнейшей формой повседневной, не литературной славянской речи, непосредственно отраженной сколь-нибудь представительным корпусом записей.²²

²¹ A finding of birch barks has been recently reported in the area around L'viv in Ukraine. This promises a new venue for the comparative study of similar documents of geographically diverse origin (Zaliznjak 1993:192).

²² *'Birch bark letters of the earlier period (11th - early 13th centuries) are especially valuable for Slavistics. The early dialect of Old Novgorod is the second form, in chronological terms, of Slavic speech (after OCS) recorded in writing. If one also takes into account the fact that OCS texts have a literary character and are translations, the Old Novgorod dialect emerges as the most ancient form of everyday non-literary Slavic speech directly reflected in any significant recorded corpus.'*

On the positive side, the birch bark letters have a wide and varied authorship, and mainly deal with matters of everyday life - thus providing the closest available approximation to one of the regional varieties of the East Slavic colloquial language. Needless to say, the overwhelming majority of samples do not reflect any OCS features.

Dating birch bark letters has proven to be difficult, and there is no agreement as to what criteria to use in the process (Borkovskij, ed. 1955:9). Because of their indisputably unique nature and despite all their weak points, the birch barks are a valuable supplement to other materials, and should not be entirely neglected. Naturally, one must treat them with caution, and not jump to conclusions on the basis of isolated attestations, particularly when these conclusions contradict data found elsewhere.²³ However, the linguistic information contained in the birch bark letters may at times be crucial for the purposes of confirming phenomena which would remain otherwise ambiguous.

Aside from the fact that it is unwise to be too discriminating in selecting one's database when faced with an extremely limited number of reasonably reliable original compositions, the geographical and stylistic diversity represented by the above sources appears to have its own advantages. This diversity means that the material for analysis is sufficiently broadly based to support the formation of substantial conclusions. The aggregate version of the language under examination here will be minimally dependent on haphazard or idiosyncratic factors that might

²³ The most sensational finding, debunking earlier ideas about the periodization of Common Slavic and setting the Old Novgorod dialect apart from the rest of Slavic dialects, concerns its alleged lack of the so-called second velar palatalization (Zaliznjak 1993:37-38). Despite the fact that this conclusion has become a commonplace in today's linguistic literature (particularly in Russia: e.g. Ivanov, ed. 1995:80), many, unwilling to trust what they consider scarce and hardly reliable data, remain skeptical.

otherwise significantly obscure the picture. The main selection criterion, then, is solely the authenticity and antiquity of the monuments.

Regarding the question of the linguistic unity of the East Slavs during the period immediately preceding that covered by the present work, Lunt (1975:272) summarizes:

In fact, no important dialectal differences, beyond a vague north vs south, or perhaps extreme north vs central vs extreme south, can be discerned in written Rusian Slavonic [*Lunt's preferred term for OESl - E. B.*] before 1300.

Therefore, one is justified in considering the 11th-14th century manuscripts produced within the limits of the Rusian state as specimens of an East Slavic language that is sufficiently different from other dialectal varieties available for linguistic analysis, and stands by itself in chronological terms, while being at the same time internally homogeneous enough to represent a coherent system. Borkovskij, ed. (1968:287) concludes:

Памятники XI-XIV вв., во-первых, отделяются нами от памятников XV-XVII вв. (поскольку они существенно отличаются от этих последних) и, во-вторых, рассматриваются как определенное единство (поскольку нам не удалось найти для этого периода синтаксических явлений, которые можно было бы квалифицировать как «русские», «украинские», «белорусские» и которые, таким образом, нарушали бы это единство.)²⁴

²⁴ 'The literary texts of the 11th-14th centuries, in the first place, have been separated by us from texts of the 15th-17th centuries (because they differ considerably from the latter), and, in the second place, are considered as a distinct unity (because, in this period, we have found no syntactic phenomena which could be qualified as "Russian", "Ukrainian", or "Belorussian", and which would therefore violate this unity.)'

The following abbreviations for the sources of data are used in the text:

L. of B. & G.	<i>The Life of Boris and Gleb</i>
L. of Th.	<i>The Life of Theodosius</i>
Laur. Chron.	<i>Primary Chronicle (Laurentian manuscript)</i>
Suzd. Chron.	<i>Suzdal Chronicle (Laurentian manuscript)</i>
1229 Tr.	<i>Smolensk - Riga Trade Treaty of 1229 (redaction A)</i>
Russ. Pr.	<i>Russkaja Pravda (Synod collection)</i>
BBL	<i>Birch bark letter</i>

References to the *Chronicles* cite a year, which is followed by the leaf number (*l*) from the original manuscript; *v* stands for *verso*. The page of the edition utilized for this thesis is also provided in brackets at the end of the citation. The two saints' lives from the *Uspenskij collection* are quoted according to the conventions of the edition: the column numbers and the Cyrillic letters have been preserved. The line number for the relevant item is also given. Line number is also provided in the citations of the 1229 Treaty. References to *Russkaja Pravda* are made according to the article as well as the page of the *Synod* edition.

Birch bark letters are listed according to the original number assigned to them by the editors; only places of excavation other than Novgorod are noted. The date is also provided.

Numerical Cyrillic letters are replaced by numbers. All abbreviations are opened in angular brackets; when the abbreviation is not clear alternative interpretations are given.

Due to software limitations the orthography of citations has been simplified according to convention.

CHAPTER ONE

MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION AND THE HIERARCHY OF FEATURES

The problems of morphosyntactic variation exhibited by OESl nouns/noun stems participating in the two sets of constructions - one involving the form of an unmodified attribute of a head noun (either a denominative adjective¹ or a noun in the genitive case), and the other syncretic accusative case - have been studied extensively as separate topics. Virtually no connection has been observed between the two phenomena. In addition, the accent of previous investigations has hardly ever fallen on the hierarchical nature of these phenomena (especially in the case of denominative adjective formation and distribution),² although such a nature is suggested by the tendencies observable in the attested variation in usage.³ Instead, most studies typically look for clear-cut divisions and rules responsible for one form

¹ These adjectives are formed from nominal stems with the help of suffixes *-ov-*/*-ev-*, *-in-*, *-*j-*, *-bñ-* and to varying degrees denote personal individual affiliation - thus conventionally termed "possessive". This group also includes adjectives formed by the suffix *-bšk-*, which are sometimes called "possessive-relational" for semantic reasons. For a discussion on the suitability of the term *possession* for grammatical usage, see Chapter Two. In order to distinguish between denominative adjectives exclusively or predominantly referring to an individual person and those lacking such reference, the former will be designated - following Huntley (1993:137) - as *individual personal adjectives*.

² For rare exceptions see Corbett (1987) and Huntley (1984).

³ Kryś'ko (1994:201-202) claims that the original Slavic situation with regard to accusative case form was one of "free variation" - while admitting that a certain "inclination" of some nouns towards this or that form has to do with their "declensional autonomy", idiomatic status or orientation towards the OCS norm.

or another.⁴ Finally, these two sets of alternating constructions have not been approached with an eye to the complex of features that simultaneously influence the selection of one construction over the other.

On the other hand, certain dominant issues have emerged in the course of a hundred years of research on these two topics. Naturally, these issues have prepared the ground for the present analysis. In this chapter the recurrent topics encountered in studies of both genitive-accusative syncretism as well as the distribution of the denominative adjectives and adnominal genitive case will be introduced. The trend in the majority of works seems to have been to develop further and modify ideas put forward by the earlier investigators of the field of Slavic studies. Of course, attempts at a reinterpretation of the data do occasionally appear. It is undoubtedly a fruitful practice to re-examine old facts in view of new evidence of any sort. Unfortunately, the motivation for some studies seems to lie in an abstract desire to debunk everything traditional. Many ideas contained in the earlier works (some not carried through in subsequent research, having been already forgotten along the way) are not stale but rather amazingly insightful - especially from a present-day point of view. In fact, these ideas may find renewed life in the light of certain theoretical findings of more recent writing. In contrast, some new opinions appear to be radical for the sake of being radical.

Meillet (1897), in his seminal work, and many later researchers on the topic of genitive-accusative in Slavic focus their arguments primarily on the problem of *animacy*, suggesting that the rise of the genitive-accusative was a way to create an animate "subgender" within the masculine gender. (This issue is briefly dealt with in Chapter Four.) Meillet explains how genitive-accusative initially arose among proper

⁴ For example, Krys'ko (1994:68) bases many of his conclusions on the absence of "strict regularities" in the patterns of attestations.

personal nouns (by analogy with personal and other pronouns), and later spread to all animate masculine nouns of the major declension with genitive in *-a*.⁵ Thus he strongly believes that animacy played a decisive role in the promotion of this morphological change in Slavic. More precisely, he believes that the rise of the animate subgender is manifested through the rise of genitive-accusative.

It has also been often noted that the feature *animate* in some Slavic languages, especially Russian, has gradually developed from the more restricted feature *personal*.⁶ As will be further discussed in Chapter Four, this conclusion is suggested by the strong evidence that the process of substitution of genitive form for accusative usage first affected proper personal nouns denoting male individuals. Only later did it encompass all personal nouns with genitive in *-a*, and eventually nouns denoting animals of the same declension. For this reason it can be concluded that it is personhood rather than animacy that is likely to have triggered the rise of genitive-accusative.

Significantly, the features *personal* and/or *animate* also figure prominently in studies of denominative adjective formation and distribution in Slavic. It has been observed that proper noun stems with individual reference (e.g. *Ярославль* 'of Jaroslav', *Всеволожь* 'of Vsevolod'), as well as other highly individuated noun

⁵ This declension has been conventionally referred to as that of *-*o/-*jo* stems. However, these stems are reconstructed, and thus do not correspond to the reality of the written records examined herein. Huntley's (1993) classification of nominal declensions in OCS is followed in this thesis.

⁶ See Dietze (1973:262). Kurylowicz (1962:250), in his analysis of genitive-accusative, also proposes that the feature *personal* may be safely substituted for *animate*. The term *human* is sometimes used instead of *personal*: e.g., Comrie (1978). Contrast Kryś'ko (1994:61, 201-202), who believes that animacy developed prior to personhood, since the latter category is found only in a limited number of Slavic languages, and should thus be considered an innovation. For Kryś'ko, nouns denoting animals were from the very beginning included in the same class with persons.

stems denoting unique beings (*господьнъ* 'Lord's', *божии* 'God's'), constitute the most productive source of adjectives gradually evolving into a distinct class of individual personal adjectives. Common noun stems participate in adjective formation as well, except that such adjectives more often than not lack individual reference: *рабии* 'of a slave/of slaves/slave-like' *княжь* 'prince's' *ангельскъ* 'of an angel/of angels/angelic'. Thus, according to Corbett (1987:326), the prototypical case of a nominal stem capable of forming a denominative adjective is "reference to a specific human".

The fact that the issue of animacy/personhood inevitably arises when one deals with genitive-accusative and the denominative adjective may be explained by the obvious lexical features of those nouns/noun stems which are most frequently attested with such syncretism and which also form individual personal adjectives. However, as will be shown in the following chapters, animacy/personhood is far from the only feature that is involved in either the rise of the genitive-accusative or the formation of individual personal adjective. First of all, there are other, less obvious, lexical features that influence the choice of a particular morphosyntactic form. Secondly, as has just been suggested, it is not simply lexical features that should be taken into account when analyzing the nouns participating in these constructions.⁷ For example, definite reference plays a major role in the morphosyntactic outcome.

Already Meillet (1897:4) in his monograph on genitive-accusative in OCS *Recherches sur l'emploi du génitif-accusatif en vieux slave* gives analysis of both

⁷ Dietze (1973) examines genitive-accusative in the OESl manuscript of the *Novgorod Chronicle* with such issues in mind, although he does not draw any explicit conclusions. Zverkovskaja (1986) speaks of the formation of lexico-grammatical categories of adjectives, implicitly touching upon points relevant to the examination here.

morphological and semantic features involved in the synchronic variation of genitive-accusative versus nominative-accusative. Nevertheless, his study is primarily devoted to the investigation of the rise of animacy, as are the majority of works dealing with genitive-accusative.⁸

In a critical attempt to reconsider some established views, Klenin (1987:404) calls for an interpretation of the evolution of genitive-accusative "in its larger morphosyntactic context". She puts forward an alternative viewpoint concentrating primarily on pronouns. Unfortunately, Klenin limits herself to a strictly morphological explanation, which appears rather artificial in the light of the complex nature of the phenomenon.⁹ According to her, it was a reanalysis of the genitive case object as accusative that resulted in this historical substitution.¹⁰ Despite her repeated denial that genitive-accusative in pronouns was influenced by the feature animate/personal (1983:15; 1987:405), Klenin's (1983) monograph on the subject is still meant to provide "a new interpretation of animacy", as its title indicates.

Not only the pattern of attestation in nouns, but also the involvement of personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in genitive-accusative innovation

⁸ Most recent and substantial are Klenin (1983) and Krys'ko (1994).

⁹ This author's approach suffers from explicit assumptions about strict divisions of language into unrelated spheres - the very assumptions argued against in the present thesis. These are evident in such statements as the following (409): "Whatever syntactic conditions may have been found on the genitive-accusative, they were weak and temporary. Yet if the genitive-accusative was supposed to remedy subject-object ambiguity - a *syntactic* weakness, not a morphological one - why did the language choose a morphological remedy?" Klenin further wonders why "the relationship between communicative functionality and inflexional morphology should be transparent" (410).

¹⁰ Klenin's views are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

- the reasons for which are still debatable - suggests that animacy/personhood has indeed to be taken into account in the study of genitive-accusative.¹¹ Irrespective of the solution to the cause-and-effect problem of genitive-accusative syncretism in pronouns and nouns (see Chapter Four), it should be borne in mind that first and second person pronouns refer to speech act participants. Therefore, they are animate by definition (with the possible exception of certain idiosyncratic situations). Third person pronouns, as well as demonstrative and relative pronouns, are more ambiguous, in that they can variably have animate/personal and inanimate/non-personal reference. The interrogative pronoun *kogo* - the only genuine genitive-accusative of *kato* 'who' in pronouns - is always animate and correlates with personal nouns.

The most recent study dealing with genitive-accusative in OESl is that of Krys'ko (1994), which is concerned with "the development of the category of animacy". His work is based on a thorough presentation and analysis of the data and a close critique of some established ideas. However, Krys'ko seems to be overly concerned with the need to come up with a fresh alternative to traditional interpretations, which he somewhat brusquely dismisses as "legends" (7) and "dogmas" (18). He also relies heavily on statistics drawn from the written sources, which cannot always be properly weighed as to their adequate representation of the actual language. Furthermore, in his effort to achieve a comprehensive analysis, Krys'ko uses the entire available bulk of OESl¹²: among other things, he does not

¹¹ See Berneker (1904), Meillet (1897), Kurylowicz (1962:251), Tomson (1908a, 1908b), Vondrak (1898).

¹² The author personally examined many manuscripts as well as drawing data from the *Old Russian language Catalogue* (*Карточка древнерусского языка*).

discriminate among data attested in original OESl compositions and those attested in copies of Balkan Slavic provenance.

In general, Krys'ko contradicts virtually all of the previously accepted postulates. In essence, however, his approach follows that of Klenin (1983). Similar to Klenin (1983 and 1987), who feels that no "discourse-functional" explanation is adequate, Krys'ko (1994:156-158) rejects the idea that the distinction between subject and object was a crucial factor in the rise of genitive-accusative. Likewise, he cannot accept the "sociological" explanation of constraints on the genitive-accusative - namely the original preference for nominative-accusative with reference to slaves and immature persons (32). Neither does he subscribe to the idea of the role of definiteness as a promoting feature in the rise of the genitive-accusative (164). For Krys'ko, genitive-accusative syncretism is a strictly morphological phenomenon. His argument is based on the fact that the amount of free variation in accusative case forms is too great to be explained exclusively by any one of the commonly deduced features. Thus he chooses not to rely on them at all. Krys'ko (166) states:

нам остается констатировать, что вариативность беспредложных В[инительного] П[адежа] и Р[одительного] П[адежа] в древнерусском языке не обуславливалась ни семантическими, ни грамматическими, ни какими то ни было другими факультативными факторами [*italics mine - E. B.*] - иначе говоря аккузатив и генитив выступали как факультативные варианты объектной синтаксемы.¹³

Clearly, his disregard for the many facets of the problem, each of which alone is insufficient to account for every attestation, is based on views radically different from those defended in this work.

¹³ 'We can only ascertain that variation between the non-prepositional accusative and genitive cases in the Old Russian language was not caused by either semantic, grammatical or any other optional factors, - in other words, accusative and genitive represented optional variants of the objective syntaxeme.'

In contrast to Kryś'ko, other contributors to the debate over genitive-accusative choose not to limit themselves to either the single binary opposition of animate-inanimate, or that of personal-non-personal. In this way, they aspire to create a more detailed noun classification with greater descriptive power. Trost (1992) devotes an exhaustive monograph to his proposed categorization of the nouns found in the genitive-accusative in modern Russian - which represent the end-point of a long historical process. Striving for an all-encompassing system, he argues that one cannot solve the problem by only taking into account the features animate/inanimate. Rather, Trost suggests that the main distinction should be made in terms of the "lexosemantic" category of *agentivity*. In particular, he singles out a class of "individual-agentive" nouns, which is homogeneous and represents a closed system. Other nouns - those that fall into the category of "non-individual-agentive" - can be subdivided further: for instance, "collective agentive" or "inagentive" (168).

The agentive class includes personal nouns, names of animals and Christian and pagan mythological beings, socially dependent and unfree persons, *post mortem* persons, etc. (176). Trost aspires towards a neat classification that would divide all Russian nouns into their respective classes without exception. Such a classification would also reflect the historical rise of this phenomenon.

If one perseveres through the flood of Latin-based terminological neologisms (which, perhaps contrary to the author's expectations, do not bring much relief to his extremely abstract argumentation) in the hope of coming across an interesting observation or generalization, one may find that Trost's ideas do indeed offer an interesting perspective on both the organization and the evolution of the modern Russian nominal system.

The main advantage of his approach, besides its emphasis on agentivity, lies in its move to allow a certain flexibility in dealing with matters of classification. For

example, Trost concludes that although "individual-agentive nouns" can be equated without exception with the use of genitive-accusative, a similar equation of "non-individual-agentive" and nominative-accusative is not possible (168). Another significant point is the idea that nouns can be classified according to a number of more detailed subcategories within a binary opposition. These include such features as, for example, "emotive": *сбить бомбардировщик* (nominative-accusative) versus *сбить бомбардировщика* (genitive-accusative) 'to shoot down a bomber'. Most importantly, the author makes a valuable distinction between the linguist's view of a phenomenon and that of a speaker/hearer. Still, with all due respect to Trost's perceptive emphasis on agentivity and his subtle analysis of the various divisions and subdivisions in the Russian nominal system, it must be noted that his selection of parameters is overwhelmingly lexical.

As is clear from the above discussion, the correlation between the lexical meaning of a given noun and the likelihood of its use in a certain morphosyntactic form has long been remarked upon, particularly with regard to genitive-accusative. Generally, the hierarchical structure of such correlation has not been explicitly stated. Meillet (1897:25) opens his discussion of "questionable" instances of genitive-accusative and nominative-accusative by writing, "Le génitif-accusatif est une forme réservée *en principe* [*italics mine -E.B.*] aux noms masculins indiquant des *personnes*" ('*Genitive-accusative is the form reserved in principle for masculine nouns denoting persons*'). Thus, he has to admit that there can be only so much regularity in the phenomenon under study - "la règle de emploi du génitif-accusatif n'est pas appliquée avec constance" (*the genitive-accusative rule is not consistently applied*) (31). Although Meillet (1897:61-63) does distinguish between various lexical subcategories that behave differently from one another in the accusative case

(e.g. adult versus non-adult) and stresses the importance of definite reference, his extensive study does not attempt to arrange the OCS data into a hierarchical system.

With respect to the use of denominative adjective versus adnominal genitive as the modifier of a head noun, Ivanov, ed. (1989:146) observes that the distribution is regulated by a tendency rather than hard and fast rule:

конструкция с посессивным родительным больше тяготеет к посессору, обозначенному нарицательным именем, конструкция с притяжательным прилагательным - к посессору, имеющему собственное имя.¹⁴

Yet there have been no attempts to define the features responsible for these tendencies in OESl. Similarly, the gradual historical spread of particular adjective-forming suffixes such as *-ov-* from proper personal stems to those denoting animals and even plants has been termed "difficult to explain" (Zverkovskaja 1986:41).

Nonetheless, the feeling that linguistic features are a matter of gradation rather than binary opposition is shared by many commentators. For instance, Comrie (1989:185) believes that animacy should be defined as a hierarchy ranging from most to least animate. Moreover, this is not a simple linear hierarchy, but "a complex intertwining" (199).

Despite such occasional references to the nature of morphosyntactic variation for both genitive-accusative and denominative adjective versus adnominal genitive, the role of the complex variety of features that govern the employment of specific forms has not yet been elaborated upon systematically.¹⁵

¹⁴ *'Constructions with the genitive of possession gravitate more towards the possessor, denoted by a common noun, while constructions with the possessive adjective - towards the possessor, having a proper name.'*

¹⁵ Zverkovskaja (1966:226) notes the role of at least two major factors - morphological and semantic - in the evolution of the denominative adjective-forming suffix *-ov-*. Thinking similar to that proposed here has been more evident in studies of another change involving genitive and accusative case - the substitution of accusative for genitive in negative constructions, characteristic of modern Russian. (Timberlake 1975; Klenin 1978) This topic is by extension connected with the evolution of genitive-accusative, and will be touched upon briefly in Chapter Five.

As already indicated, features other than animacy that appear to have favoured genitive-accusative have been often remarked upon. These include, in particular, the feature of *definiteness*.¹⁶ The canonical OCS corpus does not provide many direct proofs for this, outside of the use of the nominative-accusative of the noun *рабъ* 'slave' with indefinite reference, as opposed to its genitive-accusative *раба* with definite reference, distinguished by the corresponding article in Greek - a fact originally noted by Meillet (1897:59)¹⁷ It will be argued below that OESl appears to be more conservative in its use of genitive-accusative; one can draw from its data examples that show the feature definite was still prominent in the extension of genitive-accusative.

Substantivized adjectives and participles - especially when used in long form - are also consistently attested in genitive-accusative (Meillet 1897:16). Long-form adjectives and participles originated as definite (van Holk 1963:93). One highly specific usage of a feminine substantivized adjective confirms the idea of such an origin. As shown in the following example, long-form denominative adjectives formed from proper noun stems denoting male persons serve as a means to identify a wife by her husband's first name:

- (1) прѣставися *Глѣбовая* Гюргевича
 '(the wife) of Gleb, Gjurgi's son, passed away' (Laur. Chron., 1154 / 114v (341))

¹⁶ A number of terms have been used synonymously with definiteness: *individuation* and *specificity* are most common. Contrast, however, Flier's (1974:63) usage of the term *specific* in opposition to *generalized*, as a subdivision of the category *indefinite*.

¹⁷ On the influence of the same feature on the choice between denominative adjective and adnominal genitive with regard to the stem *rab-* in OCS, see Huntley (1984:228-229).

By itself, such a usage manifests the feature definite.¹⁸

It is not surprising that in dealing with younger East Slavic material, Šaxmatov (1957:223) remarks that individuation is likewise a valid feature for the employment of genitive over accusative, even among inanimate abstract or collective nouns such as *mir* 'peace' with reference to a certain treaty.

In modern Russian, names of certain plants (*гриб* 'mushroom', *тополь* 'poplar', *дуб* 'oak tree', etc.) may also be used in the genitive when denoting a single specimen of the class, while the accusative is used with generic reference: e.g., *я съел гриба* 'I have eaten a mushroom'; *я сорвал огурца* 'I have harvested a cucumber'.

Similarly, considerable attention has been devoted to definiteness as a feature characterizing various types of denominative adjectives, especially in studies dealing with adjective formation.¹⁹ This feature can be traced not only in the type of the nominal stem, but also to some extent in the suffix added to it in order to form such an adjective - as will be argued in Chapter Two.

The lack of the feature definite is reported as the reason for the employment of a bare genitive modifier over a denominative adjective in OCS common personal nouns. For instance, Huntley (1984:232; 1993:137) concludes that individual

¹⁸ See also Cooper (1971:60-65); Janin and Zaliznjak (1993:274). Most likely, this substantivized usage of adjectives predates their usage as modifiers of nouns such as *žena* 'wife' or *knjagyni* 'princess' (Frolova 1960:327-328). Interestingly, the same formations are attested in short form when serving as modifiers of a head noun. Neuter substantivized adjectives are attested in short form in OCS and could mean 'someone's property' (Huntley 1984:217) - a much less definable entity than a wife! (OESl: яко с тобою хочю любовь имѣти и къ *отцю* придамъ ти 'that I want to be on good terms with you and shall add to your father's inheritance' (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 45v (132)).)

¹⁹ For example, Flier (1974).

reference in noun phrases containing a common noun is expressed through the use of a bare genitive, whereas denominative adjectives formed from such stems tend to have indefinite or random reference, when the stems of these nouns do not even form an individual personal adjective. Data on adjective formation from OESl texts conform to such a conclusion.²⁰ (See Chapter Two) For example, the two co-referential denominative adjectives in (2) below lack individual reference, and instead denote qualities:

- (2) и прѣтъ с<вя>т<а>го и ан<ге>льскаго образа мѣнишескааго
 ‘and he adopted the holy and angelic image of a monk’ (L. of Th.,
 67a.18-20)

The adjective *мѣнишескааго* - formed from the stem of the common masculine noun *мнѣхъ* ‘monk’ - can stand for ‘of a monk’, ‘of monks’, ‘monastic’ or even ‘monk-like’. The adjectives *ан<ге>льскаго* ‘angelic’ and *мѣнишескааго* ‘monastic/of a monk’ cannot simultaneously refer to two separate entities denoted by the nominal stems ‘angel’ and ‘monk’ respectively. Instead, the sentence speaks of the angelic quality of a monk’s image - a cliché in ecclesiastical writing - rather than any specific angel or monk. More examples testifying to the same point will be provided in Chapter Two.

Common nouns in *-k/c* (e.g. *грѣшникъ* ‘sinner’, *праведникъ* ‘righteous one’) are particularly noteworthy with regard to definiteness. They stand apart from proper personal nouns, in that they are most frequently attested in OCS in the form of a bare genitive modifier, depending on the presence of the feature definite. Their

²⁰ Compare Ivanova (1974), with special reference to Serbo-Croatian. Corbett (1987:326) also comments on the role of “specificity” in the selection between denominative adjective or genitive of a noun in modern Slavic languages, including Czech and Slovak.

adjectival origin (Meillet 1897:57;1924/1965:361) adds to their inherent lack of definiteness: adjectives, in contrast to nouns, denote a quality - and not the identity of the referent.

Ivanov (1989:240) contrasts the modern Russian examples *профессорская дочь* 'a professor's daughter' (one representative of a certain class) and *дочь профессора* 'the professor's daughter', with the same distinction in mind. Therefore, his observation concerning the distribution of adjectives and nouns as attributive modifiers corresponds to Huntley's opinion regarding OCS. This supports the idea that the feature definite is relevant for the choice between a denominative adjective and the genitive case of a noun.

It is notable that, while the prominence of this feature is indisputable in both sets of constructions in morphosyntactic variation, the actual outcome is not unalterably correlated with either definiteness or indefiniteness. As an example, when adjective-forming suffixes other than *-ьsk-* are involved, the situation appears the reverse of what was described above for OCS. It has been pointed out that in some Slavic languages a denominative adjective formed from a common personal noun stem tends to indicate definite reference (Corbett 1987:326). This is in contrast to the genitive case of a noun, which may or may not manifest such a feature (*mel'nikova dočь* 'the miller's daughter' versus *dočь mel'nika* 'the/a miller's daughter') (Trubetzkoy 1939:82). Despite the superficial contradiction (it is the adjective in this case that is correlated with a definite reference, and not vice versa, as in OCS), the essence remains intact. The feature definite is still salient for the speaker, irrespective of its actual correlation with a certain morphosyntactic form. (In this particular case it also matters what kind of suffix participates in the adjective formation. Due to its association with highly definite nouns - such as proper personal nouns - as indicated by its productivity in adjective formation from their

stems, the suffix *-ov-* may be considered more definite than the suffix *-bšk-*.²¹ See further discussion of this point in Chapter Two.)

At any rate, the situation in modern Russian is not directly comparable to that of either OESl or OCS, simply because of the decline in the use of the denominative adjective. In contrast, the state of OESl as examined in this dissertation is characterized by a fluctuation in the use of alternative constructions that became even more prominent with time.

From this apparent reversal of tendencies, one concludes that the same parameter may diachronically either promote or inhibit the use of a given form.²² A similar historical reversal has been observed in the modern Russian use of genitive of negation.²³ The promotion of accusative in historically genitive environments has also been documented in variation between genitive and accusative inanimate, in such pairs as *жду поезда* (genitive) 'I am waiting for a train' and *жду поезд* (accusative) 'I am waiting for the train' (Krys'ko 1994:199), depending on definiteness, as well as on the variation in the case form of the object of a reflexive verb - which itself depends on animacy (*слушаться бабушку* (accusative) 'to obey grandma' but *слушаться команды* (genitive) 'to obey the order') (174). Perhaps all this attests to a cyclical element in language change. Whatever the direction of the process, the features controlling it remain stable.

A final remark on definiteness: it is not only noun stems and suffixes forming a denominative adjective that lend themselves to an examination in terms of this

²¹ Incidentally, Flier (1974:81) points out that the adjectives "in *-bšk-* exhibit the greatest fluctuation between long and short forms, while those in other suffixes are almost always in the short form". This suggests a lack of inherent definiteness in such adjectives, to make up for which the pronominal ending is added.

²² Compare Comrie (1978:30).

²³ See particularly Dahl (1980), Klenin (1980).

feature. In his investigation of the distribution of OCS long- and short-form denominative adjectives formed by a variety of suffixes, Flier (1974) pays particular attention to the presence and type of the article in the Greek original, and tries to establish Slavic correspondences of definite or indefinite usage associated with a particular form.

Thus, it appears that at least two features - *animate/personal* and *definite* - have been consistently singled out as relevant for both of the sets of morphosyntactic constructions studied in this thesis. The typological correlation between the features *animate/personal* and *definite* in direct objects has also been observed. In fact, this correlation is so strong that it leads Comrie (1979) to assert that definite and animate direct objects represent a "natural class". Since accusative is the case of a direct object in OESl, this point is of crucial importance to the present argument as well.

With regard to genitive-accusative, it has also been stated that lexical features such as physical maturity or the social status of the referent play a role in the selection of one construction over the other. In examining adjectival suffixes from the viewpoint of their productivity with certain lexical types of nominal stems, some researchers have referred to a division into classes of "active (*animate*) and inactive nouns" that can be traced back to proto-Indo-European (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:389).²⁴

All this indicates that the need to create a more detailed inventory of features, either within one type - such as lexical (*mature* or *active* being a subdivision of *personal*, in its turn a subdivision of *animate*) - or of various orders - lexical and referential, for example - has long been felt by researchers.

²⁴ See for example Zverkovskaja (1986:41). This ancient division is also at the base of Trost's (1992) classification along the lines of agentivity. Meillet (1905:459) generalizes that "le choix du suffixe dépend . . . du sens du mot" ('*the choice of a suffix depends . . . on the meaning of the noun*').

Departing for the moment from the specific issues of animacy/personhood and definiteness, and in preparation for the analysis of the OESI data, it is appropriate to consider some of the previous attempts to establish linguistic accounts based on a hierarchy. The range of these studies is quite broad, yet all involve nominal and pronominal categories - and all deal with the whole spectrum of problems outlined earlier. Since the present description also relies on a hierarchical organization of data, the support provided by such studies will be indispensable. It should be stressed that all of the structures mentioned below make reference to lexical features, presumably because these are the most obvious. In addition, many elaborate upon the referential feature of definiteness.

Flier (1974:26), in examining the adjectival system of OCS, introduces a hierarchy of lexical features, which he terms "a fundamental structure upon which the NP is built":

N
 [THING]
 [ANIMATE]
 [MASC]-[FEM] [HUMAN]

This hierarchy "plays an instrumental role in the very development and expansion of the non-lexical hierarchies grouped around it" (53). In his analysis of long- versus short-form adjectives Flier also deals extensively with the feature of definiteness, introducing a referential hierarchy as well.

Comrie (1978:31), investigating the motivation for the genitive-accusative "rule" in Slavic languages, formulates a nominal "hierarchy of animacy",²⁵ organized from most to least animate:

Male human > Female human > Animal > Inanimate

Moreover, he realizes that there are a number of other criteria that may have to be considered. Under these he lists animacy (or humanness), gender, declensional class, number and pronominality. Not only may each work independently to cause genitive-accusative, but there is also a high degree of correlation between some of these parameters. Finally, all of them may be combined in a single hierarchical structure (Comrie 1978:28, 30, 33).

He notes that in Slavic (as well as many non-Slavic languages where such a hierarchy is grammatically relevant) the first and second person pronouns, being human by definition, occupy the highest place on the animacy hierarchy - even higher than male humans. He explains this fact by ascribing "the greatest potential for agentivity to the immediate participants of the speech act", and by stressing that first and second person pronouns are also necessarily definite (Comrie 1978:39).

To some extent, pronouns are inevitably involved in any examination of nominal categories. One cannot help but agree with Flier (1974:55), who states his "firm belief that the pronouns in all languages . . . do not replace nouns but rather represent the most contracted, reduced states of the hierarchies underlying full lexical nouns" (76). He calls them "skeletal hierarchies", and sees pronominal

²⁵ Developing his ideas further in the light of linguistic typology, he comes to realize that it is perhaps not animacy, but topic-worthiness that is actually in question here (Comrie 1989:198-199).

features as "primitive precursors of more highly differentiated hierarchies" of nominal features (77).

Discussing the features promoting the use of denominative adjective, Corbett (1987:326) proposes a hierarchy of specificity (from specific to non-specific), that functions together with the hierarchy of animacy.

Silverstein (1976:124-125), in his turn, states that the "case-marking systems for indicating agents, patients, etc. can be referred to lexical hierarchy". He thus emphasizes the semantic motivation for case-marking. Although Silverstein concentrates on lexical hierarchy, he finds it necessary to consider other aspects of case-marking as well. Investigating non-Indo-European languages with split ergativity, the author puts forward an insightful argument based on a hierarchy of features. Depending on the number of defining features, he divides hierarchies into simple and complex. In a complex hierarchy "certain areas of the n-dimensional space are defined by several features simultaneously".

Zaliznjak (1995:88), examining the accusative case attestations in birch bark letters, distinguishes between three groups of nouns with genitive-accusative syncretism:

1. proper personal nouns
2. common personal nouns
3. all other nouns (including inanimates and those denoting animals)

He speaks of this arrangement as approximately corresponding to a "scale of gradual transition from genitive-accusative to nominative-accusative". Within each group a further gradation is observed. In particular, Group 2, represented by common personal nouns, has internal divisions according to a semantic feature that could be termed "hierarchical status" (*иерархический статус*). Zaliznjak also mentions that the majority of nouns in this group have an intermediate status, while only few are

characterized by "high" or "low" status. Unfortunately, the author's orientation is exclusively towards lexical ("semantic") criteria.

Huntley (1993:137) establishes a hierarchy comprised of nouns, based on the relative frequency of OCS attestations of genitive-accusative vs. nominative-accusative as a direct object or the object of a preposition. It is apparent from his hierarchy that various noun categories (such as proper and common) differ from one another depending on the presence or absence of certain features. Some lexical items are listed separately in the hierarchy, due to their special status and the frequency of their attestation.

Huntley's hierarchy also seems to be dominated by lexical features. Similarly to Silverstein, however, he concludes that a number of features other than lexical also play a role in determining the hierarchy. Huntley's accusative hierarchy consists of the following OCS nouns and noun classes:

1	Proper personal nouns
2	Common personal
3	<i>gospodb</i> 'lord'
4	<i>rabz</i> 'slave'
5	<i>synz</i> '(mature) son'
6	<i>angelz</i> 'angel'
7	Animals
8	<i>synz</i> '(infant) son'
9	<i>běsz</i> 'demon'
10	Infants
11	<i>duxz</i> 'spirit'
12	Inanimates

Again, despite their shared features, the two cases of variation in usage that are of prime interest here - unmodified denominative adjective or the adnominal genitive case of a noun, and genitive-accusative syncretism - have hardly ever been considered as interrelated phenomena. Meillet (1897:149) briefly notes:

Il n'y a pas lieu d'être surpris que ceux des noms d'êtres personnels qui avaient l'accusatif propre pour diverses raisons aient parfois aussi le génitif possessif.²⁶

Huntley's hierarchy represents the first conscientious attempt at an integrated account of the OCS pattern of attestations of genitive-accusative and nominative-accusative, and of the ability of the nominal stem to form a denominative personal adjective. No such work has been conducted on East Slavic attestations.

According to Huntley, the greatest number of genitive-accusatives is found among nouns high on the hierarchy. There is a gradual decrease in frequency, with nominative-accusative prevailing for nouns at the lower end. Huntley underlines the fact that this hierarchy is governed not only by lexical features (*mature*, *personal* and *proper*), but also by morphological ("grammatical", in his terminology) features - for example, declensional membership. Another important feature has to do with the formation of a denominative adjective from a nominal stem. Stems of nouns higher on the hierarchy, when used as unmodified attributes, are attested exclusively in adjectival form. Moreover, such adjectives, due to the lexical features of the corresponding nominal stem, nearly always have individual reference.

Common personal nouns exhibit the greatest vacillation between genitive-accusative and nominative-accusative, depending on other factors such as the referential feature of definiteness so that their form may also be influenced by syntactic conditions. Genitive-accusative is more likely to be attested under verbal rather than prepositional rection. As expected from their place on the hierarchy, the stems of such nouns do not form denominative personal adjectives with individual

²⁶ *'There is no reason to be surprised that those nouns referring to personal beings which have a proper accusative for various reasons sometimes also have the genitive of possession.'*

reference. When such reference needs to be expressed, these nouns adopt the form of an unmodified adnominal genitive, rather than that of a denominative adjective.

In a similar vein, Flier (1974:135) concludes that

the long-short distinction among those adjectives having both forms is felt most keenly with common nouns. Common nouns are not taken to be unique in any way prior to their inclusion in a particular discourse and their referents are therefore not known ahead of time by the speakers of the language.

Nouns formerly belonging to a different declension that have acquired the genitive *-a* ending as a means of expressing the accusative case (e.g. *gospodb* 'lord': genitive *gospodi*, genitive-accusative *gospod(j)a*; *synb* 'son': genitive *synu*, genitive-accusative *syna*) are lower on the hierarchy than common personal nouns. Thus, a morphological feature having to do with the declension is a blocking factor in the use of genitive-accusative among these nouns. Stems of some of these nouns form individual personal adjectives (*gospodbŕnb* 'Lord's'), while others do not (there are no OCS attestations of adjectives formed from the stem of *synb* (Huntley - personal communication)). This feature also influences the choice of the accusative form.

Nouns denoting animals are positioned lower on the hierarchy than those denoting humans. This, of course, explains why many researchers feel the need to designate personhood as a further subdivision of animacy. In the original OESl sources (more conservative than OCS in many respects, as will be reiterated below), there are hardly any attestations of animal nouns in genitive-accusative (see Chapter Five). Denominative adjectives formed from animal noun stems lack individual reference. Due to the lack of individual reference in the corresponding nominal stem, they also predominantly denote a quality.²⁷ This can be confirmed by the formation of adverbs to describe the manner of an action, productive in this group of

²⁷ See Frolova (1963) on animal adjectives formed by the suffix *-ov-*. See also Vinogradov (1986:165, 171-172) on the state of animal adjectives in modern Russian.

adjectives. In contrast, truly "possessive" adjectives stand apart from the rest due to their inability to form an adverb. (See more on this point in Chapter Two.)

Huntley's hierarchy illustrates the ambiguous position of supernatural beings in linguistic classification, reflecting uncertainty over their status as personal/animate - perhaps even on the verge of inanimate. This is reflected in the increased frequency of nominative-accusative attestations among these nouns. Adjectives formed from such stems do not usually have personal individual reference: e.g. *angel'skŏjŏ* 'angelic/of an angel/of angels', *bož'jŏ* 'of God'²⁸.

Returning to the inventory of lexical features, one notes that there is also a gradual decrease along the lines of the feature mature, indicated by attestations of nouns referring to physically or socially unfit individuals - such as infants or servants. Attention has been given to this category of nouns since the earliest research on genitive-accusative.²⁹

To summarize: lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic features all play a role in establishing the hierarchy of nouns employed in genitive- or nominative-accusative. Syntactic features include the use of genitive-accusative as

²⁸ See Marojevič's (1983b:55-56) (not too convincing) argument on the adjective *bož'jŏ* and the possible differences in its reference in pagan and Christian times.

²⁹ See in particular Meillet (1897), as well as Dietze (1973) and Janda (1996). Although the weight given to these distinctions must depend on the actual trends in attestations, some deny that any social distinctions could play a role in grammar. Kryš'ko (1994:10-11) expresses his doubts in simplistic terms, literally equating social and linguistic "mentality": "Мы вынуждены были бы заметить, что уравнивание в грамматических правах «жен» и «мужей» протекало, если судить по имеющейся периодизации, как раз в эпоху «Домостроя», предшествуя аналогичному изменению отношения к животным (во мн. ч.), - а это порождает новые недоуменные вопросы относительно связи между грамматической категорией и статусом денотата. (*We would have to note that an equalization in grammatical rights between "husbands" and "wives" was taking place, to judge by the available periodization, precisely during the time of the "Domostroj", preceding a similar change in the treatment of animals (in the plural) - and this fact raises new perplexing questions regarding to the relations between grammatical category and status of the referent.*)

the object of a transitive verb, as opposed to the object of a preposition. Among referential features, the definite/indefinite distinction is involved in the distribution. The same feature is at work in the distribution of bare genitive of common personal nouns as opposed to denominative adjectives. If the reference is definite, such nouns tend to be used in the form of the genitive case, while under indefinite reference they take the form of a denominative adjective.

Stems of all proper personal nouns in Huntley's hierarchy form denominative adjectives with individual reference. The adjective preserves certain features of the noun stem (i.e., its inherent lexical definiteness), so that it could be the antecedent of the noun in apposition, or of a personal pronoun, or govern a relative clause. (See OESl examples in Chapter Two.)

In its analysis of OESl data in terms of hierarchical structures, the present thesis shares a number of the theoretical foundations and conclusions of the work surveyed above. These studies represent only a fraction of the attempts that have been made to investigate grammatical and syntactic phenomena in Slavic and non-Slavic languages in terms of a continuous scalar structure with hierarchical order. In particular, the direction of the study to be undertaken here has been suggested by the results achieved by Huntley in his research on OCS. A specific point of departure is the nominal hierarchy that emerges from his examination of genitive-accusative and nominative-accusative attestations in the canonical OCS texts.

The nouns attested in OESl sources that have been taken as the focus of this study share features with those comprising Huntley's accusative hierarchy, since they are also subject to variation in their accusative form. Only masculine singular nouns denoting male individuals and males of animal species will be of concern here. The nouns in question are:

- proper personal nouns (given names), a great number of which are borrowings from other languages, especially Greek (some nouns denoting unique beings can also be considered as proper)
- common personal nouns (particularly those denoting social ranks and occupations) and kinship terms
- nouns denoting animals

Parallel to the trends in OCS, the stems of these nouns may be either involved in the formation of the denominative personal adjective, or employed adnominally in the form of a noun in the genitive case. Remarkably, this variation in attributive forms is also influenced by the hierarchy of features controlling genitive-accusative distribution, to be introduced later in this chapter.

Included are some proper and common nouns denoting supernatural beings which, judging from linguistic evidence, are perceived as male (*bogъ* 'God', *duxъ* 'Holy Spirit', *kumirъ* 'idol', etc.).

Morphologically, these nouns belong to the genitive in *-a* declension, or have joined it in the course of history: e.g., *synъ* 'son', formerly of the genitive in *-u* declension, or *gospodъ* 'lord', *gostъ* 'guest', *tatъ* 'thief', etc., originally belonging to the genitive in *-i* declension. A crucial morphological feature that these nouns share is the ability of their stems to form a denominative adjective. (Chapter Two will examine such adjectives in detail.)

It should be noted in passing that the dative case of personal nouns in the great majority of attestations has the special ending *-ovi-*, which was borrowed from a different declension (namely, that with genitive in *-u*: e.g., *synovi*). This sets them apart from inanimate or non-personal nouns of the same declension that regularly take dative in *-u* (dative *miru* of *mirъ* 'peace'). Initially, this may have been typical

only for proper nouns.³⁰ Interestingly, it has also been suggested that the variation between *-ovi* and dative endings (*-u* being regular for the declension with genitive in *-a*) is controlled by the feature definite (Žolobov 1986:107).

One of the suffixes that forms denominative adjectives (*-ov-*) may be etymologically related to the dative ending *-ovi* as well. This "structural similarity" is said to account for the fact that the forms in *-ovi* may have constituted a specific "grammatical" means for developing a possessive meaning in the dative (Eselevič 1964:257, 267). Besides, in some Slavic languages (particularly West Slavic), this formant also participates in nominative plural formation, setting masculine personal nouns apart from other nouns of the same declension (Janda 1996:333-335).

It has been also observed that in OESl the dative in *-ovi-*, though optional, is quite widespread only among nouns forming denominative adjectives with the help of the suffix *-ov-* (Frolova 1963:10). This suffix, as will be shown in Chapter Two, is primarily correlated with proper personal stems. In contrast, if the adjective is formed by another suffix, the corresponding noun usually takes a dative in *-u*.³¹

The possibility that the dative ending *-ovi* constitutes another relevant morphological feature has not been taken into account in the following examination, although it may be worthwhile in the future to collect data on this question and see

³⁰ See Meillet (1924/1965:415). Zaliznjak (1993:212) points out that in the earliest (from the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century) birch bark letters the dative in *-ovi* is characteristic of proper personal names and kinship terms. Jakubinskij (1953:185) comments that this ending is historically exclusive to masculine personal nouns in northern East Slavic, and predominates in such nouns in southern manuscripts. Iordanidi (1981:195) notes that "the category of person" is expressed through such a formation of the dative case, albeit less consistently. Krys'ko (1994) disagrees.

³¹ Marojević (1983a:38) disagrees with this conclusion made by Frolova. He offers such datives as *bogovi* and *gospodevi* as counter-examples. The hierarchy of features introduced below would have no difficulty explaining these attestations.

whether it will contribute to the argument. For the moment it is sufficient to note its evident correlation with personhood, and perhaps definiteness as well.

The following OESl citation illustrates how a lack of morphological features interferes with the formation of a denominative adjective. Substantivized adjectives denoting male individuals can only be used as adnominal genitives in the so-called possessive constructions:

- (3) да часть еГ<о> сирьЧ<ь> иже еГ<о> боуд<е>ть по закону да
 возмеГ<ь> ближнии оубьенаГ<о> а и жена оубившаГ<о> да
 имѣГ<ь> толицем же пребоуд<е>ть по закону
 ‘and his share, that is - which is his by law - shall be taken by a relative
 of the murdered (one), and the wife of the murderer shall have as much
 as remains by law’ (Laur. Chron. 912, l 17 (34))

Long adjectival forms belong to a different (so-called pronominal) declension, distinguished from that of the above-mentioned nouns. Declensional membership other than that stated as the morphological feature for the genitive-accusative therefore accounts for the pattern of attestation. In addition, forms that are already adjectival cannot themselves form adjectives. Thus another morphological feature is lacking.

However, it is equally notable that substantivized adjectives and participles are attested in OCS in genitive-accusative as direct objects or objects of prepositions only in the genitive-accusative (Meillet 1897:15-16), although there is no obvious morphological constraint for the alternative form in this construction. This issue will be returned to in connection with the question of features comprising a prototypical subject, and will be interpreted in a broader context in Chapter Four. It will be suggested that there are other factors - for example, referential definiteness - that tend to promote genitive-accusative in certain types of nouns, overriding the lack of morphological features.

This OESl evidence confirms that the hierarchy established on the basis of OCS data is generally valid for the earliest recorded stage of Slavic.

The hierarchy proposed in this study is manifested through variation in usage and is composed of the various differently ranked lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic features discussed above. It is therefore synthetic and multi-dimensional:

The Hierarchy of Features

	<i>phenomena in variation</i>	<i>features</i>
a g e n t	GA, ³² individual personal denominative adj.	- G in <i>-a</i> - personal, proper, mature - direct object - definite
/ p o s s e s o r	GA/NA, denominative adj./ bare G	- G in <i>-a</i> /etymologically other than G in <i>-a</i> - personal, common, immature - definite/indefinite
	NA, bare G	- etymologically other than G in <i>-a</i> - non-personal (animate) - object of preposition - indefinite

³² G stands here for *genitive*; GA - for *genitive-accusative*; NA - for *nominative-accusative*.

It will be demonstrated that the place of a given noun on the hierarchy is determined by the cluster of linguistic features present in each instance. Semantically, the hierarchy represents prototypical agents which are at the same time prototypical possessors. The prototype (as well as the less prototypical members included in the hierarchy) has gestalt properties, in that it is comprised of a complex of linguistic features of various types and ranks. The degree of prototypicality depends on the combination and ranking of relevant features, and decreases down the hierarchy. Features common for nouns at the top of the hierarchy are those of prototypical agents and possessors. Although agentivity decreases along the hierarchy, it may still be found non-prototypically in nouns at the bottom - i.e., those denoting animals. The most numerous instances of morphosyntactic variation are to be found at the middle level of the hierarchy - i.e., in common personal nouns.

Such an integrated approach is designed to reflect the manner in which linguistic messages are actually encoded and decoded. Distinctions between various layers of language may constitute a useful heuristic device, but they are not rooted in the consciousness of the speaker. As an expression of the cognitive organization of language, this analysis will also be found to have more general implications, thus opening a new perspective on phenomena of language change. (Chapter Six)

The hierarchy of features introduced here provides the foundation for the investigation of OESl material through the remainder of this thesis. First among the issues to be examined is the formation of adnominal adjectives.

CHAPTER TWO

DENOMINATIVE ADJECTIVE FORMATION AND THE SUFFIX HIERARCHY

In OESl, adnominal use of the genitive case of a noun is synonymous with use of the denominative adjective in noun phrases traditionally called *possessive*. The adnominal dative case is similarly attested, although not as frequently as the other two (Richards 1976:261). Adnominal dative is not as productive in East Slavic as in Bulgaro-Macedonian, where it has historically merged with the genitive case, both of which were replaced by prepositional constructions with *na*. Vaillant (1977:88) interprets this dative usage as a typical balkanism.¹ In Greek, Albanian and Romanian, genitive and dative conflated, producing various results - for instance genitive in Greek, and dative in Romanian. Borkovskij (1949:362) remarks that "dative of possession" is not attested at all in old East Slavic charters.² Besides, adnominal dative is not subject to the same constraints as genitive, which will be

¹ Večerka (1963:200) also points out that *Savvina kniga* differs from the rest of the OCS corpus by its relative frequency of adnominal dative, which could be explained by its Bulgaro-Macedonian origin. Mrazek (1963:246-247) calls attributively used dative "one of the most prominent syntactical features of the OCS dative in general". He goes on to say that functional identity of the adnominal dative and genitive cases was one of the stimuli for the disappearance of the synthetic nominal flexion in Middle Bulgarian. Boissin (1946:84) states that in Middle Bulgarian the adnominal dative is extremely common. He contradicts Mrazek, however, quoting one example that suggests to him that dative was used as an unmodified modifier, while genitive was employed when modified.

² Pravdin (1957:108-110) confirms that "dative of possession" is very rarely attested in nouns in OESl, while a popular form in personal and reflexive pronouns. Vaillant (1977:88) speaks of the adverbial usage of dative in Old Czech and Polish. Huntley (personal communication) points out a Slovak expression preserving the dative: *panu bogu za chrbtom* 'behind God's back'.

discussed later. Since the form - despite being a third morphosyntactic alternative synonymous with adnominal genitive and denominative adjective - is infrequent in OESl, it will be omitted from the following discussion.

Linguistic literature has conventionally used the term *possessive* (Russian *притяжательные*) for denominative adjectives formed from animate noun stems - usually considered a subdivision of *relational* adjectives (*относительные*), which are opposed to *qualitative* (*качественные*) adjectives (Buslaev 1959:421-422; Lomtev 1956:454).³ The term "possessive", however, is unsatisfactory, for it fails to reflect the full range of syntactic relations that could be expressed by the denominative adjective.⁴ For example, an adjective formed from a personal/animate stem can denote the subject of an action:

- (1) и Феодосьевами м<о>л<и>тв<а>ми соблюдаеми
'and preserved by the prayers of Theodosius' (Laur. Chron., 1074 / 66v (198))
- (2) и быс<ть> в Ростовѣ радос<ть> велика о Глѣбовѣ приѣздѣ
'and there was great joy in Rostov at Gleb's arrival' (Suzd. Chron., 1258, / 167 (475))

³ With respect to the situation in OESl, Zverkovskaja (1986:88) feels the need to put denominative adjectives formed from noun stems denoting persons, animals and sometimes plants (which later became possessive adjectives *per se*) into a group separate from the "lexical-grammatical" classes of relational and qualitative adjectives. Frolova (1960:337; 1963:11) has a more gradual division, with intermediate types such as "possessive-relational". Others do not distinguish a class of possessive adjectives within relational adjectives at all, thus only preserving the main division between relational and qualitative adjectives (Uryson 1980:112).

⁴ See Corbett (1987:302, 329), Lomtev (1956:453), Borkovskij (1978:149), Zverkovskaja (1986:39). Potebnja (1899/1968:410) comments on the impossibility of disambiguating phrases containing denominative adjective or adnominal genitive represented by proper personal noun stems. The subject or object function of the modifier in such cases can only be determined from the context. Uryson (1980:122) even claims that the ambiguity of such usage may be taken advantage of. He provides an example from a text in which *božij darъ* could mean both 'gift of God' and 'gift to God'.

- (3) и б <о> жию помощью съвръже одежу съ себе
 'and with God's help he took off his clothes' (L. of Th., 346.29)

It can also denote the object of an action:

- (4) повѣдая убиство Игорево
 'reporting the murder of Igor' (Suzd. Chron. 1149, l 106 (318))
- (5) онъ же иже по истинѣ теплыи д <у> шею на б <о> жию любовь
 'but he who truly has a warm heart for the love of God' (L. of Th., 346.24)
- (6) аче боудеть коневьи тать
 'if it is a horse thief' (Russ. Pr. 35, l 618)⁵

The same terminological objection would apply against defining the adnominal genitive case of a noun as *genitive of possession*.⁶ Generally speaking, the actual notion of possession is quite difficult to determine in linguistic terms, because it involves a legal concept of private property.⁷ Some commentators readily admit this; thus Frolova (1960:334) writes "Притяжательность этих образований очень условна" ('*the possessivity of these formations is very relative*'). Ivanov, ed. (1989:209) agrees that "посессивность относится к числу таких категорий, границы которых неопределенны" ('*possession is one of those categories the limits of which are undefined*'). Watkins (1967:2191) makes a point of distinguishing between two notions - *possession* and *belonging* (or ownership),

⁵ Zverkovskaja (1966:228) points out that in OCS the only denominative adjectives formed from the stem *коŋ-* 'horse' are those in *-ŋ-* and *-ŋsk-*.

⁶ For a comprehensive account of adnominal genitive uses in OCS see Večerka (1963:186-188), who stresses the fact that the lexical meaning of the head noun, as well as that of the noun modifier, plays a decisive role in the "semantic nuances" of every adnominal genitive. For example, if the noun in adnominal genitive is animate, one can speak of relations of possession. If it is inanimate, the relations are partitive.

⁷ See also Pande (1990), Piřha (1976), Pisarkowa (1974), Ivanov, ed. (1989).

which in his view are quite separate from the legal point of view ("I can have something even though it is not mine"). Moreover, this distinction is conveyed grammatically.⁸ For example, dative in Hittite, archaic Irish, Greek and Latin is a case of possession, while genitive and denominative adjective express ownership. Watkins even suggests that the latter should be renamed as *the adjective of belonging* (2194). He also points out that "Roman law made provision for the orderly acquisition of ownership by continuous possession" (2194).

Despite these reservations, it is possible to deduce a prototypical concept of possession in a language. By extension, all other constructions formally equivalent to possession can then be considered non-prototypical instances of this phenomenon. For example, prototypical possession includes the following "semantic indicators" (Cienki 1995:81 (quoting Taylor)): the possessor as a specific human being (recall the features personal and definite, discussed in the previous chapter), and the possessed as an inanimate object or a collection of objects. It should be underlined that the nouns examined in this and subsequent chapters may be defined as denoting prototypical possessors, though the degree of prototypicality depends on the position of the noun in the hierarchy of features. The principal morphological feature of these nouns is the ability of their stems to form individual personal adjectives.

Sometimes a broader term such as "relational" or "adjectives of affiliation"⁹ may prove more appropriate as far as the semantic features of these adjectives are

⁸ The relevance of such a division may also be illustrated by contrasting the modern Russian usage of the possessive *у меня есть* 'I have', as opposed to *у меня* 'I have (at the moment)'. The presence of the verb *есть* 'is' in the first example indicates ownership, while its absence in the second would be classified as expressing possession in Watkins's terms.

⁹ "These are the adjectives which affiliate the head noun . . . with particular locations or nationalities, persons, titles, trades of labor, and so forth" (Flier 1974:80).

concerned. True possession, in Flier's (1974:82) view, is the strongest form of affiliation. For the purposes of this thesis, however, the term *denominative* is most suitable. It takes into account only grammatical features, emphasizing that the adjectives in question are formed from nominal stems, which represent a relatively homogeneous class of prototypical possessors. Whenever a further division within the group of denominative adjectives has to be made along lexical or referential features, the term *individual personal* adjectives can be applied to those formed from personal (most often proper) noun stems that have such reference (See Chapter One). It will be also shown shortly that the meaning of the adjective depends greatly not only on the features of the corresponding nominal stem, but also on the actual adjective-forming suffix added to it.

Denominative adjectives are formed from the stems of nouns¹⁰ belonging to the genitive in *-a* declension (introduced in the previous Chapter) with the help of the following suffixes: *-*j-*, *-ov-/-ev-*,¹¹ *-bj-*, *-bñ-*, *-bšk-* and *-bn-*. The suffix *-in-*, semantically equivalent to *-ov-*, is added to stems of feminine as well as masculine nouns from other declensions (Frolova 1972:272). The majority of these include the declension with genitive in *-y*, such as the proper personal noun *Put'ša*:

- (7) рече испоусти злыи гласъ *Путьшии* чадѣ
 'he said, having let out an evil cry to Put'ša's people/servants' (L. of B. & G., 10в.27)

Despite such a morphologically controlled distribution, some masculine stems of this declension are attested in Slavic with the suffix *-ov-* instead of the expected *-in-*

¹⁰ A number of researchers are guilty of a striking terminological inaccuracy, in stating that adjectives are formed not from nominal stems, but from nouns (e.g. Večerka 1963:196, Richards 1976:260, Corbett 1987:301, Trubetzkoy 1937:16).

¹¹ The phonetic variant of this suffix will henceforth be omitted, and both will be represented by the single notation *-ov-*.

(Vaillant 1958:604). Compare the following OESl attestations, found in the same document within a page of one another:

- (8) и да немноги еси быти в тысящах *Июдовахъ*
 ‘and you be not many among the thousands of Judah’ (Laur. Chron. 986, l 34 (100))
- (9) Иеремия же рече тако гл<аголе>ть Г<о>^с<под>ь положю дому *Июдину* завѣ^т<ъ> новъ
 ‘and Jeremiah said, "Thus says the Lord: ‘I shall give a new covenant to the house of Judas’" (Laur. Chron., 986 l 33v (95))¹²

To some, this suggests that grammatical gender plays a role in the selection of a particular formant (Corbett 1987:325). Probably not only gender, but also the lexical features of the nominal stem participate in this morphological expansion.¹³ Thus, personal or personified masculine stems of other declensions must have been the first to use *-ov-* in denominative adjective formation (Zverkovskaja 1986:38).

Besides nouns with genitive in *-y*, the stems of masculine and feminine nouns belonging to other declensions, such as that with genitive in *-i* (e.g. *gostь* ‘guest, merchant’), also form adjectives with the suffix *-in-*:

- (10) и отдати же пьрвѣ *гостиньы* куны
 ‘and first the merchant’s money should be returned’ (Russ. Pr. 55, l 623v)

Thus, *-ov-* and *-in-* are distributed mainly according to morphological features of the adjective-forming nominal stem such as declensional membership, although in

¹² Frolova (1963:24) lists the more recent East Slavic *прьдѣтечевъ* and *прьдѣтечинъ* ‘John the Baptist’s’ (*прьдѣтеча* ‘forerunner, precursor’).

¹³ Compare Frolova (1963:24). Meillet (1905:459) also concludes that “le choix du suffixe dépend . . . du sens du mot” (‘the choice of a suffix depends . . . on the meaning of the word’). Support for this idea is provided by the reported limitation of the suffix *-in-* to adjectives formed from the stems of kinship terms of both masculine and feminine gender. (See the discussion later in this chapter.)

the case of the former suffix, lexical features of the nominal stem may rank higher than declensional membership.

It should be noted that the suffix *-ov-* is a relatively young morpheme - perhaps a specifically Slavic formation - in contrast to the older Indo-European *-*j-*. From historical evidence it can be concluded that *-ov-* replaced the older *-*j-* in the same stems (Frolova 1960:326,329; 1963:12). Variation between adjectives such as *Adamovъ* (11) and *Adamъ* (12) 'Adam's' is widely attested in OCS and OESl:

- (11) *Адамо^{въ} же бы^с <тъ> языкъ не отъять у Авера*
 'but Adam's tongue was not taken away from Eber' (Laur. Chron. 986, l 30 (91))
- (12) *Адамъе преступленъе прости*
 'forgive Adam's transgression' (Laur. Chron. 1093, l 74v (224))

Some suggest, however, that these two suffixes are not quite synonymous.¹⁴ Večerka (1963:196) remarks that it is primarily animate noun stems that add *-ov-* or *-in-* to form the corresponding adjective. In his opinion, these suffixes have a more individualizing meaning ("closer to singulative") than *-*j-*.¹⁵

Others observe that the suffix *-*j-* is less commonly added to dental stems, thus implying phonological constraints on its productivity (Vaillant 1958:598). On the contrary, this suffix is noticeably frequent among noun stems in *-k-* (Večerka 1963:196; Zverkovskaja 1986:6-10), including former velar stems which underwent

¹⁴ See Večerka (1963:196), who refers also to Brodowska-Honowska's statement that *-*j-* adjectives represent an intermediate type, a 'connecting link' between the *-ov-* and *-sk-* adjectives.

¹⁵ Zverkovskaja (1986:10) agrees. With respect to the *-*j-* adjectives, she emphasizes that the lexical meaning of the nominal stem influences the semantic meaning of the adjective, which could have an "individual-possessive meaning" if the nominal stem is personal (this also includes proper noun stems), or "possessive-relational" if the nominal stem is common (including names of professions as well as animal nouns).

a velar - dental shift /k/ > /c/ pre-historically, e.g. *отць* 'father' - *отцьць* 'father's', *цьръньць* 'monk' - *цьръньцьць* 'of a monk'. It has been indicated that these nouns are of adjectival origin and thus share certain lexical features - namely, they tend either to refer generically to the class of individuals denoted by the adjectival stem, or even to denote a quality lexically inherent in this stem. Due to their lack of referential definiteness, these common nouns occupy a lower place on the hierarchy. Perhaps the frequent correlation of such velar stems with the suffix *-*j-*, originally prompted by phonological features, resulted in the eventual acquisition of a less individualizing meaning in the suffix itself. This may also explain the increasing predilection of proper personal stems for the suffix *-ov-*.

In contrast to *-*j-*, *-ov-* is most widely attested in adjectives formed from highly lexically individualized stems. It has been stressed in various works that *-ov-* denominative adjectives are most common with noun stems in *-telb* - "les noms d'agents" ('names of agents') (Vaillant 1929:40; Meillet 1905:370). For example:

- (13) яко да и шадимьи вѣньць приметъ отъ руки вседьржителейъ
 'as the one being spared would receive the crown from the hand of the
 Almighty' (L. of B. & G., 116.6)¹⁶

The same suffix is also predominant in adjectives formed from borrowed proper personal noun stems, such as *Avramovъ* 'Abraham's' and *Adamovъ* 'Adam's' (Zverkovskaja 1966:226; Meillet 1897:148; Frolova 1963:68).¹⁷ Due to their lexical features (personal, proper and mature) and inherent definiteness, the two above-

¹⁶ Surprisingly, Richards (1976:261) claims that OESl nouns in *-telb* have no corresponding denominative adjective, except for those in *-tsk-*.

¹⁷ Zverkovskaja (1986:38) goes so far as to say that the majority of *-ov-* adjectives in the earliest sources were formed from borrowed noun stems of Greek or Scandinavian origin - irrespective of either declensional membership, or the already existing **-j-* adjectives formed from these stems.

mentioned noun groups are positioned highest on the agent/possessor hierarchy. Such noun stems as *Xristos*- 'Christ' (which strictly speaking is not a proper personal noun, but a title) are also highly definite, because of the uniqueness of their referents. This stem also forms an individual personal adjective with the suffix *-ov*:

- (14) *яко не въсхотѣ противити ся любъве ради X < ристосо > вы*
 'as you did not wish to resist for the sake of the love of Christ' (L. of B. & G., 11г.6)

Therefore, the suffix *-ov* is most productive with proper personal stems, and hence tends to gravitate towards the top of the agent/possessor hierarchy. Vaillant (1958:600) remarks on the parallels in attestations between the dative case in *-ovi* and the *-ov*- adjectives.¹⁸ Both formants appear to predominate with proper personal nouns.¹⁹ There are, however, adjectives formed by this suffix from stems denoting animals as well, as in (6) above and in the following citation:

- (15) *и скруши главы змиевъя*

¹⁸ See also Frolova (1963:10).

¹⁹ Frolova (1960:340) disputes that such distribution was original, claiming that adjectives in *-ov* and *-in* were initially formed from a stem designating any living being, and only gradually narrowed their meaning to denote a specific, "concrete" being, as a result of which the sense of individual, personified possession arose. An interesting aspect of the problem is presented by the indisputably ancient attestations of this suffix in adjectives formed from inanimate stems, such as *дъждевъ* 'of rain', *трьновъ* 'of thorns', *медовъ* 'of honey' (Vaillant 1929:41). Such adjectives, however, are very few. In general, this does not contradict the idea of the practically exclusive specialization of this suffix for personal - and particularly proper - noun stems. Similar to adjectives in *-in*- (see below), the suffix *-ov*- may have spread from adjectives denoting material, to those denoting personal possession metaphorically. This may have had to do with the concept of "genetic/inalienable possession". On various types of possession see Pande (1990).

'and he overpowered/destroyed the heads of the dragons' (Laur. Chron. 1103, l 94 (279); Suzd. Chron. 1185, l 134 (396))²⁰

Its frequency of attestation with recent borrowings not only indicates that the suffix *-ov-* was highly productive at the time of the records (since many Greek names were exported into Slavic with Christianity via the first translations), but may also suggest that it was preferred over *-*j-*, due to ease of formation, since no consonant alternations are involved (Frolova 1959:95). Thus, phonological constraints may have played a role in the distribution of the two suffixes.

The suffix *-bj-* is often viewed as genetically related to the suffix *-*j-* (Meillet 1905:375; Zverkovskaja 1986:10; Brodowska-Honowska 1960:29), their distribution being possibly motivated by differences in the syllabic composition of stems.²¹ - However, Marojević (1983a:54-55) hesitates to equate them, justly pointing out that *-bj-*, in contrast to *-*j-*, is never added to proper stems. As for the semantics of *-bj-*, it is actually closer to the suffix *-bšk-*, in that the corresponding adjectives mean "pertaining to a group of people or a characteristic of a class of persons or animals" (*припадање множини лица или својственост категорији лица или животиња*).

It is significant that *-bj-* adjectives are not very numerous (Meillet 1905:377; Zverkovskaja 1986:10), and that they are lexically peculiar. They include the following OCS adjectives: *otročьbь* 'of infants', *božьbь* 'of God', *vražьbь* 'of an enemy', *rabьbь* 'of a slave/of slaves/slave-like', as well as a few formed from animal stems (Trubetzkoy 1937:17-18). Trubetzkoy observes that these adjectives must have been considered swear-words, due to their derogatory connotation. In addition, he

²⁰ See Meillet (1905:369-371) and Brodowska-Honowska 1960:11-29) for a list of OCS *-ov-* adjectives, including those formed from animal and even inanimate stems. Frolova (1963) and Zverkovskaja (1986:38-45) discuss OESl attestations.

²¹ Frolova (1959, 1963) thinks that this is a phonetically motivated variant of *-*j-*.

notes the lexical meaning of social inequality in the stems of such adjectives as *otročьjъ* 'of infants' and *rabьjъ* 'of a slave/of slaves'.²² He thus concludes that for Slavs in the 9th century there existed two groups of nouns: one denoting "ordinary beings" and the other containing taboo words. Similarly, Unbegaun (1935:340) thinks that this suffix in OESl is specific for animal noun stems, while other "possessive suffixes" are typical for personal noun stems. The data collected from OESl for the purposes of this thesis indeed contributes to the idea of such lexical features in *-ьj-* adjectives:

- (16) а за *смерди* холопъ 5 гривень
'and 5 grivnas for a bond slave' (Russ. Pr. 16, 17, l 616v)
- (17) по *холопы* речи ялъ и
'took/arrested him according to the word of a servant' (Russ. Pr. 85, l 625v)
- (18) аже боудуть *робье* дѣти оу моужа
'if a husband has children by a (woman) slave' (Russ. Pr. 98, l 626)
- (19) тоже того блаженъи съ радостию примъ оучаше и никако же
раслабѣти *вражиями* къзньми
'and the blessed one received that one too with joy and taught him not to
weaken by any means through the intrigues of the enemy' (L. of Th.,
49v.28-29)
- (20) въ его же вѣруемъ в Перуна и въ Волоса *скотья* б<ог> а
'in that one we believe, in Perun and in Volos, the God of animals'
(Laur. Chron. 971, l 22v (73))
- (21) Бѣ оу него воевода *Вольчи* Хвостъ
'he had a military commander under him, Wolf's Tail' (Laur. Chron.
984, l 27 (83))
- (22) и попусти Б<огъ> . . . 4 *песья* муки (sic!)

²² Interestingly, the author draws a parallel between his grouping of nouns denoting animals together with those denoting children, slaves and gods, and the same tendency in some classifier languages. (See Chapter Six.)

‘and God sent . . . four dogs’ flies’ (Laur. Chron. 986, / 31v (95))

(23) в чересла бѣ ему *рыбьи* хвостъ прирослъ

‘a fish tail had grown from his loins’ (Laur. Chron. 1065, / 55v (165))

It is obvious that the stems included in this limited list correspond to the lower part of the agent/possessor hierarchy, comprised of nouns characterized by the absence of either the lexical feature mature (physically and/or socially), or the feature personal (denoting supernatural beings and animals). Besides, these adjectives tend to lack individual reference, rather referring to the whole class of entities denoted by the stem, or to a random member of this class - although sometimes the referent may be definite or even unique. Thus in (19) the referent of *vrag-* ‘the enemy’ of *вражиями* ‘of the enemy’ is unique, since it is pragmatically known to be the Devil. Similarly, the adjective *б<о>жия* ‘of God’ most often refers, as in (24), to a unique being, and should thus be considered definite:

(24) и бл<а> годать *б<о>жия* цвѣтъаше на немъ

‘and the grace of God flourished upon him’ (L. of B. & G., 186.2)

However, as Marojevič (1983b:55-56) points out, the referential definiteness of this adjective is newly acquired, for, under pre-Christian polytheism, the stem of the adjective *božьjь* ‘of God’ did not refer exclusively to an individual God. This statement is confirmed by the sense of (20) above, in which two pagan gods of the Slavic pantheon are listed. Moreover, even in Christian times there can be multiple referents of the noun *bogъ* ‘god’, including the Son and the Father.

The only attestation of the adjective *отрочьjь* in the OESl texts examined for this thesis, presumably has individual reference to Christ, based on pragmatic knowledge:

(25) ту суццо над нею . . . еп<и>^с<ко> пу Смоленському и игумену
Михаилу *отрочьего* монастыря

'there being over her the bishop of Smolensk and hegumen Mikhail of the Monastery of the Child' (Suzd. Chron. 1206, / 143 (425))

However, in OCS the denominative adjective *otročǫjъ* is attested only with a generic/group reference. David Huntley (personal communication) points out the attestation in *Supraslensis* (88.10): *strěly otročǫje* 'arrows of children', a paraphrase of *strěly mladenъcъ* 'arrows of infants' from the Psalter:

- (26) βελή νεπίων εγενήθησον αἱ πληγαι αὐτῶν
'arrows of children have become their wounds' (Ps. 63.8)

It can be concluded that the adjectives with the suffix *-ǫj-* do not regularly have individual personal reference, while they may have such reference contextually or pragmatically.

The suffix *-ǫj-*, in its turn, appears to be productive with a lexically narrow group of noun stems - only kinship and clan terms, irrespective of the declensional membership (and gender) of the corresponding nouns (Zverkovskaja 1986:12-24; Trubetzkoy 1937:16-17):

- (27) то мьстити . . . братню сынови
'then a brother's son is to avenge' (Russ. Pr. 1, / 615v)
- (28) Ростовци посадиша оу собе Мстислава Ростовѣ на столѣ дѣдни и отци
'Rostovians made Mstislav their ruler in Rostov on the throne of his grandfather and his father' (Suzd. Chron. 1175, / 126v (374))
- (29) а заднича еи мужня не надобѣ
'and she doesn't need the inheritance of her husband' (Russ. Pr. 93, / 622)
- (30) начать молити ся зря къ иконѣ господьни
'he began to pray, looking towards the icon of the Lord' (L. of B. & G., 116.34-11в.1)
- (31) зря на икону на образ вл <a>^д<bi>ч нь
'looking at the icon at the image of the Master' (Laur. Chron. 1015, /46 (133))

- (32) а *матерня* часть дѣтемъ не надобѣ
 ‘and a mother’s share her children do not need’ (Russ. Pr. 103, l 622v)
- (33) про *женю* татьбу
 ‘about the theft from the wife’ (BBL #213, 13th c.)

Significantly, the same suffix is attested as part of a compound suffix forming adjectives from inanimate noun stems, particularly those with spatial and temporal reference, which may have been its original domain: *долънѣѣ* ‘lower/earthly’, *горънѣѣ* ‘upper/celestial’, *srědbnѣѣ* ‘middle’, etc. (Meillet 1905:380-383; Zverkovskaja 1986:12; Brodowska-Honowska 1960:165-171). Through metaphor the suffix may have become productive with kinship terms denoting consanguineous or spiritual proximity.²³ OESl provides the following examples of such inanimate formations with spatial denotation:

- (34) въ градѣ своемъ и въ *окръстныхъ* градѣхъ
 ‘in his town and nearby towns’ (L. of Th., 31r.17-18)
- (35) годѣ боудяше *оутрнни*
 ‘it was a morning hour’ (L. of Th., 36v.2)
- (36) до *конечняго* свода
 ‘until the last instance’ (Russ. Pr. 38, l 618v)

The almost deictic nature of the suffix *-нѣ-*, suggested by its association with locational adjectives and intensified by the somewhat deictic nature of kinship terms themselves (see Chapter Six), may explain the more definite reference observed in these adjectives depending on the context, as compared to adjectives formed from the identical stem with the help of other suffixes. In Vaillant’s (1958:601) view, *-нѣ-* is the ultimate “possessive” suffix. To support this idea, he points out the contrast between OCS *отѣць* ‘des pères, paternel’ and OESl *отѣнѣ* (not attested in OCS

²³ Compare Cienki (1995) on similarities and differences among locational relationships between physical objects of the outside world, and relations of possession involving humans. See also Flier (1974:59).

canonical texts) - "un adjectif possessif pur" ('a purely possessive adjective'). However, the OESI usage of these two adjectives can be interchangeable. The following citations, with both adjectives referring to the same event and thus the same individual, illustrate this point:

- (37) и въ се время пришъла бѣаше вѣсть отъ Передъславы къ Ярославу
о *отъни* смърти
'and at this time news had come from Peredslava to Jaroslav about the
death of their father' (L. of B. & G., 136.17)
- (38) и се приде вѣстъникъ къ нему повѣдая емоу о <тъ>чю смърть
како престаѣи ся о <тъ>ць его Василии
'and lo, a messenger came to him telling him of his father's death, of
how his father Vasilii passed away' (L. of B. & G., 9a.24)

The individual reference of the adjective о <тъ>чю 'his father's' in (37) is indisputable from the context: not only it is the death of a known prince's father that is in question, but the father himself is mentioned: о <тъ>ць его 'his father'. Even his first name is provided - *Василии* 'Vasilii'. Thus both adjectives in (37) and (38) are used with exactly the same definite reference.

Conversely, it has been argued that while the suffix *-н-* has a "demonstrative-isolating function" (Zverkovskaja 1978:87), the corresponding adjectives do not regularly refer to individuals, but are rather characterized by a generic reference to a class of individuals denoted by the nominal stem (86). This must be determined by the context.

Within the group of denominative adjectives, adjectives in *-sk-* are considered "relational in the broadest meaning of the word" (Večerka 1957:30), and thus stand apart from those in *-*j-*, *-ov-*, *-in-*, *-н-* and *-j-*, which are "unambiguously possessive adjectives" (Richards 1976:260). Of course, as has been already shown, there are varying degrees to which the latter suffixes themselves may be considered

as forming individual personal adjectives.

Flier (1974:82) states that OCS adjectives in *-ьск-* predominantly denote inanimate things, while those with other suffixes denote human beings, religious spirits, plants and so on. Animate stems that form *-ьск-* adjectives have a more abstract meaning. In OESl there are plenty of attestations of *-ьск-* adjectives formed from common personal stems, which are, of course, animate.²⁴ In fact, the main difference between the two groups is precisely the fact that denominative adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* are most regularly formed from common personal noun stems (including those denoting social ranks and occupations, as well as supernatural beings). Moreover, just as not all adjectives that are considered "possessive" *per se* invariably have individual reference, so adjectives with *-ьск-* cannot be considered as never having such reference. They may have individual (although random) as well as group reference, or can even denote a quality. Perhaps Flier has the latter point in mind when he writes about their "abstract meaning". The following examples in (39)-(44) illustrate this:

- (39) азъ мнѣхъ въбързѣ оузърѣти лице твое *анг <e> льское*
 'I thought to see your angelic face soon' (L. of B. & G., 13в.10)

The possessive pronoun *твое* 'your' is co-referential with the denominative adjective *анг <e> льское* 'angelic'. However, the referent here is the recently murdered Boris, the brother of Gleb, who is now grieving over Boris's death. Gleb wants to see his brother's face - not that of any particular angel, as may be suggested by the lexical meaning of the adjective's stem. This is further supported by (40), already quoted in Chapter One:

²⁴ See also Zverkovskaja (1986:50).

- (40) и прѣять с<вя>т<а>го и анг<е>льскаго образа мнѣиискааго
 ‘and he assumed the holy and angelic image of a monk’ (L. of Th.,
 67a.19-20)

The two identically formed adjectives *мнѣиискааго* ‘of a monk/monastic’ and *анг<е>льскаго* ‘angelic’ are co-referential and both denote qualities, similar to (39). In both examples the adjective *ангельскѣй* can only be translated as ‘angelic’, while in some cases it may mean either ‘of angels’ or ‘of an angel’. The latter interpretation is evident in the following juxtaposition of parallel passages from the same text:

- (41) и пакы пѣния анг<е>льская слышаахоу
 ‘and again they heard the singing of the angels’ (L. of B. & G., 156.22-23)
- (42) и овогда анг<е>лы поюща слышаахоу
 ‘and at times they heard the angels singing’ ((L. of B. & G., 18r.20)

A clearly qualitative meaning of the *-ъск-* adjective is manifested in (43):

- (43) прѣставися бл<а>говѣрная великая княгыни Всеволожая имене^М
 М<а>рия бывши въ мнѣиискомъ чину
 ‘the faithful great princess, wife of Vsevolod, by the name of Maria,
 being of monastic rank, died’ (Laur. Chron. 1206, l 244v (424))

The female referent of the above passage excludes the possibility that the adjective *мнѣиискомъ* ‘monastic’ could have any individual definite reference. *Мнѣхъ* ‘monk’- the noun from the stem of which this adjective is formed - is masculine. A similar situation is found in (44):

- (44) въ мнѣиискоюю одежу облеченѣ еи быти
 ‘and she was dressed in the clothes of a monk/monk-like clothes’ (L. of Th., 336.10)

Here the adjective has a female referent as well, and thus cannot denote any particular monk and stand for ‘of the monk’.

Contrast, however, the adjective in (45), formed from the same stem, but with the help of a different suffix:

- (45) *яко же по вся ноши обиходити емоу келиѣ мниховы вьсѣ*
 ‘thus he would go every night around all the cells of the monks’ (L. of B. & G., 38r.9)

The adjective *мниховы* stands for ‘of the monks’, and denotes the monks residing in a monastery specified in the text. Some mistakenly cite this example as one having group - as opposed to individual - reference (Frolova 1963:63). The group reference here is expressed not by means of the adjective-forming suffix, but by means of its plural ending, which agrees with the plural head noun *келиѣ* ‘cells’. This adjective could conceivably have individual reference, were it in the singular.²⁵ While the stem *mnix-* is not attested with such individual reference in the OESl text examined here, (46) and (47) provide another contrastive example, verifying that the form of a suffix added to the nominal stem tends to correlate with a particular type of reference:

- (46) *се же и доньнѣ островъ тѣ зовомъ естъ бояровѣ*
 ‘and thus until now this island is called the Boyar’s’ (L. of Th., 356.19-20)

²⁵ Compare Flier (1974:91), who observes with regard to the shared nominal stem of OCS attestations of the adjectives *fariseiskъ* and *fariseovъ* ‘of Pharisees’, that the suffix *-isk-* is used if the adjective refers to a group of Pharisees, while *-ov-* is employed for reference to one particular member. See also Frolova (1963:15) and Brodowska-Honowska (1960:21).

It is clear from the context that the adjective *боляровъ* 'the Boyar's' refers to a particular *болярин* 'Boyar, noble', known from the preceding narration. Contrast the adjectives *болярское* 'of the Boyars' in (47) and *болярскъ* 'of a boyar, boyar's' in (48), formed by means of the suffix *-ъsk-* and expressing plural (47) or random (48) reference:

- (47) он же послушавъ рѣчи Ростовское и болярское величавы будупци
'but he, having listened to the word of the Rostovians and the Boyars who were stately' (Laur. Chron. 1177, l 128v (381))
- (48) аче ли боудеть роусинъ любо гридь любо коупецъ любо тивоунъ
болярскъ
'if it is a Russian or warrior or merchant or servant of a Boyar' (Russ. Pr. 1, l 615v)

The final development of the tendency for a particular suffix to be associated with a certain type of reference is witnessed in modern Russian. It has been said that *-ov-* and *-in-* bear the meaning of "personal, personified possession" (Frolova 1960:324). Borodič (1963:192) writes that in OCS the addition of these suffixes makes the corresponding nominals definite. It is almost as if these features became transposed onto the suffixes from the nominal stems with which they were most often combined.²⁶

As for the *-ъsk-* adjectives, there are a few attestations indicating the possibility that they could also be used with individual reference. This is illustrated by the following citations (49) and (50):

- (49) оуцини же погрѣбание *чьрнеческое*
'and perform the burial of the monk' (BBL #681, 12th c.)

²⁶ Brodowska-Honowska (1960:28) says that *-ov-* could not in itself have had a possessive meaning, but acquired it only gradually, by being used mostly with personal stems.

Although usually cited as evidence for the above-mentioned usage of the adjective, the attestation in (49) is admittedly ambiguous. The phrase could mean ‘in the manner of monks’. The example in (50), however, is clear-cut:

- (50) оубоите ся рекъшааго усты *ап<о>с<то>льскы*
 ‘fear the one who said through the lips of the Apostle’ (L. of B. & G., 14a.25)

Since *-sk-* adjectives can be interpreted as referring to an individual as well as a group, genitive plural of the noun may be used instead to avoid potential ambiguity when plural reference is intended:

- (51) яко же пишеть ся въ дѣянихъ (*sic!*) *ап<о>с<то>ль*
 ‘as is written in the Acts of the Apostles’ (L. of Th., 356.10-12)
- (52) и повѣдаста молбу *Кыянь*
 ‘and they (dual) told him of the plea of the Kievans’ (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 89 (264))

Sometimes *-sk-* adjectives such as *ч<е>л<о>в<б>ч<ь>ск<о>му* ‘of man’, denoting Jesus in (53) below, can on pragmatic grounds only be interpreted as having definite reference (meaning not ‘man’, but ‘human’ here - since the referent is Mary, while the other parent is not human, but a deity).²⁷ Nevertheless, the adjective’s ambiguity, due to its suffix (it can generically mean ‘son of mankind’), conveniently adds to the depth of the phrase:

- (53) яко подобаетъ *с<ы>ну ч<е>л<о>в<б>ч<ь>ск<о>му*
 пострадати
 ‘that the Son of man shall suffer’ (Laur. Chron. 986, l 34v (103))

²⁷ God is explicitly non-human, as confirmed by the following quotation: *Г<о>с<под>ь бо нашъ не ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>къ есть но Б<ог>ъ всей вселенъ*; ‘for our Lord is not a man but the God of the whole universe’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 83v (253))

Most regularly, this adjective has random reference and stands for ‘of a man’ (54), or generic reference - ‘of men/people’ (55):

(54) никакже разумъ ч<e>л<o>вчскъ не можетъ
исповѣдати чюде<ь> твоихъ

‘in no way can the reason of a man comprehend your miracles’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, 179v (244))

(55) како образи разноличнии въ ч<e>л<o>вчскихъ
лицихъ<ь>

‘what variety of looks are there in the faces of men’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, 179v (244))

The flexibility of semantic interpretation manifested by the *-ьsk-* adjectives leads Večerka (1957:31) to conclude that they express neither a singular nor a plural reference:

Fakt, že se adjektiv tvořených suffixem *-ьskъ* může v staroslověněštině užít i ve významu plurálovém i ve významu singulárovém, ukazuje na to, že tato adjektiva vlastně nevyjadřovala ani ten, ani onen, a že se jich užívalo (i od substantiv životných) s významem velmi široce a obecně vztahovým, bez možnosti vyjádřit jimi výrazně a jednoznačně číslo jmen, od nichž byla tvořena.²⁸

In this light, the pragmatically known definite (and singular) reference of the adjective *apostolьskъ*, already illustrated by (50), and the interchangeable usage, provided by the same manuscript, of genitive plural *женъ* ‘of women’ (56) and the adjective *женьскый* ‘women’s’ (57) of the same nominal stem (although feminine) are of particular interest:

(56) въ единъ манастирь женъ

²⁸ ‘The fact that it is possible in Old Church Slavonic to use adjectives produced with the suffix *-ьskъ* in the plural as well as singular meaning demonstrates that these adjectives in fact did not express either of these meanings, but that they were used (as well as those formed from animate nouns) with a very wide and generally relational meaning, without there being the possibility of expressing through them clearly and unambiguously the number of the nouns from which they were formed.’

‘into a women’s monastery’ (2 attest.) (L. of Th., 32г.21, 33а.23)

(57) въ манастырь *женскый* именуемъ с <вя> тааго Николы

‘into the women’s monastery called St. Nicholas’ (L. of Th., 336.7)

Another suggestive citation is (58), where the adjective *бѣсовскому* ‘of demons’ is antecedent to the plural possessive pronoun *ихъ* ‘their’:

(58) противитися *бѣсовскому* дѣйству и пронырства *ихъ* блюсти ся

‘resist the deeds of demons and guard oneself from their intrigues’

(Laur. Chron. 1074, l 62 (184))

Following Večerka’s reasoning, the adnominal genitive plural in (51), (52) and (56), as well as the plural pronoun in (58), should be analyzed as not explicitly referring to a group either. Clearly, this is not the case.

Vaillant (1958:602) considers the suffix *-ьsk-* (a recent borrowing from Germanic²⁹) as indicating “une pluralité ou une collectivité” (‘a plurality or collectivity’). A well-known sphere of productivity of these adjectives is in the formation of ethnonyms and toponyms:

(59) подъ пискоупомъ *ризкимъ* . . . и подъ горожаны *ризскими* прѣдъ всеми *латинескими* коупци

‘under the bishop of Riga . . . and under the citizens of Riga in front of all the Latin merchants’ (1229 Tr., 93-94)

(60) Словѣни же сѣдоша около езера Илмеря прозвашася свѣимъ имянемъ . . . тако разидеся *Словѣнскыи* языкъ тѣмже и грамота прозвася *Словѣнская*

‘and the Slovene settled around the lake Ilmer, they were called by their name . . . thus the language of the Slovene spread, and also because of this the writing was called Slovenian’ (Laur. Chron., l 3 (6))

²⁹ See also Meillet (1905:332).

Such usage manifests the "two-dimensional semantic plane" of these adjectives in that, although their stem may be inanimate (as in *rižьskъjъ* 'of Riga' in (59)), they inevitably have indirect reference to a group of persons (either inhabiting a certain place or sharing an ethnic identity). Even the *-ьsk-* adjectives formed from certain common inanimate stems (of such nouns as *monastyрь* 'monastery') contain the same indirect personal reference to a group (Zverkovskaja 1986:53):

- (61) токмо остана дворъ *манастырьскъи* Печерьскаго манастыря
 'only the monastery court of the Pečerskii monastery remained (intact)'
 (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 86 (238))

The denominative adjective *манастырьскъи* 'monastery' denotes not only a physical location, but a community of people inhabiting this location - illustrating the simultaneous personal and inanimate reference just discussed. Note also the genitive case modifier *манастыря* 'of the monastery', used because it is modified in its turn by another adjective.

From further historical development, it appears that the suffix *-ьsk-* becomes more and more closely correlated with the denotation of quality, thus acquiring an increasingly "adjectival nature" - relating to the description of an object rather than its denotation. It is interesting that, according to Zverkovskaja (1986:89), the same suffix is particularly productive in the formation of adverbs directly from nominal rather than adjectival stems, just as is the case with regular qualitative adjectives:

- (62) а Древяне живяху звѣриньскимъ образомъ жиоуще (sic!) *скотъски*
 'they lived in a beast-like manner living like animals' (Laur. Chron., l 5
 (13))

This fact perhaps also contributes to the progressively closer association of these adjectives with the denotation of a quality.

According to Flier (1974:176), it is precisely adjectives in *-ьsk-* that exhibit the most variation in their choice of short or long form. The features controlling this variation include definiteness.

The adjective-forming suffix *-ьн-* is sometimes attested interchangeably with *-ьsk-* in inanimate noun stems:

- (63) на дворѣ *теремьстѣмь*
 'in the courtyard' (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15v (56))
- (64) надъ горою дворѣ *теремьныи бѣ*
 'the courtyard was over beyond the hill' (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15 (55))

It is even less productive than *-ьsk-* with common personal or animate stems, while completely unattested with proper stems, for example:

- (65) тоу же *соупостатъная* рать въставляя не прѣстаеть
 'and here the hostility of the enemy arising does not stop' (L. of Th., 66v.18-19)
- (66) горькую и *неч <e> л <o> в <ѣ> чьную* съмърть прия
 'he received a bitter and inhumane death' (L. of B. & G., 16a.28)

In contrast, it is extremely versatile with inanimate stems of various genders and declensions³⁰:

- (67) аже межю перетнетъ *борьтъноюу* или *ролѣиноую* разоретъ или *дворноюу* тыномъ перегородитъ то 12 гривнѣ продаже
 'if (someone) hacks a bee-hive boundary, or ploughs the boundary-strip of a ploughed field, or puts up a fence across a estate/house boundary - he is to pay a 12-grivna fine' (Russ. Pr. 71, 72, l 621)
- (68) *звѣздное* хоженъе
 'the movement of stars' (Laur. Chron. 986, l 31v)
- (69) и предъидяше предъ ними ноцью столпъ *огненъ* а въ день *облаченъ*

³⁰ This suffix forms adjectives not only from nominal, but from verbal stems as well (Zverkovskaja 1986:24).

'and there went before him at night a column of fire and during the day - of cloud' (Laur. Chron. 986, l 32 (93))

(70) *изнемогоша водною жажею*

'exhausted by thirst for water' (Laur. Chron. 988, l 37v (109))

(71) *радунтася н<е>б<е>сная жителя*

'rejoice the inhabitants of the sky' (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 47 (137))

(72) *стр<а>сти злыя ицбляюща каплями кровными с<вя>тыми*

'curing evil suffering with holy drops of blood' (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 47v (137))

Many adjectives formed by this suffix are truly qualitative, lacking any meaning of individual possession ((67), (69), (70), (72)), as well as referential definiteness. Witness especially the following attestation:

(73) *вышедъ въ дворъ теремныи отень*

'having gone out into the courtyard of his father' (Laur. Chron. 980, l 24v (78))

The contrast between the meaning of two denominative adjectives lies not only in the difference between the personal and inanimate stems, but is further reinforced by the difference in the suffixes. The adjective *отень* 'father's' denotes possession and is definite, while *теремныи* 'of the palace' is almost an inseparable part of the head noun *дворъ* 'yard', both standing for 'courtyard'. The yard can only exist within the palace. A similar degree of semantic fusion is observable in (70) above.³¹

The nearly exclusive combinability of *-ov-* and *-in-* with personal (especially proper) stems, on the one hand, and the scarcity, verging on a total lack of attestations, of *-n-* with such stems, on the other, are two sides of the same coin.

³¹ Compare Huntley's (1984:218) examples from OCS: *uzdy koňnyę cěsarę* 'the bridle of the emperor's horse', and *obrazomъ krestъnyimъ xristosovomъ* 'with the sign of the cross of Christ'.

The pattern of distribution of various suffixes closely corresponds to the hierarchy of features, and can itself be summarized as a hierarchy, as will be shown shortly.

Since adjectives formed by certain suffixes (e.g. *-ov-* and *-in-*) tend to have exclusively individual reference, and since the choice of the suffix is usually determined by the declensional membership of the corresponding noun, some scholars think that there may have originally existed a separate "possessive case" within the nominal paradigm. Thus Meillet (1905:459) writes: "ces dérivés jouent le rôle de forms casuelles" (*'these derivations play the role of case forms'*).³² This matter involves the irresolvable problem of the separation between inflectional and derivational morphology, or, for that matter, between morphology and syntax.³³ Since it is directly related to the main argument of this dissertation, it is instructive to provide an outline of the issue.

Trubetzkoy's (1937:16) claim that "possessive" adjectives should simply be considered as part of the nominal paradigm is often taken as axiomatic:

от каждого существительного, обозначающего одушевленное существо, образуется притяжательное прилагательное, которое принадлежит к парадигме склонения этого существительного совершенно так же, как причастия принадлежат к парадигме спряжения глаголов.³⁴

³² See also Vaillant (1958:600), Ivanov, ed. (1989:21), Skorvid (1981).

³³ See in particular Corbett (1987) for a counter-argument.

³⁴ *'From every noun denoting an animate being a possessive adjective is formed which belongs to the declensional paradigm of this noun in exactly the same way as participles belong to the conjugational paradigm of verbs.'* Zaliznjak (1993:270) agrees with Trubetzkoy's explanation of the absence of phonetic alternations at the morphemic juncture of *-in* adjectives attested in birch bark letters in terms of morphological leveling (1993:227). (Such alternations do not exist in the feminine declension with genitive in *-y* of the same dialect.) See also Uryson (1980:116-117).

Yet some researchers, reluctant to subscribe fully to such a point of view, give denominative adjectives a status intermediate between a noun and an adjective. Thus, Frolova (1960:326,329) terms them "derived genitives capable of grammatical agreement":

в древнерусском и старорусском языках существовала особая грамматическая категория, промежуточная между существительными и прилагательными, категория производных согласованных генитивов . . . эта категория, отражая в своем значении старый синкретизм субстантивного и атрибутивного значений, не могла типично представлять ни существительные, ни прилагательные.³⁵

Admittedly, short-form adjectives in Slavic (and individual personal adjectives do tend to be short³⁶) had no declensional pattern of their own. Instead, depending on the gender of their head noun, they declined like masculine and neuter nouns with genitive in *-a* and like feminine nouns with genitive in *-y* (Meillet 1924/1965:383). This type of declension has been partially preserved until the present day in the considerably diminished class of individual personal adjectives, for example *сестрин* 'sister's' and *отцов* 'father's'. In modern Russian, nominative and accusative singular, and plural of all genders, and also genitive and dative masculine and neuter singular remain the exclusive survivors of this ancient nominal declension (Vinogradov 1947/1986:165,170): nominative *сестрина комната* 'my sister's room', locative *в сестриной комнате* 'in my sister's room'. In addition, these denominative adjectives stand apart from qualitative adjectives, in that they lack certain morphological features such as the ability to form adverbs, comparative degrees and diminutives (Šaxmatov 1941:494).

³⁵ 'In Old Russian [11th-14th c.] and Middle Russian [15th-18th c.] there existed a special grammatical category intermediate between noun and adjective - the category of derived genitives capable of (grammatical) agreement . . . this category, the meaning of which reflected the old syncretism of substantive and attributive meanings, could not typically represent either nouns or adjectives.'

³⁶ See, for instance Flier (1974:176) with regard to OCS.

Syntactically, it is also unusual that some denominative adjectives are attested in a position of government, which is typically filled by the noun:

- (74) поминая слово Г<о>с<подь>не иже реч<е> о семь познають
 вы вси ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ци
 ‘remembering the word of the Lord, who said that by this all people will
 know you’ (Suzd. Chron. 1125, l 97v)

The relative pronoun *иже* ‘who’ refers to the Lord, denoted by the nominal stem of the adjective Г<о>с<подь>не ‘of the Lord’. A similar example is given in (75):

- (75) о бл<а>гости б<о>жия еже бо испърва мѣсто назнаменовавъ и
 благословивъ пажить створи
 ‘about the goodness of God, who having first shown the place and
 having blessed it, made it a pasture’ (L. of Th., 276.28)

The indeclinable relative pronoun *еже* ‘who’ refers to God, denoted by the stem of the denominative adjective *божия* ‘of God’. Despite its feminine agreement with the head noun *благости* ‘goodness’, it is an antecedent to the masculine relative pronoun.

In (76) the denominative adjective *Ярослави* ‘Jaroslav’s’ is in apposition with the phrase *брата его* ‘his brother’s’:

- (76) приставя к нему своѣ мужи и С<вя>тослави мужи и *Ярослави*
 брата его
 ‘having appointed his men and Svjatoslav’s men and (the men of)
 Jaroslav, his brother, to (look after) him’ (Suzd. Chron. 1187, l 137
 (404))

In (77) - (79) the denominative adjectives *г<оспод>ня* ‘of the Lord’ (77), *Ярославль* ‘Jaroslav’s’ (78), and *Коснячковъ* ‘of Kosnjačko’ (79) are antecedents to the possessive pronoun *его* ‘his’:

- (77) КЪТО ВЪЗГЛАГОЛЕТЬ СИЛЫ 2 <осподь> ня и слыша ны сътворить вся хвалы его
 'he who proclaims the powers of the Lord and hearing us shows forth all his praises' (L. of B. & G., 21v.28)
- (78) имѣнья и бояры Ярославъ и сестрѣ его
 'the estates and the nobles of Jaroslav and his sister' (Laur. Chron. 1018, l 49v (144))
- (79) придоша на дворъ Коснячковъ и не обрѣтше его сташа оу двора Брячиславля
 'and they came to Kosnjačko's place, and having failed to find him they stayed at Břjačislav's' (Laur. Chron. 1068, l 57v (171))

Such attestations prompt Vaillant (1958:600) to claim that these adjectives are not ordinary formations, but substitutes for personal nouns, particularly proper personal nouns.³⁷

On a broader scale, there even appears to be ground for postulating a common origin for the categories of noun and adjective, and not just the denominative adjective. The comparative degree of some adjectives is formed from a nominal stem, not from an adjectival stem: *nižě* 'lower', *gaže* 'viler' (from *niz-* 'bottom' and *gad-* 'reptile' respectively, the adjective stems being *nizъk-* 'low' and *gadъk-* 'nasty, vile') (Jakubinskij 1953:211).³⁸

Inherent similarities between the two categories, and the likelihood of their common origin have been also noted by Potebnja (1968:37), who puts the matter in almost mathematical terms:

³⁷ To adequately account for this controlling ability by the adjectives, Corbett (1987:318) establishes a typological pattern on the basis of data drawn from various Slavic languages - a "control hierarchy". He submits that the "P[ossessive] A[djective] can control attributive modifiers only if it can also control relative pronouns only if it can also control personal pronouns." See also Skorvid (1981) on the syntactic features of denominative adjective in Old Czech with reference to other Slavic languages.

³⁸ Contrast Vaillant (1977).

Различие между существительным и прилагательным в языке, доступном наблюдению, в историческое время уменьшается по направлению к прошедшему.³⁹

He goes on to say that adjectives evolved from nouns, and conversely, that in many cases nouns originated as adjectives (59). Adjectival agreement is a younger phenomenon.⁴⁰

Jakubinskij (1953:210-211) agrees with this point of view, hypothesizing the existence of a certain "general nominal category":

справедливо указывают на то, что между существительным и прилагательным первоначально нет никакого грамматического различия; обе грамматические категории выделяются из общей категории имени, которое используется то как название предмета, то как название признака.⁴¹

The undetermined origin of "truly possessive" suffixes has also suggested to some scholars that the denominative adjective may have evolved as a noun. The suffix *-ov-* is considered by some to share its descent with the same formant of the

³⁹ *'The difference between the noun and the adjective in an observable language historically is less in the direction towards the past.'*

⁴⁰ It is interesting that support for such a view is drawn by Potebnja from works of the last century, some of which obviously deal with gestalt perception, though they do not use the term itself. Potebnja (1968:62) quotes Paul: *Что обозначение простых качеств новее обозначений комплексов (совокупности качеств), это разумеется само собою, если исходить из того, что цельные образы (anschauungen) служат первоначальным основанием всему. И здесь то, что одно качество оттесняет на задний план все остальные, заключенные в комплексе, сначала могло происходить лишь т. о., что на тот раз так это понималось говорящим. ('It goes without saying that the designation of simple qualities is newer than that of complexes (the sum of qualities), if one proceeds from the fact that whole images (anschauungen) serve as an elementary basis for everything. And here, the fact that this one quality pushes all of the others comprising the complex into the background could initially come about only due to the fact that it was then interpreted by the speaker in that way.')*

⁴¹ *'It has been justly pointed out that initially there is no grammatical difference between noun and adjective; both grammatical categories have stemmed from a general nominal category, which is used both for names of things and for names of attributes.'*

genitive in *-u* declension found in other forms: e.g. dative singular *synovi*, genitive plural *synovъ*, etc. (Vaillant 1929:40-42; Frolova 1963:7-8,27; Zverkovskaja 1986:38). This formant is most widely associated with proper personal noun stems. The interdependence of the *-ovi* dative in nouns of the genitive in *-a* declension and personal adjectives in *-ov-* formed from the same noun stems has been already mentioned. It may not be insignificant that the genitive in *-u* declension, which already constituted a minor type in Common Slavic, included exclusively masculine nouns, although only a few of these were animate: *synъ* 'son' and *volъ* 'ox'.

The origin of the suffix *-in-* is similarly uncertain. Many linguists follow Meillet's (1905:440-441) view, according to which this suffix is an outcome of the merger of stem-final /b/ and the initial /b/ of the Common Slavic suffix *-bn-*.⁴² There also have been attempts to explain the origin of the *-in-* suffix by means of the genitive or dative singular ending of the genitive in *-i* declension, to which *-nъ* was added (Zverkovskaja 1986:45; Marojević 1983a:44).

Quite a different opinion concerning the suffixes *-ov-* and *-in-* has been expressed by Šaxmatov (1941:492), who remarks that they are identical with the demonstrative pronominal stems. This fact, if not simply fortuitous (it cannot be excluded that the two suffixes share their origin with demonstrative pronouns, similar to the suffix *-*j-*), may contribute to the idea of individuation that they tend to convey. For instance, Vinogradov (1947/1986:166-167) writes that the suffix *-in-* is prominently linked with "the sense of singularity and individualizing isolation" ("значение единичности, индивидуализирующего обособления") in modern Russian, as revealed by such nouns as *гражданин* 'a citizen', *дворянин* 'a noble

⁴² For example, Unbegaun (1935:330).

ман', *крестьянин* 'a peasant', *хворостина* 'a stick', or *картофелина* 'a potato'.⁴³ This feature is also apparent in the OESl attestation in (10) above.

Some even speak of the special "demonstrative nature" of *-ov-* and *-in-* adjectives (Vinogradov 1947/1986:166), since they unequivocally express the quality of belonging to a single definite entity (denoted by the stem of the corresponding noun). This individualizing ability is also reflected in the productive use of these adjectives in the formation of Russian family names - which were originally patronymics. In contrast, as Flier (1974:89) comments, OCS adjectives formed by proper noun stems do not appear with the suffix *-ьsk-*.

On the topic of the possible pronominal etymology of the above-mentioned suffixes, it should be noted that *-*j-* may also have originated as a demonstrative pronoun. It can be reconstructed as a constituent in personal possessive pronouns: singular *mojb* 'my', *tvojb* 'your', *svojb* 'one's own', and plural *našb* 'our', *vašb* 'your' (Šaxmatov 1957:171), and in the interrogative possessive pronoun *čbjb* 'whose' (Vaillant 1958:465)⁴⁴ - all of which follow the same pattern of declension. The stem of the demonstrative pronoun **jb* also participates in the formation of long-form (definite) adjectives.⁴⁵

As for denominative adjectives, the *-*j-* suffix is of course no longer present in its original form during the OESl period; but its vestigial existence is revealed by the

⁴³ See also Večerka (1963:196). Meillet (1905:448) gives OCS examples of the "singulative value" of this suffix.

⁴⁴ Meillet (1905:377) believes that *čbjb* 'whose' contains *-bj-*.

⁴⁵ It is interesting that the third person possessive pronoun is etymologically the genitive case of the personal pronoun, and not an adjectival form, as is that of the first and second person. This can be explained by the inherent definiteness and animacy of the latter - features not necessarily present in the third person.

stem-final consonant alternation. For example: *Vsěvolodъ* ‘Vsěvolod’ - *Vsěvolozь* ‘Vsěvolod’s’, or *отць* ‘father’ - *отцьь* ‘father’s’.

As mentioned earlier, denominative adjectives (except those in *-ьsk-*, however few) constitute the only group that has partially preserved its nominal declension pattern (or short form), at least in some cases of the paradigm.⁴⁶ These adjectives can still be used attributively, in contrast to other short-form adjectives employed only predicatively, which have thus become indeclinable. However, in OESl all short-form adjectives - not just denominative - are widely attested attributively⁴⁷, as exemplified in (80)-(85) below:

- (80) оже придетъ *кръвавъ* моуже на дворъ или *снъ* то видока ему не искати
 ‘if a bleeding or bruised man comes to the court, he is not to look for a witness’ (Russ. Pr. 29, l 617v)
- (81) а оже кто всядеть на чюужь конь не прашавъ
 ‘and if someone mounts somebody else’s horse without asking’ (Russ. Pr. 33, 34, l 618)
- (82) князь смольнескыи Мьстиславъ Двдвь снъ прислалъ въ Ригу своего лоучьшего попа Ерьмея и съ нимъ *оумьна* моужа Пантеля
 ‘Prince of Smolensk Mstislav, son of David, sent to Riga his best priest Jeremej and a clever man Pantelej with him’ (1229 Tr., 4)
- (83) слово *добро* от Фомъ к Есифу
 ‘a kind word from Foma to Jesif’ (BBL #14, 15th c.)
- (84) паки то же Иеремия ре^ч <е> тако гл <аголе>ть г <оспод>ь се
 кляхся имянемъ моимъ *великомъ*

⁴⁶ Conversely, according to Flier (1974:82), those modern Slavic languages that still preserve the distinction between long and short forms (i.e. different declensional patterns) have *-ьsk-* adjectives only in long form.

⁴⁷ The gradual decrease in the attributive usage of short form adjectives is nicely illustrated by the following statistics: in East Slavic manuscripts of the 11th-14th centuries they represent 29.3% of all adjectives, while only 14.4% in those of 15th-18th century - that is, twice as few (Borkovskij, ed. 1968:50).

'again Jeremiah said the same: Thus the Lord says, "I swore by my great name"' (Laur. Chron. 986, l 33 (98))

(85) посемь же Володимеръ живяше въ законѣ
 $x < рь > ^c < т > ъ я н < ь > ст ѣ$

'after that Volodimir lived according to Christian law' (Laur. Chron. 989, l 42 (121))

Despite attempts to include denominative adjective in the nominal paradigm, and all the evidence for the minimal degree of "adjectivity" manifested in this category, there is no doubt that at the historically documented stage, the denominative adjective belongs to a grammatical class of adjectives, and not nouns, irrespective of its possible origin. Nouns are assigned to gender, whereas adjectives are inflected for gender and number.⁴⁸

One notes that the syntactic ability of the denominative adjective to have a noun in apposition or to govern another adjective, pronoun, participle or subordinate clause is due to the highly individualized lexical meaning of its nominal stem. Potebnja (1968:410) concludes:

то, что определение и приложение относится к этому прилагательному так, как если бы на месте его стояло существительное . . . объяснимо лишь тесною связью этого прилагательного с существительным, от коего оно произведено, иначе говоря, тем, что прилагательное немедленно восстанавливает в мысли субстанцию, к коей оно относится. Из этого не следует, что оно есть не прилагательное, а существительное.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See Corbett's (1987:300-301) similar argument about Upper Sorbian denominative adjectives, with reference to inflectional versus derivational morphology.

⁴⁹ *'The fact that an attribute and an apposition relate to this adjective as if a noun were in its place . . . can only be explained by the close connection of this adjective with the noun from which it has been formed - in other words, by the fact that the adjective immediately recreates in the mind the substance to which it refers. It does not follow from this that it is not an adjective but a noun.'*

Ivanov (1989:133) expresses a similar view, stressing that a denominative adjective denotes "a concrete possessor"; therefore it is the corresponding noun that serves as grammatical head in such constructions.

As has been already shown, the highly definite meaning of the personal nominal stem tends to be correlated with a high degree of definiteness conveyed through the addition of a particular adjective-forming suffix. It appears that the adjectival suffixes form a hierarchy of their own, depending on their lexical and/or morphological compatibility with certain types of nominal stems and the degree of referential definiteness conveyed. The prototypical possessive suffixes are *-ov-* and *-in-*. Gradually less individualizing are *-*j-*, *-bñ-* and *-bj-*. Those lexical features of the nominal stem (proper, personal and mature) that have been singled out as relevant for the hierarchy of features - as well as the referential feature definite - regulate the selection of the adjectival suffix. A decrease in the degree of the presence of these features towards the bottom of the hierarchy, for instance, explains the inability of nouns lower on the hierarchy to form an individual personal adjective. The majority of denominative adjectives formed from noun stems in this position are those in *-bšk-*. The former usually express "generic, categorial possession or affiliation" (Zverkovskaja 1986:51) - though other suffixes such as *-*j-* and *-bj-* are attested low on the hierarchy as well (depending on the type of stem with which they combine).

Moreover, although rare, *-bšk-* adjectives formed from proper personal stems acquire a similar meaning, having nothing to do with individual possession. These are instances in which a proper noun becomes "almost common, generalized" in its

meaning, such as in the example cited by Zverkovskaja (1986:51) from the Rjazan Nomocanon of 1284: *o < m > adamьcьkazo zpbxa* ‘from Adam’s sin’.

The adjectives formed by *-bn-* are predominantly attested with inanimate stems, most typically express qualitative meaning (rather than denoting a particular referent), and are so to say the most ‘adjectival’ of all the groups discussed.

It is significant that the lack of the above-mentioned features (particularly referential definiteness in both the corresponding nominal stem and the adjective-forming suffix) is compensated for by the use of a bare genitive modifier in the form of a noun instead of the denominative adjective, when it is necessary to express definiteness, as will be shown in the following chapter.

The suffixes examined above form a hierarchy which overlaps in many respects with the **Hierarchy of Features** (Chapter One).

The Suffix Hierarchy

-ov-, -in-

(*-*j-*)

-bn-

-bj-

-bck-

-bn-

It is imperative to bear in mind the gradual nature of this hierarchy and the mutual encroachment of suffixes onto neighbouring (and sometimes even distant) domains. It is easier to determine the opposite poles of the hierarchy than to arrange the suffixes in the middle.

Particularly interesting is the elusive, seemingly omnipresent suffix *-*j-*. Depending on the lexical features of the nominal stem to which it is added, it may appear at every level of the hierarchy (e.g. *Jaroslavъ* 'Jaroslav's', *Faraonъ* 'Pharaoh's', *knjažъ* 'of a prince', *proročъ* 'of a prophet', *medvěžъ* 'of a bear').

However, as previously explained, this suffix is strictly speaking already non-existent at the time of the records. This perhaps accounts for its fluctuation along the hierarchy. The rudimentary suffix was increasingly replaced by a newer *-ov-* with proper personal stems at the top of the hierarchy. At least, based on this downwards trend, *-*j-* should be assigned a relatively lower (although uncertain) place.

Clearly, one can speak only of discernible tendencies in adjective formation. Zverkovskaja (1964:297), in her study of parallel attestations of *-ьsk-* and *-ьн-* adjectives formed from the same nominal stem, describes the OESl trends in such terms. One of these is, for example, the following:

Взаимопрокиновение суффиксов на периферии отдельных сфер, в каждой из которых обычным было употребление лишь одного из этих суффиксов, а также на стыке разных значений одной основы (одушевленность - неодушевленность и т. д.)⁵⁰

The suffix hierarchy is regulated by lexical features: proper, personal, mature. However, morphological features (declensional membership) of the nominal stem may play a decisive role in their compatibility with certain suffixes, particularly *-ov-* and *-in-*. Conversely, morphological features sometimes rank lower than lexical. This is suggested by such formations as *Iudovъ* 'of Judas', as well as by the productivity of the suffix *-ьн-* with stems denoting kinship and clan terms, irrespective of their declensional membership.

⁵⁰ 'The mutual encroachment of suffixes on the periphery of separate spheres, in each of which the use of only one of these suffixes was usual, and also at the junction of various meanings of a single stem (animacy - inanimacy, etc.)'

Although the selection of a particular suffix tends to be controlled by the morphological and lexical features of the nominal stem, there is no strict correlation with a certain lexical or even morphological type of nominal stem among these adjective-forming suffixes.

Phonological features, such as stem-final consonant or the syllabic composition of the nominal stem, may have been initially relevant for the formation of adjectives with the help of the suffixes *-*j-* and *-bj-*. Stems ending in a labial or nasal consonant tend to combine with the suffix *-*j-*, while dental stems rarely do (Vaillant 1958:598). Stems of adjectival origin ending in *-k-/c-* also show a preference for this suffix (which can be interpreted both as a lexical and a phonological feature). Finally, referential features (definite/indefinite) are also prominent in the hierarchical organization of these suffixes. Thus, adjectives with *-bsk-* hardly ever have definite reference.

Like the hierarchy of features, the suffix hierarchy is a linguistic gestalt, in that it recognizes features of various natures, many of which are identical to those regulating the distribution of nominative- versus genitive-accusative. The suffix hierarchy is in fact an extension of this hierarchy. This explains the correlations observable in the pattern of attestation of denominative adjectives and the form of the accusative case of the corresponding noun. It will be shown that the instances of attestation of a bare genitive modifier increase when an adjective formed from the nominal stem contains one of the suffixes lower on the hierarchy. The feature motivating this phenomenon is definiteness, otherwise lacking in both the suffixes lower on the hierarchy (such as *-bj-* and *-bsk-*), and in the noun stems with which they correlate. Unmodified genitive case of a noun used attributively is practically unattested with nouns at the top of the hierarchy, while it more often alternates with

denominative adjectives formed from noun stems lower on the hierarchy, and from suffixes occupying the bottom of the suffix hierarchy.

The following chapter examines OESl attestations of denominative adjective and adnominal genitive case - the latter still found quite exceptionally during the period under consideration. The monopoly of the genitive case in modern East Slavic (particularly Russian) is especially interesting to contrast with the situation in OESl. The initial stage of this historical reversal, documented by the texts, provides valuable information about the features reflected in the pattern of attestations.

CHAPTER THREE

DISTRIBUTION OF DENOMINATIVE ADJECTIVE AND ADNOMINAL GENITIVE CASE

It has been generally accepted that the adnominal genitive and denominative adjective are attested in nearly complementary distribution in early Slavic.¹ If a head noun has a modifier consisting of a single item, this modifier usually takes the form of a denominative adjective. If the modifier is itself modified - it adopts the form of a noun in a genitive case. A nice contrast illustrating this distribution is found in (1):

- (1) а С<вя>гославъ сѣде Кыевѣ прогнавъ брата своего преступивъ заповѣдь *отню* паче же Б<о>жю велии бо есть грѣхъ<ъ> преступающе заповѣдь *о<т>ца своего*
'and Svjatoslav reigned in Kiev having banished his brother, having violated (his) father's precept, or rather God's (precept), for it is a great sin to violate the precept of one's father' (Laur. Chron. 1073, l 61v (183))

The presence of the possessive reflexive pronoun *своего* 'one's own' calls for the genitive rather than the adjective, as opposed to the first instance where the adjective *отню* 'father's' is used, because it is not further modified.

It is said that in OESL a bare modifier virtually always takes the form of a denominative adjective (Borkovskij, ed. 1968:94):

- (2) Сим и Хамъ и Афеть раздѣливше землю жрѣбьи метавше не преступати никомуже въ жрѣбии *братень*

¹ See, for example, Trubetzkoy (1937), Corbett (1987:324), Richards (1976).

‘Shem, Ham and Japhet having divided the land, having cast lots not to transgress a brother’s lot’ (Laur. Chron., 1 2v (5))

- (3) *яко не възхотѣ противити ся любъве ради Х<ристосо>вы*
 ‘as he did not want to resist for the sake of the love of Christ’ (L. of B. & G., 11r.6)

A modifier can be modified in its turn by a pronoun, another adjective, or a participle, as well as by a subordinate clause; it can also have a noun phrase in apposition. Under these conditions genitive is usually used. Examples contrasting with (2) and (3) are listed below:

- (4) *и створиша град во имя брата своего старѣишаго и нарекоша имя ему Киевъ*
 ‘and they built a city in the name of their eldest brother and gave the name Kiev to it’ (Laur. Chron., 1 4 (9))
- (5) *и оттоль оутвърди ся таковъй праздникъ м<е>с<я>ца мая въ 20 въ славоу и чьсть с<вя>тымъ м<у>ч<ь>н<и>кома бл<а>г<о>д<а>тию г<оспод>а наш<е>го Ис<усь> Х<рист>а²*
 ‘and since then such a holiday was established on May 20 in glory and honour of the (two) holy martyrs by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ’ (L. of B. & G., 21a.19)
- (6) *Мстиславъ же не послуша рѣчи Всеволода стрья своего хотяща ему добра*
 ‘but Mstislav did not listen to the words of his (paternal) uncle Vsevolod, who wished him good’ (Laur. Chron. 1177, 1 128v (340))

² The name *Isu(sъ) Xristosъ* ‘Jesus Christ’ is often treated as a compound, the first part being indeclinable. Compare the adjective: *въ образѣ Ис<у>с<ь> Х<рист>о^совѣ* ‘in the image of Jesus Christ’ (Laur. Chron. 1074 1 66v (197)). Makarova (1954:19-20) reports a similar indeclinable use of the appositive adjective *knjazъ* ‘of a prince’ in OESl charters, sometimes even connected with the following proper noun by a vowel /o/. See also Borkovskij (1949:285).

The idea that common Slavic prefers the denominative adjective as a bare modifier, whereas other Indo-European languages use bare adnominal genitive, has been conveyed in numerous works.³ A consensus has not been reached as to which of the two alternatives might reflect the original state of proto-Indo-European.⁴ As for OESl, in Novgorod birch bark letters covering the period of the 11th-15th centuries constructions with the adjective are absolutely predominant (Zaliznjak 1993:271). There are only a few exceptions to such a distribution, in the form of a bare genitive. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

This peculiarity of Slavic is especially apparent in OCS translation technique: the Greek genitive is typically rendered by a denominative adjective (Buslaev 1881:421). Researchers thus conclude that the two morphosyntactic alternatives in Slavic are each used under specific conditions, the typical construction being that with the adjective:

Наблюдения над материалом древнерусских памятников и памятников более позднего времени дают нам возможность сделать вывод о том, что в старом языке употребление родительного падежа было ограничено и в большинстве случаев вызвано невозможностью употребления в определенных условиях притяжательного прилагательного. [*italics mine* - E. B.]⁵

Only when the adjective cannot possibly be used is the genitive employed instead:

Приименный (адноминальный) родительный падеж имен одушевленных употребляется лишь если он сопровождается

³ Corbett (1987:322) notes that adjectives were also used in Tocharian instead of genitive case. Ivanov (1989:18-19) mentions other dead Indo-European languages that may have exhibited the same phenomenon.

⁴ See Meillet (1897:148), Wackernagel (1908), Watkins (1967:2194), Potebnja (1968:384).

⁵ 'Observations on the material of old Russian monuments as well as monuments of a later period provide us with the opportunity to conclude that in the old language use of the genitive case was limited, and in the majority of cases was caused by the impossibility of employing a possessive adjective under certain circumstances' (Makarova 1954:9). See also Richards (1976:260,262).

определяющим словом . . . в противном случае он *обязательно* заменяется притяжательным прилагательным. *[italics mine - E. B.]*⁶

Makarova (1954:27) believes that the adjective is impossible to use if the modifier is further modified by an attribute, as in (4)-(6) above, or an apposition - (15)-(18) below - or is itself in a form of a substantivized adjective or participle, as in the following citations:

- (7) да часть еґ<о> сирѣчѣ<ь> иже еґ<о> боудѣ<е>ть по закону да возмеґ<ь> ближнии оубьенаґ<о> а и жена оубившаґ<о> да имбеґ<ь> толицем же пребоудѣ<е>ть по закону
 'and his share, that is - which is his by law - shall be taken by a relative of the murdered (one), and the wife of the murderer shall have as much as is prescribed by law' (Laur. Chron. 912, l 17 (34))
- (8) тѣло с<вя>т<аа>го то же не врежено бысть
 'the body of the holy one was the same, not decayed' (L. of B. & G., 16в.5)
- (9) инѣгда пакы видѣ единѣ от болярѣ х<рист>олюбыца Изяслава яздяцо томоу нѣколи въ ноци на поли яко 16 попрыщѣ от монастыря *блаженааго*
 'and sometimes again one of the boyars saw Christ-loving Izjaslav, who was riding once at night in the field 16 furlongs from the monastery of the blessed one' (L. of Th., 47в.9)

In (9), the adjective *блаженааго* 'the blessed one' may be interpreted syntactically as an attribute of the noun *монастыря* 'monastery', since both are in the genitive singular. However, pragmatically, it is known that it is the monastery of the blessed one (namely Theodosius) that is meant, and not 'the blessed monastery', so the syntactic relations are those of government, not agreement.

⁶ 'Adnominal genitive case of animate nouns is used only if it is accompanied by an attribute . . . otherwise it is obligatorily replaced by a possessive adjective' (Trubetzkoy 1937:16).

The traditional search for rigid rules to regulate the distribution is apparent in studies of denominative adjective versus adnominal genitive distribution. A well-defined set of either morphological or syntactic constraints is said to be responsible for a certain form. Rather than to analyze the alleged exceptions as revealing certain general tendencies, the dominant approach has been to cast them out. Moreover, lexical and referential features of the noun/noun stem involved in the selection of particular forms have escaped the attention of most investigators.

The situation with regard to the form of the OESl modifier, as described in numerous works,⁷ is reported to parallel that of OCS, and therefore to approximate reconstructed Common Slavic (Richards 1976:262). The distribution in modern Slavic languages - particularly those that still make wide use of the denominative adjective, such as Slovak, Sorbian and Serbo-Croatian - also follows the same trend (Marojević 1983a:7; Ivanova 1974 and 1975; Corbett 1987). In OCS, however, there are a number of attestations manifesting mutual encroachment upon domains of complementary distribution (Huntley 1984). These OCS data have been neglected in the majority of works. Such attestations echo the hierarchical manner of denominative adjective formation that was described in the previous chapter, and thus provide more evidence for the gradual nature of linguistic phenomena of any order, as postulated by this thesis. They also support the hypothesis that a distribution which turns out not to be complementary - especially in OCS - manifests only strong tendencies, and not firm rules.

In OESl, these exceptional examples are still fewer, and almost exclusively concern common nouns attested in the form of an adnominal genitive case instead of

⁷ Such as Večerka (1963), Trubetzkoy (1937), Huntley (1984), to name a few.

a denominative adjective.⁸ On the other hand, denominative adjectives (particularly those with individual personal reference) are attested instead of the genitive even though they are further modified.

As mentioned at the end of Chapter Two, the use of unmodified genitive is influenced by, among other things, the referential feature definite. Common noun stems do not form individual personal adjectives. Their stems are not inherently definite. Nor do they tend to combine with the adjective-forming suffixes at the top of the suffix hierarchy. On the contrary, adjectives formed from such stems tend either to have random singular reference, or to refer to a group of individuals. Finally, they can simply denote a quality. Therefore, in order to express a definite reference to a specific individual, the adnominal genitive case tends to be employed.

In contrast, a modifier expressed by a proper personal noun consistently takes the form of an adjective. Of course, syntactically speaking, proper nouns are not usually modified, except by a limited number of adjectives - such as *blažnъjъ* 'blessed', *svjatъjъ* 'holy/saint', *čъstъnъjъ* 'honorable', etc. (Makarova 1954:11). For example:

- (10) и зача от нея сего С < вя > топлька *оканънааго*
 'and he begot from her this vile Svjatopolk' (L. of B. G., 8в.21)
- (11) *блаженааго* же Бориса объртѣвъше
 'and having wrapped the blessed Boris' (L. of B. G., 12г.2)

Yet modification as a syntactic feature is not the only reason for such nouns to be employed in the form of the denominative adjective. Proper personal nouns are inherently definite - the feature preserved in the corresponding individual personal

⁸ The specific OCS stems involved are *mož-* 'man', *močënik-* 'martyr', *prorok-* 'prophet', *pravъdъnik-* 'righteous one', *učenik-* 'disciple', *grěšъnik-* 'sinner', *rab-* 'slave', *gospodin-* 'master' (Huntley 1984:224-225).

adjective. Consequently, there is no need to express definiteness by any additional means (as is the case with common nouns) by employing a different morphosyntactic form, namely that of the bare genitive case.

Despite the above-mentioned observations on the similarities in the distribution of the two possessive constructions in OCS and OESl, a close comparison of OCS data with those of the earliest stage of OESl reveals that the situations in the two languages differ considerably. Early OESl is much closer to the complementary distribution described above, while OCS has more numerous instances of clear interchangeability among common nouns, some even with no semantic consequences (Huntley 1984; Corbett 1987). Such free variation appears to be a much later phenomenon in OESl. Vidnes (1958:167) writes:

Первые примеры родительного падежа принадлежности, варьирующие с притяжательным прилагательным, в русских повестях я нахожу в *Повести о Савве Грудцине*; а именно в разных списках, принадлежащих к XVIII-му веку.⁹

This in turn suggests that OESl, as attested in the earliest original sources, is more conservative than OCS in its employment of the bare genitive modifier.

The almost exclusive usage of the denominative adjective in OESl stands in sharp contrast to the situation in modern Russian, with its nearly total predominance of bare genitive.¹⁰ The denominative adjective has remained in use within a limited

⁹ *'The first examples of the genitive of possession alternating with possessive adjectives in Russian I find in Russian tales, in the "Tale of Savva Grudcyn", to be precise, in various editions belonging to the 18th century.'* See also Borkovskij, ed. (1978:152), Makarova (1954:28).

¹⁰ Ivanova (1975:151-152) provides interesting statistics on the ratio of bare genitives to denominative adjectives in modern Slavic languages, stressing that Russian, together with Ukrainian, Belorussian and Polish, form a group of languages with a preference for genitive case constructions. Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, on the other hand, manifest a clear predilection for the adjective, thus paralleling the state of old East Slavic, as described here. Polish has the lowest ratio of denominative adjective (5.8%), followed by Russian (22.3%), Ukrainian (48.9%), and Belorussian (64.6%).

lexical sphere: that of the diminutives of proper names (masculine and feminine) with nominative in *-a*, and kinship terms (Vinogradov 1947/1986:167).¹¹ This dramatic change is quite recent. As Ivanov (1989:17) remarks:

Поэтический язык вплоть до начала 20-х годов систематически избегает конструкций с родительным притяжательным типа «дворец губернатора, жеребец предводителя», заменяя их формами притяжательных прилагательных - *губернаторский дворец, предводителей жеребец*.¹²

Therefore, the claim made by Makarova (1954:8) for "the absence of parallelism in the usage of constructions with possessive adjectives and the genitive case" is true only with respect to the earliest East Slavic situation. Even here, one comes across isolated instances of violations of this distribution, such as a bare genitive, side by side with the expected modified genitive:

- (12) они же видѣвъше *отрока* простость и ризами же хоудами облечена
'and they, having seen the simplicity of the boy and him being dressed in poor clothes' (L. of Th., 316.1-2)
- (13) да и тамо *добляаго отрока* житие просияеть
'and there too the life of the valiant boy will become renowned' (L. of Th., 27в.7-8)

The nouns most likely to be attested in the form of unmodified adnominal genitive are those lower on the hierarchy, as will be discussed shortly.

¹¹Note that the majority of the nouns in question belong to the declension with nominative in *-a* (genitive in *-y*), so that the corresponding adjectives are formed with the help of the suffix *-in*. (See Chapter Two.) As for the masculine/neuter declension with genitive in *-a*, there seem to be a tendency to use the adnominal genitive rather than the adjective: compare *комната брата* 'the room of (one's) brother' - genitive, and *папина комната* 'papa's room' - adjective. The same is true for diminutives of this declension: *комната Толика* 'the room of Tolik'. Thus, morphological features appear to control the distribution in modern Russian.

¹² 'Poetic language up to the beginning of the 20s systematically avoids constructions with genitive of possession of the type 'the palace of a/the governor', 'the horse of the marshal', replacing them with possessive adjectives: 'a/the governor's palace', 'the marshal's horse'.'

Conversely, despite the syntactic constraints indicated above, the denominative adjective is attested when modified by a dative personal pronoun:

- (14) *в отци ему манастири*
 ‘in the monastery of his father’ (Suzd. Chron. 1154, l 114 (342))

The majority of counter-examples to the complementary distribution are those with the denominative adjective, rather than a noun in the genitive case in apposition with a noun phrase. Note that all the attestations below have a definite reference, either due to the fact that the adjective is formed from a proper personal stem and one of the suffixes high on the suffix hierarchy ((15) and (16)), or to the context ((17) and (18)):

- (15) *о^т перваго лѣта Михайлова до перваго л<ѣ>^т<а> Олгова рускаго князя*
 ‘from the first year (of the reign) of Mixail to the first year of Oleg, the Russian prince’ (Laur. Chron., l 6v)
- (16) *князь Володимерьскыи . . . поя за ся княгыню Всеславию дочь князя Витепскаго*
 ‘the prince of Volodimer married the princess, the daughter of Vseslav, the prince of Vitebsk’ (Suzd. Chron. 1175, l 126v (374))
- (17) *бѣ бо Аврамъ поялъ братънѣ (sic!) тыщерь Арону Сару*
 ‘for Abraham had taken the daughter of his brother Aaron, Sarah’ (Laur. Chron. 984, l 30v (92))
- (18) *Романъ княжь сынъ Володимеръ*
 ‘Roman, a son of the prince, of Volodimir’ (Suzd. Chron. 1119, l 97 (292))

Attestations of bare genitives in the earliest East Slavic sources are reported to be extremely scarce (Marojević 1983:55; Borkovskij, ed. 1968:166). Ironically,

some of those few that have been listed as such have been erroneously interpreted. Makarova (in Marojević 1983a:55) cites an attestation from the *Primary Chronicle* as a bare genitive modifier, when in fact it is further modified by the prepositional phrase *в лудѣ* ‘in a coat’, and by a following participial clause:

- (19) видѣ обиходяща бѣса въ образѣ Ляха в лудѣ и носяща в приполѣ цвѣткы
 ‘he saw a demon walking about in the image of a Ljах, wearing a coat and carrying flowers in its flap’ (Laur. Chron. 1074, l 64 (190))

Another alleged attestation of a bare genitive of a proper noun in (20) is cited by the same author out of context. As is clear from the following quotation, the noun *Есифа* ‘of Joseph’ is modified in its turn by a subordinate clause:

- (20) и гла^с его яки труба в народѣ и лице его яки *лице Есифа* иже бѣ поставиль его Егупетскыи ц^ѣ<ѣ>^с<а>рь втораго ц^ѣ<ѣ>^с<а>ря въ Егуптѣ
 ‘and his voice is like a trumpet in a crowd and his face is like the face of Joseph, the one whom the ruler of Egypt made the second ruler of Egypt’ (Suzd. Chron. 1263, l 168^v (477))¹³

A most peculiar error concerns the phrase in (21), also taken for the genitive:

- (21) радуитася н^е<е>б^е<е>^сная жителя въ *плоти анг^ела* быста
 ‘rejoice, you two inhabitants of heaven, you became angels in the flesh’ (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 47 (137))

It is puzzling that one would fail to interpret the noun *анг^ела* ‘angels’ as nominative dual in a passage consisting entirely of dual forms (with the single

¹³ Besides, this could be a Church Slavonicism. See Makarova (1954:16) for the same example from another source - which supports its possible OCS origin.

exception of the prepositional phrase *въ плоти* 'in the flesh'). Again citing out of context, Makarova treats the phrase *въ плоти анг<е>ла* as a bare genitive singular, standing for 'the flesh of the angel'. In fact, the form *анг<е>ла* is nominative dual, part of the compound nominal predicate *анг<е>ла быста* 'were (two) angels', while *въ плоти* 'in the flesh' modifies the noun 'angels'. The phrase thus means '(two) angels in the flesh'. Besides the failure to analyze the grammatical features of the noun *анг<е>ла* as being masculine nominative dual - indeed homonymous with genitive singular - it is puzzling that one would not hesitate to give the meaning of the phrase as 'the flesh of the angel'. Russian, for instance, knows the idiom *ангел во плоти* 'an angel in the flesh', which exists precisely because the flesh of an angel does not.¹⁴

Finally, allowance is often not made for Church Slavonicisms, such as the following two bare genitive attestations in (22), in a Psalter citation taken from Volodimir Monomakh's *Instruction*:

- (22) руцѣ свои оумыеть в крови грѣшника и реч<е> оубо
 ч<ь>л<о>в<ь>къ аще есть плодъ праведника
 'and he shall wash his hands in the blood of a sinner; for a man said, "If
 there is fruit (=reward) for a righteous one"' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 78
 (242))

As a comparison, there is an original East Slavic composition containing the denominative adjective *грѣшника* 'of a sinner' (indefinite) formed from the stem *grěšnik-* 'sinner', confirming the claim that OESl is more conservative in its use of the bare genitive:

¹⁴ Dal's (1863/1981) dictionary says: "*ангеломъ во плоти* называют не только человека кроткаго, благаго житія, но и вообще кого любятъ, ласкаютъ, кому льстятъ" ('*not only a humble person, leading a good life is called an "angel in flesh", but anyone who is loved, petted or flattered*')

- (23) и роука *грѣшника* не погубить насъ
 ‘and a hand of a sinner shall not destroy us’ (L. of B. & G., 17в.27)

Even as they are providing these false attestations, linguistic accounts of the subject fail to notice some genuine bare genitives. Thus, the widely quoted Makarova (1954:15) claims that there is only one attestation in the *Life of St. Theodosius*, while there are in fact six of them.¹⁵

All attestations of the bare genitive from the documents studied in this thesis will now be examined. First to be dealt with are those that cannot be considered fully reliable for various reasons.

The following previously uncited examples involve proper personal nouns (24), (25), (29)-(32):

- (24) прѣяша ц<ь>р<ь>к<о>въ *Дмитрия* Печеряне и нарекоша ю
 Петра съ грехом<ь> великиМ<ь> и неправо
 ‘the Pečerans took the church of Dmitrij and named it Peter’s with great
 sin and unjustly’ (Suzd. Chron. 1128, l 99v (299))

The omission of the implied adjective ‘saint’ - a standard modifier of a proper personal name when it metonymically refers to a church - may be the motivating factor for the bare genitive *Дмитрия* ‘of Dmitrij’ here. It obviously is not a church belonging to an individual called Dmitrij that is in question, but a church named after the saint of this name. Note that the second genitive *Петра* ‘of Peter’ is used even more elliptically - without the head noun.

¹⁵ The author also asserts that the number of OESl attestations totals only two for the period from the 11th to 15th centuries.

Similar to (24), the form *Feodora* ‘of Theodore’ in (25) must be also used elliptically without the modifier ‘saint’. It is known pragmatically that it is Saint Theodore who is referred to in this passage dealing with the church calendar:

- (25) и наста Феодора нед < е > ля поста и приспѣ Феодорова субѣта
 ‘and the week of the fast of Theodore came and there came the time for Theodore’s activities’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 86 (238))

Moreover, word-final *-a* may indicate dispalatalization of the palatal /f/, in which case the form *Феодора* would represent not a masculine noun in the genitive case, but a feminine denominative adjective. Contrast, however, the two attestations of the denominative adjective *Феодорова* in the same sentence (25), with *Феодоровы* (26) ‘Theodore’s’ (also formed by the suffix *-ov*), which follows closely in the same text:

- (26) в четвергъ Феодоровы нед < е > ли
 ‘on Thursday of/after Theodore’s week’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 86v (238))

Although variation between the adjective-forming suffixes *-*j-* and *-ov-* in the same stems is not infrequent in OESl (Chapter Two), the presence of two alternative forms in the same sentence is suspicious (albeit not impossible). As Marojević (1983:109) points out, the disappearance of *-*j-* first occurred in stems with final /f/ or /f/. Compare the adjective *Гедеоны* ‘of Gideon’, homographous with a noun:

- (27) иже избѣ браг < и > ю свою с < ы > ны Гедеоны
 ‘who killed his brothers, the sons of Gideon’ (Laur. Chron. 1019, l 49v (146))

The most likely interpretation of the form *Феодора*, then, is that it is a noun in the genitive case used elliptically. Comparison with other chronicles (e.g. *Radzivil*) confirms that the protograph must have had a modified genitive - *Феодора неделя*

святаго поста ‘the week of the fast of St. Theodore’. The position of the modifier *святаго* ‘saint/holy’ before the noun *поста* ‘fast’, rather than before *Феодора* ‘Theodore’ might have confused the scribe and provoked the omission.

A conveniently concise confirmation of the explanations suggested for both (24) and (25) is provided by (28):

- (28) заложѣ пр<ь>к<о>въ Мьстиславъ князь камену
с<вя>таѣ <о> Феодора
‘Prince Mstislav founded the stone church of Saint Theodore’ (Laur.
Chron. 1128, l 99v (299))

Similar to (25) above, the two forms *Володимерича* ‘of Volodimerič’ (29) and *Ярославича* ‘of Jaroslavič’ (30) are ambiguous as to their morphosyntactic form. They both can be alternatively interpreted as masculine singular genitives, or as feminine nominative singular adjectives agreeing with the head nouns *дружина* ‘prince’s army’ (collective) (29) and *см<е>рть* ‘death’ (30):

- (29) и погнаша по ни^х<ь> *Володимерича* дружина лучшая и биша и
женучи много
‘and the best army of Volodimerič set out after them and fought and
chased (them) a lot’ (Suzd. Chron. 1136, l 101 (304))
- (30) се ми хочеть быти *Ярославича* см<е>рть
‘here is about to happen the death of Jaroslavič’ (Suzd. Chron. 1149, l
108v (325))

Marojević (1982) discusses adjectives in *-ič-* homonymous with nouns (these are patronymics by origin). Frolova (1963:23) gives similar examples from common stems, such as *стягъ королевичь* ‘prince’s banner’ from the *Hyatian Chronicle* (1231).¹⁶ Although adjectives are more typically formed from among such noun

¹⁶ See also Marojević (1983b:58).

stems by the addition of the suffix *-ev-*, they are not attested in the earliest sources. Therefore, it cannot be conclusively stated that the ambiguous forms in (29) and (30) are not in fact adjectives, rather than nouns.

In contrast, the patronymic *Володимерковича* ‘of Volodimerkovič’ (31), formed identically to those in (29) and (30), can only be interpreted as the bare genitive of a noun:

- (31) здумаша боляре *Володимерковича* и рѣша князю своему
 ‘the nobles of Volodimerkovič made up their mind and said to their
 prince’
 (Suzd. Chron. 1153, l 113v (340))

It should be mentioned that this attestation (and the other two, if considered bare genitives) is not representative of the earliest state of affairs in OESl. It comes from the *Suzdal* part of the *Laurentian Chronicle*, which was composed quite late. (See Introduction.)

Consequently, only one of the attestations examined so far can be accepted without reservation as a bare genitive. The rest all have a potential alternative interpretation.

Zaliznjak (1995:140) considers the proper personal noun *Гришки* ‘Griška’s’ (32) as the only unambiguous unmodified genitive (including common nouns) in the birch bark letters:

- (32) а *Гришки* кожуюе свита сороцица
 ‘and Griška’s sheepskin jacket, a robe, a shirt’ (BBL #141, 13th c.)

Since (32) comes from a birch bark letter (a dubious source of data, according to some - see Introduction), and since it is a proper personal noun in a language otherwise extremely conservative in its use of the bare genitive, one may prefer to

remain skeptical. Another birch bark example - also previously counted as bare genitive - has been recently reinterpreted as an adjective with the ending missing (Zaliznjak 1995:340):

- (33) а я вѣде о жъ у васъ есте тѣварь *Ольскы <нь>*
 ‘but I know that you have Oleksa’s goods’ (BBL #548, 12th/13th c.)¹⁷

In Janin and Zaliznjak’s (1986:20) original reading, *Олескы <нь>* was interpreted as the genitive *Oleksy*.¹⁸

Besides this precedent, one should bear in mind that the same birch bark letter #141 with the apparent bare genitive (32) contains a denominative adjective formed from the same stem *Grišk-*, not to mention two more attestations of another adjective formed in the same way, from the proper personal stem *Kost-* and the suffix *-in-*:

- (34) а сапоги *Костини* а дроугии *Гришкени*
 ‘and the boots are Kost(j)a’s and the others are Griška’s’(BBL# 141, 13th c.)

Finally, it is worth recalling that both proper nouns belong to the declension with genitive in *-y*, which even in modern Russian is the most productive source of individual personal adjectives.

Therefore, considering the fact that (32) is a unique bare genitive in birch bark letters, and - more importantly - that proper personal nouns are in general extremely rarely attested in this morphosyntactic form in early Slavic, one must be cautious about taking the form *Гришкени* at face value. On the other hand, its uniqueness is not

¹⁷ See Zaliznjak (1993:270-275) for detailed discussion of these and other examples.

¹⁸ The consonant cluster is believed to represent */ks/*, not */sk/*, based on numerous other instances of a confusion in the order of these letters in birch bark letters.

automatically excluded.¹⁹ Although one might hesitate in making such an interpretation, it would not render the argument of this thesis wrong. As has been shown earlier with respect to the suffix hierarchy (Chapter Two), there are always marginal instances, attesting to the absence of any strict divisions between various stages in a hierarchy. In the light of the other possible and real bare genitives discussed above, it may well be that (32) is another attestation of a proper personal noun in this morphosyntactic form. Such evidence would only contribute to the idea that language, at any given stage in its history, is best explained in terms of the operation of tendencies.

From the preceding discussion it follows that there may be only two reliable attestations (although one is still not entirely unquestionable) of a bare genitive modifier among proper personal nouns in early OESl. This confirms the claim that nouns at the top of the hierarchy form individual personal adjectives and tend not to be used in the form of the unmodified genitive case, unless further modified.

Turning to common nouns, one finds a higher frequency of instances of the bare genitive, although not as high as in OCS. Among these attestations the lexical feature mature, as well as referential definiteness to a great extent, regulate the distribution of the unmodified genitive case of a noun versus denominative adjective. Morphological features (declensional membership) also play a role in the morphosyntactic outcome.

¹⁹ It is even possible that the noun is actually in the dative case. Zaliznjak (1995:57) states that the ending *-i* instead of *-ě* is a common feature in the birch bark letters, and is perhaps not merely orthographic. He also lists as dative another proper noun diminutive of exactly the same declension as *Griška: Mupouku* 'to Miroshka'.

The denominative adjective (35) and bare genitive (36) are interesting examples, since their use is parallel in many respects. The head nouns of both modifiers are formed from the same verbal stem. Both morphosyntactic variants have the same nominal stem *brat-* ‘brother’ and both are used with a definite reference:

(35) С<вя>гославъ же бѣ начало выгнанью *бра҃тню* желая больше власти

‘and Svjatoslav was the beginning of (his) brother’s banishment, wishing for more power’ (Laur. Chron. 1073, l 61v (182))

(36) о неправедном прогнании *брата*

‘about the unjust banishment of (his) brother’ (L. of Th., 586.32)

There is another attestation of the bare genitive *брата* ‘of the brother’, referring to the same person as in (36) above:

(37) и много указавъшо емоу о любви *брата*

‘and he instructed much about (his) brother’s love’ (L. of Th., 59v.19)

Denominative adjectives formed from the stem of kinship terms such as *brat-* by the suffix *-н-* (the position of which is low on the suffix hierarchy) are not individual personal adjectives. Being referentially generic, they may occasionally have a referent that is definite from the context, as does *бра҃тню* ‘of his brother’ in (35).²⁰

The use of the genitive case in (36) and (37) is obviously called for by referential definiteness. The two attestations of the bare genitive *брата* ‘of his brother’ are definite, because they both refer to the oldest of three princely brothers

²⁰ It may be significant that the *Radzivil* Chronicle has the individual personal adjective *Изяславлю* ‘of Izjaslav’ instead of *бра҃тню* ‘brother’s’ (35). Perhaps this substitution was induced precisely by the lack of definiteness in the latter adjective.

engaged in a feudal conflict. The brother had provoked the anger of his siblings and was thus banished.

Although the genitive in (35) and the adjective in (36) are used under the same syntactic and lexical conditions, and although both refer to the individual specified in the text, one can nevertheless speak of a tendency for the modifier to adopt the form of a bare genitive when its referent is definite, since the denominative adjective inherently lacks such reference. It is also important to keep in mind that when definite reference is intended, kinship terms, because of their deictic nature, tend to be modified by a possessive pronoun - which, being a syntactic constraint, considerably increases incidents of genitive case use. For example:

- (38) възврати брата своего на столъ
 'return your brother to the throne' (L. of Th., 606.9)

Finally, the noun *bratъ* is potentially ambiguous as to the lexical feature mature. This may contribute to its lower status on the hierarchy of features. As will be shown in Chapter Five, this noun is also attested in nominative-accusative.

Similar to (35) and (36), the two bare genitives in (39) and (40) (two versions of the same sentence) refer to a known individual. It is the psalmist David, who is denoted by the common nouns *пѣвца* and *пѣсника* 'singer':

- (39) да и здѣ наполнится писанье пѣвца
 'and here too the writing of the singer will be fulfilled' (Suzd. Chron. 1230, l 157v (456))
- (40) и здѣ исполнися (*sic!*) писанье пѣсника иже рече <е>
 'and here the writing of the singer shall be realized, who said...'
 (Suzd. Chron. 1230, l 157v (456))

As pointed out in Chapter Two, nouns with stem-final *-k-/-c-* (in (39), (40), and twice in (22)) refer, because of their adjectival origin, to the whole class of

individuals characterized by a certain quality. Adjectives formed from their stems (by use of the suffix *-*j-* or *-ьsk-*) also lack definite reference. It is no coincidence that such nouns represent the majority of bare genitive attestations. Therefore, in (39) and (40) the feature definite must be responsible for the use of the bare genitive.

The following discussion deals with a number of nouns attested in the genitive case that cannot really be considered as part of the competition between adnominal genitive and denominative adjective. Already in early Slavic, genitive is syntactically required by compounds consisting of a preposition and a postposition *въ мѣсто* 'in place'. This construction was historically grammaticalized into a single word invariably taking genitive - the modern Russian *вместо* 'instead'. The advanced stage of this grammaticalization is illustrated by the example in (41): *него* 'his' is a genitive of the third person personal pronoun, as opposed to the possessive *его* 'his' in (42):

- (41) посади сна своего Мъстислава . . . и посади в него мѣсто брата
своего
'he installed his son Mstislav and in his place installed his (own) brother'
(Laur. Chron. 1069, l 58v (173))
- (42) и сѣдяху около его дружина
'and his men sat beside him' (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 88 (265))

Contrast, however, the adjectival form of the reflexive pronoun *свое* in (43):

- (43) поимъ с собою Климета (*sic!*) его же игумена постави в *свое* мѣсто
'He took Kliment with him, the one whom he designated hegumen in his
own place' (Laur. Chron. 1091, l 70v (211))²¹

²¹ The *Radzivil* Chronicle has genitive *себе*.

Outside of this variation in pronominal forms, no attestations with alternating denominative adjective and the genitive case of a noun can be found.

The examples in (44)-(50) represent all the genitives attested with this compound pre-postposition. They are worth listing, in order to show that no hierarchy is observed by the nouns participating in the construction. In terms of their lexical features, the nouns range from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy. This also supports the idea that the genitive is the only syntactic possibility here:

- (44) Володимеръ же посади Д<а>в<и>да Володимери въ Ярополка мѣсто
 ‘And Volodimir put David in (the city of) Volodimir in Jaropolk’s place’
 (Laur. Chron. 1085, l 69 (205))
- (45) въ о<тъ>ца мѣсто
 ‘in place of a father’ (L. of B. & G., 9в.5-6)
- (46) имѣти тя хочю во о<тъ>ца мѣсто
 ‘I wish to have you for my father’ (Laur. Chron. 980, l 24 (76))
- (47) понеже вси имѣхуть и въ о<т>ца мѣсто
 ‘since everyone had him instead of a father’ (Laur. Chron. 1218, l 152 (444))
- (48) въ челядина мѣсто
 ‘in place of a servant’ (Russ. Pr. 38, l 618v)
- (49) въ пса мѣсто
 ‘in place of a dog’ (Russ. Pr. 40, l 619)
- (50) вожа (*sic!*) место
 ‘instead of rain’ (Laur. Chron. 1068, l 57 (169))

There are also abundant bare genitive attestations of two other common nouns *оцьсь* ‘father’ and *сынъ* ‘son’, in a comparable compound construction *въ имѣ* ‘in the name of’ that eventually fossilized into a preposition (Russian *во имя*) governing the genitive case. For example:

- (51) въ имѣ о<тъ>ца и с<ы>на и с<вя>т<а>го д<у>ха

'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 80 (245))

While the formulaic expression (51) with the genitive means 'in the name of', it is interesting that a different meaning - 'after oneself' - can be found when the same construction contains, as does (43) above, the reflexive possessive pronoun *свое* 'one's own' instead of genitive:

- (52) повелѣ рубити городъ на Вытечевѣ холму въ свое имя нарекъ
 С<вя>тополчѣ город
 'he ordered a city to be built on the hill of Vyteč, having named the city Svjatopolk's after himself' (Laur. Chron. 1095, l 76 (229))

There are no counter-examples to the bare genitive attestations among nouns in this construction either.

The idea that genitive was the original morphosyntactic form in this construction is supported by Meillet's (1897:45) OCS example from the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*: *въ имѣ г<оспод>и б<ог>а нашего* 'in the name of our Lord and God'. The phrase contains an older genitive *gospodi* 'Lord', as opposed to a younger *gospod(j)a*, which means that this use of the genitive is an old phenomenon in Slavic, rather than an innovation.

Večerka (1957:29) chooses to explain such attestations as (51) by *parallelismus membrorum*, so that the unmodified genitives *о<тъ>ца* 'father' and *с<ы>на* 'son' are triggered by the conjoint modified genitive *с<вя>т<а>го д<у>ха* 'Holy Spirit'. If the argument given above that the genitives in this expression cannot be in variation with denominative adjective is not convincing, one could still explain them by means of the position of the nouns *отць* 'father' and *сынъ* 'son' on the hierarchy. Both nouns/noun stems occupy a lower status, due to their lexical, morphological and referential features.

As has been discussed in Chapter Two, the stem of the noun *otьcь* does not form an individual personal adjective.²² The suffix *-*j-*, added in the formation of the corresponding denominative adjective, is lower on the suffix hierarchy. The denominative adjective *otьčь* ‘father’s’ does not normally have a definite reference - instead it tends to refer to a whole class of individuals.

As for the noun *synь*, it should be first of all pointed out that it originally belonged to a different declension (that with the genitive in *-u*), and hence its lower position on the hierarchy is influenced by this morphological feature.²³ Another morphological feature that contributes to the lower position of this noun concerns the inability of its stem to form an individual personal adjective. Actually, there are no attestations of any adjectives formed from the stem of this noun in the texts examined. In general, the denominative adjective *synovьнѣ* ‘of a son/sons’ seems to be rather scarcely attested in OESl texts.²⁴

Last but not least, the noun *synь* is inherently unstable as to the lexical feature mature. Thus, in OCS its accusative case form depends greatly on this feature (Huntley 1993:137).

It should be mentioned, however, that despite the presence of the various features responsible for the low position of these nouns on the hierarchy, there are no attestations of *otьcь* ‘father’ and *synь* ‘son’ as unmodified genitives, outside of the formula in (51) just discussed.

²² OESl *otьнѣ* is formed from a different stem - Proto-Indo-European **atta* ‘father’ (Meillet 1905:343).

²³ See more on this issue in Chapter Four.

²⁴ The stem involved in the adjective formation is not *syn-* but *synov-*, which is ambiguous as to its morphosyntactic status.

As for the third member of the Holy Trinity, the bare genitive $\delta < y > xa$ in (53), involves the meaning ‘spirit/soul’, not ‘the Holy Spirit’. (Of course, the presence of the soul in a being is one of the factors influencing the assignation of the respective noun to either animate or inanimate - Latin *anima* ‘soul’. Yet the Slavic noun *духъ* is ambiguous with respect to animacy). Another inanimate bare genitive (the neuter noun *бытья* ‘existence’) belonging to the same declension as the masculine noun is conjoined with it:

- (53) помилова бо ны пакы банею бытъя и обновленъ^М <ь> $\delta < y > xa$
 ‘for he had mercy on us by the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the spirit/soul’ (Laur. Chron. 988, l 41 (119))

The following attestation of the common noun $z < ocnod > a$ could be marginally interpreted as a bare genitive depending on the head noun of the passive participle *рекъша* ‘having said’:

- (54) от <ь> ц <ь> же нашъ Феодосии аще и старѣшинство приимъ
 не измѣни съмѣрениа своего *правила* на памяти $z < ocnod > a$ имѣя
 рекъша
 ‘but our Father Theodosius, although having received seniority, did not change his humility, remembering the rules of the Lord, who said’ (L. of Th., 36r.5)

The genitive $z < ocnod > a$ ‘Lord’s’ may in fact be syntactically motivated, being modified by a participial clause - if the participle *рекъша* ‘having said’ is interpreted as a masculine genitive singular referring to the noun $z < ocnod > a$ ‘Lord’s’. Alternatively, the participle could be neuter nominative plural, and thus refer to the noun *правила* ‘rules’. On pragmatic grounds, it may be assumed that it is rather the Lord who spoke, and not the rules - at least in a literal sense.

In the case of the alternate interpretation - if one were to consider $z < ocnod > a$ as bare genitive - such usage could be accounted for by lexical and morphological

features of this noun. The noun *gospodъ* ‘Lord’ is similar to *synъ* ‘son’, discussed above, in that its membership in the declension with genitive in *-a* is newly acquired. The stem of the noun *gospodъ* forms adjectives with the suffixes *-ън-* and *-ъск-*, which are low on the suffix hierarchy. Both morphological features contribute to the low position of this noun on the hierarchy of features. There is also a variation in referential definiteness characteristic of this noun. Its referent in Christian times is most often the Lord God - a unique being. However, this is a recent development, similar to the situation of the referential definiteness of the noun *bogъ* ‘God’ and its corresponding denominative adjective. (Chapter Two) The noun *gospodъ* may denote any master, in which case the reference is generic and thus inherently indefinite.

The only unambiguous OESl attestations of bare genitive among common personal nouns are represented by the following examples from the *Life of Theodosius*. Remarkably, all but one involve the same common noun *otrokъ* ‘youth/boy’:

- (55) си слышавъши м<а>ти его и чюдивъши ся о преоудрости
отрока и оттолѣ нача оставати ся его нъ враг не почиваше остря ю
на възбране *отрока* о таковѣм его съмѣрении
‘his mother, having heard this, and having marvelled at the wisdom of
the youth, since then began to leave him alone, but the enemy, not
sleeping, incited her to forbid the youth such meekness’ (L. of Th.,
29г.20)
- (56) они же видѣвше *отрока* простость и ризами же худами облечена
‘and they, having seen the simplicity of the youth and his being dressed
in poor clothes’ (L. of Th., 316.1-2)
- (57) обаче и на прочее сказание *отрока* исправления поидоу
‘however, I shall proceed to further stories about the boy’s good deeds
(L. of Th., 336.27)

Although the *Life of St. Theodosius* is an original East Slavic composition, it is interesting that Šaxmatov (1896:53) directly traces (57) to a translation of Balkan provenance, *The Life of St. Savva the Blessed*, which reads:

- (58) нъ азъ на чиньное сказание с<вя>т<а>го старьца исправления
възвращаюся
'but I am turning back to the orderly narration of the good deeds of the
holy elder'

Of course, the genitive *старьца* 'elder' (58), itself modified by the adjective *с<вя>т<а>го* 'holy', is syntactically motivated, so that the parallel bare genitive in (57) may not be completely reliable. Still, in the light of the multitude of attested bare genitives of the noun *отрокъ*, the reliability of this one example is not crucial.

Two more attestations of the same noun as a bare genitive modifier are given in (59) and (60):

- (59) повель же и женѣ его оутворити ся въ оутварь всякою на
прельщениѣ *отрока* и служити предъ нимъ
'and he ordered his (son's) wife to adorn herself in various clothes, in
order to attract the boy and serve before him' (L. of Th., 34в.16)
- (60) видѣвъ оубо бл<а>гынѣ б<ог>ѣ тѣрпение и сѣмьбрене *отрока*
'for the good God, having seen the patience and humility of the boy' (L.
of Th., 34г.20)

The position of *отрокъ* on the hierarchy of features is quite low, since it is characterized by the lexical features common and immature. According to Vasmer (1958/1987) *отрокъ* means 'one without the right to speak'. The fact that children and socially unfree individuals are, in legal terms, rather possessed than possessors, also contributes to the low hierarchical status of the corresponding nouns on the agent/possessor hierarchy. It is known that nouns denoting physically immature

beings metaphorically extend their denotation to social immaturity. Nouns denoting children are often polysemantic, in that they denote servants as well. Thus OESL *otrokъ* not only means 'boy/youth' but also 'servant'; and the substantivized adjective *dětskъ* means 'child/official of a low rank'. Similar evidence can be supplied from many other languages: e.g. Middle English *knave* 'male servant' < Old English *cnafa* 'boy, lad', French *garçon* 'boy', etc.

Moreover, as was shown already in Chapter Two, the adjectives in *-bj-* are not regularly attested with individual reference. It emerges, then, that in order to compensate for the lack of referential definiteness (due to lexical features of the nominal stem, as well as the low position of *-bj-* on the suffix hierarchy), the adnominal genitive case is used instead. This is the case in (55)-(57) above, since all the cited passages refer to the young Theodosius.

One more interesting point regarding *otrokъ* should be touched upon, having to do with its morphological features, namely declensional membership. The masculine noun *otrokъ* has a neuter doublet of the same stem - *otroč-e/-ā*.²⁵ Being genetically related and thus similar lexically, although different morphologically, they must be strongly linked to each other. The proof for this is provided by the following citations:

- (61) бы^с <ть> *отроча красно*
 'the child was beautiful' (Laur. Chron. 986, l 31v (94))
- (62) *отроча же рoстѣше кѣрмимѣ рoдителяма своимѣ*
 'and the child grew nurtured by his parents' (L. of Th., 276.7)

²⁵ It is interesting that a similar switch between the two genders in nouns denoting socially unfree persons is recorded in other Indo-European languages. As Jakubinskij (1953:168) points out, Latin *mancipium* 'slave' used to be neuter, since "средний род мог применяться и к лицам, когда к ним относились не как к лицам, не как к социально активным существам" ('neuter gender was applicable to persons when they were treated not like persons, not like socially active beings').

In (61), the attributive modifier *красно* 'beautiful' of the neuter singular noun *отроча* 'child' is also neuter. Contrast, however, the masculine singular passive participle *кърмимъ* 'nurtured' (62), which modifies the same neuter noun *отроча*.²⁶

Therefore, it can be suggested that the neuter doublet is responsible to some extent for the pattern of attestations of its masculine counterpart. This morphological double standard surely must have some role in compromising the declensional membership of the masculine variant, and thus contributing to its lower status on the hierarchy. After all, neuter typically equals inanimate (Šaxmatov 1941:451).

Inanimate masculine - (63)-(65) - and neuter - (66), (67) - nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a*, positioned lowest on the hierarchy of features, are indeed attested as bare genitives. For example:

- (63) онъ же надбѣвѣся цѣлованъи кр<ь>ста
'but he, relying on the kissing of the cross (=oath)' (Laur. Chron. 1067, l 56v (167))
- (64) намъ же бѣжащи^М<ь> задомъ манастиря
'while we were escaping through the back of the monastery' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 77 (232))
- (65) и приспевшю вкушению хлѣба
'and the time came for partaking of bread' (Laur. Chron. 1074, l 65 (193))
- (66) и всемъ темъ кто то на оустоко моря ходить
'and to all those who go to the east of the sea' (Tr. 1229, 10)²⁷
- (67) иже хоцеть в мегнвѣнъи ока вся створити хоцеть (*sic!*)

²⁶ This discrepancy between the gender of the head nouns and that of its modifier raises an important issue of variation in agreement patterns - another interesting manifestation of morphosyntactic variation in OESl.

²⁷ Klenin (1983:63), following Kiparsky, believes that the phrase *на оустоко моря* stands for 'the Eastern Sea' - a calque of the Middle Low German *Ostersee*. The argument for such an interpretation does not hold, however (Bratishenko 1993a).

‘the one who creates everything he wants in the wink of an eye’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 83v (253))

There is another masculine noun *dětiščь* ‘child/infant’ (synonymous with *otrokъ* in one of the two possible meanings of the latter) also attested as bare genitive. Significantly, it also has a neuter doublet - *dětiščє*. Moreover, unlike *otrokъ* and *otroč-ę/-ā*, both variants belong to the same declensional paradigm, suggesting an even closer association between them. The only difference is in the nominative and accusative case forms.

The neuter variant is unattested in either of these cases in the texts under study. It appears from the agreement patterns that the masculine noun *dětiščь* ‘infant’ has become the only possible alternative. For example, in (68) the nominative singular *дѣтиць* and the genitive *дѣтица* ‘infant’ itself, its modifier passive participle *ввержень* ‘thrown into’, and the anaphoric pronoun *его* ‘whom’, are all masculine. Similarly, the adjectives *единъ* ‘one’ and *други* ‘another’ in (69), referring to the dual *дѣтица* ‘two infants’, are also masculine nominative singular:

(68) в си же времена быс<тъ> *дѣтиць* *ввержень* в Ыстомль *его* же *дѣтица* выволокоша рыболове въ неводѣ
 ‘and at this time a child was thrown into Istoml’, whom the fishermen pulled out in a net’ (Laur. Chron. 1065, l 55v (164))

(69) 2 *дѣтица* родистася *единъ* о 4-хъ ногахъ а *други* о двою главу
 ‘two children were born: one with four legs, and the other with two heads’ (Laur. Chron., 1065, l 55v (165))

Remarkably, the noun *дѣтица* is attested in almost exactly the same lexical environment as the bare genitive of *otrokъ* in (55):

(70) о премудрости и разоумѣ *дѣтица*
 ‘about the wisdom and the reason of the child’ (L. of Th., 28a.20)

The gender of *δερμαμα* 'of the child' is unclear from the genitive form, since it is unmodified. But since the reference is definite (again, it is to Theodosius), and the sex of the referent is known pragmatically, one can assume the noun is masculine.

The existence of neuter doublets of such nouns as *otrokā* and *dětištb* provides strong evidence for the low rank of these nouns in the hierarchical order established on the basis of various features. Most important is the lexical feature immature, bordering on inanimacy.

The pattern of attestation of all the bare genitives examined here clearly suggests that lexical, morphological, referential and syntactic features simultaneously determine the morphosyntactic form in the possessive constructions discussed in this chapter. The syntactic constraints examined at the beginning of the chapter involve further modification of the attributive modifier. It has been shown that there is a strong tendency in OESl for the modifier to appear in the form of a denominative adjective when it is not modified in its turn.

Proper personal nouns, at the top of the hierarchy, may still adopt adjectival form, even when further modified. Proper noun stems, being inherently definite, tend to form individual personal adjectives. This morphological feature assigns a noun to the top of the hierarchy. In contrast, proper nouns are hardly ever attested in the form of a bare genitive. Common nouns, which may be only contextually or pragmatically definite, tend - if this is the case - to take the genitive case.

In common nouns, the morphological feature of declensional membership (in some cases also indirectly connected with the lexical feature mature) is another important factor that assures the noun a lower status on the hierarchy. This lower status is correlated with bare genitive usage. Denominative adjectives formed from

the stems of common nouns do not usually express definiteness. The ability of the nominal stem to form an individual personal adjective is not characteristic of common nouns.

Lack of the lexical feature *mature* presupposes the noun's lower status on the hierarchy. The majority of bare genitive attestations in OESl involve the noun *otrokъ* 'boy', characterized by the absence of this feature.

Referential definiteness, interconnected with the various features mentioned above, emerges as the decisive feature for the morphosyntactic outcome, insofar as common nouns in possessive constructions are concerned.

As was the case with adjective formation (Chapter Two), here only certain tendencies can be traced in the pattern of attestations in possessive constructions. First of all, one cannot speak about complementary distribution. Furthermore, no clearly delineated borders can be established on the hierarchy: even proper nouns may have attestations of bare genitive. There also are instances of both morphosyntactic alternatives attested interchangeably when all other specified features are identical (e.g. *brat-* 'brother'). Tendencies are stronger at the poles of the hierarchy, judging from the scarcity of bare genitive attestations among proper nouns, versus their abundance in the case of the common noun *otrokъ*. Common nouns in the middle range may even exhibit free variation between denominative adjective and bare genitive.

Not all the lexical classes of nouns outlined in Chapter One are attested in the form of bare genitive. The eventual hierarchical order among noun classes will become clearer in the course of the following examination, which will center on the accusative case form.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RISE OF GENITIVE-ACCUSATIVE

A further illustration of the tendencies influencing the choice of one construction over another in language production, as manifested in the early East Slavic manuscripts, is the variation in accusative case form within the declension of masculine nouns with genitive in *-a*. These nouns have been examined in the two preceding chapters in terms of the ability of their stems to form an individual personal adjective and their combinability with certain suffixes, as well as their attributive use in the form of adnominal bare genitive or denominative adjective.

In Slavic, the accusative singular of such masculine nouns, when employed first as direct objects and later as objects of prepositions, can be homonymous with either the nominative case or the genitive.¹ Contrast, for instance, the nouns *б<оѡ>а* 'God', *о<т>ца* 'Father', *с<ы>на* 'son' in (1) and their modifiers in genitive-accusative, with the noun *ѡ<у>хъ* 'spirit', a member of the same declension as the others, but occurring in nominative-accusative under similar syntactic conditions (accusative with preposition):

- (1) вѡрю во единого *б<оѡ>а* *о<т>ца* нерожена и въ единого *с<ы>на* роже^{на} въ единъ *с<вя>тъи* *ѡ<у>хъ* исходяще (*sic!*)

¹ Of course, languages that historically lost nominal declension (Bulgarian and Macedonian) no longer manifest this syncretism, except for certain remnants of genitive-accusative in proper names and kinship terms (Huntley 1980:191).

'I believe in one God the Father, not born (of a human), and in one Son born (of a human) and in one Holy Spirit proceeding' (Laur. Chron. 987, l 38v (111))

Genitive-accusative syncretism remains one of the most controversial problems in historical Slavic linguistics. A vast amount of literature has been devoted to the subject.² As with the preferential use of denominative adjectives, genitive-accusative syncretism is considered a specifically Slavic innovation within the Indo-European family (Meillet 1897:76; Comrie 1989:219). In the Slavic family, genitive-accusative has become particularly widespread in East Slavic (Berneker 1904:364; Dietze 1973:261-261; Comrie 1978:30). Furthermore, as this thesis shows, both phenomena in morphosyntactic variation concern the same lexical classes of masculine singular nouns and are governed by the same hierarchy of features, thus providing more general implications for the way language changes and operates.³

It is not the purpose of this thesis to attempt to resolve the vigorous debate about the genesis of the genitive-accusative innovation, its motives or the mechanism of its implementation. An overview of the problem is nevertheless necessary, in order to gain a better perspective on the state of OESl as it concerns the present investigation. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the two sets of grammatical constructions at issue in this thesis may actually shed new light on the evolution of genitive-accusative.

² See Klenin (1983) for a selected bibliography.

³ On the uniqueness of genitive-accusative syncretism, Trubetzkoy (1939:78) reports a complete or partial genitive-accusative or genitive-ergative merger in numerous non-Indo-European languages, depending on the type of the actual language. In classical Arabic, genitive coalesced with accusative in the dual and plural of all nouns and in the singular of proper names. In some Turkic languages of northern Caucasus, such as Balkar and Karachai, genitive is always syncretic with accusative. In other ergative Caucasian languages of Dagestan, genitive is the same as ergative.

After the prehistoric loss of the final consonants, the nominative singular in **-os* and accusative singular in **-on* of Common Slavic masculine **o-* stems (which later developed into the declension with genitive in *-a*) coalesced, eventually becoming a single vowel /ɔ/.⁴ (Compare OCS nominative and accusative singular *вѣкѣ*, Greek nominative *λύκος* versus accusative *λύκον*, Latin *lupus* and *lupum* < **lupom* 'wolf'.) This "phonetic accident" (Meillet 1897:122) brought about a potentially irresolvable ambiguity, especially when both subject (in the nominative case) and direct object (in the accusative) of a transitive verb were represented by personal/animate nouns - prototypical agents.⁵ Comrie (1978:35) states that

the function of a case-marking system for subjects and direct objects may be to enable one to distinguish subject from direct object, rather than necessarily to provide one-one correspondence subject-nominative and direct object-accusative. Since there is a high correlation of subject status with definiteness and animacy (i.e. subjects tend to be definite, and of high animacy), and a weaker but noticeable correlation of direct object status with indefiniteness and low animacy, a particular corollary of this general approach is that special accusative cases, distinct from the nominative, are particularly likely where the direct object is animate or definite.⁶

⁴ Neuter nouns of the same declension have always had accusative homonymous with nominative - the only difference between the **o-*stem neuter and masculine nouns (Meillet 1897:122).

⁵ According to Martinet (1962:151-152), in early Indo-European **s* designated only beings or objects conceived as animate. This may indicate that **s* was a marker of the agent. The case in question, then, was not nominative but ergative. Nominative, on the other hand, must have been represented by a bare stem, and thus coincided with vocative - both used outside of grammatically organized utterances. Fillmore (1968:13-14) discusses the possible origin of the **s* ending from the demonstrative pronoun **so*, a suffix indicating a definite and animate subject. With reference to the probable ergative nature of proto-Indo-European, he points out that a genitive ending was also **s*, identical with nominative. See also Tomson (1908a) and Vaillant (1977:37).

⁶ The necessity of distinguishing subject from object - or rather the absence thereof - is illuminated by such phenomena as the nominative with infinitive construction in northern Russian (and northern OESl). The non-finite form of the verb cannot have a subject; thus the nominative object is under no threat to be interpreted as such. It is significant that in ergative languages the subject is marked only when the verb is transitive - that is, only under potential ambiguity. As Martinet (1962:152) puts it, "there could be an agent only if some being or object (explicit or understood) was being acted upon". On nominative object with infinitive see Timberlake (1974), Markova (1988), Sabenina (1990) and especially Comrie (1975).

Developing a similar idea, Kurylowicz (1962:255) stresses that

the reason for these innovations was not the tendency to differentiate personal (or animate) against impersonal (or inanimate) but to distinguish the acc[usative] from the nom[inative] (the object from the subject) inside the personal (or animate) nouns, where such a distinction is necessary in the first place to avoid misunderstanding.

Prototypical objects tend to be inanimate, while prototypical subjects are most often animate. Thus difficulty in distinguishing subject from object will most likely arise when animate/personal nouns are used non-prototypically - that is, as objects. For example, in (2) the subject is *холопъ* 'slave', while the object is *свободна мужа* 'a free man'. Nouns denoting socially or physically immature persons are grammatically depersonalized, as will be discussed in the next chapter. If the object were in nominative-accusative, the sense of this sentence would likely be understood as the opposite, since a slave is considered less of a person than a free man:⁷

- (2) *аже холопъ оударить свободна мужа*
 'if a slave hits a free man' (Russ. Pr. 65, l 624v)

Contrast (3), where the same noun *холопъ* 'slave' represents the subject of the sentence, while the direct object has an animal for a referent - *конь* 'horse'. Lacking the feature personal, the latter is lower on the hierarchy of features. Despite the absence of the lexical feature mature (here intensified by the attributive modifier *обълъньи* 'full/complete'), the slave is now a more prototypical agent. The noun *холопъ* 'slave' is still more personal, perhaps, relative to the referent of the noun

⁷ Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995:392-393) describe the Roman classification of tools into three types: 1) slaves (speaking), 2) oxen (half-speaking), 3) mute. This is instructive, not only for animacy and personhood - slaves treated as tools - but also with respect to the existence of a subdivision in the living class in proto-Indo-European into speaking/non-speaking. The latter fact may explain the linguistically manifested grouping of children together with servants and/or slaves. All of this supports the gradation along the lines of the lexical features personal and mature (or absence thereof) observed in many languages.

конь 'horse' - which is only animate. The difference in degree of prototypicality makes this sentence unambiguous, hence the object is in nominative-accusative:

- (3) *аже холопъ обьльнѣи выведитъ конь чии любо*
 'if a full slave takes away someone's horse' (Russ. Pr. 63, l 624)

It is interesting to consider the question of the identity of prototypical agents and prototypical possessors - both correlated with lexical features at the top of the hierarchy (including high degree of referential definiteness). In the phrase *коневѣи тать* 'the horse thief' ((6) Chapter Two) (Russ. Pr., 35 l 618), the denominative adjective *коневѣѣ* is not an individual personal adjective - despite the presence of the features definite and (to some extent) personal in the suffix *-ев-* (a variant of the suffix *-ов*, highly positioned on the suffix hierarchy), and despite the feature definite in the long-form ending. This is due to the stem itself, which refers to an animal, not a person. The stem does not denote a prototypical possessor. Thus the adjective refers to the object, not the subject of the action.⁸

Because of the correlation between prototypical agent (subject) of the transitive action and prototypical possessor, the subject-object distinction at the centre of the genitive-accusative debate emerges as not only relevant for the accusative case form, but also for the form of the attributive modifier. This is an important issue, underlying the claim that the hierarchy of features regulates both phenomena in morphosyntactic variation. The arrangement of shared features relevant for both sets of constructions into a hierarchy could also explain why these two changes, documented at their initial stage by the OESl texts, occurred parallel to each other.

⁸ In fact, the long form of this adjective itself reveals its non-possessive meaning. It has been noted that denominative adjectives taking suffixes on the top of the suffix hierarchy are, being inherently definite, not regularly attested in long form (Borodič 1963:183; Flier 1974:100).

This point will be returned to at the end of this chapter.

Jakobson (1936/1984:71) supports the correlation of certain features with the syntactic function of the noun:

The most fitting representation of the active subject, and especially the active subject of a transitive action, is an **animate being**, and that of the object an **inanimate entity** . . . A switching of roles - as when an inanimate entity functions as the nominative subject and an animate being as the accusative object - correspondingly smacks of personifications.

Data on the Novgorod dialect of OESl are especially interesting with respect to genitive-accusative syncretism as a reaction to subject-object ambiguity.

Non-palatalized stem masculine nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a* are often spelled with the ending *-e* instead of *-ъ* in the nominative singular. This ending is also typical of short-form adjectives and participles. It appears not simply as an orthographic peculiarity of documents originating in north-western East Slavic, but as a morphological trait, setting the old Novgorod dialect apart from the rest of Common Slavic.

The origin of this ending has usually been explained as vocative (Sobolevskij in Krys'ko 1993a:132). It is not hard to understand the functional (and probably even genetic) similarity between vocative and nominative. In Martinet's (1962:152) opinion, "at some stage of proto-Indo-European the bare stem was used out of context as a nominative properly so called and as a vocative". Vocative, like nominative, represents the agent of an action - somewhat resembling the subject of an imperative sentence. Vocative is by definition proper, personal and definite.⁹ Genitive-accusative syncretism is typical of nouns that are at the same time characterized by the presence of the vocative case form (Krys'ko 1993a:133-134).

⁹ Compare Borodič (1963:165).

Krys'ko (1993a:149-150; 1993b) disputes the hypothesis of the vocative origin of the masculine nominative singular ending *-e*. He suggests instead that the *-e* ending spread from palatal **jo*-stems to non-palatal **o*-stems, as a means of differentiation between masculine and neuter genders of the same declension. Thus he disagrees that the lost distinction between nominative and accusative (and consequently between subject and object) motivated the appearance of the new nominative form in the Novgorod dialect (136) as a marker of the subject, and not the object. Whatever the actual origin of the nominative ending *-e* may have been, this form seems to participate in the distinction between subject (nominative) and object (accusative) in the old Novgorod dialect.

According to Zaliznjak (1986:127, 129), the *-e* ending is only characteristic of the nominative, and never of the accusative case - which has the regular ending *-ъ*. Despite the fact that birch bark letters are notorious for their occasional confusion among the graphemes *ъ, ъ, о, е* - especially noticeable in the late 12th-early 13th century (Zaliznjak 1986:101-103) - there is no reliable attestation of the accusative case with an *-e* ending. The author points out such a specific distinction between nominative and accusative in one of the earliest documents, a fragment of which is cited in (4):

- (4) али чемо есемо виновата а восоли *отроко* а *водале* ми еси хамече
 'if I owe you anything, then send an official; you have given me a bit of fabric...' (BBL #644, early 12th c.)

The direct object is *отроко* 'a low-rank official' (the final *о* stands for *ъ* here), while part of the predicate - the participle *водале* 'given' - takes the nominative ending *-e*.

Genitive-accusative syncretism is also attested in birch bark letters, although, as Zaliznjak (1995:87) concludes, the old Novgorod period is characterized by the

rather limited number of such attestations. It is indicative that, consistent with the overall characteristics of this change in Slavic, it is primarily proper personal nouns that are attested in genitive-accusative. The infrequency of such attestations might be connected with the existence of the special nominative form.

In examining the salience of subject-object distinctions, it is helpful to borrow Kurylowicz's (1962:249) Latin examples. They illustrate differences in the degree of potential ambiguity through the juxtaposition of direct objects expressed by nouns differing by the lexical features personal and animate: (a) *Petrus caedit Paulum* 'Peter hits Paul', (b) *Petrus caedit canem* 'Peter hits the dog', (c) *Petrus caedit silvam* 'Peter chops down the forest'. If there were no formal distinction between nominative and accusative, the greatest ambiguity would, of course, arise in (a); (b) would also occasionally be unclear, while (c) would hardly ever have more than one possible interpretation.

Indo-European languages that lack a morphological distinction between subject and object find various ways out of this conflict.¹⁰ For instance, French does it either by allowing only fixed word order (*Pierre bat Paul* is the opposite of *Paul bat Pierre*), or by means of anaphora (*Paul, Pierre le bat*) (Vaillant 1977:37-38). According to Tomson (1908a:244), in the early 20th century the word order of Russian would disambiguate this as well.¹¹ Such a solution was not possible for Common Slavic, because its word order was free.

The OESl example in (5) offers a nice illustration of genitive-accusative providing a solution to the problem posed by free word order involving nouns characterized by the feature personal. The word order is identical in both elliptical

¹⁰ See also Berneker (1904:378) for comparable phenomena in Baltic languages.

¹¹ This statement, perhaps true for Tomson's times, cannot be applied fully to Modern Russian.

clauses, with both nouns taking turns as subject and object. The subjects are in the nominative case (*руси*^н<ъ> ‘a Rusian’ and *хрестьянинъ* ‘a Christian’), whereas the objects are marked by the genitive-accusative (*хрестьянина* ‘a Christian’ and *роусина* ‘a Rusian’):

- (5) *аще кто оубьет или хрестьянина руси^н<ъ> или хрестьянинъ роусина*
 ‘if someone kills: either a Christian (is killed) by a Rusian, or a Christian (kills) a Rusian’ (Laur. Chron. 910, l 17 (34))¹²

Of special interest are constructions involving the same lexical item as both subject and object, such as that in (6). A verb may even be omitted. Such examples testify best to the impossibility of conveying any meaningful message if the case forms of the subject and the object are identical. This would have been the case under nominative-accusative syncretism. In (6) the subject *моужь* and object *моужа* are the same lexical item ‘man’, and differ only by their case - nominative and genitive-accusative respectively:

- (6) *Ажь оубиеть моужь моужа то мстити братоу брата, любо отцю, любо сыноу, любо браточадоу, любо братню сынови*
 ‘if a man kills a man, then a brother should be avenged by a brother, or by a father, or by a son, or by a nephew/brother’s son, or by a brother’s son’ (Russ. Pr. 1, l 615v)

Note also that the genitive-accusative *брата* ‘brother’ is used, even though the subject *братоу* ‘brother’ is not in the nominative but in the dative case. This may be caused by syntactic parallelism with the preceding genitive-accusative *моужа*

¹² This citation is in fact reconstructed from the *Radzivil* Chronicle, since the *Laurentian* Chronicle is missing the corresponding pages. Because of the purely illustrative nature of this example, its later date does not compromise the overall argument.

'man'. However, since the noun used as a direct object is a prototypical agent rather than the patient of a transitive action, genitive-accusative is still used for the purpose of clarity, vital in a legal document.

Other examples with subject and object differing only by case form are given in (7)-(11). Note that the nouns *смердь* 'slave' (8) and *бра^Г<ъ>* 'brother' (9), though varying in their hierarchical status as agents relative to each other, behave identically when used with their lexical doubles:

- (7) *аже кто кого оударить батогомъ*
 'if someone hits someone with a rod' (Russ. Pr. 25, l 617)
- (8) *оже смердь моучить смьрда безъ князя слова*
 'if a bond slave tortures another bond slave without his prince's word'
 (Russ. Pr. 78, l 624v)
- (9) *но пребывайте мирно послушающе бра^Г<ъ> брата*
 'but live in peace, brother obeying brother' (Laur. Chron. 1054, l 54v (161))

The quintessential case relations for expressing reciprocal action by means of constructions such as in (10) and (11) also suggest the importance of the accusative case form for the expression of a transitive action:

- (10) *яко упихати начнуть другъ друга*
 'as they begin to push one another' (Laur. Chron. 1068, l 57v (170))
- (11) *аже мъжю роусиномъ и латинескъмъ свяжетъ другъ друга безъ вины за то платити*
 'if between a Russian and a Latin someone ties the other one without fault, that should be paid for' (1229 Tr., 45)

In languages without fixed word order, subject-object ambiguity may be also

be resolved through marking the direct object by a preposition.¹³ Finally, the importance of intonation in distinguishing between subject and object should not be underestimated, although it is impossible to take it into account when dealing with the written version of a language.

To summarize the preceding discussion, the phonetic process of apocope triggered a complex change in Slavic morphosyntax, resulting in the use of genitive in place of an accusative case that had become indistinguishable from nominative.¹⁴

Several sources for the new accusative form have been proposed. Contradicting the pattern of attestations, some suggest that the original source was the locative with preposition (identical with genitive in form), reinterpreted as accusative with preposition.¹⁵ A genitive origin for the new form is more widely accepted. Various hypotheses about the actual mechanism for this substitution will be discussed in more detail later.

The problem of whether the new syncretic case is essentially accusative or genitive has been successfully addressed by Meillet's (1897) classic monograph,

¹³ Spanish, along with some French dialects, employs the preposition *a* for this purpose (*el padre ama al hijo* 'the father loves the son'). Romanian also has a special preposition *p(r)e* serving to mark the object (Vaillant 1977:50). Other languages, such as Slavic and some dialects of Lithuanian (where feminine nominative and accusative were previously conflated), employ genitive form for accusative case (38). See also Berneker (1904:378) on Baltic. In German the use of the definite article with proper personal names sometimes serves to differentiate nominative from accusative: *den Karl hasst die Schwester* '(his) sister hates Karl' (Tomson 1908a:244).

¹⁴ It should be noted that this process affected not only nouns, but other parts of speech as well - such as adjectives (which, as has been indicated in Chapter Two, had the same declensional patterns as nouns of the two major paradigms) and pronouns.

¹⁵ See, for example Trost (1994).

which thoroughly examines the OCS data.¹⁶ Meillet argues that genitive-accusative is syntactically accusative and not genitive, since it is attested as a direct object side by side with genuine (for example) feminine accusatives. Such parallel usage is also recorded in OESl:

- (12) *оже кто оубъеть женоу то тѣмъ же судоумъ соудити яко же и
моужа*
‘if someone murders a woman, he is to be judged by the same judgment
as (the one who murders) a man (Russ. Pr. 88, l 621v)

Here the feminine accusative *женоу* ‘a woman’ is the direct object of the same verb *оубъеть* ‘kills’ as the genitive-accusative *моужа* ‘man’.

In (13), masculine nouns with genitive in *-a* are attested in genitive-accusative (along with the nominative-accusative *за смерди холопъ* ‘for a bond slave’) as objects of the preposition *за*, conjoint with the accusative case of feminine nouns with genitive in *-у*:

- (13) *за ремъствьника и за ремъствьницу то 12 гривне, а за смерди
холопъ 5 гривень, а за робоу 6 гривень, а за кормица 12
грив<не> и за кормицю, хотя си боуди холопъ или роба*
‘for an artisan or a female artisan - 12 grivnas, and for a bond slave - 5
grivnas, and for a female slave - 6 grivnas, and for a breadwinner - 12
grivnas and a female breadwinner, whether these be a male or female
slave (Russ. Pr. 15-17, l 616v)

The accusatives of masculine nouns *судью* ‘a judge’ and *оуношю* ‘a youth’, belonging to the declension with genitive in *-у* (14), are used under the same

¹⁶ For Meillet (1897:18), the real question is whether genitive-accusative is morphological or syntactic accusative.

syntactic conditions as genitive-accusatives *исполина* ‘giant’, *ч<e>л<o>в<e>ка* ‘man’, *пр<o>р<o>ка* ‘righteous man’, and *старца* ‘old man’:

- (14) якоже Исаия гл<аголе>ть о҃иметь г<оспод>ь о҃
Иер<у>с<а>л<и>ма крѣпкаго *исполина* и
ч<e>л<o>в<e>ка храбра и *судью* и *пр<o>р<o>ка* и смѣрена
старца . . . и разумна послушлива поставлю *оуношу* князя имъ и
ругателя овладающ^a ими

‘and, as Isaiah says, “The Lord takes a strong giant from Jerusalem and a brave man and a judge and a prophet and a meek elder and a judicious and an obedient one, and I shall assign a youth as their prince and a knave ruling over them”’ (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 48 (140))

If it were in fact genitive that somehow became widely employed adverbally instead of the accusative, there should have been frequent genitive-accusative attestations of nouns of other declensions and genders under comparable syntactic conditions. This is not the case.

Moreover, it would be difficult to account for parallel constructions involving the same verb, together with a nominal object having genitive-accusative in the singular and a proper accusative in the plural (e.g. OCS *priglasī ženixa* ‘he invited the groom’, *priglasī ženixy* ‘he invited the grooms’). One would have to interpret the singular direct object as genitive, while the plural remains accusative. The resultant disunity within one paradigm would be hardly realistic (Meillet 1897:19).

Scarce genitive-accusative forms are attested in OCS among feminine nouns of the declension with genitive in *-i* (earlier with genitive in *-e*). These include the kinship terms *matere* ‘mother’ and *dъštere* ‘daughter’, joined later by *svekrъve* ‘mother-in-law’, as well as a few inanimate nouns of the same declension.¹⁷ This, in

¹⁷ Among them are the inanimate *срѣкъve* and *смокъve*. These represent Germanic borrowings, which may or may not be significant (Meillet 1897:72).

Meillet's (1897:71) view, is a result of analogy with masculine kinship terms. Huntley (1980:197), for his part, suggests that because such accusatives are attested among both animate and inanimate nouns, genitive-accusative syncretism must simply be a feature of this declension. Consequently, in contrast to masculine nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a*, these genitive-accusatives need not be considered as participating in the animate-inanimate (or personal-non-personal) opposition, but should rather be taken for a Bulgaro-Macedonian innovation.¹⁸

As for the feminine nouns of the declension with genitive in *-y*, they have always had a separate form for the accusative case (e.g. *за робоу* 'female slave' (13), nominative *roba*). Similarly, masculine nouns of this declension, such as *sudija* 'judge' and *unoša* 'youth' in (14) above, were never subject to nominative-accusative syncretism - a precondition for genitive-accusative syncretism. Thus, the need to distinguish subject from object never arose there.

Several genitive-accusative attestations of inanimate nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a* were originally thought to have their own particular explanation (Meillet 1897:25). The most popular idea was to view them as personifications (Vaillant 1977:43; Meillet 1897:27). The following citations confirm the possibility of such usage:

(15) и посла Володимеръ передъ собою *Волчьья Хвоста* . . . пищанъци
Волчьья Хвоста бѣгають

'and Volodimer sent Wolf's Tail ahead of him . . . the Piščanians avoid
Wolf's Tail' (Laur. Chron. 984, l 27 (83-84))

(16) и рѣ<е> п<а>тр<и>архъ чадо вѣрное во кр<ьс>та
кр<е>стилася еси и во крѣта облечеся

¹⁸ See also Kryś'ko (1994:149).

'and the Patriarch said "Faithful child, you have been baptized in the cross (=Christ), and you clothed yourself in the image of the cross"' (Laur. Chron. 955, l 17v (61))

In (15), the two attestations of the genitive-accusative *Xвoсma* 'tail' and its modifier denominative adjective *Boлbчья* 'wolf's' are indeed explained by the fact that the phrase is a proper personal name.¹⁹ The two other inanimate genitive-accusatives involve the noun *крѣстъ* 'cross' (16), and are the result of its confusion with the animate noun *Xpиcтoсѣ* 'Christ', on the basis of their phonetic similarity and close semantic association (Meillet 1897:30).

Lépissier (1964:126) contends, however, that if one were to examine East Slavic redactions of Church Slavonic texts such as the *Čudov* Psalter, the new data (supported by OCS attestations from *Suprasliensis*) would demand a reconsideration of such conclusions, because of the sheer number of inanimate genitive-accusatives. He believes that genitive-accusative syncretism affected, on the one hand, practically all morphological categories where nominative and accusative had previously conflated, as well as, on the other hand, pronominal declensions.²⁰ Evidently, inanimate masculine genitive-accusative cannot be explained merely by personification. It is rather a Balkan Slavic innovation. As Huntley (1980) concludes, before genitive-accusative became obligatory in masculine animate nouns, it was optional in other categories, including inanimate nouns of the same declension.²¹

¹⁹ The second attestation may be arguably considered a genuine genitive (originally ablative) case required by the verb *bĕgati* 'to avoid'; but this interpretation is not likely under the circumstances.

²⁰ See also Van Tilburg (1988) on Serbo-Croatian.

²¹ Kuryłowicz (1962:250) also remarks on the "sporadic penetration" of genitive-accusative "into the sphere of inanimate masculine nouns".

Various other data support Meillet's opinion that the new form is a syntactic accusative. Nouns that did not originally belong to the **o-* stems acquired genitive in *-a* as a means to express accusative case.²² Genitive-accusative syncretism is never attested in OCS among nouns with genitive in *-u* (Vaillant 1977:41). For example, the old genitive *synu* 'son' is unattested as direct object or object of a preposition, while the younger *syna* is abundantly documented in both usages. The old genitive *gospodi* 'Lord' is attested once as genitive-accusative in OCS (David Huntley - personal communication), while the new *gospod(j)a*, modelled on the genitive case of **o-*stem nouns, emerges as its regular accusative form. There are similar genitive-accusative in *-i* attestations in OESl nouns of this declension, but judging by their source and date, they are most likely innovations (Vaillant 1977:41).²³ Consider, for example, two identical attestations of genitive-accusative *тесту* and *тъсту* 'father-in-law' in (17) from a later part of the *Laurentian Chronicle*:

- (17) Кобяка руками яша . . . и Толгыя Д<а>в<ы>д<о>в<и>ча
тесту с сыно^М<ъ> . . . Кобякова *тъсту* Турундая
 'they took Kobjak with their hands, and Tolgyj Davydovič, a father-in-law with his son . . . (and) Kobjak's father-in-law Turundaj' (Suzd. Chron. 1185, / 134 (396))

In light of the above discussion, one inclines to agree with Meillet (1897:24), when he concludes that "<с>es prétendus génitifs sont des accusatifs" ('*these ostensible genitives are accusatives*').

²² Krys'ko's (1994:69-77) view on this point differs. Since his general hypothesis is that genitive was reanalyzed as accusative, he goes so far as to say that the new form emerged in all nouns with nominative-accusative syncretism. Masculine nouns of declensions other than that with genitive in *-a* became subject to nominative-accusative syncretism even earlier. Therefore, they may have acquired the new accusative form earlier as well.

²³ See Krys'ko's (1994:69-77) counter-argument on this point.

A few comments need to be added regarding those masculine nouns which historically joined the declension with genitive in *-a*, such as *synъ* or *gospodъ*. It is essentially inappropriate to speak of genitive-accusative syncretism here, since for these nouns the new accusative inflection *-a* has become distinct from the genitive *-i/-u*. The whole drift of masculine personal nouns from other declensions towards the major masculine declension with genitive in *-a* was most likely initiated by their acquisition of the genitive-accusative ending characteristic of masculine personal nouns in this declension. See examples in (18) and (19):²⁴

- (18) которыи роусинъ или латинескыи имьтъ *тата* надъ тьмь емоу
своя воля
'if a certain Russian or Latin catches a thief, he can do what he wishes
with that one' (1229 Tr., 66)
- (19) и взяша (*sic!*) и С<вя> тополкъ акы *тъстя* своего и врага
'and Svjatopolk took him as his father-in-law and enemy' (Laur. Chron.
1096, l 77 (232))

In such a transition, one observes a tendency for the nouns to be grouped according to shared lexical features. Hjelmslev (1956:243) attributes this to proto-Indo-European:

tout induit à penser que l'indo-européen commun évite les systèmes casuels particuliers, mais qu'il favorise d'autre part, dans la déclinaison, les classes lexicales, représentant surtout les divers thèmes nominaux.²⁵

²⁴ See also Šaxmatov (1957:89). Berneker (1904:381), on the contrary, reverses the chronology of the joining of the declension with genitive in *-a* and the acquisition of this genitive ending by these nouns. He thus believes that nouns originally of the declension with genitive in *-i* experienced genitive-accusative syncretism together with all the other nouns comprising the new joint declension.

²⁵ 'Everything leads one to think that common Indo-European avoids specific case systems, but that, in contrast, it favours lexical classes in declension representing, in particular, the various nominal stems.'

He goes on to say that such a lexical grouping appears arbitrary. The daughter languages of proto-Indo-European have manifested a different tendency - namely to unify nouns according to their grammatical gender. The author considers Slavic unique among Indo-European languages, in that, with the rise of genitive-accusative, it reintroduced the ancient animacy-based classification, as well as establishing a new gender-based one (229).²⁶

It can then be postulated that the transfer of masculine personal nouns from other declensions into that with genitive in *-a* is a continuation of the same ancient trend of proto-Indo-European with regard to lexical features.²⁷ Perhaps this helps to explain why the hierarchy of features (including its extension - the suffix hierarchy) regulating morphosyntactic variation in the two sets of constructions investigated in this thesis is dominated by the lexical features proper, personal and mature.

The conflicting view that the form in question is syntactic genitive, and not accusative, has been voiced from time to time (Klenin 1983 and 1987; Kryś'ko 1994). Nearly a century ago Nekrasov (1905; 1909) proposed that genitive-

²⁶ Compare Jakubinskij (1953:168), who terms the opposition in noun classes, reconstructed for the proto-language, animate, or rather personal (names of persons), and inanimate, or more precisely objective ("вещественный") (names of things). This to him is indicative of the emerging opposition between two principles: personal (active in social and economic terms), and passive, non-personal, objective. The masculine-feminine gender distinction within the "personal" class developed only gradually. See also Janda (1996:329).

²⁷ Klenin (1983:82) remarks that "the function of the genitive-accusative as a noun classifier has been neglected". Janda's (1996) approach to West Slavic masculine plural endings is similar.

accusative is the same old genitive case with a new function.²⁸ Recent proponents of a similar idea submit that it was a reanalysis of genitive objects that resulted in the rise of genitive-accusative, since it occurred at a time when genitive verbal rection in Slavic was in a state of decline (Klenin 1987:404).²⁹

Both genitive and accusative served as direct object cases in proto-Indo-European (Krys'ko 1994:167).³⁰ Long before genitive-accusative syncretism arose in the declension with the genitive in *-a*, genitive (not restricted to any one declensional membership) had been regularly used for the direct object case taken by certain verbs in Slavic - such as *poběditi* 'to conquer'³¹. Note the genitive object of the verb *zabyti* 'to forget' in the OESl example in (20):

- (20) а кр<ь>сѣнаго ѡблованья забывѣ
 'and having forgotten the kissing of the cross (=the oath)' (Suzd. Chron. 1284, 1170v (482))

²⁸ Nekrasov's (1905:33) reasoning sometimes lacks seriousness, and tends to lead him astray. For example, he asserts that the difference between nominative, genitive and accusative cases could only exist in the consciousness of "philologists", and not in the "people's consciousness". As a proof for this he notes that there are languages which lack case systems altogether. He refuses to admit inexplicable or "unscientific" processes in language, comparing the "metamorphosis of genitive into accusative" with "a masquerade".

²⁹ Compare Lépissier (1964:135): "Certains indices en effet permettent de penser que l'extension du génitif-accusatif a abouti, à l'extrême, à une confusion de l'accusatif et du génitif" ('*Certain indications indeed permit one to think that the spread of genitive-accusative resulted, in the extreme, in a confusion of accusative and genitive*').

³⁰ Significantly, in verbs of perception the case form depended on the animacy of the direct object: *slušati* (< *kleu-) 'to listen' was accompanied by the accusative of a thing, but by the genitive of a person (Meillet 1897:156). Genitive, however, was not used with prepositions in proto-Indo-European (Meillet 1897:145).

³¹ For a list of such verbs see Lépissier (1964:135-136). The prehistoric genitive-ablative merger should also be noted as a Balto-Slavic innovation. The genitive taken by some verbs in Slavic is quite reminiscent of the ablative meaning - for example *lišiti* 'to rid of', etc.

Furthermore, the fact that accusative has gradually penetrated such traditional spheres of genitive usage as partitive and genitive of negation suggests a great degree of functional similarity between the two cases.³² The OESl citation of a biblical allusion in (21) has three conjoint genitive forms with one feminine accusative *ženu* 'wife' as objects of a negated verb:

- (21) *аще кто не оставить о <ть>ца и матере и женоу и дѣтши*
 'if someone doesn't leave his father and mother and wife and children'
 (L. of Th., 396.20-21)

The long association of the two cases is perhaps at the root of the initial substitution of genitive for accusative case. However, the functional similarity of these cases does not necessarily mean that genitive was gradually reinterpreted as accusative, while dying out as the alternative case of a direct object. If one adopts the view that the new form is genitive, it is difficult to account for the numerous parallel attestations of non-genitive-accusative and genitive-accusative, as cited earlier. Morphological constraints on genitive-accusative (namely the fact that the merger affected only masculine nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a*) also stand as evidence against the idea of reanalysis. Most importantly, conclusions of this sort are explicitly based on the assumption of free variation in the accusative case form of a direct object (Krys'ko 1994:202). It is in fact possible to arrive at a new explanation for the variable usage without debunking the principal ideas on the phenomenon of genitive-accusative syncretism.

Clearly, no consensus has been reached so far on the syntactic essence of genitive-accusative. The stumbling block has been the question as to why it is the

³² See also Klenin (1987).

genitive form that was substituted for the accusative. Some researchers ascribe great significance to this problem, as does Klenin (1987:408):

whatever syntactic conditions may have been found on the genitive-accusative, they were supposed to remedy subject-object ambiguity - a syntactic weakness, not a morphological one - why did the language choose a morphological remedy? Russian could, for example, have gone further in stabilizing word order - a tendency already present in the language in any case.³³

For others, the issue of why it was the genitive case form that replaced the old accusative bears less weight, and is often said to result in "various artificial explanations" based on analogy (Tomson 1908b:302).

Many see analogy as the vehicle for the extension of genitive-accusative.³⁴ Any (or all) of the above-mentioned uses of genitive as direct object of a transitive verb are thought to have provided, to some extent, a syntactic model for genitive-accusative.

Kurylowicz (1962:251) places particular emphasis on two of these uses, acting in mutual cooperation, as a model for the analogy. These are the use of genitive with negated verbs, and partitive genitive. To explain how such analogy may work - and to answer criticism about the partitive meaning being far from typical when personal nouns are involved - he provides the following formula:

$$(ne + \text{partitive}) : \text{partitive} = (ne + \text{отца}) : x (= \text{отца} \text{ for } \text{отца})$$

where "the partitive value common to the first two members is cancelled owing to their direct opposition."

³³ Note the author's strict division between morphology and syntax - allegedly rooted in the language itself, rather than in the linguist's mind. This is the approach opposed by the present investigation.

³⁴ For example, Meillet (1897), Vondrak (1898).

Without resorting to mathematical equations, Berneker (1904:375-76) also voices his belief in the major influence of negative constructions, drawing support from the wide range of genitive objects in the Slavic, Baltic and Germanic languages. For him, genitive is simply "the logical choice".

Irrespective of the exact route that analogy may have taken, it is hard to deny that the long coexistence of the two cases in the direct object function must have played a role in the employment of genitive form for accusative usage, whether it is a question of genitive as the object of negated verbs, partitive genitive, or certain verbs and verbal forms etymologically governing genitive objects, and stemming back to proto-Indo-European.

The syntactic analogy model competes with another - morphological - source of analogy in the rise of genitive-accusative. This source involves pronouns. According to Meillet (1897:118), certain pronouns in the earliest Slavic records are also characterized by genitive-accusative syncretism. The puzzling problem is that this does not come as the result of any previous nominative-accusative syncretism in the pronominal paradigm, as is the case with nouns. Meillet presumes that the genitive of personal pronouns (first and second person singular *mene* and *tebe*, or reflexive *sebe*, as well as plural *nasъ* and *vasъ*) was always used as an emphatic form instead of enclitic accusatives (*me*, *te*, *se*, *ny*, *vy* respectively). The genitive case of the demonstrative pronouns *togo* 'that', *sego* 'this', masculine singular relative *jego(že)*, and interrogative *kogo* 'who' also serve as accusatives. This prompts Meillet to hypothesize that pronouns provided the analogical model for nouns, since they also have genitive-accusative syncretism, and since some of them refer exclusively to persons. It is well documented that noun genitive-accusative is most productive among proper personal nouns.

Elaborating on the actual nature of this process, Meillet collects textual evidence from OCS, suggesting that referential definiteness was a prominent factor

at its initial stage.³⁵ He postulates that the stressed forms of the pronouns are more definite as well. Definite (long form) adjectives and participles are consistently attested in OCS in genitive-accusative. The fact that long adjectival forms are formed by the addition of the ending *-jb* (originating as a demonstrative pronoun) suggests to Meillet that genitive-accusative spread from pronouns to definite adjectives and participles. Since adjectives and participles modify nouns, the latter became affected by genitive-accusative by association with such adjectival forms.³⁶ Of course, the fact that the only morphological declension subject to genitive-accusative (that with the genitive in *-a*) included both nouns and short-form adjectives (Chapter Two) may also contribute to the likelihood of such analogy.

The theory of the pronominal origin of genitive-accusative in nouns has received much criticism. For example, Berneker (1904), after examining at length the basis for Meillet's argumentation, rejects the idea that genuine accusative forms of the personal pronouns were only used when unstressed. He relies on Old Polish records, which, in his opinion, contain the only attestations of proto-Slavic unstressed accusatives. In contrast, what Meillet takes for enclitic forms in OCS should be considered stressed forms, on the basis of comparative Indo-European evidence as well as actual OCS attestations. Moreover, Berneker underlines the scarcity in OCS of genitive-accusative attestations of personal pronouns and the reflexive *sebe*. He concludes that the forms *togo*, *kogo*, *jego* cannot be considered original accusatives either.

³⁵ The evidence from OESl for the involvement of the feature definite in this innovation is more straightforward than that of OCS. This confirms the idea that the state of OESl is more archaic with regard to genitive-accusative. (See the data in Chapter Five.)

³⁶ See also Meillet (1897:124); Huntley (1980:205).

Tomson (1908a:235) also dismisses the possibility that pronouns initiated the rise of genitive-accusative in nouns. In his criticism of Meillet, he correctly remarks that there is no way to verify whether the pronominal genitive forms were original accusatives. Tomson's disagreement with the idea of pronominal influence on the genitive-accusative in nouns may stem from his refusal to allow the idea that various pronouns should be considered a unified class sharing a similar development.

To resolve this question would require textual examination beyond the scope of this thesis. Still, relying on the accounts of secondary sources, it can be postulated that the interrogative pronoun *kogo* must have served as the primary initiator of the genitive-accusative in nouns, while personal pronouns may have acquired genitive-accusative secondarily at a later date.

The interrogative pronoun *kogo* emerges as the most likely source for genitive-accusative, because it is the only pronoun that has no other alternative for the accusative case beside the syncretic form (Vondrak 1898:329). In contrast, masculine nouns were the only personal nouns lacking a distinct accusative form. Since both share personal reference, the genitive-accusative *kogo* would be the primary model for such syncretism in personal nouns (Huntley 1980:205). The conclusion that genitive-accusative is consistently employed by proper personal nouns, and tends to be attested in common personal nouns with definite reference, has been reached in correspondence with the existing data. Because *kogo* shares its declensional pattern with demonstrative pronouns, one of which is the formant of a long adjectival form, the basis for analogy becomes even stronger. For the same reason, *kogo* may have also served as an analogical model for other demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns can have both inanimate and personal/animate reference.

Obviously, one should avoid the simplistic notion that genitive-accusative in all the pronouns that have it attested is of the same origin and date. For example, first and second person singular and plural personal pronouns never underwent the merger of nominative and accusative. Therefore, unlike nouns, they lack the important prerequisite of subject-object ambiguity for the rise of genitive-accusative. On the other hand, personal pronouns share many features with personal nouns, which were at the forefront of genitive-accusative innovation. The most important features are personhood and referential definiteness, which could have served as a basis for analogy - except this time in the direction from nouns to personal pronouns.³⁷

Kurylowicz (1962:251) points out that for chronological reasons alone genitive-accusative in personal pronouns could not have preceded the syncretism in nouns. The old enclitic accusative forms still predominate at the time when genitive-accusative was already "firmly established" among masculine singular nouns. Because of this, it is rather the nouns that provoked the use of genitive instead of accusative forms of the personal pronouns, by a process of analogy on the basis of inherent personal reference.

It is also suggestive that the use of the genitive-accusative *jego*, as attested in the OCS corpus, is a comparatively young phenomenon (David Huntley - personal communication). The relative frequency of the old accusative *jb*, irrespective of personal/animate reference, is much higher than that of the new *jego*. Consequently, one tends to agree that genitive-accusative in nouns preceded this innovation in personal pronouns, and not vice versa.

³⁷ Meillet (1965:406) himself allows the possibility that genitive-accusative in personal pronouns may be a secondary development.

Proper nouns are "definite by definition", being "direct labels for particular referents" (Chafe 1976:39). It is interesting that direct objects, marked in many languages, seem to manifest a high correlation between animacy/personhood and definiteness, to the extent that they appear to form a "natural class" (Comrie 1979). In fact, animacy and definiteness are so closely coordinated that they overlap, to the extent of losing any distinction. This is explained by the fact that direct objects characterized by the features personal/animate and definite are the most likely to be mistaken for subjects, and therefore become marked as direct objects. Such a "natural class" of direct objects is represented in a variety of languages by proper nouns and personal pronouns.

Another interesting case concerns the stem of the demonstrative pronoun *jego* - "a cumulative result of a merger of two distinct Indo-European pronouns: a demonstrative **i* and a relative **yo*" (Flier 1974:67).³⁸ A variety of genetically related formations can be traced to this stem: the stem of the third person personal pronoun *j-* (except for the nominative case), the relative pronoun *īže/jegože*, the ending of the long-form adjectival forms, and possibly the adjective-forming suffix *-*jō* as well. Because of this multitude of shapes and functions, this pronoun emerges as a focal point, standing at the intersection of the several routes that analogy may have taken.³⁹ There are reasons to consider the genitive-accusative of the third

³⁸ Flier explains this merger by means of the feature definite, shared by both of these pronouns. The demonstrative pronoun referred to objects that were present, while the relative pronoun referred to those previously mentioned. Of course, they were also close phonetically.

³⁹ Greenberg (1976:51) comments on the high frequency of individual pronouns compared to nouns in languages, explained by the limited overall number of pronominal forms. Moreover, the kind of texts available for analysis contain hardly any dialogical speech; and, according to Greenberg's (1976:45) typological accounts, there is a tendency to over-represent third person forms in non-conversational texts at the expense of first and second person. Even in conversational samples the third person still predominates.

person pronoun **jь* (unattested as such in the nominative, but found in the ending of definite adjectival forms and in the stem of relative pronouns) as the most important proof of the hypothesis that the rise of the genitive-accusative was prompted by the necessity to disambiguate subject and object.

In general, the absence of nominative-accusative syncretism in demonstrative pronouns is not so transparent. Meillet (1965:433) speaks of a peculiar Balto-Slavic innovation unknown to the rest of the Indo-European family that contributed greatly to eliminating the distinction between the animate nominative and accusative of demonstrative pronouns. The nominative masculine and feminine of such pronouns in proto-Indo-European used to have a suppletive form, different from both the accusative and the neuter nominative-accusative. This situation has been documented in Sanskrit and Greek. In Slavic, however, masculine *tъ* 'that', feminine *ta* and neuter *to* all have one stem throughout the paradigm. This Balto-Slavic innovation apparently preceded the epcope in the singular **o*-stem nouns responsible for the nominative-accusative syncretism. All demonstrative pronouns (*sb* 'this here' and **jь* 'this') share the development exemplified by *tъ*.

As is well documented, at the time of the earliest OCS records the personal pronoun **jь* did not have a nominative case form of the same stem as the rest of the paradigm. Suppletive forms *tъ* or *ontъ* were regularly used instead.⁴⁰ In general, the use of the personal pronoun in the nominative is relatively new in Slavic: previously the subject of the verb was sufficiently indicated by the verbal ending. Despite the fact that **jь* is unattested as a nominative of the third person pronoun, it exists in OCS and OESl in the nominative, as a component of the relative pronoun *jьže*:

⁴⁰ This secondary substitution is reminiscent of the situation just described in Indo-European, where the nominative case stem of masculine and feminine pronouns differed from the neuter stem.

- (22) *товаръ иж то потошль*
 'and the merchandise that has sunk' (1229 Tr., 88)⁴¹

The nominative ending *-jъ* also regularly appears in masculine singular long-form adjectives:

- (23) *отъ нея же роди ся сии оканьнѣи С <вя> топълкъ*
 'and from her this wretched Svjatopolk was born' (L. of B. & G.,
 9v.25-26)

Therefore, even if the paradigm of this and other demonstrative pronouns does not exhibit nominative-accusative syncretism, there remains the hypothetical possibility of the prehistoric approximation of such syncretism (in the form of a single stem shared by animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns throughout the paradigm as the result of a Balto-Slavic change) - if not its actual occurrence, as suggested by the relative pronoun nominative singular masculine *jъže* and the nominative ending *-jъ* of long-form adjectival forms. This nominative corresponds to the accusative case of the personal pronoun.

With this in mind, it can be postulated that nominative-accusative syncretism caused the genitive-accusative of the personal pronoun *jego* to emerge in the same manner as it did in nouns, namely when both subject and object were represented by etymologically related and formally identical case forms. The fact that the genitive-accusative *jego* is more frequently attested in OCS and OESl as direct object of active participles than that of regular verb forms (Vaillant 1964:179; Klenin 1983:33) lends weight to this explanation.

⁴¹ Some have claimed that the form *jъže* is a Church Slavonicism (Klenin 1983:53). This citation from an original document surely indicates that such a form existed in OESl which also has a younger indeclinable *ježe*.

To explain this point about definite participles and the pronoun *jego*, it is important to note that the necessity of disambiguating subject and object arises when the participle is in the nominative case, and thus refers to the subject of the sentence. Such OCS constructions as those listed by Vaillant (1977:46) with a present active participle (*prědajejb jegō* ‘the one betraying him’) and with a past active participle (*prědavzjb jegō* ‘the one who betrayed him’) show this quite clearly.⁴² If the pronoun *jego* were to appear in its old accusative form *jb* as the object of a participle, the nominative ending of which stands for the subject, subject and object would appear in the same morphological form and would then be potentially indistinguishable as to their reference. Note that both participles are in the active voice, and thus refer to the agent of an action, while *jego* in these constructions also has personal reference.

One of the features on the hierarchy that has not been touched upon so far provides additional proof that subject-object ambiguity provided the main impetus for the rise of genitive-accusative. This is a syntactic feature, and concerns prepositional as opposed to direct object rection; it emerges as particularly evident in connection with the pronoun **jb*. The fact that genitive-accusative attestations of **jb* are less frequent under prepositional than under verbal rection has to do not only with the presence of the preposition itself (already signalling that the governed form is not a subject), but also with an additional marker on the accusative form of the pronoun - the prothetic *n-* (as in *na njb* ‘on(to) him’). This morphophonemic feature further inhibits the employment of the new genitive-accusative form. This supports the conclusion that the first environment for the emergence of genitive-accusative

⁴² David Huntley (personal communication) points out that there are three such attestations in total in OCS.

was as the direct object of a verb; only later did it spread to the object of a preposition.

This conclusion corresponds to the pattern of attestations of genitive-accusative in nouns, which are fewer with a preposition than with transitive verbs (Tomson 1908a:247).⁴³ It is indicative that the only archaic remnants of nominative-accusative in modern Russian (and other Slavic languages) are ones with a preposition: e.g. *ВЫЙТИ ЗАМУЖ* 'to get married'. The contrast between the accusative forms depending on this syntactic feature is especially striking as regards the OESl noun *конь* 'horse'. It is attested as genitive-accusative, yet none of these attestations are under prepositional rection. (See data in Chapter Five.) For example:

- (24) *онъ же въбързѣ въ мале дружинѣ въсѣдъ на конь поѣха*
 'and he swiftly, with a small retinue, having mounted the horse, set out'
 (L. of B. & G., 136.6-7)
- (25) *въсяди на конь свои*
 'mount your horse' (L. of Th., 43в.8))

Unbegaun (1935:228) observes that the nominative-accusative *на конь* 'onto horse' in this prepositional phrase is still frequently attested in the 16th century, due to its idiomatic meaning 'to go to war', in such expressions as *всѣсти на конь*.

The pattern of attestation under prepositional rection clearly indicates that genitive-accusative arose not only as a means to distinguish nominative from accusative, but to distinguish subject from object. Thus, the pattern of attestation of the genitive-accusative *jego* strongly confirms the hypothesis that the need to set

⁴³ The distribution of genitive-accusative singular in OCS seems to be different: both direct objects and objects of prepositions are attested with the same relative frequency (Huntley 1980:205).

subject apart from object in a transitive sentence was the main reason for the rise of the genitive-accusative in agentive nouns and pronouns.

Generally speaking, the disambiguation of subject and object is perhaps even more crucial in pronouns than in nouns, due to the deictic nature of the former.⁴⁴ As van Tilburg (1988:588) notes, even languages that have lost their declensional systems in nouns still preserve its remnants in pronouns - as do Dutch and English, for example. It should be stressed that this concerns primarily pronouns with animate/personal reference.⁴⁵

The various features characteristic of pronouns discussed in this chapter certainly align them with the nouns involved in the agent/possessor hierarchy. Thus, first and second person personal pronouns are inherently personal and definite, and have a high position on the hierarchy. Comrie (1978:39) gives typological evidence for the presence of first and second person pronouns at the top of the animacy hierarchy in languages where animacy is grammatically relevant. These pronouns are necessarily personal ("human"), or personified, and are characterized by the greatest potential for agentivity, since they refer to speech act participants.

Demonstrative pronouns may vary in their degree of animacy, which affects their status; but at the same time they are referentially definite (Tomson 1908a:254). The interrogative *kogo* is, like personal pronouns, inherently personal/animate and definite from the context. It is not surprising, then, that pronouns are so closely involved in the development of genitive-accusative.

⁴⁴ Flier (1974:59) remarks that **jɔ* is the least deictic of the demonstrative pronouns, "and therefore the most suitable for anaphoric usage".

⁴⁵ The same is true of other grammatical categories, such as gender, for example, which may be no longer relevant for nouns, while still found in pronouns - the last survivors of previously large-scale grammatical distinctions.

Klenin (1983), in her search for new insights into the rise of genitive-accusative, points to the central role of pronouns, asserting that the Slavic pronominal system has been underinvestigated. However, in view of the preceding discussion, her claim (Klenin 1987:405) that "the pronoun genitive-accusative had its own history, separate from that of nouns" seems somewhat arbitrary, especially since the author offers the following reasoning:

The extension of the pronoun genitive-accusative was not controlled by referential personhood or animacy, nor was it restricted to paradigms with pre-existing nominative-accusative syncretism.

The fact that first and second person pronouns are involved in the genitive-accusative strongly indicates that animate/personal reference had a role to play in the process. Also, the lack of nominative-accusative syncretism in all pronouns may not be such an established fact (at least with regard to the pronoun *jego*) as was thought earlier. The interrogative pronoun *kogo* is always attested in the genitive-accusative. Its inherent animate/personal reference is indisputable.⁴⁶

However genitive-accusative syncretism may have actually developed, comparative historical evidence suggests that nouns were at the centre of its evolution in Slavic (Huntley 1980:190). Within nouns, singular masculine personal underwent genitive-accusative syncretism long before it spread to all masculine animate nouns of the same declension - initially affecting even inanimate masculine nouns in Balkan Slavic (Kurylowicz 1962:250; Huntley 1980) - and further into the

⁴⁶ The pronoun *kto*, along with its inanimate counterpart *čto*, represents the very essence of the agent/patient distinction, correlated with the animate/inanimate opposition in many languages. Jakobson (1936/1984:71) also points out that in modern Russian *kto delaet* 'who does', *kto* 'who' unambiguously represents the subject, while its inanimate counterpart *čto* 'what' in the same syntactic environment - *čto delaet* 'what (someone) does' - could never be mistaken for a subject. A similar prototypical opposition is to be found in many languages, even those that do not express this dichotomy in grammatical terms. For such typological data (especially outside the Indo-European family) on interrogative and "anaphoric" pronouns - equivalents of the third person pronoun - see Hjelmslev (1956:231-232).

dual and plural. Thus the new syncretic form is most productive among nouns at the top of the hierarchy. Due to their features they are the closest to the agent/possessor prototype.

Tomson (1908a and b) was one of the first to make use of a "semasiological explanation" - which refers to the functional need to discriminate between the agent and the patient of an action. According to van Oosten (1986:3), a prototypical subject refers to a prototypical agent of an action and the topic of an utterance.⁴⁷ The idea that subject-object disambiguation was the principal motivation for the genitive-accusative may be substantiated by one more (although not uncontroversial) observation. According to some researchers, when the direct object in OESl is modified by the reflexive possessive pronoun *svojь* 'one's own', it tends to be attested in nominative-accusative.⁴⁸

The following OESl examples illustrate such a difference in attestation, although, as will be argued in the following chapter, there are other more relevant factors influencing the use of the nominative-accusative *с <ы> нъ свои* 'son' in (26) and *братъ свои* 'brother' in (27):

- (26) въдавъ ему *с <ы> нъ свои* на руцѣ Игоря бысть бо дѣтескъ вельми
'having given his son Igor into his (=somebody else's) arms (to carry),
for that one was a very young child' (Laur. Chron., l 8 (22))
- (27) и молвяше всегда Ярополку Свѣналдъ поиди на *братъ свои*
'and Svenald always said to Jaropolk, "Go against your brother"' (Laur.
Chron. 975, l 23 (74))

⁴⁷ See also Trubetzkoy (1939:76).

⁴⁸ See, for example Tomson (1908a:239), Šaxmatov (1957:51). Dietze (1973:265) disagrees.

Since these texts represent some of the few nominative-accusative attestations of nouns modified by the reflexive *svojь*, and since they are better explained by other features, they clearly do not provide any direct confirmation of the above-mentioned influence. Contrast, for instance, the genitive-accusative *на брата своего* in (28) to the nominative-accusative *на братъ свои* ‘against his brother’ in (27):

- (28) поиди Ярополкъ на Олга брата своего на деревьску землю
 ‘Jaropolk went against his brother Oleg to the land of the Derevs/the Derevian land’ (Laur. Chron. 977, l 23 (74))

It should be added that (27) presents an especially valuable manifestation of the hierarchy: genitive-accusative of the proper noun *Игоря* ‘Igor’ is used in apposition with nominative-accusative of the common noun and its modifier *с <ы> нъ свои* ‘his son’. Thus, nouns occupying different levels of the hierarchy may, even when having the same referent, be attested in different accusative forms. (An interesting example of reverse usage is given in (10) in Chapter Five - *Ярославъ сына своего* ‘Jaroslav, his son’.)

The idea that the use of the modifier *svojь* indicates that its head noun is not the subject (Tomson 1908a:239, 247) has been criticized by Kryško (1994:13-14), who claims that the reflexive *svojь* in OESl did not express an unambiguous reference to the subject of the immediately relevant clause or sentence.

Again, apart from this, it must be recognized that the OESl data analyzed here do not manifest this syntactic trend to any considerable extent. Nominative-accusative attestations can be accounted for sufficiently and consistently by the hierarchy of features already identified.

Finally, strong support for subject-object disambiguation as an explanation for the rise of genitive-accusative is provided by studies such as that of van Tilburg (1988:601) on the evolution of inanimate genitive-accusative in Serbo-Croatian. As

van Tilburg admits, it does not essentially differ from the earlier development of animate genitive-accusative forms. His particular point is that in both of these processes subject-object case syncretism was the motivating factor.⁴⁹

On the basis of the foregoing, one can firmly conclude that the need to avoid confusion between subject and direct object was the main driving force in the rise of the genitive-accusative.⁵⁰

It is appropriate at this point to bring in the possessive constructions in morphosyntactic variation considered in the first part of this study. As stated in Chapter Two (1)-(6), both denominative adjective and bare adnominal genitive in such constructions may refer to either subject or object - or rather to the agent or the patient of an action.⁵¹ This intersection in grammatical functions between genitive-

⁴⁹ Lépissier (1964:132) agrees: "La condition déterminante qui a entraîné l'extension du génitif-accusatif animé (le besoin, dans une phrase du type *Pierre bat Paul*, du savoir qui bat et qui est battu) se trouvait réalisée dans certain cas avec des inanimés." ('*The determining condition that initiated the spread of animate genitive-accusative (the need, in a sentence of the type Pierre beats Paul, to know who beats and who is beaten) finds itself realized in certain cases with inanimates.*')

⁵⁰ Note the curious pronouncement of Frink (1962:134), who suggests that the distinction between subject and object arose in written language, because of the difficulty of reading texts without capitalization, or even spaces between separate words. Thus, "it is not clear whether the genitive-accusative is a variety of primitive capitalization which accords some honour or distinction to proper animate nouns". Although one should indeed be aware of all the possible ramifications when dealing with written sources, Frink's remark appears poorly thought out. As conveyed above, the origin of nominative-accusative syncretism lies in a phonetic process. The need to redifferentiate subject and object would be felt in speech no less than in writing. Besides, subjects - proper nouns used in the nominative case - are not substituted by genitive as a means of capitalization.

⁵¹ Fillmore (1968:8) speaks of the "neutralization of the nominative-accusative distinction" in the *genitivus subjectivus* and *genitivus objectivus*.

accusative as the case of an object, and one of the possible meanings expressed by the possessive constructions demands further attention.

A postulate of this thesis is that distribution of denominative adjective versus bare adnominal genitive, on the one hand, and accusative case form, on the other, are both regulated by one hierarchy of features. It has been proposed that the hierarchy of features, due to the nature of its components, can also be termed an agent/possessor hierarchy. The correlation between agent and possessor is based on features common for both semantic roles.⁵² Agent/possessor is thus a linguistic gestalt comprised of those lexical, morphological, syntactic and referential features that are at the centre of the present discussion. (See Chapter Six for the more general implications of this conclusion.) The prototypical subject is the prototypical agent of an action, which in its turn corresponds to a prototypical possessor.

It is perhaps no coincidence that both phenomena in morphosyntactic variation are attested as contemporaneous. Subject-object ambiguity - the main factor in the rise of genitive-accusative - may also have been involved, albeit indirectly, in the formation and distribution of denominative adjective as opposed to the bare genitive case of a noun. This ambiguity has been suggested as a contributing factor in the progressive increase in bare adnominal genitive attestations, to the point of the almost complete disappearance of its alternative, the denominative adjective (Lomtev 1956:456). The role of subject-object ambiguity in the competition between the forms of attributive modifier has not yet been considered in conjunction with the rise of genitive-accusative.

⁵² See Allen (1964) for an interesting discussion of the correspondence between transitivity and possession, revealing common markers for the possessor in case of nouns and actor in case of verbs in various European languages.

Subject-object ambiguity, as a common factor in the long, historically-documented competition between morphosyntactic alternatives in both sets of constructions, provides additional justification for the unified treatment of these phenomena, as undertaken here. Such a juxtaposition is not only supported by the fact that both sets of constructions are governed by the same hierarchy of features, and that they both exhibit variation at the earliest stage of East Slavic literacy - but also by the emergence of genitive (formally also present in genitive-accusative) as the eventual victor in both competitions.

Subject-object ambiguity is one of the most fundamental grammatical distinctions manifesting the conceptual distinction between agent and patient of an action. With regard to Slavic, Jakubinskij (1953:178) views the "intensive formation of subject-object structure of a sentence and its categories" as the main syntactic trend determining the grammatical system in the Common Slavic period. It is remarkable that, according to Comrie (1976), in possessive constructions it is usually the object that is expressed by the genitive case, while the subject is expressed predominantly by a denominative adjective, all other conditions being equal.⁵³ (This of course, concerns free variation - a phenomenon not yet attested in OESl at the early stage under investigation in this thesis.)

As was just mentioned, modern Russian, in contrast to OESl, uses adnominal genitive as practically the only possibility for possessive constructions, and genitive-accusative as the only case of direct objects of masculine animate nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a*. This predominance of the genitive case (including genitive-accusative) can be explained by the typologically established correlation of this form with the object of an action.

⁵³ See also Seiler (1983), for a discussion on subject and object marking in possessive constructions.

Departing briefly from the nominal paradigm, it is illuminating to compare the pattern of attestation for substantivized masculine singular adjectives or participles. Perhaps the hierarchy of features can to some extent be applied to them as well, thus opening a new perspective on the issues discussed so far, especially in view of diachrony.

As Meillet (1897:137) noted long ago, masculine singular substantivized adjectives and participles are only attested in genitive-accusative. Here is an OESL example of such usage:

- (29) и имъ бл<а>женааго и закла и яко агня непорочно и безлюбиво
 ‘and having taken the blessed one, he stabbed him like a pure and
 harmless lamb’ (L. of B. & G., 14r.25)

In contrast to the nominative-accusative of the co-referential pronoun *и* ‘him’, and to the accusative of the neuter noun *агня* ‘lamb’, with its modifiers *непорочно* ‘pure/chaste’ and *безлюбиво* ‘harmless’ being direct objects of the same verb, the substantivized adjective *бл<а>женааго* ‘the blessed one’ is used in genitive-accusative. This consistency in attestations of substantivized adjectives and participles corresponds to their consistent adoption of the form of a genitive case modifier, as briefly mentioned in Chapter One.

There is a major difference, though: it is simply morphologically impossible to form a denominative adjective from an already adjectival form, while the exclusive employment of such forms in genitive-accusative does not reveal any morphological constraints. Therefore, the factors determining this distribution of the genitive-accusative must be other than just morphological. It is the feature of definiteness that emerges as paramount in the use of the genitive-accusative in substantivized adjectival forms. As has been already established, definiteness played an important role in the evolution of genitive-accusative. Definiteness is usually the property of a

subject. So non-prototypical objects (because they are definite) are used preferentially in the genitive-accusative - thus avoiding being mistaken for subjects.

Since the hierarchy considered in this thesis is comprised of nouns, the above argument involving adjectival forms may be considered irrelevant. Nevertheless, it is perhaps not fortuitous that in both sets of constructions substantivized adjectival forms are characterized by the use of genitive or genitive-accusative: that is, they are both in some way associated with the genitive case.

The association of genitive in both adnominal and adverbial usage with the object of an action emerges as particularly salient.⁵⁴ Both internal Slavic evidence and comparative studies confirm the validity of this correlation. Czech, for example, is characterized by a similar avoidance of denominative adjective as an object, employing a genitive of the noun instead: *matčina ztráta* 'mother's (subject) loss' versus *ztráta matky* 'loss of mother (object)'.⁵⁵ The same tendency is observed in the use of a possessive pronoun as opposed to genitive case of a personal pronoun: *tvá ztráta* 'your (subject) loss' versus *ztráta tebe* 'the loss of you (object)'. Likewise, in Polish - which is known for its very limited denominative adjective usage - when an adjective is used, it is most readily interpreted as denoting the subject.

A somewhat analogous phenomenon exists in English, where phrases of the kind *the shooting of the hunters* tend to be understood by non-linguists as objective. Apparently, the *of* form ("postposed genitive", in Comrie's terminology) is

⁵⁴ Zverkovskaja (1964:294), discussing the adjective-forming suffix *-ьн-* (lowest on the suffix hierarchy), writes that this suffix "обозначает так сказать, объектные отношения: основа от которой образуется прилагательное, выражает объект действия" ('denotes, so to say, objective relations: the stem from which the adjective is formed expresses the object of the action').

⁵⁵ These and the following examples are taken from Comrie (1976:188), who also provides references to the original works dealing with the languages that manifest such phenomena.

identified by speakers with the object of a transitive verb nominalization, while the 's form ("preposed genitive"), as in *Shakespeare's reading*, is decoded as a subject ('the reading by Shakespeare', even though this is an unlikely interpretation for pragmatic reasons). It is interesting in this connection that the English 's is believed to be formed predominantly (and until recently almost exclusively) from animate nouns.⁵⁶ Moreover, as Vachek (1961:25) suggests, the 's form acts very much like an adjective which has gradually severed its ties with the nominal paradigm. (This echoes the controversy over the Slavic denominative adjective and its possible membership in the nominal paradigm, as presented in Chapter Two.)

Thus, one can generalize that in both sets of early Slavic constructions involving agentive nouns, genitive was the case compatible with object use typical of the patient, but not with subject use - while denominative adjective was correlated with the agent and thus the subject. This explains why the prototypical agent appears also as the prototypical possessor.

In Ivanov's words (1989:146), OCS evidence indicates that constructions with the adnominal genitive case "gravitate towards" possessors denoted by a common noun, while the adjectival modifier gravitates towards possessors denoted by a proper noun. This manifests the difference in degree of prototypicality between proper and common personal nouns.

The correlation of subject with denominative adjective and object with genitive case in the distribution of bare genitive modifier versus denominative adjective suggests that such distribution may have been influenced by the same factors as was genitive-accusative syncretism. This lends even more support to the universality of the agent/possessor hierarchy. Since proper personal stems representing prototypical

⁵⁶ Ivanov (1989:215) also asserts that the division between constructions with the preposition *of* and those formed by 's is controlled by the feature animate.

possessors predominantly formed individual personal adjectives, and common personal nouns tended to adopt the genitive case form only under definite reference, genitive case of personal nouns was not widely employed adnominally among the most agentive nouns (Meillet 1987:150).

One can speculate, then, that genitive was available for adverbial use with this specific class of nouns. Researchers, stressing the decline in genitive direct objects (Klenin 1983 and 1987; Kryś'ko 1994), give no consideration to the unproductive bare genitive use in possessive constructions among nouns high on the hierarchy. Thus, the distribution pattern in possessive constructions could have contributed to the new productivity of the genitive case and ultimately to the rise of the genitive-accusative.

CHAPTER FIVE

VARIATION IN THE ACCUSATIVE CASE FORM AND THE HIERARCHY OF FEATURES

Observing that in OCS genitive-accusative is almost exclusively attested among masculine singular nouns denoting living beings (predominantly persons), most researchers are convinced that the process of substitution of the accusative case by genitive in the language began in the singular of masculine proper personal nouns.¹ The consistency of genitive-accusative attestations in proper personal nouns is remarkable. There is only one unambiguous OCS attestation of such a noun in the nominative-accusative, in *Zographensis* (David Huntley - personal communication):

- (1) *Avraamъ li esi viděť*
'have you seen Abraham' (Jn. 8.57)

The fact that the proper noun *Avraamъ* 'Abraham' in nominative-accusative is a direct object makes this a particularly rare attestation.

Outside the canonical texts, Nekrasov (1905:57) lists one example from the *Ostromir Gospel*:

- (2) *i obrětoša Marijo že i Osifъ i mladenъcъ ležašť*
'and they found Mary and Joseph and the baby lying' (Luke 2.16)

In OESl, genitive-accusative is also attested consistently in proper personal nouns. Most interesting are examples such as (27) in the previous chapter, where the

¹ See Tomson (1908a:239), Nekrasov (1905:58), Kuryłowicz (1962:249,250).

accusative form of the proper noun contrasts with that of the common noun. Two similar citations in (3) and (4) also provide strong evidence for the conclusion that proper personal nouns - the most productive source of genitive-accusative - are higher than any other nouns on the hierarchy:

- (3) и посла Володимеръ с <ы> нъ свои Романа
 'and Volodimir sent his son Roman'
 (4) в то же лѣтѣ <о> посла Володимеръ с <ы> нъ свои другъи Андрѣя
 'and that very year Volodimer sent his other son Andrej' (- both from Laur. Chron. 1119, l 97 (292))

This, of course, is not surprising. As has been emphasized, under nominative-accusative syncretism personal nouns representing prototypical agents (especially proper nouns, since they are also definite) are the most susceptible to subject-object ambiguity. When the syncretic nominative-accusative form of such nouns was used, it was most likely to be interpreted as nominative - the case of a subject - due to the lexical features characteristic of a prototypical agent that are inherent in such nouns.² Observe, for example, how in (5) and (6) an elliptical clause depends entirely on the genitive-accusative of the proper noun - the direct object - in order to be properly understood:

² The hypothesis that genitive-accusative arose first in proper nouns undermines the assumption of analogical influence from pronouns, as proposed by Meillet. If one adheres to Meillet's original proposition about the catalytic role of a modifier (in the form of either a definite adjective or participle) in promoting this change among nouns, then one has to doubt that the first group of nouns to be affected by genitive-accusative would be proper personal nouns. As previously mentioned, these nouns are hardly ever modified. Of course, one might argue that the prevalence of genitive-accusative in proper personal nouns is not indicative of the original situation, but rather suggests the extreme productivity of such a substitution for this class of nouns. Still, there are more adequate ways to explain the pattern of attestation. Proper nouns are inherently definite; perhaps, then, it is not modification as much as the feature definite that matters in the rise of genitive-accusative.

- (5) оузърю ли си лице братьца моего меньшааго Гльба яко Иосифъ
*Венямина*³
 'shall I see the face of my younger brother Gleb, as Joseph (saw)
 Benjamin' (L. of V. & G., 9г (1-2))
- (6) и сдумавше послаша к Д<а>в<ы>ду мужи своѣ Стополкъ
 Путяту Володимеръ *Орогостя* и *Ратибора* Давыд и Олег *Торчина*
 'and having made up their minds, they sent their men to David:
 Svjatopolk (sent) Putjata, Volodimer - Orogost and Ratibor, David and
 Oleg - Torčin' (Laur. Chron. 1100, l 92 (274))

The pattern of attestation in OESl generally conforms to that of OCS. However, while in OCS there are practically no exceptions to the taking of genitive-accusative by proper nouns, the absolute number of attestations of such nouns in nominative-accusative in early OESl is far greater. Of course, in relative terms, their number is still small. This again confirms the idea that OESl is more conservative in its use of genitive-accusative than OCS.

These data have not been widely cited. According to Frink (1962:134), for example, "there are apparently no exceptions" to proper noun genitive-accusative in the *Laurentian Chronicle*.⁴ This is strikingly reminiscent of the reports on denominative adjectives and bare genitive case use, with their claims of complementary distribution. Overlooking atypical attestations in this way appears to stem from a prejudice against data that fail to comply with invariant distribution

³ One could argue that the form *Венямина* might be alternatively interpreted as adnominal genitive 'of Benjamin', modifying the head noun *лице* 'face'. Admittedly, some ambiguity is caused by the ellipsis in this sentence.

⁴ See also Nekrasov (1905:57).

rules. Thus Kryś'ko (1994:58) comments on the "extreme difficulty of deducing any invariant meaning" in the patterns of attestation.⁵

On the basis of the OESl examples that will be cited in this chapter, one can organize noun categories into a hierarchy according to their degree of prototypicality as agents and possessors:

Agent/Possessor Hierarchy

proper personal

supernatural

common mature

common immature

infants

animals

In what follows, the attestations will be examined in the direction from top to bottom of the agent/possessor hierarchy, according to the relative frequency of nominative-accusative versus genitive-accusative. The less numerous (and thus atypical) attestations for each noun category will be focused on. Within each group, direct object position will be distinguished from that of the object of a preposition. Other features relevant for the hierarchy will be commented upon: for example, lexical features (particularly personal and mature) and morphological features such as declensional membership. Formation of individual personal adjectives from the

⁵ Another extreme exists in accounting for previously neglected data: they are cited as proof that existing explanations do not have a grain of truth in them, and that a completely new alternative must therefore be provided (Kryś'ko 1994).

noun stem or the attestation of the noun as a bare adnominal genitive (already dealt with in Chapters Two and Three) will also be considered. Referential definiteness, which still plays a significant role in OESl in the selection of a particular morphosyntactic alternative, will be discussed when relevant.

While proper personal nouns are attested predominantly in genitive-accusative, vacillations between the two possible accusative forms are found even among nouns which, on the basis of their lexical features and referential definiteness, occupy the top of the agent/possessor hierarchy. Evidence for this is provided in (7)-(10) below:

- (7) Ярославъ иде на Мазовшаны и побѣди е(*sic!*) и князя ихъ оуби Моиславъ
 'and Jaroslav went against the Mazovians and conquered them and killed their prince Moislav' (Laur. Chron. 1074, l 52v (155))
- (8) такоже и се именемъ Андрѣяшъ видѣвъ князъ <ь/я> Александръ возвратися к своимъ
 'and this one too, by the name of Andrejaš, having seen Prince Aleksandr, returned to his people' (Suzd. Chron. 1263, l 168v (478))
- (9) и обрѣтъ яко же преже Каина на братоубиство горяца тако же и С <вя> тополкъ по истинѣ вторааго Каина
 'as before having found Cain, eager to commit the murder of his brother, so (he possessed) Svjatopolk - truly a second Cain' (L. of B. & G., 10v.15)
- (10) Изяславъ же пославъ брата своего Ростислава о^т<ь>я оу него города опя^т<ь> и посадники исковавъ приведе и Туровьскаго еп<и>с<ко>па Якима с<ы>на же своего Ярославъ посади Туровѣ
 'and Izjaslav, having sent his brother Rostislav, seized the towns from him again, and having chained the governors, brought also the bishop of Turov Jakim, while he installed his son Jaroslav in Turov' (Laur. Chron. 1145, l 104v)

The proper personal nouns *Моиславъ* 'Moislav' (7), *Александръ* 'Alexander' (8), *С <вя> тополкъ* 'Svjatopolk' (9) and *Ярославъ* 'Jaroslav' (10) are all in the

nominative-accusative. These attestations are exceptional for several reasons. First, the nouns are under verbal rection; this syntactic feature usually assigns a noun to a high position on the hierarchy. Second, three out of four nouns are used in apposition with genitive-accusative of a common noun, such as *князя ихъ* 'their prince' (7) or *сына своего* 'his son' (10). It is also remarkable that both nouns *князь* 'prince' and *сынъ* 'son' - here in genitive-accusative - are quite often attested in nominative-accusative.⁶ For this reason, the nominative-accusative of proper nouns used in apposition with the genitive-accusative of these common nouns appears especially striking. (Contrast (3) and (4) above.) Finally, the nominative-accusative *Ярославъ* 'Jaroslav' (10) is used as a direct object in one sentence with other personal nouns (although it is not governed by the same verb) in genitive-accusative. This includes proper nouns: *брата своего Ростислава* 'his brother Rostislav' and *Туровьскаго еп<и>^c<ко>на Якима* 'Jakim, the bishop of Turov'. Because of all these counterindications, the nominative-accusatives in (7), (8) and (10) could almost be suspected as scribal errors.⁷ Perhaps the nouns were misread by the scribe as subjects in the nominative - after all, each sentence has more than one verb. Other chronicles have genitive-accusatives in all of these instances.

On the other hand, it is indicative that three of the proper nouns in question are native Slavic names (the exception is *Aleksandrъ*). This strongly suggests that the forms are genuine nominative-accusatives. Meillet (1987:17) mentions that genitive-accusative is consistently employed among all borrowed proper nouns in OCS. (Recall that the stems of borrowed proper nouns are at the same time one of the

⁶ The case of *князь* in (8) is undecipherable because of its abbreviated form.

⁷ Compare, for instance, the proper noun *Володимеръ* 'Volodimer' in nominative instead of dative: б<ог>ъ вложи в с<ь>рдце княземъ рускы^m<ь> С<вя>тополку и *Володимеръ* 'God put in the hearts of the Russian princes Svjatopolk and Volodimer' (Laur. Chron. 1103, l 93v (277))

most productive sources of the individual personal adjectives formed by the suffixes on the top of the suffix hierarchy, such as *-ov* (Chapter Two).

The next pair of OESl examples (11) and (12) both contain the borrowed proper noun *Адамъ* 'Adam' in nominative-accusative:

- (11) *въ новъи Адамъ* облечеся еже естъ X < ристо > съ
 'he took the image of the new Adam upon himself, who is Christ' (Laur. Chron. 969, (68) l 20v)

The nominative-accusative *въ Адамъ* 'into Adam' in (11) can be explained by the presence of the syntactic feature correlated with it - namely prepositional rection.

In (12) the nominative-accusative of the same proper noun *Адамъ* 'Adam' is again the object of a preposition (*на* 'onto'). It is for this reason placed lower on the hierarchy:

- (12) *и възложи б < ог > ъ на Адамъ с < ъ > нь и оуспе Адамъ*
 'and God sent sleep onto Adam, and Adam fell asleep' (Laur. Chron. 984 (88) l 29)

There is nothing in OCS that these two examples correspond to, thus if they arose from the influence of Old Balkan Slavic texts, those texts must have been extremely conservative.

Similar usage is illustrated by (13)-(15). If OCS influence might remotely arise as an issue regarding the attestations in (11) and (12), the following examples deal with East Slavic history, as opposed to the ecclesiastical subject matter of (11) and (12), and thus may be safely considered as originally recorded by an East Slav:

- (13) *ведена дщи Володарева за ц < а > ревичь за Олексиничь*
 'Volodar's daughter was wed to the prince, to Oleksinič' (Laur. Chron. 1104, l 94v (280))

- (14) поимемъ жену его Вольгу за князь свои Маль и С < вя > тосла^{8а}
 ‘we shall wed his wife Olga to our prince Mal, and (take) Svjatoslav’
 (Laur. Chron. 945, / 15 (55))
- (15) да поиди за князь нашъ за Маль
 ‘and marry our prince, Mal’ (Laur. Chron. 945, / 15 (56))

The great number of nominative-accusative OESl attestations of proper personal nouns, especially those of native origin, besides indicating their archaic status, reveals two principles on which the hierarchy of features is based. First is the relevance of multiple features for the morphosyntactic outcome: despite the lexical features from the top of the hierarchy, a counteracting syntactic feature may be responsible for the form of a noun associated with the opposite end of the scale.⁸ Second, due to the multiple planes in the hierarchy, one can always find exceptional examples, however few, in any category of nouns. This confirms the fuzzy character of the divisions between levels.

Berneker (1904:385) chooses to account for the attestations in (13)-(15) as being influenced by the lexicalized expression ‘to get married to’, which remains, as has been noted, one of the rare survivors of the nominative-accusative (modern Russian *замуж*). Ironically, there are not many attestations of this particular expression - only three, all in *Russkaja Pravda*. For example:

- (16) но отдадять ю за мужь братья
 ‘but her brothers arrange a marriage for her’ (Russ. Pr. 95, / 622)

Certainly, there are abundant nominative-accusatives of other common personal nouns governed by the preposition *za*, all having to do with the idea of

⁸ The use of nominative-accusative with the preposition *za* is particularly noteworthy, since this preposition can also take a genitive object (Vaillant 1948:190).

getting married:

- (17) а княгъни наш^а хоче <тъ> за вашъ князь
 ‘and our princess wants (to marry) your prince’ (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15v (56))
- (18) да в велицѣ чти приду за вашъ князь
 ‘so that I will marry your prince with great honour’ (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15v (57))
- (19) ведена Передьслава дщи С<вя>тополча в Угры за королевичъ
 ‘Peredslava, the daughter of Svjatopolk, was taken to the Ugrians to (be wed to) the prince’ (Laur. Chron. 1104, l 94v (280))

However, the combination of the preposition *za* with the accusative case of the noun *миръ* is attested elsewhere without the meaning ‘to get married’, as the sentence in (20) shows:

- (20) котори роусинъ или латинескыи противоу сее правды молвить того почъсти за лихий моужь
 ‘and if a certain Rusian or a Latin says something against this law, that one is to be considered an evil man’ (1229 Tr., 100)

Moreover, there are attestations of other nouns in nominative-accusative with this preposition that do not refer to marriage either:

- (21) дала роукоу за зяте . . . оже боудоу люди при комо боудоу дала за зяте⁹
 ‘I vouched for my son-in-law that there will be people before whom I will have vouched for my son-in-law’ (BBL #531, late 12th - early 13th c.)

⁹ The substitution of *-e* for *-ь* in the form *за зяте* ‘for my son-in-law’ is orthographic.

Zaliznjak (1995:144) observes that there are several possible meanings in the prepositional phrase *za* + accusative. The meaning 'to get married' is only a specific instance of the general usage 'to come under someone's protection/into someone's power', as exemplified in this citation from another birch bark letter:

- (22) *которые хрестьяни с Ълова пришли за тебѣ*
 'those peasants from Pov who came into your possession' (BBL #310, 15th c.)

Obviously, nominative-accusatives of personal proper and common nouns with *za* should be accounted for by the syntactic feature of prepositional rection. The idiomatic modern Russian expression *замуж* is the result - and not the explanation - of OESl nominative-accusative usage. Finally, as Berneker (1904:385) himself admits, there are many genitive-accusative attestations of personal nouns in the same syntactic environment, including those referring to marriage:

- (23) *онъ же ре^ч<е> тѣчери свои хочеш ли за Володимера*
 'and he said to his daughter, "Do you want (to marry) Volodimer?"'
 (Laur. Chron. 980, l 23v (75))
- (24) *и поя Володимеръ за Юргя Аепину дщеръ Осеневу внуку а Олегъ поя за с<ы>на Аепину дщеръ Гиргенеу внуку*
 'and Volodimer married/took the daughter of Aepa, granddaughter of Osen', to Jurgi, and Oleg married the daughter of Aepa, granddaughter of Girgen', to his son' (Laur. Chron. 1107, l 95 (283))

It is interesting that the preposition *за*, repeated in the Russian expression *выйти замуж за* 'to become married to', takes genitive-accusative, in contrast to the lexicalized nominative-accusative *замуж*. This not only attests to the early inseparable status of the preposition and the noun *миръ* 'husband' in this phrase, but also suggests that *миръ* 'husband/man' may have a special tendency to take the form

of a nominative-accusative. Indeed, even as a direct object this noun is frequently attested in nominative-accusative. All this indicates the need for an explanation of the nominative-accusative of personal nouns with the preposition *za* different from that proposed by Berneker, as well as an explanation for the pattern of attestation of the noun *mužb* with or without this preposition.

Common personal nouns have the second highest rate of genitive-accusative attestations in OESl. However, as shown by the above examples, some of them frequently appear as nominative-accusatives. The ratio of nominative-accusative attestations varies, depending on inherent and variable features of the noun in question. Some common nouns manifest roughly equal distribution, verging on free variation, between the possible accusative forms. In common nouns characterized by the lexical feature *immature*, nominative-accusative is actually still predominant.

Only a few common nouns denoting supernatural beings are attested in nominative-accusative, the majority taking the form of genitive-accusative. Despite the uncertain degree of the lexical feature *personal* in their stem, their referents are usually very definite. Thus, the noun *gospodb* ‘Lord’ refers exclusively to God, while another noun of the same stem - *gospodinb* - has the more general meaning ‘master’, as in (25):

- (25) *аже господинъ переобидитъ закоупа*
 ‘if a master offends a hireling’ (Russ. Pr. 59, l 623v)

This noun has one attestation in nominative-accusative:

- (26) *нъ оже господинъ индѣ налѣзоутъ*
 ‘but if they find a master somewhere else’ (Russ. Pr. 64, l 624)

The ambiguous reference of the noun *bogb* ‘God’ has been discussed in Chapter Two. It was also stated that the suffix *-bj-* of the adjective *božьjь* occupies a low

status on the suffix hierarchy. The noun *bogъ* has one attestation in nominative-accusative, though only as the object of a preposition:

- (27) но надъюся на б<ог>ъ
 'but I rely on God' ((Laur. Chron. 1096, l 89v (265))

Otherwise, genitive-accusative is the norm for this noun - attested also under prepositional rection, as in (29):

- (28) хваля и славя б<ог>а
 'praising and glorifying God' (L. of Th., 65r.25)
 (29) надъю ся на б<ог>а
 'I rely on God' (L. of Th., 50v.1)

Under Christianity, the noun *bogъ* closely approaches proper nouns in its high degree of definiteness, since its referent is in most cases unique. However, the common noun *kumirъ* 'idol' - a pagan deity - is also only attested as genitive-accusative:

- (30) постави кумира надъ рѣкою Волховомъ
 'he put the idol above the Volxov river' ((Laur. Chron. 980, l 25v (79))

Pagan deities referred to by proper nouns (some containing the noun *bogъ* as part of the compound), regularly take the form of genitive-accusative. For example:

- (31) и постави кумиры на холму внѣ двора теремнаго Перуна древяна
 . . . и Хърса Дажьб<ог>а и Стриб<ог>а и Симарьгла и Мокошь
 'and he put the idols on the hill outside the palace court: wooden Perun and Xors, Dažbog and Stribog and Simargl and Mokoš' (Laur. Chron. 980, l 25 (79))

Evidently, the members of the pantheon were not many, and so each had a proper name. Perhaps for this reason the noun *kumirъ* could be considered relatively

definite, which may explain its attestation as genitive-accusative. It should be mentioned that there are no attestations in the texts under examination of denominative adjectives formed from the stem of this noun.

Similar to *bogъ*, the noun *duxъ* ‘Spirit’ is attested as such only under prepositional rection:

- (32) вѣрую во единого б<ог>а о<тъ>ца вседержителя . . . и пакы вѣрую въ единого б<ог>а о<тъ>ца нерожена и въ единого сына роже^{на} въ единъ с<вя>тъи д<у>хъ исходяще (*sic!*)
 ‘I believe in one God the Almighty Father and again I believe in one God the Father not born (of a human) and in one Son born, in one Holy Spirit proceeding’ (Laur. Chron. 988, l 38v (112))

On the other hand, genitive-accusative is also attested along with nominative-accusative, both governed by the preposition *въ*:

- (33) о<тъ>ць бо въ с<ы>нъ ли въ д<у>хъ прѣступае ни с<ы>нъ во о<тъ>ца и в д<у>ха и д<у>хъ ли въ с<ы>нъ ли о<тъ>ць
 ‘for the Father does not enter into the Son or the (Holy) Spirit, nor the Son into the Father and the Spirit, nor the Spirit into the Son or the Father’ (Laur. Chron. 987, l 39 (112))

The citation in (33) is particularly interesting because of the variation in the accusative form of all three nouns: *duxъ* ‘spirit’, *отъць* ‘father’ and *сынъ* ‘son’. The use of genitive-accusative as the object of a preposition is indicative of the advanced stage in its spread. This, and the fact that the passage deals with the issue of the consubstantiality of the Trinity, strongly suggest its Balkan Slavic origin. Again, OCS is more innovative than OESl in its employment of genitive-accusative.

Therefore, common personal nouns (including those denoting high-status supernatural beings) with a high degree of referential definiteness are attested in

nominative-accusative only exceptionally, thus occupying quite an elevated position on the hierarchy. The noun *отць* 'father' can be found in nominative-accusative only as the object of a preposition, as cited in (33). Although neither of the adjectives *отць* or *отнь* 'father's' are individual personal adjectives, *отць*, being a kinship term, can be definite from the context due to its deictic nature. This fact is perhaps partially responsible for its regular genitive-accusative attestations. Besides, an even higher degree of definiteness is present in this noun when it refers to God the Father.¹⁰ However, this particular reference at the same time compromises the feature personal - since divinity is not perceived as human.

Common personal nouns characterized by a relatively high degree of the lexical feature mature may still be attested in nominative-accusative:

- (34) то привести емоу *видокъ*
 'then he is to bring a witness' (Russ. Pr. 29, l 617v)

The noun *видокъ* 'witness' (34) has random, and thus indefinite reference, which may influence the choice of the accusative form.

Nevertheless, genitive-accusative is much more typical for common nouns, for example:

- (35) яко ж <е> блудницу и *разбоиника* и *мытаря* помиловаль еси
 'as he has had mercy on a prostitute and a robber and a taxman' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 80 (245))

¹⁰ David Huntley (personal communication) points out the following citation from *Suprasliensis*: *обеѣтъ бо о <тъ> съ имѣтъ богъ* 'for they have a common father God' (84.18).

It is interesting that nouns originally belonging to the declension with genitive in *-i* are also quite consistently attested in genitive-accusative. There is one nominative-accusative, attested as direct object:

- (36) а боле же чтите *гость*
 'and even more honor a guest' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 80v (246))

The noun *zjatь* 'son-in-law', attested twice in nominative-accusative only as the object of a preposition, has been already cited in (21) above. There are no such attestations of this noun under verbal rection, where genitive-accusative is the only possibility:

- (37) вода с собою и Брячеслава *зятя* своего
 'bringing with him also his son-in-law, Brjačeslav' (Suzd. Chron. 1127, l 99 (298))
- (38) поима *зятя* своего Володимерковича
 'he caught his son-in-law Volodimerkovič' (Suzd. Chron. 1156, l 116 (347))

Genitive-accusative is also obligatory for two other nouns formerly of the declension with genitive in *-i*, *tatь* 'thief' and *ťstь* 'father-in-law':

- (39) которьи роусинь или латинескьии имьть *татя* надъ тьмь емоу своя вьля
 'any Russian or Latin who catches a thief - he is to do as he pleases with that one' (1229 Tr., 66)
- (40) то по върви искати въ собь *татя* любо платити продажею
 'then one is to look for a thief among his own people, from one witness to the other, or he is to pay a fine' (Russ. Pr. 69, 70, l 621)
- (41) и взяша и С <вя> тополкъ акы *ťстя* своего и врага

'and Svjatopolk took him as his father-in-law and enemy' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 77 (232))¹¹

The common noun *synъ* 'son' (etymologically of the declension with genitive in *-u*), in contrast to those above with predominant genitive-accusative, manifests a greater number of nominative-accusatives. Besides its unstable declensional membership, another morphological feature is lacking in this noun. As was pointed out in Chapter Three, the stem of this noun does not form a denominative adjective. The ratio of genitive- to nominative-accusative attestations of this noun in OCS is affected by the feature *mature* (Huntley 1993:136-137). In OESl, this conclusion does not seem to hold. Most nominative-accusative attestations denote an adult, although some such attestations are found with reference to infants:

- (42) *выдавъ ему снъ свои на руцѣ Игоря бысть бо дѣтескъ вельми*
 'having given his son Igor into his arms, for he was very small' (Laur. Chron. 879, l 8 (22))

Contrast, however, genitive-accusative denoting an infant son in (43) and (44):

- (43) *но обаче любяше Ольга с <ы>на свѣго С <вя>тослава*
 but still Olga loved her son Svjatoslav' (Laur. Chron. 955, l 19 (64))
- (44) *и се рекши молящися за с <ы>на . . . кормящи с <ы>на своего до мужьства его*
 'and having said that, she prayed for her son . . . nurturing her son until his coming of age' (Laur. Chron. 955, l 19 (64))

Two nominative-accusatives denoting an adult son have been quoted already in (3) and (4). There are others as well:

¹¹ Two attestations of a possibly younger genitive-accusative *tsiti* have been cited in Chapter Four (17).

- (45) яко Новугороду быти С<вя>тополчю и посадити с<ы>нъ свои в немъ а Володимеру посадити с<ы>нъ свои въ Володимери
 ‘that Novgorod is to belong to Svjatopolk, and to install his son in it, and Volodimer is to install his son in (the town of) Volodimer’ (Laur. Chron. 1102, l 93 (275))
- (46) рекуще даи на^М<ъ> с<ы>нъ свои а С<вя>тослава не хоче^М<ъ> и посла к ним^М<ъ> с<ы>нъ свои
 ‘saying, "Give us your son, we don’t want Svjatoslav"; and he sent his son to them’ (Suzd. Chron. 1140, l 102v (308))
- (47) а сыно ти . . . восоли
 ‘and your son . . . send’ (BBL #719, late 12th - early 13th c.)

Nominative-accusative is attested under prepositional rection - two in (33) above, and in the following:

- (48) яко паде жребии на с<ы>нъ твои
 ‘if the lot falls on your son’ (Laur. Chron. 983, l 26v (82))

Still, genitive-accusative of *сынъ* predominates, attested under prepositional rection as well. A degree of free variation is also observable. For example:

- (49) рѣш^а емоу вдан с<ы>на своего . . . он же рече аще сут^б б<о>зи то единого собе послють бога да имуть с<ы>нъ мои
 ‘they said to him, "Give us your son" . . . but he said, "if they are Gods, they will send one God and take my son" (Laur. Chron. 983, l 26v (83))
- (50) на с<ы>на ево
 ‘against his son’ (BBL #496, 15th c.)

Interestingly, all the nominative-accusatives in (45) and (46) are modified by the possessive reflexive pronoun *своѣ* ‘one’s own’. As mentioned in Chapter Four, some researchers have postulated that this syntactic feature inhibits employment of

genitive-accusative. This set of examples (as well as those with the noun *муѡъ* 'man' listed in (83)-(89), (92) and (93) below) seem supportive of such a conclusion. Compare, however, the genitive-accusatives in (43), (44) and (49), as well as (102)-(106). Instead of considering this a syntactic feature, one might suggest that it is a means of making the head noun more definite. Thus the need to express definiteness through the use of genitive-accusative itself might be reduced. Nevertheless, some alternate attestations are clearly in free variation.

Therefore, nouns whose morphological features previously differed from the declension with genitive in *-a* tend to manifest more vacillation in their accusative form. In addition, some nouns such as *сынѡ* 'son' may be sensitive to the lexical feature *mature*.

As suggested earlier with respect to bare adnominal genitive attestations of the noun *братѡ* 'brother' (Chapter Three), its morphosyntactic form may also be influenced by the feature *mature*. This noun also has some nominative-accusative attestations, including one as the object of a preposition, as in (54):

- (51) чему еси слѣпилъ братѡ <ѡ> свои
'why have you blinded your brother' (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 88v (263))
- (52) а нынѣ пусти братѡ <ѡ> мои
'and now let my brother go' (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 90, (267))
- (53) а язъ тя есмѣла акы братѡ собѣ
'and I treated you like my brother' (BBL #752, late 11th - early 12th c.)
- (54) поиди на братѡ свои
'go against your brother' (Laur. Chron. 975, l 23 (74))

Meillet (1897:45) points out that *Marianus* is the only OCS manuscript that has isolated examples of the nominative-accusative *братѡ* 'brother'. The majority of OESl attestations (especially with the noun as direct object) are also genitive-accusative, for instance:

- (55) то да сътвори волю мою и възврати *брата* своего на столъ
 'then do as I will and return your brother to power' (L. of Th., 606.9)
- (56) то мъстити братоу *брата*
 'then a brother is to avenge a brother' (Russ. Pr. 1, / 615v)

Genitive-accusative is also widely attested with a preposition:

- (57) многоу виноу износящю *на брата* своего
 'putting much blame on his brother' (L. of Th. 59v.19)
- (58) тольми бо бѣ и врагъ раждѣлъ гнѣвъмъ *на брата* своего
 'for so much had the devil ignited him with wrath against his brother' (L. of Th. 606.16)

The noun *knjazь* 'prince' has a number of nominative-accusative attestations. This word is a Germanic borrowing, and thus may be not completely assimilated by OESl. "Foreign origin can override all other factors, until its potency is diluted by time and familiarity" (Janda 1996:342). Besides, it is very often used in apposition with proper nouns. The denominative adjective *knjazь* 'prince's' is attested as indeclinable (Borkovskij 1949:285; Frolova 1963:49), to the extent of sometimes forming a compound, as in the following place name:

- (59) до селу на *Княжеострови*
 'to the village at Knjažeostrov' (BBL #324, early 14th c.)

Nominative-accusative of *knjazь* is attested in direct object position:

- (60) а въскормили есмы собѣ *князь* а ты еси шель о^т насъ
 'and we have nurtured a prince for ourselves, and you have left us'
 (Laur. Chron., 1102 / 93)
- (61) и прияша *князь* свои Кыяне
 'and The Kievans received their prince' (Laur. Chron. 1069, / 58v)

It is more frequently attested as nominative-accusative under prepositional rection (see more examples with the preposition *za* in (14), (15), (17) and (18) above):

- (62) егда же подъпьяхуться начьняхуть роптати на князь
гл <агол> юще
'and when they got drunk, they would begin to grumble at the prince,
saying' (Laur. Chron. 996, l 43v (126))

Genitive-accusative is still more common for this noun, both as a direct object and an object of a preposition. For example:

- (63) и князя ихъ оубиша Тугоркана
'and they killed their prince Tugorkan' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 77 (232))
(64) видѣвъ же князя своего
'and having seen their prince' (Suzd. Chron. 1149, l 108 (324))
(65) аже в боярѣхъ или в дружинѣ то за князя задница не идетъ
'and if a noble or a warrior, his inheritance is not passed on to the
prince' (Russ. Pr. 91, l 621v)

Two common nouns - *mužь* 'man/husband' and *čelověkъ* 'man, person' - manifest greater variation in their accusative form. The less frequently attested noun *čelověkъ* is synonymous with *mužь* in one of its meanings, namely 'man'. Both also have the connotation 'someone's subject', suggesting that the degree of the lexical feature mature may be somewhat lower. This could to a certain extent be responsible for the frequent nominative-accusative attestations of these nouns. Note that all the examples in (66)-(69) below come from birch bark letters and most are of a rather late date - 14th-15th century:

- (66) пришли осподине ч <е> л <о> в <ѣ> къ
'send, o master, a man' (BBL #17, early 15th c.)
(67) како приде ся грамота тако пришли ми цоловѣкъ на жерещѣ
'when this letter arrives, send me a man on a horse' (BBL #43, 15th c.)

- (68) а про сѣи челоуеко мы его не знаемо
 ‘and about this man - we do not know him’ (BBL #36, Pskov, 13th c.)
- (69) а ннѣ (*sic!*) послѣи свои чолоуекѣ
 ‘and now send your man’ (BBL #167, late 14th c.)

The nominative-accusatives in (66), (67) and (69) are certainly indefinite - they refer to a random individual. In general, contrary to the overall pattern in OESl, the number of genitive-accusatives in birch bark letters is smaller than that of nominative-accusatives. They both appear to be used with random reference:

- (70) а ни посла еси цолоубка да грамотоу
 ‘and you have not sent us a man with the letter’ (BBL #99, 14th c.)
- (71) и да намъ смирного ч<e>л<o>в<б>ка
 ‘and give us a quiet man’ (BBL #370, 14th c.)

Since the attestations in (66)-(69) are of a later date, and since the pattern of attestation of nominative- and genitive-accusative in birch bark letters is opposite to that found in texts of other types, these nominative-accusatives are particularly indicative of the archaic state of OESl. On the other hand, since both forms seem to be employed with the same type of reference, this can also indicate the beginning of a state of free variation in OESl at that time.

Besides the examples in birch bark letters, nominative-accusative of *čelověkъ* is completely unattested in the corpus under study. Outside of this corpus, there is one such example in the part of the *Laurentian Chronicle* reconstructed from the *Radziwil Chronicle*, but only under prepositional rection:

- (72) даяти на 2 корабль по 12 гривень на ч<e>л<o>в<б>кѣ
 ‘to give for two ships 12 grivnas per person’ (Laur. Chron. 907, l 15
 (30))

Therefore, with the exception of birch bark letters, the typical form for *čelověkъ* ‘man’ to adopt is that of the genitive-accusative. This includes attestations under prepositional rection. For example:

- (73) видяста бо правьдѣна соуща челоуѣка б<о> жия
 ‘they saw the man of God being just’ (L. of Th. 586.4-5)
- (74) но влагають помысль въ ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ка
 ‘but they put thoughts in a man’ (Laur. Chron. 1071, l 60 (178))
- (75) аже розгнѣвает ся князь на своего ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ка
 ‘if a prince becomes angry at his man’ (1229 Tr., 26)

An especially good illustration of referential definiteness as the feature promoting genitive-accusative is provided by passages dealing with the first man Adam. In this case *čelověkъ* ‘man’ is highly definite, due to its unique referent:

- (76) створил Б<ог>ъ ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ка
 ‘God created man’ (Laur. Chron. 1071, l 59v (176))
- (77) кому в немъ створити ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ка
 ‘which one is to create man in it’ (Laur. Chron. 1071, l 59v (177))
- (78) и створи дьяволъ ч<е>л<о>в<ѣ>ка
 ‘and the Devil created man’ (Laur. Chron. 1071, l 59v (177))

As regards *мижь* ‘man’, Janda (1996:353) terms it "a questionable **u*-stem noun".¹² Alternatively, Berneker (1904:381) notes, following Meillet (1897:53-54), that this noun used to belong to the declension with genitive in *-i*. Whatever the prehistoric morphological features of this noun may have been, it seems that some uncertainty is present in its declensional membership. This, one hypothesizes, might predispose *мижь* to take its frequent nominative-accusative form.

¹² Incidentally, her list of such nouns also includes *duxъ* ‘Spirit’.

The noun *миѣ* has two possible meanings: 'husband' and 'prince's man'. The difference between these senses is underlined by the existence of the two denominative adjectives formed from the stem of this noun. When it denotes 'husband', the corresponding adjective is *миѣнь* 'husband's', as in (79):

- (79) а заднича еи мужня не надобѣ
 'and she doesn't need the inheritance of her husband' (Russ. Pr. 94, l 622v)

In contrast, when the stem denotes 'man', it forms the adjective *миѣсьскѣ* 'men's, masculine' (it is interesting that the suffix *-ськ-* is lower on the hierarchy than *-н-*):

- (80) жены в ни^х < ѣ > . . . мужьскыя дѣла творять
 'women there do mens' things' (Laur. Chron., l 5v (16))

The variation in the accusative case form has also been explained by this difference in meaning (Frink 1962:135), which ultimately relates to the difference in referential definiteness. Because of its subject matter, the Chronicle deals more frequently with men than with husbands; thus it is hard to substantiate such comparisons.

Genitive-accusative is not limited to references to husbands, although it is consistently attested with such reference when the noun is a direct object, for example:

- (81) сице муж^а твоего убихомъ
 'lo, we killed your husband' (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15 (56))
 (82) въ градѣ идеже оубисте мужа моего
 'in the town where you killed my husband' (Laur. Chron. 945, l 15v (57))

Contrast, however, nominative-accusative attestations of *mužь* as ‘husband’ under prepositional rection, exemplified in (16).

Nominative-accusative of the noun *mužь*, when it stands for ‘man’ in general, is widely attested in sources of different types (83)–(94), both under verbal and prepositional rection ((20) above):

- (83) а се ти хочоу коне коупивъ и кнѣжъ *моужь* въсадивъ
 ‘and I want, having bought a horse and having put a prince’s man (on it)’ (BBL #109, late 11th - early 12th c.)
- (84) выпусти ты свои *мужь* а я свои да ся борета
 ‘you let out your man and I mine, so that they will wrestle’ (Laur. Chron. 992, l 42v (122))
- (85) и посади *мужь* сво^и
 ‘and he appointed his man’ (Laur. Chron. 882, l 8 (23))
- (86) и посади *мужь*^ь свои
 ‘and he appointed his man’ (Laur. Chron. 882, l 8 (23))
- (87) приѣхаша Печенѣзи и свои *мужь* приведоша
 ‘and the Pečenegs arrived and brought their man’ (Laur. Chron. 992, l 42v (122))
- (88) да же бы мене Д<а>в<и>дъ послушалъ да бы^х<ъ> послалъ *мужь* свои к Володимеру воротиться
 ‘if only David had listened to me, if he had sent his man to Volodimer so that he returned’ (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 89 (265))
- (89) Изяславъ же . . . посла *мужь* свои
 ‘and Izjaslav sent his man’ (Laur. Chron. 1051, l 54v (159))
- (90) и молви ему тако оже хоцещи послати *мужь* свои
 ‘and say thus to him, "If you want to send your man"' (Laur. Chron. 1097, l 89v (265))
- (91) о^т Аньдрѣя *мужь* прияли
 ‘we received a man from Andrej’ (BBL #724, 12th c.)
- (92) нарядите же *мужь*
 ‘and send a man’ (BBL #160, 12th c.)
- (93) да бы^х<ъ> послалъ *мужь* свои

- ‘so that he would send his man’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, / 89 (265))
 (94) оже хоцещи послати мужь свои
 ‘if you wish to send your man’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, / 89v (265))

Birch bark letters have no form attested other than nominative-accusative, recalling the predilection of the noun *čelověkъ* for this form in such sources, as demonstrated above.

Genitive-accusatives of *mužь* are still slightly more numerous than nominative-accusatives:

- (95) аже кто оубиеть княжа *моужа* въ разбои
 ‘if someone kills a prince’s man in a robbery’ (Russ. Pr. 1, / 615v)
 (96) ажъ оубьеть *моужь моужа*
 ‘if a man kills a man’ (Russ. Pr. 1, / 615v)
 (97) или пьхнеть *моужь моужа*
 ‘or a man pushes a man’ (Russ. Pr. 31, / 617v)
 (98) Иванка Чюдиновича Ольгова *моужа*
 ‘Ivanko Čudinovič, Oleg’s man’ (Russ. Pr. 53, / 620v)
 (99) аже холопъ оударить свободна *моужа*
 ‘if a slave hits a free man’ (Russ. Pr. 65, / 624)
 (100) то начьняше мьнѣти *моужа* ю суца
 ‘then they would begin to think that she was a man’ (L. of Th., 286.22)
 (101) видяше бо *моужа* пр<ѣ>п<о>д<о>бьна и правьдьна соуца
 его
 ‘for they saw the man to be reverend and righteous’ (L. of Th., 59a.6)
 (102) и съ нимъ умна *моужа* Пантелья
 ‘and with him the clever man Pantelej’ (1229 Tr., 4)
 (103) присла Романъ *моуж*<a> своег<о> к великому кн<я> зю
 ‘Roman sent his man to the grand prince’ (Suzd. Chron. 1204, / 245
 (420))
 (104) и нача к ни^м<ъ> слати князя Д<a>в<ы>да Муромскаго и
 Михаила Борисовича *мужа* своего
 ‘and he was about to send to them Prince David of Murom and his man
 Mixail Borisovič’ (Suzd. Chron. 1207, / 146 (431))

- (105) и посла къ ним^М<ъ> мужа своего Михаила Борисовича
 ‘and he sent his man Mixail Borisovič to them’ ((Suzd. Chron. 1207, / 146 (431))
- (106) посла мужа свое^Г<о> Михаила Борисовича
 ‘he sent his man Mixail Borisovič’ (Suzd. Chron. 1204, / 245 (420))
- (107) посла . . . своего мужа Еремѣя Глѣбовича
 ‘sent his man Jeremej Glebovič’ (Suzd. Chron. 1228, / 155v (450))

As has been proposed in Chapter Four, genitive-accusatives such as those in (96), (97) and (99) are the obvious result of subject-object ambiguity. The same form in (98), (101), (102) and (104)-(107) may be caused by definite reference, which tends to promote genitive-accusative. However, those in (95), (100) and (103) have random reference. It could be said that the accusative form of the noun *муѣъ* is approaching a state of free variation. It could also be said that *муѣъ* ‘man’, judging from its pattern of attestations, stands very close to the middle point of the hierarchy, leaning slightly towards genitive-accusative.

The following examples in (108)-(110) support the placement of common nouns lacking the lexical feature *mature* lower on the hierarchy, as confirmed by their nominative-accusative attestations in OESl:

- (108) м<а>ти же Моисѣева оубоявши^С<я> сего губленья вземши
младенець вложи и в карабѣицю
 ‘but Moses’s mother, having feared this murder, having taken the infant,
 put it into the basket’ (Laur. Chron. 984, / 30v (94))

The noun *первенець* ‘firstborn’ in (109) refers to an animal infant; so it might not be considered an equally weighty example of the type of usage exemplified in (108) with human reference. However, this noun is morphologically masculine, and is attested in nominative-accusative in OCS with reference to a human baby.

- (109) Авель же принесе от агнець *первенець*
 'and Abel brought the firstborn of the lambs' (Laur. Chron. 984, l 29v
 (89))

As explained in Chapter Three, the fact that some masculine personal nouns denoting children have neuter doublets may be an additional morphological constraint against the formation of an individual personal adjective. The masculine noun *detištъ* (attested as bare genitive modifier - see Chapter Three) is also found in nominative-accusative:

- (110) жена *дѣтиць* роди безъ очью
 'a woman gave birth to a child with no eyes' (Laur. Chron., 1065 l 55v
 (165))

However, it also appears as genitive-accusative. Note that both attestations in (111) and (112) have definite reference:

- (111) родиста же бл <а> женаго *дѣтица* сего
 'and they had this blessed child' (L. of Th., 27a.26-27)
 (112) прозвутерь же видѣвъ *дѣтица*
 'and the presbyter, having seen the child' (L. of Th., 27a.32)

Analogical influence from a neuter counterpart, correlated with the lexical feature inanimate, must have further delayed acquisition of genitive-accusative by the noun *otrokъ* 'boy/servant'. Being almost the only common noun consistently attested in the form of a bare genitive adnominally (as shown in Chapter Three), it also readily adopts the form of a nominative-accusative.¹³ It is interesting that

¹³ This noun is only attested in genitive-accusative in OCS (David Huntley - personal communication).

Zaliznjak (1995:645) lists the noun *otrokъ* as being used in birch bark letters only with the meaning ‘servant’.

- (113) бѣше жь моужь именемь Миронѣгъ иже бѣ градникъ Вышегородѣ
съ имѣ *отрокъ*
‘there was a man by the name of Mironĕg who was a citizen in Vyšegorod; this one had a servant’ (L. of B. & G., 19v.19)
- (114) а боудеть посадникъ не ведалъ его то поведавше емоу пяти у него *отрокъ*
‘and it happens that the governor did not know this; then, having told him, one is to take a guard/servant from him’ (Russ. Pr. 114, l 627)
- (115) яко посла^x<ъ> *отрокъ* свои в Печеру
‘as I sent my servant/boy to Pečera’ (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 85a centre (234))

It is especially valuable to find attestations of this noun exclusively in nominative-accusative in birch bark letters from diverse regions of Rus’:

- (116) али ти не дасть, а пристави на нь *отро<к>ъ*
‘and if he doesn’t give (it) to you, assign a guard to him’ (BBL #15, Staraja Russa, 12th c.)
- (117) али чимо есемо виновата, а восоли *отроко*
‘and if I am guilty of something, send a guard’ (BBL #644, early 12th c.)

The noun *parobokъ* ‘boy/servant’, like *otrokъ*, is also attested in nominative-accusative.

- (118) пришлите ми *паробоко* Борана или Уду
‘send me a servant: Boran or Uda’ (BBL #124, late 14th c.)

However, there are a few genitive-accusative attestations of the noun *otrokъ* - all with definite reference:

- (119) видѣвъ *отрока* въ такомъ съмерении
 'having seen the boy in such humility' (L. of Th., 306.4-5)
- (120) съ нима видѣвъ Георгия оного *отрока* с<вя> таго Бориса ходяща
 съ нима и носяща свѣщю
 'having seen Georgij with them - that servant of Saint Boris - walking
 with them and carrying a candle' (L. of B. & G., 19r.13)
- (121) и присла Володимеръ *отрока* своего Бяндюка
 'and Volodimeгъ sent his servant/guard Bjandjuk' (Laur. Chron. 1095, l
 75v (228))

The noun *parobokъ* may also have one attestation as genitive-accusative. Due to the incompleteness of the document, the form - or even the noun itself - is questionable. The genitive-accusative may be deduced from the case of the modifier, and thus cannot be taken for granted. It would be an especially notable attestation, since the noun is under prepositional rection:

- (122) жонку ту дала за своего . . . *нар* (*sic!*)
 'and I wed that woman to my servant (BBL #402, 15th c.)

The noun *otrokъ* is attested twice in genitive-accusative, even under prepositional rection:

- (123) не зрите *на тивуна* ни *на отрока*
 'do not rely upon either a butler or a servant' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 80v
 (246))
- (124) мечемъ жребии *на отрока* и дѣвицю на него же падеть того
 зарежемъ
 '(let us) cast lots for the boy and the girl, and we shall sacrifice the one
 who is chosen' (Laur. Chron. 983, l 26v (82))

Other common nouns attested liberally in nominative-accusative may be grouped together with those denoting children on the basis of the lack of the feature

mature - except in a social, not a physical sense. Nouns such as *ябытьникъ* 'a court official' (125) and *соль* 'envoy' (126), also attested in nominative-accusative, may not appear to connote a lower bureaucratic rank in absolute terms. However, such connotation is revealed in relation to nouns denoting high-status individuals (127).

(125) а послюу ^н<а> тя *ябытьникъ*

'and I shall send a court official to you' (BBL #421, early 12th c.)

(126) и посла к нему Мьстиславъ *соль* свои из Новагорода

'and Mstislav sent his envoy from Novgorod to him' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 86 (237))

The nominative-accusative *соль* 'envoy' and genitive-accusative <e>n<u>^ск<y>на 'bishop', used side by side as direct objects of the same verb, illustrate the morphosyntactic contrast between high- and low-rank individuals:

(127) пославъ *соль* свои и <e>n<u>^ск<y>на

'having sent your envoy and the bishop' (Laur. Chron. 1096, l 84 (254))

It is interesting that the relative frequency of nominative-accusative in common nouns is especially high in *Russkaja Pravda*. Being a native source maximally removed from external influence, this document, like the birch bark letters, provides good support for the claim of the conservative status of OESl in its genitive-accusative usage. However, the abundance of nominative-accusative attestations among common personal nouns in *Russkaja Pravda* should also be attributed to the lexical feature mature, underlying important distinctions between nouns denoting individuals with various degree of social independence.¹⁴ This lexical peculiarity is due to the legal nature of the text.

¹⁴ Contrast Kedajtene's (1955:128) conclusion: "Исходя из марксистского учения о языке, нельзя связывать появление формы родительного падежа в значении винительного и сохранение формы винительного падежа равной именительному в русском языке с социальной биографией народа - носителя этого языка. Общепринятая точка зрения о появлении родительного-

Several OESl nouns denoting 'servant, slave' appear especially frequently in nominative-accusative, for example *čeladīnъ* 'slave':

(128) аже кто познаеть челядинъ свои украденъ, а поиметь и, то оному вести и по коунамъ и до третьаго свода; пояти же челядинъ въ челядина мѣсто; а оному дати лице, отъ идеть до конечняго свода, а то есть не скоть, не лзѣ речи: не вѣдѣ оу кого есмь коупиль, нъ по языкоу ити до конча а кдѣ боудеть конечнии тать, то опять воротить челядина; а свои поиметь

'and if someone spots his stolen slave and takes him, then the other one shall lead him according to the money until the third confrontation; and he shall take another slave instead of (his) slave; and give that (stolen) one to that person so that he goes to the last confrontation, for it is not cattle; one cannot say "I don't know where I bought him", but according to the testimony he shall go until the end, and where there is the actual thief he shall return the slave and receive back his own' (Russ. Pr. 38, / 618v)

(129) тѣ свои челядинъ пояти¹⁵

'then one is to take his own slave' (Russ. Pr. 32, / 617v)

Example (128), with its alternating nominative- and genitive-accusatives, presents evidence for the influence of the referential feature definite. Two slaves are involved: the person's slave that was stolen, and the slave temporarily replacing the

винительного прежде всего у существительных, обозначающих лиц социально полноправных не имеет под собой оснований и является по существу вульгарно-социологической." (*Judging from the Marxist theory of language, one cannot link the rise of the genitive form for accusative usage and the preservation of the accusative form homonymous with nominative in Russian with the social biography of the people - the speakers of this language. A commonly accepted point of view on the rise of the genitive-accusative first of all in nouns denoting socially free individuals does not have any basis, and is in essence vulgar-sociological.*.) See also Krys'ko (1994:26-35).

¹⁵ Krys'ko (1994:94) disregards such attestations as nominative objects of the infinitive. Clearly, this approach is artificial, especially since there are identical attestations with a finite verb or even without a verb.

stolen one. The first time, both are in the nominative-accusative. The second time only one of them is mentioned, and the noun is in the genitive-accusative. Consequently, the presence of the feature definite warrants a higher position for the noun, even though it is otherwise low on the hierarchy, due to its lexical features. (Note that the stem of this noun is unattested as forming a denominative adjective.) The higher position is manifested by the use of the genitive-accusative, as opposed to nominative-accusative.

The OESl manuscripts examined in this thesis do not have any attestations of the OCS noun *rabъ* (although the same stem is present in the feminine counterpart *roba* ‘a slave woman’). Instead, there is the native *холопъ*, which is more common in nominative-accusative:

- (130) аже кто переиметь чюжь *холопъ*
 ‘and the one who catches someone else’s slave’ (Russ. Pr. 113, / 626v)
- (131) аже кто не ведая чюжь *холопъ* оусрячеть
 ‘if someone not knowing it encounters someone else’s slave’ (Russ. Pr. 115, / 627)
- (132) аже кто кренеть чюжь *холопъ* не ведая то первому господину
 холопъ пояти а оному куны имати
 ‘if someone buys someone else’s slave without knowing it, then the first master shall take the slave and the other one shall take money’ (Russ. Pr. 118, / 627)

Although a denominative adjective *холопъѣ* ‘of a slave’ ((17) Chapter Two) is attested in *Russkaja Pravda*, it is not an individual personal adjective.

Nominative-accusative of such nouns is even more frequent as the object of a preposition:

- (133) якоже оустановлено есть преже 2 паволоцѣ за челядинъ
 ‘as has been established before - 2 pieces of (expensive) cloth for a servant’ (Laur. Chron., 912 / 12v (49))

- (134) а за тиунъ за огнищньи и за конюшии то 80 гривень
 ‘and for a domestic servant and a stable-man - 80 grivnas’ (Russ. Pr. 12, / 616v)
- (135) а за смерди холонъ 5 гривень
 ‘and for a peasant slave - 5 grivnas’ (Russ. Pr. 16, 17, / 616v)
- (136) за холонъ оурокъ заплатити или за робоу
 ‘for a slave one is to pay a fine, or for a female slave’ (Russ. Pr. 89, / 621v)
- (137) то платити емоу за холонъ 5 гривень
 ‘then he is to pay for a slave 5 grivnas’ (Russ. Pr. 113, / 626v)

The stem of the noun *холоръ* forms a denominative adjective with the suffix *-ъj-*, low on the suffix hierarchy:

- (138) по холонъи речи
 ‘according to the word of a slave’ (Russ. Pr. 85, / 625v)

Attestations of genitive-accusative among nouns denoting socially unfree individuals, although less numerous, are also found:

- (139) аже кто своего холона самъ досочитъся
 ‘if someone finds his slave himself’ (Russ. Pr. 114, / 626v)
- (140) аже кто поуститъ холона въ торгъ
 ‘if someone puts a slave for sale’ (Russ. Pr. 117, / 627)
- (141) аже господинъ переобидитъ закоуна
 ‘if a master (seriously) offends a hireling’ (Russ. Pr. 59, / 623v)
- (142) продасть ли господинъ закоуна обьль
 ‘if a master sells a hireling into slavery’ (Russ. Pr. 61, / 623v)
- (143) аже господинъ бьеть закоуна про дбло
 ‘if a master beats a hireling for a reason’ (Russ. Pr. 62, / 623v)
- (144) аже огнищанина моучитъ
 ‘if someone tortures a domestic’ (Russ. Pr. 78, / 624v)

The degree of the lexical feature *mature* seems to correspond to the relative frequency of genitive-accusative attestations of these nouns, the majority of which denote individuals with a higher degree of social status. A hireling (*zakupъ* (141)-(143)) is more socially independent than a slave (*xolopъ* (139) and (140)). (The citation in (142) explicitly confirms this idea, since it deals with the question of selling a hireling into slavery.) Clearly, as the degree of individual freedom varies, the behaviour of the noun may vary accordingly, all other factors being equal. The noun *zakupъ* is attested exclusively as genitive-accusative, even as the object of a preposition (145), while this form is rather an exception for *xolopъ*.

Only two such nouns - *zakupъ* and *ti(v)unъ* 'servant' - are attested in genitive-accusative as the object of a preposition. The noun *ti(v)unъ* (146), the referent of which may be socially low in absolute terms, is still higher on the hierarchy than *xolopъ* 'slave' (unattested as genitive-accusative under prepositional rection):

(145) а в малѣ тяжѣ по ноужѣ сложити на закоуна

'and in a small litigation, according to need, a hireling shall be taken (as a witness)' (Russ. Pr. 66, l 621)

(146) то по ноужи сложити на боярьскаго тиоуна

'then out of necessity it should be entrusted to the servant of a noble' (Russ. Pr. 66, l 621)

The scarcity of genitive-accusatives in common nouns such as those just discussed is good proof of the viability of the hierarchy of features. The lexical feature *mature* highly predisposes a noun towards nominative-accusative. Referential definiteness as a highly ranked feature promotes genitive-accusative even in these nouns, as shown in (128). Conversely, the genitive-accusative of these nouns is very limited under prepositional rection, since this syntactic feature is a further disincentive for the employment of genitive-accusative.

The certain degree of free variation manifested by some examples confirms the postulate introduced at the outset of this dissertation - namely the absence of strict divisions between various levels of the hierarchy.

Moving on from personal nouns, it should be stated that among nouns denoting the male of an animal species, genitive-accusative is quite scarce, the norm being nominative-accusative. Still, the number of genitive-accusative attestations is greater than has been believed:¹⁶

(147) *возведь очи свои хотя видѣти игумена Никона и видѣ осла стояща на игумени мѣстѣ*

'he looked up, wanting to see Father Superior Nikon, and saw an ass standing in the Father Superior's place' (Laur. Chron. 1074, l 64v (191))

(148) *тебе ради оумерщвямъ есмь въ съ д<е>нь въмѣниша мя яко овьна на сънѣдь*¹⁷

'for your sake I am being slaughtered on this day; they took me as a lamb for food' (L. of B. & G. 126.6)

(149) *шедъ я ворона и принесе ему предо всѣми повары*

'having gone, he caught the raven and brought it before all the cooks' (Laur. Chron 1074, l 66)

(150) *радуитася лукаваго змя поправша*

'rejoice, having trampled on the cunning serpent' (Laur. Chron. 1015, l 47 (138))

The last two citations above have a definite reference: *воронъ* 'raven' is mentioned previously in the text, while *змиѣ* 'serpent' refers to the Devil.

¹⁶ For example, Unbegaun (1935:227-228) claims that "en dehors des noms de personnes, le génitif-accusatif n'existe pas au XVI siècle" ('outside personal nouns, genitive-accusative does not exist in the 16th century'). Klenin (1983:95) also misses many genitive-accusative attestations. Contrast Kryś'ko (1994:13).

¹⁷ As David Huntley points out (personal communication), this is a paraphrased quotation from the Psalter (43.23.): "*въмѣнише ны ѣко овьсе на заколенъе*: 'they thought us to be lambs for slaughter'. Interestingly, the noun *овьсе* is in the plural.

The following genitive-accusative attestations are quite numerous, and have to do with the noun *конь* or its synonyms:

- (151) и яко же оувѣдѣвъ и съвративъ коня приѣха къ нимъ
 ‘and after having learnt (about it) and having turned his horse he came to them’ (L. of Th., 60г.14)
- (152) он же не мога ихъ минути оувороти коня направо
 ‘but he, unable to pass by them, turned his horse to the right’ (Laur. Chron. 1147, l 105v (317))
- (153) и повороти коня Мстиславъ с дружиною своею о^т стрыя своего
 ‘and Mstislav turned his horse, together with his army, away from his uncle’ (Laur. Chron. 1154, l 114v (343))
- (154) поими моего *цалца*¹⁸ корми еждень овсѣмъ
 ‘take my roan horse, feed it oats every day’ (BBL #266, early 14th c.)
- (155) у мѣнь коня познали
 ‘they recognized a horse I have’ (BBL #305, late 14th - early 15th c.)
- (156) даіте *коницка* до Видомирявѣ рѣци
 ‘give me a horse until we hear from Vidomir’ (BBL #579, 14th c.)

Characteristically, genitive-accusative of animal nouns is unattested until a late date - in birch bark letters - once again confirming the idea of OESl conservatism in the usage of this form. Overall, nominative-accusative is much more common for animal nouns (including *конь*), for example:

- (157) на томъ цто еси конь позналъ у нѣмцина
 ‘in that you recognize the horse that the German had’ (BBL #25, late 14th c.)
- (158) продаите половьи конь
 ‘sell the sandy horse’ (BBL #160, 12th c.)

¹⁸ This is the effect of *cokan’e*; the noun is *цальсь* ‘a roan horse’.

It has been observed that *конь* in the prepositional phrase *на конь* has resisted the acquisition of genitive-accusative for a particularly long time. Unbegaun (1935:228) treats *вѣсти на конь* as a cliché meaning ‘to go to war’.¹⁹ This recalls Berneker’s argument involving the expression *идти замуѣ* ‘to marry’, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. However, in this case as well, a better explanation is available, which does not depend on the alleged idiomatic nature of these expressions. Both nouns are under prepositional rection, and are thus, according to the hierarchy, more likely to be attested in nominative-accusative.

Some researchers distinguish between two groups of animals - domestic and wild - claiming that this distinction is revealed by the pattern of attestations (Trost 1992). Based on the relatively numerous genitive-accusative attestations of the noun *конь* ‘horse’, one can certainly support such a conclusion.

It is most significant that all the genitive-accusatives of nouns denoting animals cited above are direct objects of transitive verbs. This is one of the reasons for their higher placement on the hierarchy. Definiteness also plays a role in promoting genitive-accusative in some of these instances. The *Primary Chronicle* presents a particularly colourful contrast in the accusative forms of the noun *быкъ* ‘bull’. These can be accounted for by the feature definite:

(159) и налѣзоша *быкъ* великъ и силенъ и повелѣ раздраждити *быка*
 возложиша на нь желѣза горяча и *быка* пустиша и побѣже быкъ
 мимо и и похвати *быка* рукою за бокъ
 ‘and they found a large and strong bull, and he ordered to irritate the
 bull; they put hot irons on it and let the bull go, and the bull ran by him,

¹⁹ Borkovskij (1949:374) also notes that this set-phrase consistently occurs in OESl charters with the noun in nominative-accusative. According to Černyx (1954), writers in the 18th and even 19th century use this expression with nominative accusative.

and he grabbed the bull with his hand by its side' (Laur. Chron. 989, l 42v (123))

This is truly a textbook example of the difference between indefinite nominative-accusative (*ббкѣ*) and definite genitive-accusative (*ббкѧ*).

It is possible at this point to summarize the discussion of the pattern of attestation among the various groups of nouns in question. Both nouns occupying the top of the hierarchy and those at the bottom manifest strong tendencies towards a particular morphosyntactic form. Yet both poles have instances of usage more associated with the opposite end. Even the extreme poles of the hierarchy have atypical attestations, such as nominative-accusative for proper nouns and genitive-accusative for nouns denoting animals. In the majority of cases, such usage may be explained by means of the arrangement of some of the relevant features into a hierarchy. As far as the middle-positioned nouns are concerned, considerable variation between genitive- and nominative-accusative has been documented. However, in many cases a particular form is clearly sensitive to the combination of features represented by the hierarchy.

The occurrence of nominative-accusative gradually increases in frequency down the hierarchy, occasionally attested in highly individuated nouns denoting supernatural beings. It reaches a nearly equal ratio in the middle, represented by common mature nouns. Common personal nouns not firmly established in their declensional membership also show an increase in accusative form variation. The frequency of nominative-accusative increases even more in nouns denoting socially unequal individuals and/or children, due to the gradually diminishing degree of the lexical features mature - and even more so, if many of the features corresponding to

the bottom of the hierarchy correlate. As has been pointed out, there are only two attestations of genitive-accusative of the noun *otrokъ* 'boy' under prepositional rection ((123) and (124)), and there are none among nouns denoting male animals. Variation in the forms of all the nouns (with the exception of proper nouns which are inherently definite) is clearly dependent on referential definiteness.

Therefore, despite the obvious tendencies observed in the distribution of genitive- versus nominative-accusative, there are no distinct divisions between separate stages of the hierarchy.

There are obvious correlations in the patterns of attestation of the nouns on the hierarchy between denominative adjective versus bare adnominal genitive case, on the one hand, and nominative- versus genitive-accusative, on the other. Again, proper nouns stand out in both sets of constructions, as having very little variation in their morphosyntactic form. Clearly, the numerous parallels in the distribution of genitive-accusative and denominative adjectives are best summarized by the hierarchy of features introduced in Chapter One.

Evidently, the lexical, morphological and referential features at play in denominative adjective usage are also involved in genitive-accusative. The syntactic feature of prepositional versus verbal rection also participates in the selection of genitive-accusative or nominative-accusative. It is thus obliquely correlated with the bare adnominal genitive modifier in a corresponding possessive construction.

The situation in OESl, as documented by the texts examined in this thesis, is indicative of the mechanism of language production. All the features comprising the hierarchy are simultaneously available to the speaker, who has a multitude of factors to take into account when deciding on the choice of a certain form. The linguistic features comprise a hierarchy relevant for certain phenomena in the language at the time. Lexical features, being permanently correlated with the noun in question, play

the most important role in its assignment to the hierarchy. These features determine to a great extent the prototypicality of a noun as an agent and possessor. Solid support for this hypothesis is provided by studies on human cognition and its linguistic expression, as outlined in general terms in the next and final chapter.

Referential definiteness is often correlated with lexical features, and may thus also be inherent in a noun. When it is not, it promotes a certain morphosyntactic form. Common nouns closer to the bottom of the hierarchy adopt the form of a bare genitive modifier, as well as that of the genitive-accusative when definite.²⁰

Morphological features of the noun may change over time - thus affecting its position on the hierarchy. The relevance of syntactic features similarly varies with the historical stage of development, and is particularly transparent in the selection of the accusative case form. As the genitive-accusative spread, direct object status became increasingly less salient as a favouring factor. The diachronic aspect of the phenomena under examination is closely related to the hierarchy of features.

The hierarchy, as a static representation of factors controlling morphosyntactic variation in OESl, helps at the same time to explain the dynamics and possible causes of a historical change involving two concurrent and related processes: substitution of denominative adjective by adnominal genitive case, and substitution

²⁰ It could be added in passing that the variety of linguistic means expressing definiteness provides one of the best examples of the lack of separate layers in a language. Jakubinskij (1953:212-213) calls definiteness a "lexico-syntactic" notion, arguing against it being taken as a mere quality of above-mentionedness". (Ironically, the author has had exactly this interpretation attributed to him. See, for example, Borkovskij, ed. (1968:54-55)). Besides inherent lexical definiteness, referential definiteness can also be expressed by morphological means (such as various adjective-forming suffixes, or long endings of adjectives). Morphosyntactic variation depending on definiteness has been described in the present thesis. Syntactically, definiteness can be expressed by word order (Pospelov 1970). Phonetically, it is expressed by intonation.

of nominative-accusative by genitive-accusative in masculine singular animate nouns of the declension with genitive in *-a*.

CHAPTER SIX

PRINCIPLES OF LINGUISTIC CATEGORIZATION AS REFLECTED IN THE HIERARCHICAL ORGANIZATION OF OESL DATA

Having concluded the examination of OESl morphosyntactic variation, its trends and implications for linguistics in general, it is appropriate to broaden the outlook on the phenomena in question by bringing in the results of some linguistic analyses that in important ways match those achieved in the present thesis.

A major related approach is that of cognitive grammar, which is based on research in psychology. The study of human categorization is of principal importance to linguistics, because "most symbols do not designate things or individuals in the world - most of our words and concepts designate categories" (Lakoff 1987:xiii). The great majority of cognitive studies deal with languages that have classifier systems. Such work is believed capable of challenging "some of the most entrenched notions of the field of linguistics, notions of what language is made of and how it functions" (Craig 1986:9). According to Dixon (1968:113), in classifier languages nouns sometimes may not simply form a set, but be rather hierarchically ordered. He provides an example of Dravidian languages with two noun classes - rational and irrational.

Linguistic categories are conceived as structured radially, forming a *network* with a prototype at the centre, while "membership in a category is determined by perceived resemblance to typical instances" (Langacker 1990:59). The findings of this thesis strongly support this conception of linguistic organization. The noun classes it examines form a network around the prototypical agent/possessor. The

agent/possessor hierarchy is a visual representation of such a network, with the top assigned to the most prototypical agents/possessors, which in this study correspond to proper nouns. Such an assignation is largely motivated by the lexical and referential features of these nouns.

The idea of a classification based on prototypes constitutes a long-overdue departure from traditional objectivist, or set-theoretical, accounts of categorization. According to these theories of cognition (still dominant in the views of mainstream linguists), objects in the outside world are grouped into distinct classes depending on their inherent (objective) properties. The role of the categorizer - the human mind - is not considered important, let alone decisive.

The alternatives to such theories start from different assumptions, confirmed by discoveries in cognitive psychology. For example, it appears most likely that outside objects are grouped into categories according to a perceived "family resemblance", which hinges on "the idea that members of a category may be related to one another without all members having any properties in common that define the category".¹

As has been repeatedly demonstrated in this thesis, the notion of prototype represents a better-founded alternative to that of invariant meaning, insofar as linguistic organization is concerned. Prototype effects are revealed by the absence of exclusive combinability among adjective-forming suffixes and particular kinds of nominal stems. They are also evident in the violation of the alleged complementary distribution between bare adnominal genitive and denominative adjective, as well as the pattern of attestation of the accusative case form. The closer a noun is to the prototype, the more likely it is to adopt the genitive-accusative, and also the form of

¹ On categorization, see in particular Lakoff (1987).

an individual personal adjective if used as an unmodified modifier. Tendencies regulating morphosyntactic variation are best observed in prototypical instances.

Prototypes tend to be identified with certain properties. Thus, the lexical features personal, proper and mature are profoundly integrated into the concept of the prototypical agent/possessor, as is inherent definiteness. Membership in the declension with genitive in *-a* is also a feature connected with the prototype. (Recall the issue of the transition of masculine personal nouns from other declensions.) However, non-prototypical members of a category which lack several or many of these properties need not be disregarded, or treated as exceptions. Based on their "family resemblance", they are still members of the same network. Animal nouns at the bottom of the hierarchy, lacking many or even most of the relevant lexical, referential and morphological features, may still be used in genitive-accusative, and thus belong to one class with masculine personal nouns. This, of course, is confirmed by the testimony of history: in modern Russian all of the noun types included in the agent/possessor hierarchy behave in the same way, and no longer exhibit the kind of morphosyntactic variation examined in this thesis.

As is evident from the examination of OESl data, nouns used non-prototypically are usually marked. Genitive-accusative of proper personal nouns is marked because such nouns are more closely identified with agents and not patients, and - by extension - with objects of a transitive verb. This is in contrast to the nominative-accusative of inanimate nouns used as direct objects.

The idea of prototype effects is not entirely new in linguistics. The extensively developed markedness theory has long been concerned with problems of asymmetry in related linguistic categories.² One member of an opposition always appears

² For a comprehensive review of markedness theory see Andersen (1989).

psychologically more basic (unmarked/"more natural") than the other, thus representing a prototype. Prototype is a relevant concept for natural morphology - a branch of *preference* theories, which concern themselves with questions of markedness.³ Mayerthaler (1987:29-30) writes that the formal model for the linguistic prototype comes from mathematics - from *catastrophe* theory.⁴ According to natural morphology, catastrophe theory finds its linguistic application in the explanation of various diachronic phenomena such as paradigmatic leveling or lexical restructuring. (Such a parallel appears valid for any type of language change.) Although the search for exact analogues between language and formal logic may appear in itself problematic, and though this approach usually falls short in its attempt to offer adequate explanations in the domain of linguistics, the resemblance between catastrophe theory and certain natural phenomena is unmistakable. This similarity is most striking in the field of the evolution of biological species, which is in its turn reflected in the so-called 'folk classification' of plants and animals.

The idea that biological metaphors may shed light onto linguistic processes can be illustrated by introducing another important principle of cognition, namely that of *basic levels*. Basic level coincides with the middle category in a hierarchy such as this one from Lakoff (1987:46):

<i>superordinate:</i>	animal	furniture
<i>basic level:</i>	dog	chair
<i>subordinate:</i>	retriever	rocker

³ On preference theories and their possible application beyond phonology see Vennemann (1983).

⁴ This theory accounts for discontinuities ("catastrophes") in otherwise smooth systems, and contrasts, in essence, with set-theoretical classifications. See the appendix in Mayerthaler (1987:55-57) for an explanation of catastrophe theory in basic terms.

Basic levels emerge as the easiest for the human brain to perceive, operate with, and remember. Prototypes are found on the basic level. The presence of a mental (although not necessarily visual) image is a major factor differentiating the basic level from other levels. Objects on this level are grouped together not as a result of their inherent properties, but because of "interactional properties", manifested in the ways people and objects relate to one another (Lakoff 1987:51).

Basic level categorization is associated with gestalt perception - "the perception of overall shape" (Lakoff 1987:36). The whole is simpler to perceive than its parts. This psychological tendency could be explained by the fact that - as Mayerthaler (1987:40,45) remarks - the "human sensorium . . . is characterized by the dominance of the visual channel", and that "gestalt properties are evolutionary prior to analytic properties".

The operation of basic level categorization is particularly evident in folk classifications of biological species, which show a strikingly close match with those established scientifically. Bobrova (1990:96) observes that there is a certain lacuna in the structure of Russian scientific botanical terminology, having to do with the fact that there are no names for berries on the level of genus which would correspond to their Latin equivalents. All existing Russian terms belong to the level of the species:

Почти все слова на -ик(а), обозначающие ягоды, в научной ботанической номенклатуре функционируют не как русские соответствия родовому латинскому термину, а как наименования вида.⁵

⁵ *'Almost all words in -ik(a) denoting berries function in scientific botanical nomenclature not as Russian equivalents of a Latin generic term, but as names of a species.'*

Such a situation is prompted by the "мощным воздействием давних традиций 'бытовой систематики'" ("the powerful influence of ancient traditions of 'folk taxonomy'"). Identical situations in many other languages, some of which are as of yet unexposed to scientific classification, presuppose the dominance of basic level categorization - which is precisely represented by the names of biological species, as opposed to genera.⁶

Lakoff (1987:36) explains that the classification of biological species has to do not only with the cognitive abilities of humans, but also with natural phenomena themselves. The dominance of the basic level in folk classification reflects the actual evolution of species. These are primarily defined by the criterion of their ability to interbreed. In the course of evolution, a species changes considerably. But it is only at the moment when a specific mutation renders interbreeding between evolving branches of a species impossible that one can speak of a new taxonomic category. This situation is certainly reminiscent of catastrophe theory, as well as of the process of language change. Working gradually and imperceptibly, evolution ends by producing some striking discontinuity. For example, there is no doubt that genitive-accusative syncretism did not occur overnight.

Two divergent species will still belong to the same genus, and may retain the same overall shape. On the basis of this perceptual similarity, the species are still classified as one kind. This accounts for the genus level that dominates in folk biology, since "divisions at the basic level . . . correspond to very striking discontinuities in nature". Thus, "the categories of the mind fit discontinuities in the world at the level of genus."

⁶ See examples of the same phenomenon in Lakoff (1987).

The incremental character of the agent/possessor hierarchy (and its multiple representations), as proposed in this dissertation, does indeed reflect the same phenomenon of continuity engendering discontinuity. The difference between members of the network reflected in the agent/possessor hierarchy is most striking at the poles (representing, as it were, different species), while in the middle it is difficult to draw borders between levels, and patterns of attestation appear to be in free variation. Moreover, personal proper nouns and animal nouns differ in many of their inherent features, yet from time to time this difference may be blurred (or altogether cancelled) due to other variable features. Thus both groups tend to adopt the form of nominative-accusative more frequently under prepositional rection. It has been shown in numerous instances that both poles can exhibit the pattern of attestation primarily associated with the other end.

At the outset of the process of diachronic change manifested by the morphosyntactic variation of the earliest OESl sources, the two poles of the hierarchy were quite different; but they eventually evolved into one and the same category of animacy in Russian. Conversely, the evolution of other linguistic categories may result in emergence of a different "species". Thus, the categories of noun and adjective are believed by many linguists to have shared a common origin. (Chapter Two) The fact that the same features appear to promote opposite results at different stages of language history (such as definiteness, which inhibits the use of genitive instead of accusative under negation in modern Russian) is better understood in the context of the ongoing evolution of language, akin to that of natural species.

Upon closer consideration, language, folk taxonomy and mathematical theories may not be so different after all - they are all products of the human mind, attempting to reflect the outside world. Admittedly, the aversion to overly formal

theories felt by many linguists nowadays has been caused by decades of dominating views about algorithmic procedures at the basis of language operation borrowed from mathematics and logic. However, the new alternatives in both science and the humanities may be symptomatic of a general shift in theoretical postulates, prompted perhaps by philosophy.⁷

The problem of the relative weight assigned by speakers to interrelated categories of language (which has to do with prototypes) has attracted the attention of many investigators. Wallace (1982), dealing with problems of tense and aspect, draws parallels between these verbal categories and those involving nouns. His main conclusion is that linguistic categories vary in salience. He examines such categories as person, number, animacy, humanness, definiteness, and so on. Wallace backs up his argument by referring to hierarchies established in studies of diverse linguistic phenomena by scholars investigating a variety of languages. From their work, there emerges a distinct division between more prominent and less prominent categories. Those involved in the portion of Wallace's alignment (1982:212) having to do with nouns (the topic of interest for this thesis) are as follows:

MORE SALIENT

human
animate
proper
singular
concrete
definite
referential
count
nonthird person

LESS SALIENT

nonhuman
inanimate
common
nonsingular
abstract
indefinite
nonreferential
mass
third person

⁷ Another relevant example from the exact sciences is that of the stochastic methods of statistical probability theories, which deal with ranges of figures, in contrast to the absolute terms required by traditional mathematical calculations. The application of such new methods in estimating natural resources, for example, have met with considerable success.

As has been conveyed throughout the present study, many of the properties comprising the column on the left have a prominent role to play in morphosyntactic selection. In fact, it is the nominal system that manifests these prototypical agent/possessor properties most clearly.⁸

This sort of organization of linguistic categories has been explained by various propositions, along the lines of "people tend to place themselves at the center of attention" or "the simple fact that some things are easier to handle (for the human brain) than others" (Mayerthaler 1987:26). While the reality of the observer-influenced universe may be less than intuitive when approached on the level of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle, in the case of language the anthropocentric view that the human mind imposes on the outside world is only reasonable to expect.⁹

Beyond simply deriving more and less prominent/marked categories, Wallace attempts to give a sound general explanation of the above-mentioned organization. On the basis of his oppositions, he arrives at a synthesized duality which he refers to as *figure* versus *ground*.¹⁰ Wallace (214) postulates that

the speaker uses such categories to structure an utterance (of one or more sentences) into more or less salient portions, and the listener uses such categories as clues to interpreting the speaker's verbal picture.

It is significant that this same underlying distinction between figure and ground is reflected in the prototypical characteristics of the speaker (identified with "self" in

⁸ There obviously exist similar divisions into more and less salient categories in other parts of speech, such as verbs (perfective/imperfective aspect being one of them) and pronouns (differing treatment of first and second person pronouns from third person due to their deictic nature), as well as within other domains, such as clause structure.

⁹ See also Flier (1974:56).

¹⁰ Langacker (1990) describes these same concepts using the terms *trajector* and *landmark* for figure and ground respectively.

cognitive studies, as will be shown shortly). Dressler (1987:12) defines the prototypical speaker as human (rather than only animate), definite, the typical subject and agent of actions, etc.

The concepts of figure and ground as a means of linguistic analysis were originally introduced from gestalt psychology, as a fundamental cognitive distinction having to do primarily with visual perception.¹¹ Lakoff (1977:246-247) sets his linguistic application of the term *gestalt* apart from the manner it has been used in psychology, insisting that

thought, perception, the emotions, cognitive processing, motor activity, and language are all organized in terms of the same kinds of structures.

These structures are what Lakoff refers to as *gestalts*.

Proponents of natural morphology also believe in "extralinguistic bases" for linguistic structure. These are divided into two types: neurobiological (including psychological limitations on perception and receptive processing, such as the principle of figure and ground) and socio-communicational (since "social factors are constitutive for language"). With respect to the socio-communicational basis, (Dressler 1987:11) states that

the speaker has to balance his production effort with the hearer's processing ease, and this calculation depends on the speech situation, the social roles of speaker and hearer, and what the speaker thinks the hearer wants to hear.

One must bear in mind that the clearly delineated figure-ground division is nevertheless (to borrow a term from the philosophy of science) a *cluster* concept.¹²

¹¹ The drawback of gestalt psychology for linguistics is its belief in universally innate mechanisms that determine our perception of figure and ground. In contrast, as Wallace argues, the role of acquired cultural, social and individual views is evident in the cognitive organization revealed by different languages.

¹² "A notion with a number of defining factors, no one of which necessarily predominates in any given situation, and some of which may upon occasion conflict" (Wallace 1982:216).

One "should not expect simple all-or-none compartmentalization, but prepare to weigh numerous contributing influences" (Wallace 1982:216).

This point supports one of the main ideas of the present thesis: that of tendencies - rather than rules - operating in a language. These tendencies are sensitive to a whole complex of features, forming different combinations at every moment of language production. Tendencies that are responsible for the eventual morphosyntactic form vary depending on the set of features present, the degree to which each one is present, and on their ranking order.

Thus, with solid support from ground-breaking studies in neuropsychology, principles of language operation have emerged that correspond to the general cognitive abilities of rational beings. In terms of cognitive linguistics, interactions between humans and the environment provide the basis for a number of distinctions that could be arranged on a scale from *self* (figure) to *other* (ground). Things closest to "self" in physical appearance are distinguished in a language from the "other". Therefore, "the *self* is a prototype to which all other figures are compared" (Janda 1996:326).

The relevance of the human body in the mental organization of the outside world is the focus of works on the philosophy of language, such as that of Johnson (1987), suggestively entitled *The Body in the Mind*. He discusses numerous issues concerning the perception of reality in terms of the physical shape and functions of the human body. Johnson submits that

human bodily movement, manipulation of objects, and perceptual interactions involve recurring patterns without which our experience would be chaotic and incomprehensible (1987:xix).

One of the first proponents of cognitive linguistics to apply it to Slavic material - Laura Janda (1996) - investigates the question of animacy with the help of the principles of figure and ground. Janda analyzes "morphological" manifestations

of animacy in several Slavic languages using the bipolar continuum of *self/figure - other/ground*. These phenomena include, among others, the acquisition of the original nominative plural ending *-ove* of the genitive in *-u* paradigm by the masculine personal nouns of another declension (*virile*, to use her term - which impresses one as a dubious linguistic notion), also touching upon the analogical spread of genitive-accusative. Commenting on the historical rise of genitive-accusative, Janda believes that "Self-Other could serve as an umbrella concept for animacy". Concentrating on West Slavic, she establishes a scale intended to explain the salient grammatical distinctions made by languages. Janda's scale is reproduced below (for the purposes of comparison with the hierarchy utilized in this thesis it has been arranged vertically, while Janda's original scale is horizontal):

FIGURE

self >
 human like self >
 humans not like self >
 animals >
 small, discrete, countable concrete objects >
 other countable objects >
 parts of objects >
 masses and collectives >
 landscape features >
 ambient intangibles and abstractions
GROUND

Figure is identified with "self", reflecting the prominence of this reference point in a language. Evidently, this category translates into the first and second person pronouns. Gradually less prominent are the categories following from top to bottom, such as "humans like self". This category must include second and third person personal pronouns and personal nouns - in particular, proper nouns and kinship terms. As Janda (1996:334) defines them, the category of "humans like self" includes "unique, named human beings in close association with the speaker/hearer's

ego (ideally if not really male)". "Things close to self" are thus comprised of indexical items. To quote Dressler (1987:17):

an index is a sign which focusses the attention of the interpreter on the object intended without describing it and which is common to the experience of speaker and listener. All proper nouns, pronouns and all grammatical morphemes (inflectional and derivational) are indexical.¹³

Kinship terms, presumably originating and commonly serving as forms of address rather than terms of reference (and hence typically having vocative case just like proper personal nouns), may be also considered indexes (Bratishenko 1993b). Kinship terms form a prominent group among the nouns involved in the present investigation. Their deictic nature may be responsible for the highly variable definiteness observed, for example, in corresponding denominative adjectives.

Proper nouns, those closest to "self", stand apart from the rest of the nouns by their lack of semantic meaning.¹⁴ The peculiarity of these lexical items has long been a major point of interest for linguistics as well as philosophy. Some consider them to be empty labels, incapable of describing anything and serving almost exclusively to identify a referent. Others suppose that proper nouns must have a descriptive content and a meaning. Searle (1971) appeals to the views of Plato, Wittgenstein and Frege in order to resolve the problem of the sense of a proper noun. He suggests that a proper name may be a "shorthand definite description" (136), admitting at the same time that such conclusions may strike some as implausible. After elaborate speculation, Searle (140) concludes that the

¹³ Jakobson (1957/1984:42-43), after Jespersen, terms personal pronouns together with some other "grammatical items" *shifters*, keeping proper nouns apart. This is based on his distinction between the "message" conveyed by the speaker and the "underlying code". Proper nouns get their meaning through reference to the code, while the meaning of shifters - "indexical symbols" - can only be determined by reference to the message.

¹⁴ See also Jakobson (1957/1984:42).

uniqueness and immense pragmatic convenience of proper names in our language lies precisely in the fact that they enable us to refer to objects without being forced to raise issues and come to an agreement as to which descriptive characteristics exactly constitute the identity of the object. They function not as descriptions, but as pegs on which to hang descriptions. Thus the looseness of the criteria for proper names is a necessary condition for isolating the referring function from the describing function of language.

Proper nouns are inherently definite. In Flier's (1974:81) view, proper nouns are "nothing more than specific, often unique nouns represented phonologically by a distinctive string of symbols". Morphologically, proper nouns are not easily pluralized. When used in the plural they serve a descriptive, rather than referential, purpose. They cannot be freely modified either. The degree of their definiteness is so high that Slavic denominative adjectives formed from the stems of such nouns can govern a relative clause, as shown in Chapter Two. It is suggestive that languages with definite-indefinite opposition expressed by articles do not employ them under normal circumstances with proper nouns.

According to Wallace's conclusion, many of the features characteristic of proper nouns are those that emerge as more salient in linguistic communication. Due to the figure-qualities that proper nouns possess, they are prototypical subjects. This point goes along with the fact that proper personal nouns behave considerably differently from common personal nouns - not to mention nouns denoting animals - in the two morphosyntactically variable sets of constructions under examination in this thesis. Proper nouns at the top of the agent/possessor hierarchy manifest the least variation in their morphosyntactic forms (those of an individual personal adjective and the genitive-accusative).

Similarly, due to their highly definite reference, nouns standing between a proper name and a title, such as *Xristos̄* 'Christ', or those denoting unique beings, such as *boḡ* 'God', may be almost regarded as proper nouns (Flier 1974:93,94). Therefore, they conform in their linguistic behaviour to the prototypical

agent/possessor. For example, they are overwhelmingly attested in the genitive-accusative - very much like proper personal nouns. Of course, in the case of Jesus Christ, linguistically manifested anthropomorphization stems from pragmatic knowledge - the son of God born by Mary is both human and divine. The most convincing evidence of the projection of self onto the mythical world is provided by centuries of accumulated visual and literary representations of heavenly beings. Examples of this abound in religious paintings or sculptures where divine beings are unquestionably created in human image, revealing their subjective conceptualization by the human mind. (And it is God who is supposed to have created man in his image!) Innumerable masterpieces with religious subject-matter depict the body of a human model. The difficulty which the mind is bound to experience in grasping certain religious concepts, such as that of the Holy Trinity, testifies to the same argument: the notion of three beings in one does not fit ordinary human measure.

The anthropocentric view is especially transparent in the fact that physical characteristics dominate the self-other classification. For instance, children - being of smaller size compared to adults - fall under the category "humans not like self". A link between the physical and social characteristics of the referent is based on *metaphor* (not understood in familiar terms as simply a figure of speech, but as a conceptual mechanism). The role of metaphor in human perception cannot be overestimated - it builds the path from concrete to abstract. It is, in Johnson's (1987:xx) opinion, "a pervasive, indispensable structure of human understanding by which we figuratively comprehend our world." Consequently, the "immature and infirm" come next on Janda's scale.¹⁵ Examination of OESi material strongly

¹⁵ This echoes earlier observations about the separate status of nouns denoting adults and children (as well as socially unequal individuals), made independently of cognitive research as early the time of Meillet (1897).

supports the isolation of common personal nouns denoting physically and socially immature or dependent, and thus depersonalized individuals. Common personal nouns exhibit considerable morphosyntactic variation, precisely along the lines of the lexical feature mature. Nouns with a low degree of this feature do not represent prototypical agents, as revealed by their morphosyntactic form. They do not form individual personal adjectives, nor do they tend to appear in genitive-accusative.

Another example of metaphorical extension involves the adjective-forming suffix *-bń-*, limited to a few animate stems denoting kinship, as pointed out in Chapter Two. It may have acquired its metaphorical meaning from a more ancient spatial meaning, as indicated by its presence in such adjectives (Zverkovskaja 1986:12-21). Cienki (1995) successfully applies cognitive principles in his examination of possessive and spatial expressions in Russian and Bulgarian, in search of the common conceptual ground underlying the linguistic means used in both of these constructions, as well as differences between them.¹⁶

Returning to the concepts of physical and social immaturity, the idea that these are treated alike by speakers was developed in Chapters Three and Five. It has been noted that differentiation along the lines of social status often finds a grammatical manifestation.¹⁷ Thus, the Polish masculine nominative plural ending *-owie* is in practice obligatory for prestigious titles such as *krołowie* 'kings' and *generalowie* 'generals', alternating with a more "neutral" ending *-i* (Janda 1996:334). In contrast, pejorative nouns take the otherwise non-masculine ending *-y*. Huntley (1980:193) gives the following contrastive examples:

(1) *Ci dobrzy chłopci już przyszli*

¹⁶ See also Ivanov, ed. (1989:218).

¹⁷ See for example Kuznetsov (1953:95-97).

- ‘These good fellows have come already’
 (2) *Te pijane chłopcy już przyszły*
 ‘These drunk guys have come already’

As is clear from the examination of the OESI data, an analogous distinction plays a major role in the selection of alternatives in both sets of constructions - in the choice of accusative case forms, as well as the denominative adjective or a genitive case of a noun used adnominally.¹⁸

Animals, next on the scale, are still considered like "self" to a great extent. The gradual conversion of the feature personal into a more inclusive feature animate (Jakubinskij 1953:182) in Slavic has to do with this partial identification of the two classes by speakers. Animals take the lowest place on the agent/possessor hierarchy, intermediate between personal nouns and inanimate nouns. The agent/possessor hierarchy, alternatively represented by the hierarchy of features, corresponds to the self/figure end on Janda's scale, since the features of all the noun classes involved are most associated with prototypical agent and possessor.

In the light of psychological research, such factors as the ability to move turn out to be vital for the classification of objects and natural phenomena. Growing up and being socially active may be taken as metaphors of movement. The distinction between agent and patient may be primarily based on the ability to move by one's own power, and thus the actual ability to exert force, as opposed to being moved by an outside force. It is not surprising that subject has been identified in cognitive linguistics with figure, and object with ground (Langacker 1990:10).

¹⁸ Contrast Kryśko (1994), who repeatedly takes a stand against any possible manifestation of "social inequality" in genitive-accusative and nominative-accusative variation.

Perhaps animals are marginally accepted as "self" mainly as a result of their mobility. However, it is rather those other traits in animal physical appearance and behaviour resembling those of humans that are responsible for the combination of animals in some languages into one class with humans. As has been already noted, some researchers have commented on the possible difference in linguistic marking of domestic/non-dangerous as opposed to wild/dangerous animals.¹⁹ Such differentiation may also be accounted for by the treatment of domestic animals as members of the household, and thus their inevitable anthropomorphization, manifested linguistically by the treatment of such nouns as personal. Proper names given to domestic animals, which may even be taken from the inventory of names given to persons, contribute to this supposition.²⁰

The universality of the scalar classification proposed by Janda is evident not just in Slavic, but in many other languages. Although animacy is only one of the possible distinctions that can be made along the self/figure-other/ground scale, the prominence of this feature in languages lends credibility to such a classification. Even languages that lack a grammatical category of animacy make a rudimentary distinction between self and other along the lines established by Janda's scale. This is indicative of the cognitive importance of this distinction. For example, the

¹⁹ Lakoff (1987) speaks of dangerous animals/things combined in a special class in classifier languages.

²⁰ It is not rare that one hears stories about silly humans who give names to their livestock. Fairy-tales have plots of this kind as well. In one recently overheard story, two much anticipated center-pieces of the festive table never made it there, instead becoming pets. The would-be butcher named two geese *Christmas* and *Easter* when they were bought. Naturally, the proper names contributed to the personal nature of their relationship. The fact that it is often impossible to slaughter animals (not to mention eat them) under such circumstances is not merely amusing - it also reflects the linguistic manifestation of anthropomorphization. The animal as food stuff is identified with the patient of an action, while the pet or working animal becomes closer to the agent in its characteristics.

animacy of the direct object expressed by a personal pronoun is relevant in English - which otherwise does not have this grammatical category, as exemplified by the remnants of its case system. English has separate forms for subject and object: third person singular animate accusative *him/her*, distinguished from nominative *he/she*. This suggests that personal pronoun, being a prototypical agent and subject, becomes marked when used non-prototypically. Inanimate, in contrast, has a single form *it* for both subject and object.

Furthermore, animacy, in languages where this grammatical distinction is not made systematically, may serve as a means to bring inanimate objects closer to a person - to personify them. Whereas English speakers refer to infants as *it*, the affectionate personification of physical or geographical objects results in "animate" pronouns being applied to them: e.g., *Britain* or *ship* as *she*. This indicates that even things "not like self" whatsoever can be treated as members of the same network - in this case based on animacy - either by a whole linguistic community, or by individual speakers who choose to do so on subjective grounds. An object such as a ship is personified not because of its physical similarity to a human being, but because of feelings of intimacy engendered by shared hardship at sea, by the vessel's proven reliability, etc. Countries, of course, are in many cultures metaphorically identified with a parent, on the grounds of the solemn respect and patriotic love one is expected to feel towards the state. All of this confirms the idea that membership in a category is a matter of degree.

It should be emphasized once again, with regard to personification and animacy, that despite the possibility of differentiating between gradients on the self-other scale, there are no unambiguous borderlines separating them. Nor is there a definite breaking point between the polar opposites of self and other. As Janda (1996:326) puts it, "although the trend is clear, it is not immutable". This idea

contradicts traditional dichotomies, expressed by binary features such as animate/inanimate; it is more appropriate to speak of degrees of animacy - or degrees of any linguistic feature, for that matter.

It has become apparent at various points in the thesis that animacy and definiteness are often correlated. Chapter Four, devoted to the evolution of genitive-accusative, takes personal pronouns into account precisely on the basis of their definiteness and animacy. Similar to pronouns, proper personal nouns with a high frequency of genitive-accusative attestations are inherently definite.

Definiteness is closely related to the concept of self. *Definite* is originally that which falls within a speaker's field of vision. Demonstrative pronouns are the best example of this. The indexical nature of personal pronouns, as mentioned earlier, accounts for their inherent definiteness. Flier (1974:57) considers personal pronouns as the epitome of the triadic system of definiteness:

nearest = first person (I), near = second person (II), far = lack of person, the so-called "third person", outside the immediate polar context of potential speaker and hearer.

A correlation between a threefold distinction in the demonstrative pronoun system and the three personal pronouns can be found in many languages. It is significant that the "third-degree" demonstrative pronoun is regularly used for the third person pronoun (e.g., Latin *hic* 'this here' - 1st, *iste* 'that here' - 2nd, *ille* 'that there' - 3rd). Common Slavic demonstrative pronouns were also combined into a threefold system: *sb* - *tb* - *om̃b*, still preserved in South Slavic (Jakubinskij 1953:191-192). This substitution took place in OESL, as well as in OCS, which uses *tb* or *om̃b* as the masculine nominative singular third person pronoun and a different pronominal stem (*jb-*) in the oblique cases (Huntley 1993:175).

The high position of personal pronouns - particularly first and second person - on the self-other scale (and in similar structures, such as the hierarchy of animacy

(Comrie 1978)) can be justified by their extreme definiteness, since they refer to the speech act participants. All this reflects the omnipresent *ego* in most instances of linguistic communication.

Janda continues her classification to include inanimate objects characterized by various qualities, which are represented by count nouns, mass nouns, collective nouns, etc. "Other" - the polar opposite of "self" - is made up of abstract nouns. Things classified within the range of the "other" most typically correspond to the object of a transitive sentence, and thus represent the patient of an action.²¹

Interestingly, Tomson's (1908a) approach to the rise of genitive-accusative in terms of its motivation out of the need to distinguish agent from patient pays special attention to the variety and nature of direct objects of transitive verbs. His discussion thus deals with prototypical patients, and resembles Janda's description of the "other" end of the scale. (Recall the prominence of interactional properties of objects noted previously.) Tomson bases (237) his reluctance to accept partitive genitive or genitive of negation as models for analogy on the idea that the lexical meaning of nouns used adverbally (or the meaning of the verb itself) determines the selection of either accusative or genitive case of the direct object. He goes on to stress the (lexical) diversity of the nouns-direct objects taken by Indo-European transitive verbs. Tomson distinguishes two categories of objects: *things* (*предметы*) and *substances* (*вещества*). The former tend to be expressed by the accusative case, while the latter are most often used in the genitive. In Tomson's view, the difference between the two types lies in the fact that things, in contrast to substances, possess outer bounds, or "external shape" (*внешняя форма*), and are limited in space - the

²¹ With this dichotomy in mind, the division between *body* and *thing* in English compounds of the type *anybody/anything* becomes in fact quite revealing of the polar ends of the scale, representing prototypical agent and prototypical patient.

main characteristic of a thing. Echoing Tomson's concept of outer bounds, Janda (1996:325) remarks that "some of the distinctions that are reduced at the horizon are definiteness of contour and individuation (discrete countable items dissolve into a mass)".

Things, then, can be affected by an action in their entirety, for which the accusative case is used. Direct objects expressed by nouns-substances, however, cannot be involved in the action in their entirety.²² These nouns have been correlated since the time of the proto-language with the genitive case. The partitive meaning (so Tomson thinks) is only a later development, stemming from this original distinction in the meaning of objects. This division between nouns according to meaning could only be manifested in the direct object.

Besides the presence or absence of outer bounds, the distinction between things and substances also depends on their size. The smaller the size, the more an object is associated with a substance, comprised in human perception of a multitude of identical small objects - hence mass and collective nouns are treated in like fashion.

Clearly, anthropocentrism (or rather egocentrism) is an inevitable reference point in speculations about the process of mental classification that humans undertake in the world around them.

Since the agent/possessor hierarchy of features is based on actual attestations in OESl, and since Janda's scale is illustrated by comparable phenomena in other Slavic languages, it is no coincidence that their results complement each other to a great extent. The data analyzed in this study are meant to provide additional evidence for the viability of such an outlook on language structure and operation.

²² One cannot help but notice that Tomson's treatment of the genitive case meaning resembles Jakobson's (1936/1984, 1958/1984) attempt at establishing invariant meaning for cases.

The soundness of a hierarchical order of features is confirmed by the fact that it projects itself onto the initial segment of a cognitively plausible figure-ground scale. The nouns comprising the hierarchy approximate to a varying degree the most agentive of all the entities - the human ego. Only by accepting the ultimate importance of the human mind in the production of language (which exists only in its speakers, and not as an objective phenomenon) can linguists reach an adequate understanding of language structure and operation.²³

The present thesis has shown that the inevitably linear mode of linguistic expression does not at all imply a linear structure of language. Speakers, on the one hand, operate with such complex structures as prototypical agent/possessor - dominated by lexical features and stored in the mind as a gestalt. At the same time, speakers have access to the full variety of interrelated linguistic features, and make their choices taking all of these into account in multiple combinations, without embarking on any multilevel algorithmic procedures.

Although, as Vennemann (1983:7) phrases it, "the goal of creating a comprehensive theory of a language is entirely an ideal one", the present thesis has, in its analysis of specific aspects of morphosyntactic variation, attempted to reveal previously unnoticed avenues for generalizations concerning the principles of linguistic organization and the tendencies affecting historical changes.

²³ See Toporov's (1986) ideas on formation of the category of possessivity as predetermined by *ego*.

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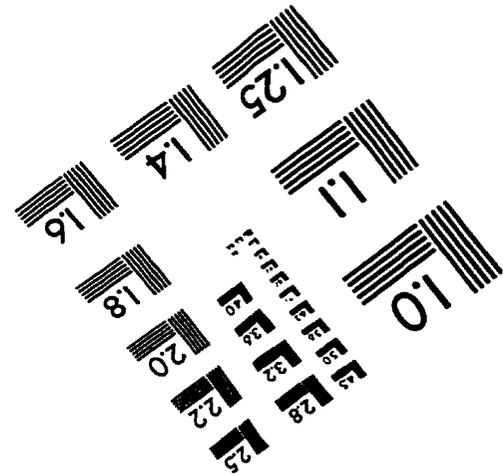
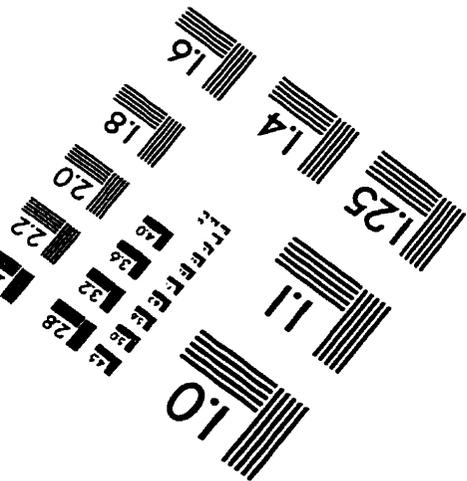
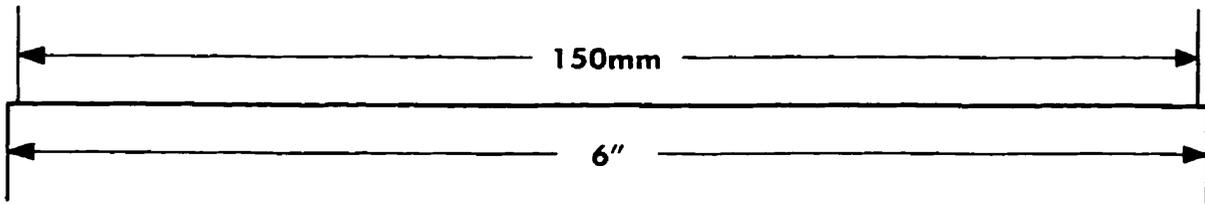
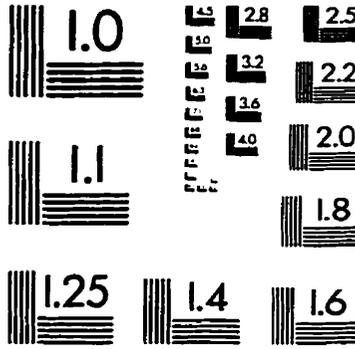
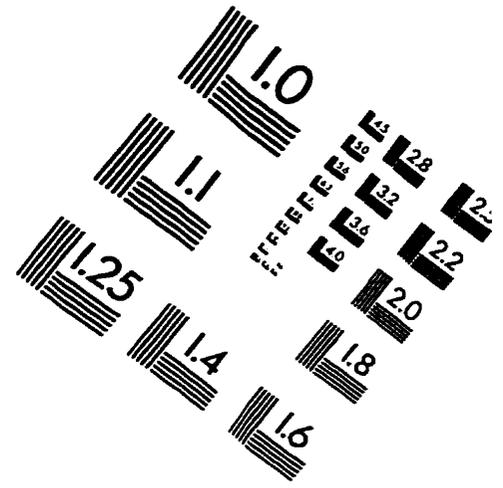
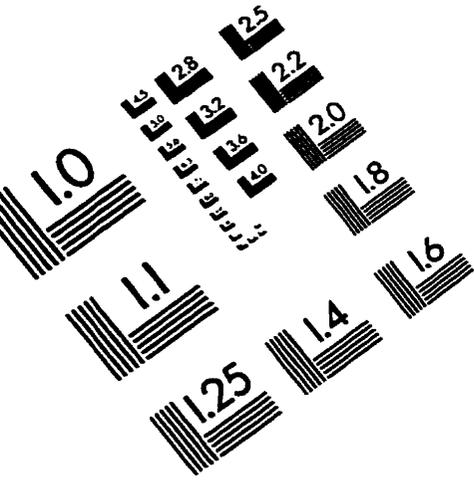
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