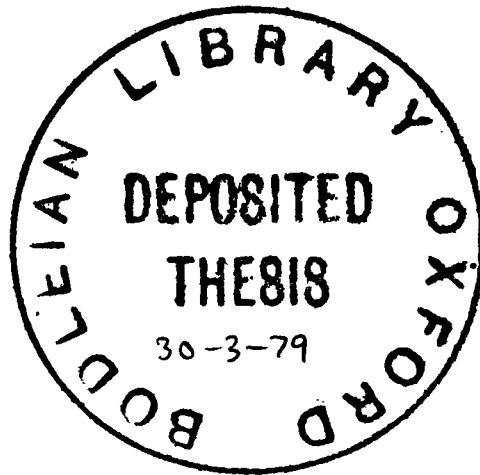


The Construction "Nominative + Infinitive" in Russian

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ABSTRACT 1.

The construction "Nominative + Infinitive" is that in which the direct object of an infinitive verb appears in the nominative case. It is used widely in written Russian up to the early eighteenth century and survives in certain dialects. The main questions examined in this thesis concern: the origin of the construction in Russian; its syntactic and morphological limits; the levels of language in which it is used; the geographical distribution of the construction within the East Slavonic area; the development of the construction and its disappearance from the written language of Moscow.

Although the evidence on the first question is contradictory, it is suggested that the construction may have appeared in Russian shortly before the date of the earliest texts and may be due to a combination of factors. The nominative replaces only direct objects in the accusative, and in the original form of the construction the nominative-object is used only with independent infinitive verbs. Only feminine singular -a type and -i type nouns appear as nominative-objects. Except where the language is strongly influenced by Old Church Slavonic, the use of the construction appears to be independent of the level of language used.

Examples of the construction are found in Old Ukrainian documents and in modern South Russian dialects, and, although these are few and their usage differs from that found in North Russian sources (where the construction is well documented), it cannot be said that the construction has always been restricted to northern and central dialects. In almost every text both nominative and accusative are

used for the direct object of independent infinitives, and often the choice of case seems to be random. From the sixteenth century, however, the accusative gradually becomes more frequent until it displaces the nominative from the written language.

ABSTRACT 2.

The Nominative and Infinitive construction is that in which the apparent direct object of an infinitive verb appears in the nominative instead of the accusative. The construction occurs widely in written Russian from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries and is still found in some dialects. Although apparently similar constructions exist in certain Finnic languages and in the Baltic languages, this thesis is concerned solely with the construction as it appears in the East Slavonic area.

The Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian has been the subject of many studies, and the first chapter contains an examination of these which shows that in spite of this widespread attention most of the problems posed by the construction remain unsolved. These problems are identified as concerning: the origin of the construction and the circumstances of its first appearance in Russian; the possible distribution of the construction in the whole East Slavonic area or, alternatively, its restriction throughout its history to certain dialects; the syntactic and morphological limits of the construction at various periods; the levels of language in which it is used; the disappearance of the construction from the written language of Moscow. To provide answers to these questions material was taken from a number of texts covering the whole of the period in question. Attention was concentrated on those texts likely to contain a significant number of infinitive sentences and likely therefore to provide a significant quantity of evidence.

In the second chapter an examination is made of the use of

nominative and accusative cases for the direct objects of independent infinitive verbs in texts dating mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The results are, however, contradictory. In the Long Redaction of Russkaya Pravda both nominative and accusative are used in varying proportions in the different copies of the text, but instances with the accusative form a significant majority in many copies, including the oldest. In certain other sources, such as the 1229 Treaty between Smolensk and Riga and Novgorod gramoty, the nominative either clearly predominates or is the only case used, while in the Short Redaction of Zakon Sudnyy Lyudem only the accusative is used. Attempts to draw a distinction between the two cases based on morphological or lexical factors are generally unsuccessful. It is, however, shown that even in the oldest texts the form in the nominative in examples of the construction is the object of the verb and not the subject.

Material from the same texts is analysed further in the following chapter. Here the syntactic and morphological limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are investigated. It is demonstrated that, although isolated examples of the nominative-object occur with finite verbs, these are atypical, and the original assumption that the direct object normally appears in the nominative with an infinitive verb only is justified. The nominative is not used to replace objects in oblique cases or negated direct objects in the genitive in any of the texts examined. Morphologically the construction is limited to feminine singular nouns of the -a type and of the -i type, although the latter distinguish nominative and accusative only when qualified. The feminine singular and the masculine plural of the

anaphoric pronoun, personal pronouns, masculine plural nouns of the -o type, the -i type and the consonant types seem not to appear in the construction, although the evidence on some points is not very clear. Nominal forms that develop the genitive-accusative are also unaffected by the construction.

The material examined in Chapters 2 and 3 fails to provide a conclusive answer on the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian. The widespread use of the accusative in some of the oldest texts suggests the likelihood that the construction is a late development. Objections are raised to theories which derive the Nominative and Infinitive construction from properties of the Common Slavonic infinitive or which depict the construction arising out of contamination with constructions in which the nominative is used with надобѣ. A link is, however, found between the Nominative and Infinitive construction and another construction, involving a nominative-subject and a dative of advantage (the Nominative and Dative construction), but the contamination observed between the two constructions cannot alone account for the emergence of the Nominative and Infinitive.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the development of the Nominative and Infinitive in Moscow and North Russia from the end of the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. The texts examined comprise legal and official documents as well as quasi-official and private sources. In every text surveyed both nominative and accusative are used for the object of independent infinitive verbs. The accusative was seen to become proportionally more frequent in seventeenth century texts, although in only one text did examples with the accusative outnumber those with the nominative. It was shown further that

in two of the seventeenth century texts (though not elsewhere) there was a clear preference for the accusative-object in infinitive sentences introduced by чтобы, and in all the seventeenth century texts the accusative was especially frequent when the object of an independent infinitive was a feminine noun referring to a person. In none of the texts were there examples of masculine-a type nouns used in the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Apart from the above, however, it proved impossible to isolate factors determining whether nominative or accusative was used for the object of an independent infinitive verb, and it was assumed that in many instances the choice of case was purely random. The evidence of this chapter leads to the conclusion that in the period in question the Nominative and Infinitive construction was a living feature of the language of Moscow and that its decline was a gradual process spread over more than a century.

The question of the levels of language in which the construction was used is considered in Chapter 5. Examination had to be restricted to two sixteenth century texts, the Stoglav and Domostroi, since these offer the best combination of different levels of language for purposes of comparison. In the Stoglav the Nominative and Infinitive construction was found to be used less often than in the fifteenth century texts, but more often than in the seventeenth century sources examined for Chapter 4. The nominative-object was not found in passages quoting the Bible or patristic works, but elsewhere its use was shown to be independent both of subject-matter and of level of language. The nominative-object was proportionally more frequent in Domostroi than in the Stoglav, but the ratio of nominative- to accusative-objects was almost the same in the first (Church Slavonic) part of the work

as in the second (Russian) part. The fact that the total number of examples was lower in the first part was due to the relative infrequency there of independent infinitive sentences. Thus it was concluded that at least in this period the Nominative and Infinitive construction was not restricted to the lower levels of language, but is used in almost all levels of Church Slavonic in exactly the same way as in ordinary Russian. It was pointed out further that the use of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences in the other texts examined cannot therefore be ascribed to a desire to imitate high style.

The aim of the first two sections of Chapter 6 is to establish on the basis of material from all the texts examined for the previous chapters the precise syntactic limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. In the first section an analysis is made of those examples where a nominative-object is used with a dependent infinitive verb. The nominative-object is found invariably to be less frequent here than in independent infinitive sentences; its appearance is, moreover, dependent on the degree of syntactic and semantic closeness to sentences of the latter type. These observations are taken to indicate that instances of the nominative-object occurring in dependent infinitive sentences represent a secondary phenomenon.

In the following section the same conclusion is reached in respect of examples of the nominative used for the direct object of a gerund. An additional factor leading to this use of the nominative-object can be found in certain texts which contain sentences where a noun in the nominative could be the direct object either of a gerund or of an independent infinitive. These two sections thus show that in its

primary form the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian is restricted to independent infinitive sentences.

The third section of this chapter is devoted to sentences where the nominative is used for one or more objects in a long list, usually dependent on a finite verb. Although such instances have rarely been subjected to a close examination, it has long been observed that they have nothing directly to do with the Nominative and Infinitive construction. A detailed analysis here reveals further properties which emphasise the lack of affinity between the two constructions.

The question examined in the final section of the chapter is that of word order in the Nominative and Infinitive construction. In texts of the earliest period it is shown that the normal word order is for the nominative-object to follow the verb; departures from this seem to occur mainly when there is a close link between the object and the content of the previous sentence. In texts of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, however, the factors involved are evidently more complicated, so that it is impossible to detect a preferred word order.

The problem of whether the Nominative and Infinitive construction is ever found in the South Russian area is considered in Chapter 7.

Three groups of sources are examined: Old Ukrainian gramoty of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; seventeenth century South Russian documents of various types and material collected from Central and South Russian dialects for the Atlas of Russian Dialects under preparation in the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

In the first group of sources a few examples of the nominative-object were found, although only one of these occurs in an independent

infinitive sentence. The remainder occur with a dependent infinitive or with a finite verb. A high proportion of the examples were used in semi-standardised expressions. It is assumed that the construction was not a living feature of the contemporary language of the area whence these documents originate, but the evidence is contradictory on the question of whether the examples found represent the survivals of an earlier living construction or a borrowing from other areas of Russia.

The Nominative and Infinitive is quite widespread in at least some of the seventeenth century sources. Here, however, the circumstances of its use, and also its chronology, make it more probable that where it does appear, it does so under the direct influence of the Chancery language of Moscow.

A small but significant number of examples of the nominative-object with infinitive and with finite verbs were recorded in the Central and South Russian dialect areas. Although some may have been prompted by over-zealous questioners and others occur in or adjacent to areas where the construction is known to have been used in earlier times, this still leaves a few examples which cannot be so easily explained away. It thus appears that while not all South Russian material should be interpreted in the same way, it is at least possible that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was once found throughout the East Slavonic area.

Chapter 8 deals with the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the eighteenth century. Most of the material is taken from a collection of official documents; it shows the construction to be used in the first two decades of that century, although equivalent constructions

with the accusative are more common. The nominative-object occurs quite widely with dependent infinitive verbs, but is not found unambiguously with a finite verb. Reference is then made to comments by D. S. Stanisheva on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in writings of I. T. Pososhkov dating from the 1720s. It appears that the nominative-object is used more widely here than in the above-mentioned collection; it is used with independent and dependent infinitives, but not with finite verbs.

An examination of various Russian grammars compiled at the end of the seventeenth century or in the eighteenth century not only fails to provide any examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, but also reveals a complete absence of any mention of the construction. Finally, note is taken of instances of the Nominative and Infinitive occurring in later texts.

On the basis of the evidence it seems most probable that the Nominative and Infinitive construction disappeared from the language of Moscow around the third decade of the eighteenth century, and that isolated instances in later sources are due to special factors. The material also seems to confirm that the disappearance is merely the culmination of the gradual process noted in Chapter 4.

The final chapter is a summary of conclusions. Since the material on the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is inconclusive, brief reference is here made to the similar constructions found outside the Slavonic languages. It would seem that, while the influence of these constructions on the appearance and use of the Nominative and Infinitive in Russian cannot be excluded, accounts of the former indicate that there are significant differences between the phenomena

concerned. The failure to find a single satisfactory explanation for the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian prompts the suggestion that its appearance may be due to a combination of factors, not all of which can necessarily be identified.

FOREWORD

This study of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is based mainly on an examination of approximately 35 Russian texts, covering the period from the twelfth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Transliteration has been reserved for proper names and certain terminological expressions; examples from the texts excerpted are, to the extent that this is technically possible, quoted in the form in which they appear in the source whence they are taken. The only exceptions to this are that sentence punctuation inserted by the editors of any text has been ignored, in view of the nature of the subject involved, and a single method has been used throughout to represent the superscripts and abbreviations of the original texts. Examples quoted in the body of the thesis are numbered in Roman figures, with a separate sequence for each chapter; those quoted in the Appendices are numbered in Arabic figures.

Primary and secondary sources are referred to in the main text and in footnotes in abbreviated form. An explanation of the abbreviations and full bibliographical data are provided in the Bibliography (pp.367 fol.). Readers are also asked to note that it was felt that it would not be helpful to title the various chapters, but that a brief description of the contents of the remaining chapters is given at the end of Chapter 1 (pp.54,55).

The greater part of the research for this thesis was carried out in Oxford, although I also spent a year as an exchange student at Moscow State University. Warmest thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr Anne Pennington, for her continuing guidance and advice throughout the entire period of work on this thesis. Thanks are also due to

I. B. Kuz'mina of the Russian Language Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for her help, and in particular for allowing me to consult the dialect material quoted in Chapter 7; to the administration of the Central State Archive of Ancient Documents' (Moscow) for allowing me access to the Otkaznyye knigi also referred to in Chapter 7; to Dr G. A. Khaburgayev for his supervision while I was in Moscow. Last, but not least, thanks are due to Miss Ruth Ferguson for typing the final version of this thesis, and also to Mrs R. Thompson for typing some of the preliminary drafts.

CHAPTER 1.

A survey of previous studies of the construction

A satisfactory working definition of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is probably that of Y. A. Sprinchak, who refers to the "Синтаксический оборот, образованный инфинитивом от переходных глаголов с именительным падежом существительных женского рода в роли прямого дополнения."¹ The construction is distinguished by the fact that the nominative case, normally used for the subject of a sentence, is here used for what appears to be the direct object of a verb.

The construction in question can be exemplified by:

- i) тая правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на готескомъ березе (Tr. 1229, Text A, §12);
- ii) а на столъ всакаа ества ставити по г^сдрвѣ наказѣ по гостемъ смотрѣ (Domostroi, ch. 49);
- iii) а пашня ему Денису Голевско^{му} пахат врядь з дѣ^тми боя^рскими с се^брь своими (ОКВ, № 7)

During the course of this survey the following topics are to be examined:

- 1) The earliest accounts of the construction;
- 2) The origin of the construction;
- 3) The geographical limits of the construction;
- 4) The syntactic limits of the construction;
- 5) The types of noun found in the construction;
- 6) The stylistic limitations of the construction in Old Russian;
- 7) The disappearance of the construction from the standard written language of Moscow.

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.172.

The number of works which are devoted to or which make mention of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is very large, and to refer to all of these would be to distend this chapter to unreasonable proportions. The intention here is, nevertheless, to give a comprehensive account of all significant contributions on the problems listed above. Since a proper assessment of the arguments raised is dependent on the material provided by the sources, comment on most of the points presented here is reserved for the appropriate section of the thesis.

1. The earliest accounts of the construction.

The earliest references to the Nominative and Infinitive construction by philologists date from the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1845 M. N. Katkov mentions the construction, observing that it is a syntactical, rather than a phonological phenomenon.¹ The first detailed account appears to be that of P. A. Lavrovskiy, who considers that the construction first appears in the thirteenth century (in the Smolensk treaty of 1229), and then becomes more widespread: "Въ XIV, еще болѣе въ XV вѣкѣ подобное употребленіе сдѣлалось уже всеобщимъ, проникнувъ не только въ разговоръ лютописный, но въ памятники церковные." He gives examples of its use in proverbs and refers to its survival in Modern Russian dialects, observing that the construction is only used with feminine nouns and masculine nouns of the -a type. He goes on to comment: "Правда, встречается и муж. родъ въ именительномъ мѣсто винительнаго, на примѣръ: 'Лѣнивый и по платью знать'; но здѣсь 'знать' употреблено по свойству простонароднаго языка русскаго мѣсто причастія страдательнаго:

¹М. N. Katkov, Об элементахъ и формахъ славяно-русскаго языка (1845). Quoted in Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.6, footnote.

знаемъ (=извѣстенъ). He thus regards this last example as belonging to a different category of construction. Lavrovskiy makes no attempt to explain the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction; he also makes no direct comment on its geographical distribution, although he does describe it as an "идіотизмъ русскій" and does not include it in the section devoted to specifically Novgorodian features.¹

A. K. Vostokov distinguishes between two types of construction, the Church Slavonic use of the nominative instead of the accusative,² and the Russian use of the nominative with the infinitive; he comments: "Означенные здѣсь случаи не должно смѣшивать со встрѣчающимся въ старинномъ русскомъ языкѣ употребленіемъ, по коему неопредѣленное наклоненіе сочинялось съ именительнымъ падежомъ женскаго рода.... Словосочетаніе это продолжалось еще въ началѣ XVIII в.... Въ областныхъ же нарѣчіяхъ Велико-русскаго языка оно и теперь существуетъ."³

Another scholar to comment on the construction was F. I. Buslayev: "Особенно замечательно в древнем и народном языке употребление именительного падежа вм. винительного при неопределенном наклонении действительного залога." He goes on to give examples of its usage in legal documents, proverbs and songs (quoting sources from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries) and also refers to

¹Р. A. Lavrovskiy (1852), p.123.

²In addition to examples with masculine -o-type nouns in the plural, Vostokov quotes the following: "ѡко бритва изострѣна сътворишь ѡси льсть" (from a fourteenth century Psalter) and "Обрѣтъ женоу иноплеменницоу блѣдѣщи съ моужемъ израильтениномъ" (from Русскія достопримѣчательности, 1, 66.) [A. K. Vostokov (1863), p.116/7]

³A. K. Vostokov (1863), p.117.

its survival in modern dialects, although beyond pointing out that the example he quotes is from the Arkhangel'sk area, he does not say in which dialects the construction is to be found. He observes that only feminine nouns are to be found in this construction, quoting (although without further comment) the same exception to this rule that Lavrovskiy mentions.¹

Thus from the start the construction is defined in terms very close to those used by Sprinchak in the passage quoted at the beginning of the chapter. None of the above-quoted scholars, while noting most of the essential features of the construction, had, however, attempted to account for its origin, and in 1870 A. Leskien was able to write: "Lautlich und syntaktisch völlig unerklärlich ist mir bei den femininen a-stämmen die nominativform als acc. sing. Einen fehler anzunehmen ist nicht möglich, da der fall zu oft vorkommt."²

2. The Origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

The first attempt to explain the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction comes from V. Miller, who points out the links between the Slavonic infinitive of obligation and the Vedic Sanskrit: "Aus der dativ flexion erklärt sich ferner der so häufige gebrauch des infinitivs im slavischen im sinne des lat. part. f.p. oder des sanskr. sogenannten part. necessitatis auf -ya... Das vedische sanskrit gebraucht in solchen fällen noch den dativ (infinitiv)."³ He thus claims that

¹F. I. Buslayev (1881), p.375, §196, note 3.

²A. Leskien (1870), p.169. In the quotations from Leskien and Miller the use of capital letters is as in the original text.

³V. Miller (1874), p.166.

the Sanskrit "śó asya mahimā ná sannāḥ", which he translates literally into Russian as "eta jego vysota ne dostignutí", is akin to the Old Russian Nominative and Infinitive construction and demonstrates the latter's Indo-European origin. The construction is interpreted in the light of its origin thus: "Demgemäss glauben wir, dass in dieser redensart der nominativ echt ist und nicht den accusativ vertritt. So ist z.b. im satz "molodymŭ pěti slava" das wort slava subject und das ganze entspricht genau den deutschen preis ist den jüngerem (fürsten) zu singen, mit dem geringen unterschiede, dass das slavische das verbum subst. jestí regelrecht auslöst, obschon das selbe ideell vorhanden ist." Miller further rejects the idea that the construction was restricted to a-class nouns, although the examples he quotes in support are the ambiguous "iměti strachŭ božij i tělesnaja čistota," and "znatí sova po perju, sokolŭ po poletu," which latter, as we saw on p.3, Lavrovskiy was inclined to consider a different phenomenon. Miller ascribes the construction in modern times to the Vologda and Olonets areas, indicating its extent with the comment: "Die kinder noch in der schule lernen müssen, dass sie nicht den nominativ nach einem infinitiv gebrauchen dürfen." Also noted is the survival of a similar construction in certain Lithuanian dialects.¹

Miller's article is of considerable importance; in the first place, while making no mention of independent infinitives, he is the first to imply that in origin at least the construction might have been limited to a certain type of infinitive sentence, namely where the infinitive itself is the main verb, usually expressing obligation of

¹Ibid., p.168. The transliteration is Miller's.

one sort or another. It is probably fair to say that this view has remained generally accepted.¹

Miller's view of the construction as being of Indo-European origin has also been accepted by many scholars, most notably in recent years G. Jacobsson and V. Kiparsky. Not everyone, however, has agreed with this opinion; B. O. Unbegaun wrote: "Le tour étudié semble être en rapport avec la généralisation de la phrase nominale en russe, et il est difficile d'y voir un trait hérité de l'indo-européen, comme le veulent quelques comparativistes." In a recent article F. P. Filin also comes to the conclusion that the construction is of later origin: "Скорее всего конструкция вода пить имеет локальное и сравнительно позднее происхождение, связана она с лексико-грамматическим значением древнерусского инфинитива."²

F. Miklosich, although he does not consider the origins of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, appears to agree with Miller in interpreting the nominative as representing the subject of the sentence: "Manchmal steht der nom. scheinbar statt des acc., während er in der that das subjekt des satzes ist: das verbum esse fehlt."³

One of the most important accounts of the construction was provided by A. A. Potebnya. Rejecting a possible phonetic explanation of the construction (that the Indo-European accusative singular ending

¹See, for example, Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.174; F. P. Filin (1972), pp.479-481.

²G. Jacobsson (1964), p.72; V. Kiparsky (1969), p.142; B.O. Unbegaun (1935), p.130; F. P. Filin (1972), p.490.

³F. Miklosich (1883), p.346.

*-am could give reflexes -u [from *o*] and -a) on the grounds that in Lithuanian a corresponding construction occurs with nouns belonging to declensions where this development does not apply, he derives the construction from the period when the infinitive is still seen as the dative case of a verbal noun.¹ Taking as his example the sentence "Такова правда узятѣ русину,"² he writes: "Первоначально весь оборотъ есть не безличный, а опредѣленно-личный, въ коемъ правда есть подлежащее при ѣсть взяти, а русину независимо отъ неопр. накл. стоитъ при ѣсть." Noting, however, that the nominative is found with dependent infinitives and even with finite verbs, where such a form could, even historically, only be interpreted as an object, he rejects Miklosich's idea that the nominative form in recorded examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction represents a subject. Instead, he accounts for the development of the construction thus: "За тѣмъ 'ѣсть взяти' понято какъ безсубъектное предложене, при чемъ именительный ('правда') или замѣняется винительнымъ и исчезаетъ безслѣдно ('такову правду взяти'), или переживаетъ свое значене, т.е. оставаясь при прежней звуковой формѣ, измѣняетъ лишь внутреннюю."³

Potebnya's explanation of the origin and development of the construction has been accepted by a large number of scholars writing

¹A. A. Potebnya (1888), pp.416 foll. It is uncertain who, if anyone, put forward the phonetic theory. Potebnya here does not ascribe it to anyone in particular, and although F. P. Filin (1969), p.77, (1972), p.486, ascribes the view to F. Miklosich, he gives no exact reference. At any rate, Miklosich does not appear to put forward this theory in his *Vergleichende Grammatik*. See also the comment by M. N. Katkov, referred to on p.2.

²The example is taken from Tr. 1229 (Gothland redaction). There the sentence type occurs throughout without ѣсть, but for Potebnya this is presumably of no importance, since he indicates (*op.cit.*, p.404) that "мнѣ умереть" and "мнѣ ѣсть умерети" are completely identical. The fluctuations in spelling in the examples quoted are Potebnya's own.

³A. A. Potebnya (1888), p.417.

on this topic. Thus A. V. Popov, while considering the phenomenon to be a common Indo-European feature (he compares it to constructions in other Indo-European languages, including German "er ist nicht zu betrügen" and English "swarms of locusts were to be seen"), and, suggesting that the construction dates from the time when there was no distinction between active and passive in the infinitive,¹ describes the subsequent development of the construction in terms similar to Potebnya's: "Если сознаниѣ языка за infin-омъ оставляло дѣйствительное значеніе, то именит. переставалъ чувствоваться какъ подлежащее и долженъ былъ казаться объектом."² D. N. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovskiy follows Potebnya's theory of the origin of the construction and his interpretation of the nominative in surviving sources as representing an object.³ Potebnya's theory has its adherents in modern times: V. I. Borkovskiy wrote: "Мы полагаем, что с выходом второй части работы А. А. Потебни Из записок по русской грамматике (первое издание вышло в 1874 г.) этот вопрос (i.e. that of the origin of the construction) был уже принципиально решен."⁴ G. Jacobsson also accepts Potebnya's theory.⁵ On the other hand, F. P. Filin, in a recent work, felt it necessary to observe: "Гипотеза А. А. Потебни получила широкое распространение, но была принята на веру за неимением лучшего объяснения."⁶

One of the first scholars to disagree with Potebnya was A. A. Shakhmatov, who wrote: "Замѣна винительнаго именительнымъ

¹A. V. Popov (1881), pp.46-53.

²Ibid., p.53.

³D. N. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovskiy (1905), p.201.

⁴V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), p.346.

⁵G. Jacobsson (1964), p.71, p.79.

⁶F. P. Filin (1972), p.486.

объясняется, какъ кажется, тѣмъ, что инфинитивъ, по самому происхожденію своему являясь именемъ, не имѣлъ того полного глагольнаго значенія, которое имѣли другія глагольныя формы. Въ нашихъ грамотахъ послѣ инфинитива вообще правильно стоитъ именительный, напр. въ безличныхъ предложеніяхъ, гдѣ такой именительный можно признать подлежащимъ."¹ Thus Shakhmatov, while not really explaining the origin of the construction, seems to follow Miklosich's interpretation of it. This interpretation has also had support from certain later scholars; B. Havránek considers that the nominative in such cases as "рыба ловить" indicates a true subject, and only in the later North Russian dialect usage can such sentences be regarded as impersonal, with the nominative consequently indicating an object.² B. O. Unbegaun, on the other hand, considers that: "Il est hors de doute que dès le XVI^e siècle le tour судьямъ межа учинити était conçu comme un tour impersonnel et межа comme un complément direct", although he does not commit himself on the earlier examples.

An interesting attempt to reconcile the theories of Potebnya and Shakhmatov was made by P. Bicilli: "Обѣ теоріи правильны, поскольку формулируютъ, каждая, извѣстныя тенденціи сознанія, долгое время сосуществующія и своеобразно перекрещивающіяся."⁴ He draws a distinction between official legal language and "языкъ обиходный" (which seems to include folk-lore). In the former, the nominative is used "болѣе или менѣе сознательно и мотивированно," that is, the nominative is still seen as representing a subject, while in the

¹A. A. Shakhmatov (1903), p.131.

²B. Havránek (1968), pp.171-174.

³B. O. Unbegaun (1935), p.130.

⁴P. Bicilli (1933), p.201, footnote.

latter its use is automatic, which is taken to indicate that the nominative already represents an object. Consequently, the Miklosich-Shakhmatov explanation is accepted for official texts, the Potebnya theory for more informal language.¹

This view is attacked by D. S. Stanisheva, who points out that the wide use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in legal documents "определяется не тем, что конструкция сохраняет свое первичное грамматическое значение,.... а спецификой содержания грамот, актов и подобных документов."² While observing that the two theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive from the point of view of accounting for the origin of the construction, Stanisheva herself accepts Potebnya's interpretation of the construction as being valid from the time of the earliest recorded examples. On the basis of the occurrence in the 1229 Treaty of both nominative and accusative in infinitive sentences, she points out: "Употребление форм на -а при инфинитиве без видимой разницы с чисто объективными формами (винительного падежа) свидетельствует в пользу раннего переосмысления формы именительного падежа в древнерусском языке."³ This view is supported by F. P. Filin in his recent work on this topic.⁴

Shakhmatov himself produced a completely new theory to account for the origin of the construction in his Sintaksis russkogo yazyka: "Начало дано, повидимому, предложениями с 'надо' и другими

¹Ibid., p.205.

²D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.7.

³D. S. Stanisheva, op.cit., p.5.

⁴F. P. Filin (1969), p.71; (1972), p.477.

наречиями, где при 'надо' именительный падеж (тип: мне надо коса); именительный мог сопровождаться дополнительным глагольным членом, инфинитивом: напр. 'нам надо истопить байна'."

It is interesting that Shakhmatov does not appear to single out independent infinitive constructions: "Откуда именительный падеж проникал на место винительного вообще после инфинитива,"¹ the "откуда" here referring, in addition to the types of sentences described above, to sentences where the infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb. It appears that Shakhmatov based this theory purely on modern Russian dialect material, rather than on material from Old Russian sources. None the less, this theory was accepted by P. Y. Chernykh, by V. L. Rinberg and by L. A. Bulakhovsky, by the last named, apparently, on the grounds that it accounts rather more satisfactorily for the fact that the construction is only used with feminine nouns, although it does not seem altogether clear why this should be so.² Y. A. Sprinchak considers that this theory is applicable to certain types of sentence: "Объяснение Шахматова может быть принято для весьма распространенных в северновеликорусских говорах (и реже встречающихся в письменных памятниках) конструкций инфинитива с именительным падежом в прямом дополнении, зависящих от предикативных наречий надо, нужно, надоть, можно."³

Sprinchak had earlier put forward his own theory to explain the origin of the construction, writing as he puts it "исходя из положений

¹A. A. Shakhmatov (1925), I, §138.

²P. Y. Chernykh (1962), p.312; V. L. Rinberg (1948), p.72; L. A. Bulakhovsky (1958), p.348.

³Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.178.

нового учения о языке о стадильности развития языка.¹

The "новое учение" postulates a previous stage in the development of inter alia the Russian language, the so-called "эргативная стадия", in which the same case (called the "абсолютный падеж" by adherents of this school of linguistics) is used for the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb. Sprinchak considers that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is a link between this stage and the subsequent "активная стадия": "Непосредственным предшественником именит. падежа жен. рода в конструкции 'инфитив + именит.' следует считать абсолютный падеж эргативной стадии, с которым он имеет много общего, например, оба эти падежа (абсолютный и 'именительный' в обороте) выражают объект при переходных глаголах."² The "абсолютный падеж" as such disappears when Russian becomes a language of the "активный строй" and develops cases (the nominative and the accusative) to indicate subject and object.³ At the same time Sprinchak seems to meet the objection (which was, in fact, raised at a later date by V. Georgiyeva)⁴ that it is unclear why the nominative is not found originally with other verb forms: "Наличие в предложении существительного, обозначающего действующее лицо, дает основание предполагать, что другое существительное в этом же предложении употребляется в значении объекта."

"Поэтому в предложениях с именем существ., выражавшим

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.36.

²Ibid., p.37. Sprinchak's emphasis.

³Ibid., pp.38/9.

⁴V. Georgiyeva (1949), p.53.

действующее лицо (суб'ект), или в сочетании с личным глаголом, именительный и винительный падежи более четко и ясно осознавались и оформлялись раньше всего. Наоборот, там, где этих условий не было, дольше сохранялась прежняя неопределенность в функциях этих падежей.

"Справедливость этого утверждения можно подтвердить рядом примеров на употребление конструкции 'инфинитив + именит.' только в безлично-инфинитивном предложении, т.к. при инфинитиве, зависимом от личного глагола, обязателен винительный, а не именительный падеж."

Although Sprinchak himself, after the "новое учение" had been condemned, renounced his theory,² many of the ideas he expresses therein did not fall completely into oblivion. B. A. Larin, rejecting Potebnya's theory, principally, it seems, on the grounds that the original form of the nominative and infinitive sentence as reconstructed by Potebnya (i.e. containing the verb form есть) is never found in Old Russian, puts forward a view which seems to have much in common with the ideas of Sprinchak: "Чтобы понять нашу 'аномалию' номинативного строя, надо отвлечься от индо-европейского канона. Неоспаримое существование 'эргативного строя' в кавказских и других языках или 'пассивного строя' некоторых азиатских языков дает основание идти в истолковании 'аномалий' другим путем. Вполне законно видеть в таких явных аномалиях

¹У. А. Sprinchak (1941), p.39.

²У. А. Sprinchak (1960), p.178, footnote No.4.

как изучаемая нами, – либо субстратное вторжение, либо пережиток (рудимент) доминативного строя в индоевропейских языках."¹ He refers to an article by S. C. Uhlenbeck² to suggest that Indo-European had once had a "древний единый падеж подлежащего в пассивном обороте и дополнения – в активном (после переходных глаголов)" and goes on to observe that "Именительный падеж 'действующего предмета' (agens) с приметой 'S' развивается позже, неравномерно, не во всех индоевропейских языках и притом только у имен женского и мужского рода."³

At this point Larin seems to be accepting the second of the alternatives outlined in the passage quoted above. Later, however, after comparing the Nominative and Infinitive construction with similar constructions in Finnish and the Baltic languages, he concludes: "Наиболее правдоподобным объяснением представляется возведение этих рудиментарных конструкций к языку единого субстрата, племенных диалектов Прибалтики и северной Европы, – с которым смешались, продвигаясь в места теперешнего расселения и финские племена и первые волны балтийских переселенцев с Юго-Востока, и, наконец, авангард славян, продвигавшихся с юга."⁴

Larin's article has not, however, found support. F. P. Filin pointed out the chronological difficulties surrounding the sub-stratum theory: "Если отдаленные предки балтов и западных финнов

¹B. A. Larin (1963), p.93.

²C. C. Uhlenbeck (1901); referred to by B. A. Larin, loc.cit.

³B. A. Larin, loc.cit.

⁴B. A. Larin, op.cit., p.105. (The languages in question are Russian, Latvian Lithuanian, Finnish and Estonian.)

действительно когда-либо смешались с каким-то иноязычным массивом и восприняли от него эргативную конструкцию, то это было так давно, когда ни о каком восточном славянстве не могло быть и речи. Когда выделились восточные славяне, субстратный массив давно уже должен был исчезнуть." Furthermore: "Сходные в восточнославянских, балтийских и западнофинских языках явления имеют такие существенные различия, что предложение о их едином генетическом источнике крайне сомнительно." ¹

Earlier V. Kiparsky had written: "Ich glaube, dass das Nominativ-objekt sowohl im Indogermanischen als im Finnisch-ugrischen sehr alt und unabhängig voneinander entwickelt worden ist,"² and these and other points are dealt with in detail by G. Jacobsson in an article devoted largely to replying to Larin. Pointing out the apparent contradiction between Larin's pre-Indo-European and his sub-stratum theories, he rejects the latter, since the Nominative construction can be shown to be a native feature of the Finno-Ugric languages. He rejects Larin's criticism of Potebnya's theory, noting that: "Es dürfte ja deutlich sein, dass Potebnja hiermit meint, der ganze Satz wäre ein Nominalsatz mit einem nach wohlbekannten Muster zu ergänzenden Kopula im Präsens. Wenn die Kopula in einem anderen Tempus steht, muss sie eingefügt werden." He goes on to observe that: "Larin muss auch bei seiner supponierten Konstruktion gleichfalls eine Kopula voraussetzen. Der

¹F. P. Filin (1972), p.488.

²V. Kiparsky (1960), p.341.

springende Punkt bei den beiden entgegengesetzten Auffassungen ist der, dass Larin voraussetzt, alle Formen des Verbs wären verbal, aber trotzdem gäbe es keine Differenzierung des Nominativs vom Akkusativ."¹ This objection he illustrates with an Immediate Constituent analysis diagram of both versions.²

V. Georgiyeva in her account of the Nominative and Infinitive construction rejects the theories of both Potebnya and Sprinchak and puts forward a view very close to that of Shakhmatov described on pp.10,11. Like Shakhmatov, she appears to base her theory mainly on dialect material, where, as she observes, only a small proportion of nominatives are found with infinitives not dependent on надо or можно.³ At the same time, however, she states: "В древнерусской письменности инфинитив в этих предложениях, не являясь зависимым от личной глагольной формы, всегда зависит либо от 'надо', находящегося в предложении, либо от мысленного 'надо', 'надлежит', например во фразах юридических документов,"⁴ although the exact meaning of the last part of this comment is obscure.

Georgiyeva puts one group of sentences into a different category: "Это построения с формой 'видать' типа 'изба видать', 'деревня видать' и пр. По всем данным можно предполагать здесь не только семантическое равенство конструкциям 'изба видна', 'деревня видна', которыми и заменяются первые синтаксические

¹G. Jacobsson (1964), p.75.

²Ibid., p.76.

³V. Georgiyeva (1949), pp.53-57.

⁴Ibid., p.53.

построения местной интеллигенции." She evidently considers that this type of sentence reflects a different aspect of the development of the infinitive from the other Nominative and Infinitive types:

"Продолжая предположения о первичности инфинитивных конструкций означающих необходимость или возможность, и о первоначальной грамматической несвязанности существительного и инфинитива, можно предполагать наличие другой линии развития инфинитива, когда последний, теряя свое самостоятельное синтаксическое значение и связываясь с существительным, включил в себя смысл пассивной возможности действия."¹ Thus in Modern Russian sentences of the деревня видать type differ from the other Nominative and Infinitive sentences in that the infinitive in the former type does not have the modal significance of the latter type (usually obligation), but merely expresses the possibility of the action; for instance вода пить is equivalent to вода надо пить, while деревня видать is equivalent to деревня видна.

In an article which came out in the same year, T. P. Lomtev also distinguishes between the same two types of construction: "В современном языке сознанию говорящих первые (i.e. the вода пить type) представляются безличными, а вторые (the деревня видать type) личными;"² in the first type the noun is conceived as an object, in the second as a subject.³ Furthermore, while the first type of construction nowadays only occurs in North Russian dialects, the second is found in South Russian dialects, in Ukrainian and Belorussian.

¹Ibid., p.58.

²T. P. Lomtev (1949), p.22.

³Ibid., p.12.

These differences, however, according to Lomtev, apply only to the modern languages; the nominative in the вода пить type of sentence must also originally have indicated a subject: "Ни функции определения ни функции объекта этому падежу в сочетании с инфинитивом приписать нельзя. Это дает основание сблизить конструкции типа 'вода пить' и 'отсюда деревня видать'." At the same time he observes that in the former type the nominative and accusative are found side by side as early as 1229, thus indicating that in this construction the nominative represented an object by the thirteenth century,¹ a point made by several other scholars (see p.10). Lomtev's ideas are very close to those of Potebnya, but there is one aspect of the latter's theory which he does not accept: noting the absence in Old Russian of such forms as есмы писать, был есмы писать, he comments: "Вспомогательные глаголы с основой ес-, бы-, буд- изначально не управляли дательным падежом и, таким образом, искони с инфинитивом не сочетались, ни субъективно, ни объективно. Из этого следует, что обороты типа 'говорка была чуваць' следует считать новообразованиями."²

The same reason is put forward by A. A. Shevtsova as one of the grounds for rejecting Potebnya's theory.³ She also makes what seems to be another important objection: "Несостоятельность этой теории тем более очевидна, что она не может дать объяснения того, как же возникли безличные инфинитивные предложения с инфинитивом непереходных глаголов в их составе."⁴ Although

¹Ibid., pp.15/16.

²Ibid., p.20.

³A. A. Shevtsova (1964), pp.89, fol.

⁴Ibid., p.94.

the first objection is countered by Jacobsson in his reply to Larin's article (see p.15), the second point does not seem to have produced comment from any source. Shevtsova herself considers that "Рассматриваемое явление могло возникнуть в тех диалектах индо-европейского языка, из которых развились балтийские и славянские языки." She links the origin of the construction with the development of the distinction between nominative and accusative cases; the purpose of such a distinction is to serve as a "грамматическим средством разграничения синтаксических категорий подлежащего и прямого дополнения." She goes on to point out: "Но в составе инфинитивных предложений субъект суждения имеет иную форму выражения: не именительный, а дательный падеж. Следовательно в этом типе предложения не было необходимости в формальном противопоставлении именительного падежа подлежащего и винительного падежа прямого дополнения."

"По аналогии к личным предложениям прямое дополнение в инфинитивных предложениях могло бы получить ту же форму выражения, что в составе личных предложениях, но и могло передаваться и именительным падежом."¹

While there is nothing in Shevtsova's theory which implies that the Nominative and Infinitive construction may be a survival of an earlier type of sentence structure involving an ergative construction, her ideas do have a certain amount in common with those of Sprinchak and Larin, in that the connection of the construction with the development of the distinction between nominative and accusative presupposes that this event is a relatively late phenomenon in the development

¹Ibid., pp.105/6.

of the Indo-European languages. But whereas Larin had suggested that it was the nominative form which was developed at this stage, Shevtsova seems to be implying that the later formation was the accusative. It has, however, to be admitted that unless an ergative theory or something similar is postulated, it is difficult to imagine that the creation of cases to distinguish between subject and object of the sentence should take place at such a stage of the development of the language, and especially, as Shevtsova seems to be suggesting, after the formation of the dative case. In this context it is worth quoting P. S. Kuznetsov: "Винительный падеж был одним из первых, занявшим место в парадигме, и это произошло, повидимому, еще на общеиндоевропейской почве."¹

M. I. Pigin is another scholar who seems to accept Potebnya's account of the origin and development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.² This formula, however, he considers completely valid only for sentences where the nominative occurs with an independent infinitive, and then for not all of these. Like Georgiyeva and Lomtev, he considers that where the infinitive is of a verb of perception a different phenomenon is involved: referring to sentences where "Сказуемое...выражено инфинитивами глаголов чувственного восприятия (видать, слышать, знать)," he writes: "Инфинитив в этом случае подвергается переосмыслению, становится близким по значению к прилагательному;" "В данном положении самой структурой предложения инфинитив выдвинут на положение обстоятельства цели."³ Other types of sentences which he puts

¹P. S. Kuznetsov (1958), p.8.

²M. I. Pigin(1954), pp.86, 89, 101.

³Ibid., p.85, p.105.

into separate categories include sentences where the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on надо.¹ Here he considers that the nominative originally indicated the subject, надо was originally the predicate and the infinitive expressed "обстоятельство цели;"¹ another type is that where the nominative and infinitive are combined with a "безлично-предикативное слово" (Pigin's example is "Ино та строка волно выписати вонь из грамотъ," from the Pskovskaya Sudnaya Gramota). At first these were personal sentences, in which вольнo etc. were adverbs qualifying the infinitive; as these sentences become impersonal, the nominative starts to represent an object, with the erstwhile adverb becoming a "безлично-предикативное слово" and hence, by definition, part of the predicate.²

In his recent work on the Nominative and Infinitive construction³ F. P. Filin propounds a new theory to account for its origin. He considers that the construction is a relatively recent phenomenon and refers to K. A. Timofeyev's division of Old Russian infinitive sentences into four groups according to meaning;⁴ Filin ascribes Nominative and Infinitive sentences to the third group, "выражающие обязательность действия вследствие распоряжения, обязательства или приказанья."⁵ He concludes: "В древнерусском языке имени на -а (-я) несомненно обозначали прямой объект, о чем свидетельствует частое употребление в одних и тех же

¹ Ibid., p.107.

² Ibid., p.108.

³ F. P. Filin (1969); reproduced with minor amendments in F. P. Filin (1972), pp.476-491.

⁴ K. A. Timofeyev (1959), pp.21 foll.

⁵ F. P. Filin (1972), p.490. The wording appears to be Filin's, rather than Timofeyev's.

памятниках в аналогичных позициях и формы на -у (-ю). Однако раньше эта конструкция могла осмысляться и иначе: та земля очистити = 'та земля должна быть очищена' та пожня за росты косити = 'та пожня за проценты должна быть скошена, должна коситься' и т.п. Не случайно, что значительная часть примеров на этот оборот имеет предикативные наречия надобѣ, нужно и пр." 1

The last sentence seems to bring Filin's views very close to those of Shakhmatov and Georgiyeva (see pp.10,11,16), but on the whole the above comments seem extremely vague, and it is not clear to what extent Filin would agree with their views. Filin also does not explain why only this particular group of infinitive sentences should be understood in this way; he further does not explain why, if such constructions are a late phenomenon, the nominative as early as the thirteenth century represents an object, and in what circumstances such a change in the way the construction is understood took place.

In the last few years two western scholars have produced new theories to explain the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. B. S. Comrie, following the principles of transformational grammar, rejects Potebnya's theory, apparently on the grounds that it fails to take into account the semantic relationship between verb and object.² He compares the Russian construction to the English John is easy to please and explains it in following terms: "We postulate that

¹Ibid.

²B. S. Comrie (1972), p.217.

at an earlier stage of the language there existed a transformational rule with the properties of English pronoun replacement, in that it fronted the object NP of an infinitive into matrix subject."¹ It is, however, unclear from this why Potebnya's theory explains the semantic relation between object and verb any less adequately than does Comrie's. It would also seem that Comrie's comments constitute more of a description of the construction, than an explanation of its origin.

Another new theory was proposed by A. Timberlake in what up to now has been the only book devoted to the construction. He points out that in all previous accounts of the Nominative and Infinitive construction scholars have assumed that this use of the nominative, whatever its origin may have been, is in the recorded history of the Russian language anomalous and unmotivated.²

Timberlake, on the other hand, considers that the use of nominative for the object in what he calls "a systematically impersonal environment" is up to the end of the sixteenth century both motivated and regular. In the environment described (see section 4, p.39) the absence of a grammatical subject means that the object becomes, in Timberlake's words, "the most central participant of the event". He goes on: "In a systematically impersonal sentence, then, the object is more central and has a less explicit relationship to the event than the object of a personal verb. It is therefore possible to use the nominative to specify the object of a systematically impersonal verb, while still retaining the

¹Ibid., p.218.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.86, 87.

use of the nominative for the subject of a personal verb and the use of the accusative for the object of a personal verb."¹ Thus Timberlake's theory has much in common with the ideas of Larin (see pp.13, 14) and Shevtsova (see p.19). He considers that the nominative in the Nominative and Infinitive construction has never, even in the pre-historical period, represented a grammatical subject.

3. The geographical limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

A question which at times has been linked with the problem of the origin of the construction is that concerning the areas in which the construction is found now in Russian dialects, and whether at any time in the past the construction was more widespread. Early scholars do not seem to have gone into the problem in great detail: Buslayev merely refers to the construction surviving in dialects, without saying which, while Miller notes that the construction survives in the Vologda and Olonets regions. Those who put forward the idea that the construction is a legacy from the Indo-European period (for example Miller and Popov) presumably imply that the construction must at one time have been common to at least the whole of the East Slavonic language area, although no specific reference to this is made. Miller and Potebnya do, however, mention links between the Nominative and Infinitive construction and apparently similar constructions in Lithuanian and Latvian.²

As far as the East Slavonic distribution of the construction is concerned, opinions have varied. Miklosich quoted examples from Old

¹Ibid., p.98.

²See pp.2-7.

Ukrainian,¹ and Potebnya, whose theory would appear to presuppose the development of the construction to be connected with the development of the Slavonic infinitive, produced examples from West Russia, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.² Further examples from West Russia dating from the same period are given by E. F. Karskiy; he is more cautious in his assessment of its occurrence in modern Belorussian dialects: "В живой речи подобное употребление можем указать в следующих случаях, если они не опечатки." One of his examples is anyway due to special reasons: "Рифмой вызван именительный падеж в следующем примере: 'сестрыца Аршулька, падай мне кашулька'."³

S. P. Obnorskiy makes what seems to be the first attempt to link the origin of the construction with its distribution in modern Russian dialects: "Подобное употребление [i.e. of the nominative of -a class nouns with the infinitive] - старая северновеликорусская черта... Между прочим, характерно существование этой особенности в белорусском при отсутствии ее в южновеликорусском и малорусском."⁴ Elsewhere he describes the construction as being Novgorodian in origin,⁵ and in his account of the language of Russkaya Pravda (Sinodal'nyy spisok) the presence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is one of the main linguistic reasons he cites for ascribing the original to Novgorod.⁶

¹F. Miklosich (1883), p.346.

²A. A. Potebnya (1888), p.416.

³E. F. Karskiy (1911), II, p.163.

⁴S. P. Obnorskiy (1927), p.266, footnote.

⁵S. P. Obnorskiy (1946), p.27.

⁶S. P. Obnorskiy (1934), p.769, p.774.

Obnorskiy's viewpoint was repeated and expanded by V. I. Borkovskiy: "Конструкция - инфинитив и им. п. имен существительных жен. р. на -а - является новгородской особенностью и распространялась по путям новгородской колонизации, путям торговых сношений Новгорода. Поэтому она широко представлена в новгородских грамотах, в двинских грамотах, получила отражение в московских грамотах и, став нормой для приказного языка Москвы, сделалась нормой и для ярославских и нижегородских грамот." He then qualifies the statement a little: "Отмеченная синтаксическая особенность скорее всего общая для новгородских с одной стороны и смоленских и полоцких грамот с другой стороны, языковая черта."¹ P. Y. Chernykh also considered that the construction arose in the North-western dialect area.² It seems, however, as if Borkovskiy's explanation of how the construction spread from Novgorod to Moscow may not be wholly satisfactory. It does not appear probable that trade relations should cause the language of Novgorod to influence the language of Moscow; other features of the old Novgorod dialect, for example "cokan'ye" and the replacement of ѣ by и, are extremely rare in Moscow sources.³ On the other hand, the circumstances in which syntactical features spread from one area to another may well differ from those in which other linguistic features spread, particularly if such developments largely or wholly concern the written language. It is curious that Borkovskiy, at the same time as putting the view that the construction was originally limited to the Novgorod area, completely

¹V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), p.345.

²P. Y. Chernykh (1962), pp.311, 312.

³S. I. Kotkov (1974), pp.142, 143; 184, 185.

accepts Potebnya's theory of the origin.¹

Obnorskiy's views have not, however, been very widely accepted. P. Bicilli, referring to the former's comment quoted above, pointed out that the construction is found in a Ukrainian duma, although the example he cites seems rather dubious: "Чи ще жъ тобѣ не далася тяжкая неволя знати".² B. O. Unbegaun observes: "Ce tour qui est attesté dès les textes russes les plus anciens (XIIIe siècle) se maintient dans la langue écrite jusqu'au XVIIe siècle. On le trouve également dans les anciens textes petit-russes et blanc-russes,"³ and V. Yaroshenko notes its presence in Moldavian texts written in what he defines as Old Ukrainian: "Окремо треба розглядати ті випадки, коли назовного відм. вживають зам. знахідного при дійельни-кові,"⁴ giving examples of the nominative with infinitive and finite verb forms.

Y. A. Sprinchak notes that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is a feature of North Russian dialects, pointing out at the same time: "В южнорусских говорах этой конструкции нет, хотя в прошлом она, видимо, существовала."⁵ In his later comments on this subject he expanded the above by giving examples of the construction in Old Ukrainian and Old Belorussian.⁶ M. A. Sokolova's assessment seems to be rather contradictory: "Широкое употребление данного

¹V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), p.346.

²P. Bicilli (1933), p.199, footnote.

³B. O. Unbegaun (1935), pp.129, 130. Author's emphasis.

⁴V. Yaroshenko (1931), p.320.

⁵Y. A. Sprinchak, (1941), p.15.

⁶Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.173.

явления в самых различных памятниках прошлого, наличие его в фольклоре (в песнях, сказках и пословицах) дает основание в прошлом полагать его как явление не только севернорусское;" ¹ at the same time, however, she writes: "Наличие подобной конструкции в Стоглаве и Судебнике свидетельствует о проникновении данного явления в памятники делового-литературного языка XVI в. и, быть может, о силе севернорусской стихии в начальном процессе сложения русского национального языка."²

The first detailed account of the appearance of the construction in surviving South Russian sources was given by S. I. Kotkov, who commented: "В истории наших говоров находим следы особенностей обычно понимаемых как специально северные."³ One of these features is the Nominative and Infinitive construction, examples of which he quotes from seventeenth-century Orel sources. Pointing out that the "Южнорусские навыки писцов очевидны," and that the more frequent occurrence in such positions of the normal accusative form in y suggests that the use of the nominative does not merely reflect a "не имеющей опоры в местных говорах письменной традиции," he concludes: "Подозреваем в них реликты синтаксического явления, когда-то органического и в южновеликорусских, а не только северновеликорусских говорах."⁴

An alternative explanation for these examples was suggested by

¹М. А. Sokolova (1957), p.60.

²Ibid., p.58.

³S. I. Kotkov (1952), p.180.

⁴Ibid., p.181.

L. A. Bulakhovskiy: "Нельзя, однако, при небольшом количестве источников конца XVII века, где она (i.e. the Nominative and Infinitive construction) встречается, считать ее определенно имеющей корни в самих соответствующих южнорусских говорах, так как отнюдь не исключена возможность, что в документы, о которых идет речь, эта синтаксическая особенность попала путем усвоения ее из московских грамот."¹

In an article of 1959 S. I. Kotkov returned to the subject. He quoted a large number of examples from seventeenth century South Russian sources, and on the basis of this material he again concluded that the construction was a native feature of contemporary South Russian dialects.² He rejected the possibility suggested by Bulakhovskiy, quoting in addition to the arguments used in his earlier article on the construction the fact that: "Интересующая нас конструкция в данных текстов представлена не только такими словосочетаниями, которые характерны для московских документов и могли бы явиться образцами для местных грамотеев, но и сочетаниями бытового содержания: свадьба играть, вина сварить асмина, изба поставить, принести ко мне куртка." Noting that examples are found where the nominative is used with finite verb forms, he observes: "Если бы эта конструкция в приведенных выше случаях возникла в силу подражания московским образцам, вероятно, невозможно оказалось бы аналогическое перенесение

¹L. A. Bulakhovskiy (1958), p.347.

²S. I. Kotkov (1959), p.52.

из нее именительного на -а в сочетании с другими формами глагола, так как московское правописание образцов для этого не давало." Finally, he claims that the absence of the construction from modern South Russian dialects in itself proves nothing, since: "Былое ее существование в говоре Москвы, насколько мне известно, не подвергается сомнению, хотя в Московской области уже двести лет назад в живом употреблении она не отмечалась."¹ It may be noted here that examples of the nominative used with a finite verb are not wholly lacking in Moscow sources; examples are quoted in Ch. 4, p.166, and Ch. 5, p.201.

D. S. Stanisheva accepts Kotkov's evidence as proving that the construction was at one time common to all dialects; she writes that: "Вполне правдоподобно (хотя вопрос требует дальнейшего изучения), что исчезновение конструкции на -а из южнорусских dialectов произошло в XVII веке."² At the same time she considers that examples from modern South Russian dialects are "случайными и нетипичными."³ Elsewhere she expresses a cautious view about the appearance of the construction in Ukrainian: noting a few examples from early Ukrainian gramoty, she observes that these could be either "Спецификой актового языка, известными штампами грамот и других деловых документов" or "связаны с живым употреблением, реликты, которые могут быть обнаружены в диалектах." She adds that, although very little evidence has been adduced for modern Ukrainian dialects, "В исследованных диалектных материалах бесспорных

¹Ibid., p.48.

²D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.1.

³Ibid., p.14.

случаев ее употребления нам не встретилось."¹

F. P. Filin, referring in his recent survey to S. I. Kotkov's observations, notes the relatively few examples and the possibility that such constructions may have been borrowed from the official language of Moscow, although at this point he seems uncertain as to which view to take: "Таким образом, пока остается неясным, имеем ли мы дело с исчезновением в южновеликорусских областях одной из исконных синтаксических особенностей или же, наоборот, с экспансией в южновеликорусскую диалектную зону специфической черты языка московских приказов."² On the examples from Old Ukrainian he comments: "В этом языке достаточно ясно находили свое отражение и особенности местных диалектов формировавшегося украинского языка; в то же время вместе с его распространением распространялись и некоторые особенности, не свойственные этим диалектам. К таким особенностям можно с большой долей вероятности отнести и 'инфинитив + -а (-я)', изредка встречающийся в украинских грамотах."³ Unfortunately he does not indicate what led him to this conclusion. His final paragraph contradicts the uncertain view he had expressed earlier, and his final assessment of the original area seems to coincide with that of S. P. Obnorskiy and V. I. Borkovskiy: "Диалектная северная и северо-западная синтаксическая особенность, возникшая до появления восточнославянской письменности, была воспринята

¹D. S. Stanisheva (1966/1), pp.146, 147.

²F. P. Filin (1972), p.484.

³Ibid., p.485.

русским литературным языком, сначала главным образом в деловой письменности, затем и вне ее рамок."¹

Miklosich's examples from Old Ukrainian and Kotkov's above-mentioned conclusions are referred to by V. Kiparsky as supporting his view that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is at least Common Slavonic.² Kiparsky further supports his contention by citing what he considers to be essentially the same construction in Old Czech. He had first pointed out the similarity between the constructions in his review of N. Reiter's book Die deutschen Lehnübersetzungen im Tschechischen, where he comments: "Ein interessantes Problem berührt Reiter auf S.175, wenn er behauptet, dass weder hora je viděti noch horu je viděti in den Slavinen geläufig sei. Gerade in Nord-grossruss. Dialekten ist гора видать für гору в. 'der Berg ist zu sehen' sehr geläufig, und dies dürfte ein ganz sicherer Beweis gegen den deutschen Ursprung dieser Wendung sein."³

This observation has not provoked wide comment. G. Jacobsson agrees with Kiparsky, suggesting that the construction is maintained in Old Czech under the influence of the German construction.⁴ B. Havránek, on the other hand, considers that the Czech construction is a completely different phenomenon, being a new development of the seventeenth century, which came into being as part of the development of personal constructions in Czech.⁵ Filin and Timberlake also consider that the

¹Ibid., p.491.

²V. Kiparsky (1960), pp.337, 341.

³V. Kiparsky (1955), p.437.

⁴G. Jacobsson (1964), p.72.

⁵B. Havranek (1968), pp.175, 176.

Czech construction was borrowed from the German.¹ Kiparsky himself goes on to observe that there seems to be no trace of the construction in the remaining Slavonic languages, including Old Church Slavonic; with regard to the latter he quotes the example from the Codex Suprasliensis: "viděti jestъ silъ xristosovъ."²

Kiparsky also turns his attention to the problem of why the construction survives only in North Russian dialects. Noting the apparently similar constructions which exist in Finnish and the Baltic languages, he comments: "Jedenfalls sind die Übereinstimmungen zwischen der finnischen und der russischen Syntax in bezug auf das Nominativobjekt grösser, als dass man mit blossen Zufall operieren könnte." He concludes that: "Das Nominativobjekt sowohl im Indogermanischen als im Finno-ugrischen sehr alt und unabhängig voneinander entwickelt worden ist. In den meisten slavischen Sprachen ist es, z.T. wohl unter griechischem, lateinischem und deutschem Einfluss, verloren gegangen. Nur in den nordgrossrussischen Mundarten, die zu einem grossen Teil von russifizierten Ostseefinnen gesprochen werden, hat sich diese Konstruktion, gestützt von der ostseefinnischen Syntax der Ureinwohner, bis in unsere Tage hinein gehalten."³

Larin's observations on the possible links between Russian and Finnish have already been noted; others who have commented on this theme include V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachev: "Полезно бы проверить связь русской диалектной конструкции типа 'косить трава' с финским и балтийским."⁴ W. Veenker quotes the theories of both Larin and Kiparsky. He points out that "der Gebrauch der

¹F. P. Filin (1972), p.482; A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.124-127.

²V. Kiparsky (1960), pp.335, 338.

³Ibid., p.341.

⁴V. N. Toporov, O. N. Trubachev (1962), p.251.

beiden Akkusative im Finnischen deckt sich jedoch nicht völlig mit dem im Russischen, bzw. Slawischen."¹ Nevertheless, he seems to accept that a link between the constructions in the two languages exists, while at the same time finding it impossible to be certain of the exact nature of the link: "Schliesslich ist die Frage, ob der Ausgangspunkt zu dieser Konstruktion oder nur ihre Bewahrung auf das f.-ugr. Substrat zurückzuführen ist, gar nicht so wichtig, wie vielmehr die Tatsache, dass das f.-ugr. Substrat die Ursache für die heute noch im Nord-russischen übliche Konstruktion war." He goes on to observe in the same paragraph: "Zur Erklärung der Verhältnisse in den übrigen Slavinen ist ohnehin die Theorie weder von der Entstehung noch von der Konservierung aufgrund des f.-ugr. Substrats geeignet."²

Filin appears to accept Kiparsky's view on the role of Finnish in preserving the Nominative and Infinitive construction in North Russian dialects.³ Indeed, he seems to extend this role to the extent of possibly influencing the origin of the construction, if this how the following, perhaps slightly vague, comment is to be interpreted: "Возможность двупланового в семантико-грамматическом отношении употребления приинфинитивной формы на -а (-я) могла осуществиться на севере и северо-западе, в условиях контакта с западнофинским и балтийским населением."⁴

Timberlake's views are more categorical: claiming that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was never a feature of South

¹W. Veenker (1967), p.124.

²Ibid., p.126.

³F. P. Filin (1972), p.491.

⁴Ibid.

Russian dialects,¹ he states that the construction was borrowed into North Russian as well as into certain Latvian and Lithuanian dialects from a West Finnic language, possibly Finnish.²

Most scholars have taken the view that even if the construction existed in the past in Southern Russian dialects, then in Modern Russian it survives only in northern dialects. A few attempts have been made, however, to show that the construction may survive in some form or other in some Southern Russian dialects. As early as 1898, K. Filatov, in his survey of Voronezh dialects, quoted an example of the nominative used with a finite verb ("Онъ кавыль-трафка рвалъ"), including it without special comment in a section devoted to abnormal verb governments.³ A more detailed account comes from L. M. Loseva; she gives examples found in "русских говорах, находящихся на территории распространения украинского языка, например в черновицкой области, в хотинских и грубнянских говорах." In addition she points out: "В курских говорах, именительный в аккузативном значении употребляется только при инфинитиве и только со значением цели, предназначения." In these sentences the word јэ то always occurs, and the noun always precedes the infinitive, as in the following example quoted by Loseva: "[јэ та тръва кас'Ит' т'ал' Онкъ ст' ир' аџ' и вон там]"⁴ Further examples are provided by V. I. Sobinnikova, who observes that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is used

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.128-131.

²Ibid., p.198.

³K. Filatov (1898), p.202.

⁴L. M. Loseva (1958), p.29.

"в редких случаях и в современных воронежских говорах."

She also notes that "В воронежских грамотах зафиксированы примеры с конструкцией 'именительный падеж прямого объекта + инфинитив', типичной для современных северновеликорусских говоров,"¹ the texts in question being those of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Using for the most part material collected for the Dialektologicheskii atlas russkogo yazyka, I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko provide a detailed analysis of the Nominative and Infinitive construction as it survives in Russian dialects.² They distinguish two types of area where the construction is found: the first group is where "Примеры употребления рассматриваемых конструкций приводятся на материалах значительного большинства обследованных для атласа населенных пунктов, причем обычно в ответах на соответствующие вопросы (№129, 130) 'Программы собирания сведений для составления диалектологического атласа русского языка' (М.- Л., 1947) дается не менее 4 примеров (всего 2353 примера на 451 населенный пункт)."³ These areas fall exclusively within the North Russian dialect zone. In the second group of areas "Эти конструкции отмечаются лишь в некоторых населенных пунктах, и в ответах приводится обычно по 1-2 примера."⁴ These areas are found in the North, Central and South Russian dialect zones.⁵ Kuz'mina and Nemchenko find more than quantitative

¹V. I. Sobinnikova (1961), p.214.

²I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.151-175.

³I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.152, 153.

⁴Ibid., p.153.

⁵The location of the various areas is shown on the map printed on p.153 of Kuz'mina and Nemchenko's article.

differences between the various areas. In areas of the first group, examples where the nominative is used with a finite verb comprise about 20% of the total; as far as areas of the second group are concerned, those that fall within the North Russian dialect zone show approximately the same proportion, while those in the other zones have proportionally far more examples of the nominative-object used with a finite verb, although the total number of examples is very much smaller.¹ They observe further that in areas of the first group the majority of instances where the nominative is used with an infinitive occur in sentences where the infinitive is dependent on the word надо (1074 out of 1416 examples);² for the areas in Central and South Russian dialect zones the picture is different: "Соотношение примеров с именительным падежом прямого объекта при инфинитиве, зависимом и независимом от личной формы глагола, в материалах по говорам разных участков неодинаково (но при этом оно везде отличается от их соотношения в северно-великорусских говорах)."³

4. The syntactic limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

The question of the original syntactic limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is also closely linked with that of the origin of the construction. Potebnya's theory presupposes that this use of the nominative reflects an earlier stage in the development of

¹I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.156 foll.

²Ibid., p.161.

³Ibid., p.164.

independent infinitive sentences¹ and that consequently the construction is found originally only in sentences of this type. This view is supported by Borkovskiy² and, apparently, by Filin, who writes:

"Такая тенденция развития указывает на то, что исходной формой данной конструкции является сочетание с независимым инфинитивом, что признается почти всеми исследователями."

It would seem, however, that Filin considers infinitives used with надо, нужно, надобно and variant forms of these words to be independent.³

Examples of the Nominative and Infinitive are found in other than independent infinitive sentences, and many scholars have assumed that the original sphere of the construction also included certain types of dependent infinitive sentences. Shakhmatov's second theory (see pp.10, 11) postulates that the construction first appeared in sentences where an infinitive was used with надо. Pigin considers that the construction was originally used not only in independent infinitive sentences, but also where the infinitive is dependent on an adverb or on надо, although he maintains that the construction has a different origin in the last two types of sentence from the first.⁴ Sprinchak (in his book of 1960)⁵ and Stanisheva also suggest the construction was originally used in the above-mentioned types of sentences, but without postulating different origins; Stanisheva writes: "Условия существования конструкции в продолжение долгого времени оставались

¹As exemplified by Potebnya's own example (see p.7) and by the three sentences quoted on p.1.

²V. I. Borkovskiy and P. S. Kuznetsov (1965), p.457.

³F. P. Filin (1972), p.480.

⁴See pp.20, 21.

⁵Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), pp.174, 175.

прежними: конструкция с именительным падежом прямого объекта употреблялась в безлично-инфинитивных предложениях, где инфинитив чаще всего зависел от наречий нужно, надо, вольно." ¹

Sprinchak (in his article of 1941) and Kiparsky appear to maintain that the construction was used regularly in any sentence where an infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb form.² Timberlake would seem to hold similar views, which, however, he formulates with greater precision: he considers that the nominative-object is original to all sentences which are in his words "systematically impersonal". The types of sentence which he places in this category are: independent infinitive sentences; sentences where an infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb form, a non-verbal predicate form (the examples he gives are вольно and надо), a neuter singular past passive participle or an independent infinitive; finally, sentences where a gerund is used subordinate to one of the above-mentioned impersonal verb forms.³

Before Timberlake only a small number of scholars had suggested that the use of the nominative-object was not originally confined to infinitive sentences. Larin came to the following conclusion: "Нет сомнения в том, что эти конструкции включали в качестве дополнения существительные любого рода (недоказуемые формы именительного падежа мужского рода в русском языке -

¹D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.2.

²Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), pp.26, 27; V. Kiparsky (1960), p.338.

³A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.6-32.

совершенно очевидны в литовском и латышском), что формы повелительного наклонения и деепричастия были первоначально столь же нормальны в конструкции с именительным прямым дополнением, как и инфинитив. Эти глагольные образования известны во всех пяти сравниваемых языках. Сочетание именительного прямого дополнения с личными формами глагола встречено только в русском, финском и эстонском. Из этого можно заключить, что утрата различия активного и пассивного номинатива и вытеснение пассивной формы - активной (S-овой) началось именно при личных формах глагола."¹ Jacobsson rejects Larin's theory that in Russian the nominative was originally found with imperative or finite indicative verbs. He observes that the recorded examples are few in number, and that it is generally easier to explain them as resulting from the spread of the nominative from infinitive sentences (where the nominative occurs much more frequently); others may be accounted for by such factors as the distance of the object from the verb, the special, not easily recordable, features of speech, or simply by mistakes in the handling of the language ("Sprachfehler"), or even by the unreliability of the source (as in the examples Larin quotes from the Parizhsky Slovar' Moskovitov of 1586).²

Jacobsson does, however, consider that the nominative was originally used with the gerund and quotes some 14 examples from different sources to support his claim. He puts forward the idea that "Wir möchten nochmals wiederholen, dass der Nominativ beim Gerundium

¹B. A. Larin (1963), p.105.

²G. Jacobsson (1964), pp.76-79.

sich dadurch erklären lässt, dass die letzere Form ursprünglich vollkommen nominal war - in einem obliquen, nicht immer analysierbaren Kasus - die mit keinem direkten Objekt (das ja par préférence das Verb charakterisiert), sondern nur mit einem (grammatischen) Subjekt stehen kann."¹

It may be noted here that Sprinchak had his own explanation for examples of the nominative-object used with a gerund: "Нам кажется, первоначально именительный падеж появился при деепричастии, где рядом употребляется также независимый инфинитив, причем именительный падеж такого существительного является одновременно прямым дополнением и относительно деепричастия и относительно инфинитива.

"Эту мысль можно подтвердить фактами, встречающимися в Соборном Уложении, например: 'И у того так учинит, та чужая земля взяв отдачи тому у кого отнял.' (Соб. Ул. X - 233)."²

Most scholars have suggested that the nominative-object later spread to types of sentences where it was originally not found, this being part of a process generally known to Soviet scholars as разложение. This process is seen by Filin as taking place in two stages: "1) Форма на -а стала заменяться формой на -у.

"2) Форма на -а, потеряв свое прежнее значение, выдвигается как общий показатель винительного падежа, вытесняя

¹ Ibid., p.80-81.

² Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.35.

собой старшую аккузативную форму на -у." To illustrate the latter stage he quotes a large number of examples from modern Russian dialects of the nominative used with dependent infinitives; finite verbs of various sorts and even after prepositions.¹ This does not mean, however, that the nominative-object is used with equal frequency in all positions: referring to modern dialects, both Georgiyeva and Kuz'mina and Nemchenko have observed that, while the nominative can replace the accusative in any syntactic position, the vast majority of examples occur with an infinitive which is either independent or dependent on an impersonal predicate form.²

Sprinchak seems to consider that the process of разложение begins in the fifteenth century. Borkovskiy, who deals with the process in some detail, gives examples of the nominative used with dependent infinitives and with finite verbs, the earliest of the latter dating back to ca. 1300.³

Stanisheva also considers that the process began at an early date: "Признаки разложения конструкции типа правда достать, земля пахать можно отнести ... к довольно раннему периоду (XIV-XV вв., даже XIII в.)."⁴ At the same time she points out that the process does not seem to develop at all rapidly; in spite of the early start to the breaking-up of the construction, the vast majority of instances continue to appear with independent infinitives up to

¹F. P. Filin (1947), pp.20-22.

²V. L. Georgiyeva (1949), pp.45, 46; I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), p.155. Georgiyeva also notes that the nominative can replace oblique cases.

³Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), pp.39, 40; V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), p.348.

⁴D. S. Stanisheva, (1966/2), p.8.

the disappearance from the standard written language in the early eighteenth century.¹ She accounts for this phenomenon as follows:

"Именительный падеж в известных синтаксических условиях (при инфинитиве) для имен определенного класса (на -а, -я) стал использоваться языком как один из вариантов объектной синтаксемы наряду с другим основным вариантом - винительным падежом...

"Сферы употребления каждого из вариантов строго разграничены и определяются известными, в каждом случае вполне определенными синтаксическими или лексическими условиями. Отсюда - те признаки разложения конструкции земля пахать, которые можно найти в языке грамот, и которые начали очевидно появляться с тех пор, как порвалась связь с её первоначальным, безличным содержанием, вопреки ожиданию, не только не активизировались, но отступили на второй план." It should perhaps here be noted that Stanisheva considers that the system described is valid from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, for актовый язык and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for "памятников, в основу которых легли севернорусские говоры."² It may be noted here that since the above-mentioned works were written D. S. Ishchenko has discovered an example of the nominative-object used with a finite verb which he estimates as dating from the 1170-s.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p.10.

³D. S. Ishchenko (1967), pp.197-199; see also Ch. 3, p.114, 115.

In his assessment of the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction Timberlake prefers to speak of a reanalysis of the construction. Referring to differences between the use of the nominative-object in Old Russian and its use in modern Russian dialects, he writes: "These differences arose through the reanalysis of the nominative object rule from a syntactic rule of case specification to a morphological rule of syncretism. This change is to be dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is related to the extension of the animate gender to feminine plural nouns."¹ The consequences of this reanalysis are, according to Timberlake, that the construction becomes morphologically limited to -a type feminine nouns and feminine qualifiers in the singular (cf.p.47), but that the previous syntactic limitations on the construction disappear, so that the nominative starts to replace the accusative in other than impersonal sentences and even comes to replace oblique cases. Timberlake also regards occurrences of lack of agreement between nominative and qualifier as a consequence of the reanalysis.²

5. The nominal forms found in the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

The question of which type of noun is used in the construction has produced a greater degree of agreement. Although, as we have seen, V. Miller thought that all nouns were used in this way, and Lavrovskiy held that only nouns of the -a and -ja types were affected by the construction,³ most recent scholars have agreed that the construction

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.104.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.112.

³See pp.2, 5.

is restricted to singular nouns of the above types and to feminine singular nouns of the -i type, the latter when qualified.¹

Y. A. Sprinchak pointed out further that the construction is limited to feminine nouns;² he also made the interesting observation: "Можно предполагать, что обороты с определением при существительных на -i утвердились в языке позднее, чем приинфинитивный именительный от имен на -а, -я без определения," a view shared by F. P. Filin, although it is not clear on what either scholar bases this assumption.³ Miller's view has, however, had support in recent years from Kiparsky.⁴

Scholars have generally agreed that those animate nouns and pronouns which develop the genitive-accusative are not affected by the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Even those who have been able to find the occasional exception, such as Lavrovskiy⁵ and Sprinchak, have accepted that as a rule the genitive-accusative form is used, rather than the old accusative. The latter observes: "В одушевленных существительных мужского рода при предикативном переходном инфинитиве употребляется форма родительного-винительного, например: 'А того татя дати на поруки'; 'а послати судью' (Судебн. Грозн. 1550 г.), но в Судебнике 1497 г. встречается: 'ино противу послуха наимит (и рядом 'наимита') наняти вольно'."⁶

¹ B. O. Unbegaun (1935), p. 129; Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p. 30; D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), pp. 2, 3; F. P. Filin (1972), p. 481.

² Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p. 32.

³ Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p. 174; F. P. Filin (1972), p. 481.

⁴ V. Kiparsky (1969), p. 141.

⁵ See p. 2.

⁶ Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p. 175.

On the other hand, A. A. Shevtsova notes the use of the old accusative in certain modern Russian dialects and comments: "Проявление категории одушевленности у имен мужского рода в составе инфинитивных предложений 'затормозилось' вследствие совпадения винительного падежа прямого объекта с именительным падежом."¹ The same possibility is suggested, perhaps rather more cautiously, by I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko: "Сохранению формы, совпадающей с именительным падежом, в случаях типа надо цыплята покормить, пошла цыплята покормить, где имя употребляется без предлога, могло содействовать употребление формы именительного падежа в некоторых других конструкциях."²

In general two explanations have been put forward for the almost universal use of the genitive-accusative in Old Russian. L. A. Bulakhovskiy states: "Возможна, впрочем, догадка, что данный оборот установился ранее, нежели названия существ мужского рода стали получать в русском языке винительный, отличающийся от именительного."³ This view is supported by Sprinchak.⁴ The contrary view, namely that the Nominative and Infinitive construction came into being after the genitive-accusative, is suggested by F. P. Filin: "Слова мужского рода одушевленные довольно рано в аккумулятиве стали получать форму родительного падежа; то же самое имело место в именах, употреблявшихся в

¹A. A. Shevtsova (1964); p.82.

²I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), p.168.

³L. A. Bulakhovskiy (1958), p.348, footnote.

⁴Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.32.

отрицательных предложениях. Таким образом именительный приинфинитивный мог закрепиться в именах с основами на -а (-я) и отчасти распространиться на имена женского рода с основами на -ь.¹

Timberlake's approach to this question is rather different; he concludes that "the nominative object rule applies to all nominals except masculine animates and pronouns."² He sees the reason for this exclusion in the fact that "in general animates act as agents and inanimates as patients in events." This means that animates are marked when used as objects, to the extent that "it is necessary to specify them as accusative in Old Russian even in systematically impersonal environments; their markedness as objects overrides the fact that the environment is systematically impersonal."³ It does not seem clear, however, why it should be necessary to specify an object by means of the accusative case in an environment where the logical subject (the agent) appears, if at all, not in the nominative, but in the dative case.

It should here be noted that scholars do not seem to have paid any attention to those nouns of the -o/-jo types and -i type, where separate forms for the nominative and accusative plural are found in the earliest Old Russian sources. Timberlake, the only scholar to mention these nouns, merely observes: "Since the acc. form had begun to oust the nom. form from a very early time..., the question of whether the nominative object rule applied here is moot."⁴

¹F. P. Filin (1972), p.491.

²Timberlake (1974/1), p.71.

³Ibid., pp.99, 100.

⁴Ibid., p.59.

The question of feminine pronouns has also, it seems, been largely ignored. K. Kostov uses pronominal material in an attempt to show the lack of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Bulgarian.¹ In reply to this, V. Kiparsky observes that "Nun nehmen Personalpronomina in bezug auf das Nominativobjekt zwar eine ganz besondere Stellung ein," pointing out that in the analogous constructions in Finnish and Latvian the personal pronouns never adopt the nominative form.²

6. The levels of language in which the Nominative and Infinitive construction was used.

The question arises as to the types of texts and the levels of language in which the Nominative and Infinitive construction was used in Old Russian prior to its becoming a feature confined to non-standard dialects. P. A. Lavrovskiy notes its appearance as being very widespread, extending not only to Chronicles, but also to religious texts (see p.2). P. Bicilli (see p.9) refers to the construction appearing in legal texts and in folk-lore, and also in texts reflecting "обиходный язык" such as Domostroi. Y. A. Sprinchak considered that the use of the construction in the written language was linked to popular speech: "Материал, приведенный нами из сев.-русских говоров и фольклора на употребление конструкции 'инфинитив + именит.' убеждает нас в том, что данная синтаксическая конструкция является яркой особенностью народного русского языка в

¹ K. Kostov (1965), pp.186, 187.

² V. Kiparsky (1967/1), pp.264, 265.

его севернорусской диалектной разновидности. Наличие данного оборота в приказно-деловом языке (юридические акты) и в памятниках книжного языка нужно рассматривать в связи с этой особенностью конструкции 'инфинитив + именит.', так как появление этого оборота в литературном языке, безусловно, обязана воздействию народного живого разговорного языка на книжный."¹ He notes especially its regular usage in official legal documents: "Особенно часто встречается конструкция 'инфинитив + именит.' в памятниках приказного языка, для которого она была синтаксической нормой."² At the same time Sprinchak notes its almost complete absence from works written largely in Church Slavonic: "В противоположность литературным памятникам, язык которых близок к народной речи, в памятниках церковного происхождения, написанных на древне-болгарском или новоцерковно-славянском языке, конструкция 'инфинитив + именит.' не встречается совсем, а если изредка и попадает, то чувствуется, что в систему старославянского синтаксиса того или иного памятника конструкция 'инфинитив + именит.' проникла вместе с другими элементами народного языка в постепенного видоизменения древнеболгарского церковного языка под влиянием старинного русского книжного языка."³

M. A. Sokolova goes rather further than Sprinchak: noting that the construction is to be found in such texts as Stoglav and the first part of Domostroi, where an elevated style tends to be employed, she

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.19.

²Ibid., p.3.

³Ibid., p.20.

concludes that the phenomenon "как норма живого языка проникало в литературный язык вне зависимости от его стилей."¹ Both Sokolova and Sprinchak thus consider the construction to have been part of both the living (presumably oral) and official literary languages of Muscovite Russia.

F. P. Filin adopts a slightly different approach; he discusses the semantics of the construction: "Достаточно хорошо установлена семантика интересующей нас конструкции. В инфинитивных сочетаниях и в сочетаниях с предикативными наречиями выражается долженствование, необходимость, категоричность и желательность действия." (In passing, it should be pointed out that from this it is not wholly clear whether this comment refers to the Nominative and Infinitive sentences in particular, or to infinitive sentences in general.) He observes that the circumstances in which the construction is used are dependent on this semantic significance: "Такая особенность значения конструкции привела к тому, что в письменном языке она получила отчетливо выраженное жанровое ограничение: объектное употребление формы на -а (-я) свойственно главным образом языку деловых памятников. В письменных памятниках других жанров она встречается редко, а в большинстве из них она и вовсе отсутствует." This includes sources that seem to reflect popular speech: thus Filin points out that the Novgorod birch bark texts contain only one clear example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.²

¹М. А. Sokolova (1961), pp.43, 44.

²Ф. Р. Filin (1972), pp.480, 481.

Timberlake describes the Nominative and Infinitive construction as being rare in works "written in high, literary style". He uses this circumstance to support his view that the use of the nominative-object was a regular syntactic rule up to the end of the sixteenth century: "This fact suggests that the occasional use of the accusative for the expected nominative is simply stylistic variation, conditioned by the desire to imitate high literary style, in which only the accusative was sanctioned in this construction. Such sentences do not constitute sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that the nominative object had been reinterpreted and was unmotivated from the start of the historical period."¹

7. The disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Connected with the breaking-up of the Nominative and Infinitive construction described in section 4 is the question of when and in what circumstances the construction disappeared from the standard written language of Moscow to become a feature peculiar only to certain dialects. Vostokov mentioned the occurrence of the construction in the eighteenth century,² and Obnorskiy wrote: "Замечательно наличие этой черты в литературном языке Петровской эпохи."³ P. Bicilli, however, was the first to consider the problem in more detail, linking the disappearance with the Petrine reforms: "То, что исчезновение, въ актовомъ языкѣ, формы на -а при infin. произошло въ началѣ XVIII в. сразу свидѣтельствуеъ о наличии участія коллективнаго сознанія, что заставляеъ связать это явленіе

¹Timberlake (1974/1), p.33.

²See p.3.

³S. P. Obnorskiy (1927), p.266, footnote.

съ всколыхнувшей мысль петровской эпохи." He adds in a footnote: "Толчокъ, несомненно, какъ и въ другихъ подобныхъ случаяхъ, былъ данъ сверху."¹

Y. A. Sprinchak accounted for the disappearance of the construction rather differently, basing his views on the assumption that in the period in question the construction was a feature associated with the North Russian dialects: "Основной причиной утраты оборота 'инфинитив + именит.' в литературном языке было усиление руководящей роли средне- и южнорусского дворянства в культурно-политической жизни (с XVII века). В результате этого в истории языка наблюдаются интересные процессы: вытеснение севернорусских элементов из системы русского литературного языка, с одной стороны, а также рост и усиление южно- и среднерусских языковых особенностей. Отсутствие в среднерусских диалектах 'инфинитива с именит.' об'ясняет нам причину исчезновения этой севернорусской синтаксической конструкции в дальнейшем развитии русского литературного языка."

Sprinchak goes on to give subsidiary reasons for the loss of the construction: "Конструкция 'инфинитив + именит.' жен. разрушалась под влиянием таких факторов, как процесс активизации строя языка и мышления (техники), влияние на русский синтаксис книжного языка других языков, не знающих употребления этой конструкции (в XVII в. украинский язык, латынь, греческий, польский языки, в XVIII в. - западно-европейские языки)." Although the first of these factors is linked to the "новое

¹P. Bicilli (1933), p.207.

учение о языке", the second seems worthy of note. Sprinchak dates the disappearance of the construction from the книжный язык at the end of the first third of the eighteenth century.¹

S. I. Kotkov disagrees with Bicilli's view that the construction disappeared suddenly; he also sees the role of the South Russian dialects in a slightly different light from Sprinchak: "Утрата данной конструкции произошла не сразу, не в связи с Петровской реформой, а являлась постепенной, притом вероятно имела свое начало в южновеликорусской области." "В XVII в. произошла ее утрата в области южновеликорусского наречия."² He considers that one reason for the disappearance of the construction in the South Russian area may lie in the shift of stress onto the ending in the accusative singular of feminine nouns. He observes that in areas where there is a strong vowel reduction, the difference between пáшня and пáшню is much less noticeable than between пашня́ and пашню́.³

Kotkov's main thesis, that the loss of the construction spread from South to North Russia in the seventeenth century, is criticised by L. I. Konovalova. Pointing out that the nominative and the accusative are found side by side in sixteenth century copies of the Sudebnik of 1550, she writes: "Материал, собранный нами в списках Судебника, показывает, что разрушение конструкции именительного на -а при инфинитиве было свойственно московским диалектам XVI века - процесс разложения этой конструкции

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.41.

²S. I. Kotkov (1959), pp.52, 53. Notwithstanding this comment, Kotkov quotes two examples taken from South Russian sources dating from the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

³Ibid. (p.52). The examples are Kotkov's.

протекал как в центре, так и на юге. Замена именительного падежа винительным падежом вызывалась и тут и там сходством именительного на -а с обычным дополнением, и в процессе вытеснения формы на -а при инфинитиве вряд ли целесообразно видеть какое-либо постороннее влияние."¹

D. S. Stanisheva considers that the disappearance of the construction was connected with neither the Petrine reforms nor the spread of South Russian dialect features. Her own explanation seems, however, to be a little vague: "Очевидно, его можно объяснить проще и естественнее - устранением диалектных форм их языка в связи с установлением норм литературного языка."²

8. Conclusions.

This survey has shown that in spite of the large number of studies devoted to the Nominative and Infinitive construction definitive answers have not been found for the questions raised in the various sections of this chapter. It has to be said that the appearance of Timberlake's book (while work on this thesis was in progress) has not changed this state of affairs, and many of the points made by Timberlake will be refuted during the course of this study.

The main problems to be examined in this thesis will be those discussed in this chapter. In chapters 2 and 3 material from the earliest available texts will be presented, and on the basis of this an attempt will be made to solve the problem of the origin of the construction in Russian. Chapter 3 also contains an investigation of the syntactic and morphological limits of the construction. Chapter 4 will be devoted to the later development

¹L. I. Konovalova (1968), p.84.

²D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.11.

the construction, in particular the relationship between nominative and accusative cases in infinitive sentences in the period dating from the end of the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries. Chapter 5 deals with the question of the levels of language in which the construction was to be found, while chapter 6 contains a detailed examination of the syntactic limits of the construction and also of the question of word order. Chapter 7 is concerned with the geographical limits of the construction and chapter 8 with the use of the construction in the eighteenth century and its disappearance from the written language of Moscow. A summary of conclusions is presented in Chapter 9.

As this survey has indicated, it is generally agreed that examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are for the most part restricted to certain types of sentence. It follows from this that most of the material for this study has had to be taken from texts where the relevant types of sentence are to be found. These texts consist mainly of legal works, treaties and other official documents, as well as certain other sources containing instructions of various sorts. This circumstance leads to a problem, since both for the earliest period and for the early part of the eighteenth century there is a paucity of available sources containing material relevant to this thesis. A further problem is that several important early texts (most notably Russkaya Pravda) survive only in copies written two centuries or more after the original was drawn up.

It must here be emphasised that this thesis will not concern itself with constructions apparently similar to the Nominative and Infinitive construction that exist in Finnish and in certain dialects

of Latvian and Lithuanian. It was felt that the problems raised by the use of this construction in the East Slavonic area were sufficiently complex that they could only be examined in adequate depth if the whole of this study were devoted to them. The relationship of the Nominative and Infinitive construction to parallel constructions in the other languages mentioned can in any event be explored only when a detailed and accurate picture of the use and development of the construction in Russian has been obtained.

CHAPTER 2

Introduction

In this chapter it is proposed to examine the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the oldest available Russian sources. It is hoped that, in spite of the problems raised at the end of the previous chapter, a consideration of the earliest recorded usage of the construction and its development in the period up to the middle of the 14th century will make possible a reconstruction of the circumstances in which the Nominative and Infinitive construction first appeared in Russian.

1. The texts used.

The texts used for this chapter were a) R.P.;¹ b) Tr 1229, TSR; c) Gram. Shakh., Gram. Nap., GNP.; d) NBT; e) Laur. Chron., 1. Novg. chron.; f) ZSL.

a) Notwithstanding the relative lateness of the surviving copies, R.P. is important, first, because in its long redaction it survives in many copies, the oldest of which dates back to the late thirteenth century, and second, because of its length and the variety of its contents. The edition used gives both the long and short redactions of the text; the former, the more important for the purposes of this work, is divided into gruppy and vidy, with variants given from all the surviving manuscripts known at the time the edition was produced. It should be

¹An explanation of the abbreviations and details of the editions used will be found in the Bibliography.

pointed out that in the discussion of this text, the division and also, to avoid confusion, the terminology adopted in the Academy of Sciences edition is used throughout.

b) Another important, albeit shorter text to be examined was Tr. 1229. The edition used publishes six manuscript versions of the Treaty, lettered A to F. Of these versions, A is thought to date from 1229 itself, while the remaining manuscripts were written at various dates in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ The same edition also reproduces TSR. This Treaty probably dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, possibly the years 1223 to 1225.²

c) Gramoty dating from the oldest period were examined in three sources. Twenty gramoty, all originating in Novgorod, are reproduced in Gram. Shakh.; the oldest of these dates from 1264, while the most recent, in spite of the title of the work, was written in 1471 (three of the documents date from the fifteenth century). The second source used was Gram. Nap., which contains ten documents originating from Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk and Riga. The third source used was GNP, the documents examined being those in the section headed "Отношения великого Новгорода с западом". Attention was concentrated on the first two collections, since they contain a number of gramoty which are among the oldest to survive and since these are reproduced in a way which preserves all their important linguistic features. GNP was not, on the other hand, prepared for linguistic study; in particular,

¹T. A. Sumnikova, V. V. Lopatin (1963), p.62.

²Ibid., p.17.

abbreviations are expanded without comment. Consequently only those documents which are not later copies and were not published in Gram. Nap. were studied, and reference will be made to this source here and in subsequent chapters only in relation to special points not covered by the other editions of gramoty used.

d) Also examined were the 405 birch-bark gramoty discovered in Novgorod in the period 1951 to 1961. Although almost all these gramoty are undated, they seem to cover the period from the 11th or 12th to the 15th centuries. Where examples are quoted, the dating suggested in NBT is adopted.¹

e) Another important type of writing in the period concerned is represented by the Chronicles. Several sections of Laur. Chron. and 1. Novg. Chron. were studied. The Laur. Chron. consists of the Повесть временных лет and its continuation in the form of a Suzdal' Chronicle. Two editions of 1. Novg. Chron. were used: 1. Novg. Chron (i) contains photographs of the manuscripts, while 1. Novg. Chron. (ii) includes the variant texts mentioned below. The version of the Chronicle examined was the Sinodal'nyy Spisok, the sole representative of the early recension. Certain of the more significant passages were also examined in the three texts of the late recension used in 1. Novg. Chron.(ii). These are the Komissionnyy Spisok, the Akademicheskii Spisok and the Tolstovskiy Spisok; the first two date from the 15th century, the last from the 18th century and is a copy of the Akademicheskii Spisok. Most of the Sinodal'nyy Spisok is written in three

¹ Although some of the gramoty fall outside the period covered in this chapter, it is convenient to examine them all together especially in view of the small amount of evidence they provide.

hands: the first two date from the late 13th century, while the third seems to date from the first half of the 14th century. The concluding extracts are in several different hands.¹

It should be noted that because of the length of the Chronicles and the relatively small amount of material they provided it did not seem desirable to examine these sources in their entirety. In choosing the passages for examination certain considerations applied: in Повесть временных лет a number of passages were selected because of their content: these were in particular the 10th century treaties between Kiev and Byzantium, (which might be compared to the 13th century Smolensk treaties, as well as some of the other gramoty) and the Poucheniye of Vladimir Monomakh (which, since it is largely a work of moral instruction, might be compared to ZSL and the 16th century text Domostroi). For 1. Novg. Chron. it appeared desirable to include the earliest period and also a sample of each of the 3 main handwritings. In addition, the final portions of the various Chronicles were examined, since it was felt that here the language would be least affected by the existence of different chronological layers. Finally, large portions which were not known to be in any way "special" were selected from different parts of the Chronicles, in order to make the examination as representative as possible. As a result of these considerations the following passages were chosen:

i) Повесть временных лет: the beginning to 6456 (948), 6479 (971), 6601 to 6605 (1093 to 1097). These periods include the

¹1. Novg. Chron.(ii), pp.4-7.

Treaties with the Greeks of 907, 912, 945 and 971, as well as the Poucheniye of Vladimir Monomakh.

ii) the Suzdal' Chronicle: 6656 (1148) to 6677 (1169); 6738 (1230) to the end.

iii) 1. Novg. Chron.: 6626 to 6683 (1118 to 1175) and 6733 to 6838 (1225 to 1330).

Variant texts for Повесть временных лет are the Radzivillovskiy Spisok (late 15th century) and the text in a 15th century manuscript which formerly belonged to the Moskovskaya Dukhovnaya Akademiya. It should be noted that the Laurentian version of the Повесть временных лет has a large omission — from 898 to 922; for this period (which includes two of the above mentioned Treaties) the Radzivillovskiy Spisok becomes the main text.

f) ZSL contains for the most part religious and moral instruction; it survives in three redactions, all of which were studied. The dates of its compilation and of its appearance in Russia are uncertain.¹ Many of the surviving copies are in the same manuscripts as copies of Russkaya Pravda.

2. Russkaya Pravda (Long Redaction)

A comparative table of the use of nominative and accusative cases in independent infinitive sentences is given in Appendix (1). In addition to the examples mentioned there, the following passages, where at first sight the nominative seems to be used with a negative independent infinitive, may be noted:

(i) а дѣтемъ не дати волѣ

¹ ZSL (i), p.26, ZSL (ii), p.27.

(Muzeyskiy II sp.). This passage appears in the form quoted only in the Muzeyskiy Vid of the Karamzinskaya Gruppa and in some copies of the Rozenkampfovskiy and Ferapontovskiy Vidy. The remaining texts have either воли or волѣ, clear genitive singular forms, and it would seem probable that the form "волѣа" is also to be interpreted as a genitive singular with the Church Slavonic ending ѣа replacing the original ѣа. It is significant that the form "еѣа" (genitive singular feminine of the anaphoric pronoun) is used twice in the Muzeyskiy Vid in adjacent contexts.

(ii) то тои задница не имати (Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy sp.)

Here the form in -а or -ѣа is more widespread; it occurs in the Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy Vid, one copy of the Rozenkampfovskiy Vid, three copies of the Ferapontovskiy Vid and all but two copies of the Pushkinskaya Gruppa. The remaining copies have a clear genitive singular form ending in -и, -ы or -ѣ. In the Muzeyskiy Vid a different word is used, also clearly in the genitive:

(iii) то тои статка не имати (Muzeyskiy II sp.)

It is interesting to note that the Sinodal'nyy Spisok has a completely different construction:

(iv) тъ тои задница не надобѣа

It is not impossible that the existence of this alternative wording of the passage in question may have influenced to some extent the appearance of the form "задница" in the negative independent infinitive sentence.

To return to the examples included in the table in the Appendix, an examination of this table reveals that from the point of view of the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction the various texts of Russkaya Pravda can be divided into groups corresponding to some

extent with the divisions made by the editors of the Academy of Sciences edition. Thus for the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok (the oldest surviving copy of Russkaya Pravda, dating from 1282),¹ the Troitskiy Vid, the Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy Vid, the Rogozhskiy Vid and the Myasnikovskiy Vid the accusative is used far more frequently for the object of an independent infinitive verb than is the nominative, although it should be noted that in individual examples the treatment of the different Vidy can vary, as for instance in examples 2, 7 and 10. The remaining texts of this Gruppa reveal a slightly different pattern: here the number of examples of the nominative-object in an independent infinitive sentence is in each instance approximately equal to the number of examples with the accusative. It is necessary here to include the word approximately, since there are differences in the treatment of individual examples not only between the different Vidy, but also within each Vid. In the Ferapontovskiy Vid, for example, this happens in examples 6, 8 and 11. It is interesting to observe that in examples 6 and 8 only one copy within this Vid has the accusative, whereas in example 11, the accusative is found in five copies belonging to this Vid. A final group of texts can include all the copies belonging to the remaining two Gruppy. Here in each Vid examples with the nominative-object in independent infinitive sentences considerably outnumber those with the accusative, although once again the treatment of several individual examples varies between the different Vidy, and in certain

¹This is the date given for the manuscript in the Academy of Sciences edition of Russkaya Pravda (vol. III, p.71). The editors of ZSL (i), published 2 years earlier, give 1280 as the date of the same manuscript (ZSL (i), p.9).

instances between the different copies belonging to one and the same Vid.¹

The first general conclusion to be drawn from this material is that every copy of the Long Redaction contains a number of examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive. In the majority of versions, the accusative is at least as common as is the nominative in this type of sentence, while in a significant number of versions of the text, the accusative is used noticeably more frequently than the nominative. The exact distribution of the two cases would seem to be determined to a large extent by descent from protographs which have not survived, although to judge by the variations between Vidy in the same Gruppa and also between different copies belonging to the same Vid, this dependence on a common origin would seem for this particular factor not to be absolute. It is nonetheless striking that the oldest surviving manuscript of the text, the only one to date from the 13th century, should belong to that group of copies in which the nominative-object in independent infinitive sentences is considerably less frequent than the accusative.

This circumstance seems surprising, since most of the theories accounting for the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, including the most widely accepted, that of Potebnya, presuppose that the construction arose through a syntactic rule covering all independent infinitive sentences and (for some explanations) certain other types

¹The figures for the Pushkinskiy Vid are distorted by those examples (indicated in Appendix 1) where the manuscript has an abbreviation which cannot be interpreted as either nominative or accusative because of the absence of other copies belonging to this Vid.

of sentences as well. According to these theories, the nominative is at first used regularly in all independent infinitive sentences until such time as the original reasons for the appearance of the construction no longer apply; then the accusative starts to occur, but does not supersede the nominative completely until the beginning of the 18th century.¹

In chapter 4 material will be produced which corresponds to the generally accepted pattern of the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. It will be shown that in the period from the 15th century to the end of the 17th century, the nominative-object becomes gradually less frequent in independent infinitive sentences, while there takes place a corresponding increase in the use of the accusative. With certain exceptions, however, the accusative is used consistently less frequently than the nominative in independent infinitive sentences of a straightforward nature throughout this period up to and including the middle of the 17th century. One might therefore expect that in the oldest extant copy of Russkaya Pravda (a 13th century copy of a text probably dating back to the 11th or 12th centuries)² the accusative would be used with an independent infinitive no more frequently, and in probability much more rarely, than it is in DDG or in Sud. 1497, the oldest texts examined in Chapter 4. Yet, in reality not only does the accusative turn out to be used more frequently than it is in either of these texts,³ but it is also used more frequently than it is in texts dating from the mid-17th century,

¹See Ch. 1.

²For a discussion of the origin of Russkaya Pravda see B. A. Larin (1975), pp.49-66.

³The relevant figures for the texts examined in Ch. 4 are given in Appendix 3.

such as Mor. and Ulozh. 1649. The difference is significant: in Ulozh. 1649 (a text of similar genre to Russkaya Pravda) the nominative used with an independent infinitive outnumbers the accusative by an approximate ratio of three to two, while in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok of Russkaya Pravda the accusative used with an independent infinitive outnumbers the nominative by an approximate ratio of five to two. Indeed, even in those copies of Russkaya Pravda where the nominative and infinitive construction is at its most frequent, the accusative is still used slightly more frequently than it is in DDG.

One possible explanation for this apparent anomaly is that the widespread use of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences in Russkaya Pravda is due simply to the influence of Church Slavonic and to a desire to imitate high style. As was stated in Ch. 1 (p.51) it is to this influence that Timberlake attributes all instances of the accusative occurring in independent infinitive sentences, alongside examples with the nominative, in texts written before the end of the 16th century. As far as this particular text is concerned, however, this explanation is unlikely. Leaving aside for the moment the question of the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Church Slavonic and in Old Church Slavonic (see Ch. 5), there is in any case very little Church Slavonic influence on the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok of Russkaya Pravda. The question of the role of Church Slavonic forms in this copy of Russkaya Pravda was examined by S. P. Obnorskiy and A. M. Selishchev,¹ but it is noteworthy that the latter scholar, who attaches rather more importance to Church Slavonic forms than does

¹S. P. Obnorskiy (1934), pp.749-776; A. M. Selishchev (1968/2), pp.129-140.

the former, still observes that they occur in small quantities and that similar forms are also to be found in early Novgorod Gramoty.¹

Further, Church Slavonicisms tend to be rather more frequent in later copies of the text, including those versions where the Nominative and Infinitive construction is used much more frequently than it is in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok. Mention has already been made of the occurrence of the Church Slavonic genitive singular in -а (-ѣ) in the Muzeyskiy Vid (p.62), whereas both Obnorskiy and Selishchev note that this ending occurs but once in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, in the phrase "безъ всѣкоѣ свады". The Church Slavonic conjunction аще occurs eighty-six times in the Arkheograficheskiy II Spisok (Arkheograficheskiy Vid), but only once in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, although the former copy also contains the Russian conditional conjunctions оже and аже. Other Church Slavonicisms occurring in the former copy, but absent from the latter, include such forms as "хощеть" and "дпоугаа", "шестаа". At the same time, however, the influence of these Church Slavonicisms appears to be lexical and orthographical,² with the sentence structure remaining identical in both copies.³

It might also appear possible that the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is affected by the dialect of the text. The texts considered in Chapter 4 were all written in the central and north Russian area; the position of the Nominative and Infinitive

¹A. M. Selishchev (1968/2), p.131.

²It would seem a moot point as to whether the use of the conjunction аще (cf. Russian аще) is to be regarded as a lexical or an orthographical Church Slavonicism.

³Thus the passage which corresponds to Example 16 in Appendix 1 reads as follows in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok:
аже лодью оукрадетъ то 7 коунъ продаже а лодию лицемъ воротити

construction in the south Russian area is very uncertain (see Ch. 7). The dialect basis for Russkaya Pravda is not wholly clear, largely as a result of the absence of the original and of copies chronologically close thereto. Nevertheless, it may be observed that the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok occurs in a version of the Novgorodskaya Kormchaya and that some scholars have suggested that there seem to be both linguistic and historical reasons for linking the text with Novgorod.¹ As will be seen in section 5 of this chapter, the Nominative and Infinitive construction is especially frequent in the Novgorod gramoty.

It thus seems that neither questions of style nor of dialect can explain satisfactorily the peculiarities in the usage of the Nominative and Infinitive construction encountered in Russkaya Pravda. It consequently remains to seek out what other factors could account for these peculiarities, and, bearing in mind the early date both of the original and of the oldest surviving copy, whether these factors can shed any light on the question of the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian. Taking all the copies together, it is noteworthy that there are only two relevant examples of an independent infinitive where the nominative is not used in any extant copy of the text. These are examples 21 and 22.² It is interesting that in No. 21, the object is throughout an accusative singular

¹S. P. Obnorskiy (1934), pp.772-776. It should, however, be borne in mind that one of the linguistic reasons cited by Obnorskiy (albeit not the only one) for ascribing the text to Novgorod is the presence therein of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. B. A. Larin, on the other hand, considers that Russkaya Pravda cannot be associated with any one particular area of Russia (B. A. Larin (1975), pp.90-94.)

²The nominative which occurs in the Pushkinskiy vid in Example 22 is an editorial reconstruction. (See the table in Appendix 1); the grounds for this particular reconstruction are unclear.

feminine adjective used in the function of a noun; the object in No. 22 is, with the exception of the copies belonging to the Pushkinskaya Gruppa, likewise an adjective used as a noun (in the remaining copies it qualifies the feminine singular noun гривна, which presumably is the noun to be understood elsewhere). These provide the only examples in the text of a feminine singular adjective used on its own as the object of an independent infinitive verb. They suggest the possibility that in the earliest stages of Old Russian the Nominative and Infinitive construction may have tended not to occur in sentences where the object of an independent infinitive verb was a feminine singular substantivised adjective. (See, however, example (xxxviii), p.89 .)

In the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, a pattern seems to be discernible in the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Here the only independent infinitives to be found with a nominative-object are the closely connected forms взѣти and имати. No other verb (if one leaves out of the reckoning the example of the nominative used with the gerund, which appears to be an anomaly)¹ is found with the nominative-object, while only the nominative is used with the verbs mentioned above. This seems a particularly striking pattern, although any assessment of its significance must be tempered immediately by the fact that it is not repeated in any of the other, later, copies of the Russkaya Pravda. Thus, for example, in the Troitskiy Vid (of the Sinodal'no-Troitskaya Gruppa) one of the objects in example 4 is in the accusative (in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok both are in the

¹See Ch. 6, pp. 243-252.

nominative), while in example No. 13, where the infinitive is платити, the object is in the nominative. In the Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy Vid example 4 is treated in the same manner as in the Troitskiy Vid, while example No. 2 (where the infinitive is взѣти) has an object in the accusative, and example No. 10 (where the infinitive is платити) has an object in the nominative. Other texts of this Gruppa show similar deviations from the pattern of the Sinolda'nyy I Spisok, while for texts belonging to the other Gruppy, where the Nominative and Infinitive is rather more common, there is little, if any, trace of the pattern discovered for the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok. On the other hand, if one looks across rather than down the table, it does appear that the use of the nominative-object in independent infinitive sentences where the verb is взѣти or имати is discernibly more regular than where other verbs are used. Thus the nominative is used throughout in these instances, with the exception of example No. 2, where the accusative is found in one Vid only, and of example No. 4, where the first of the two objects (which precedes the verb) occurs in the accusative in six Vidy. In example No. 14, two Vidy have the nominative ногата with the infinitive взѣти; in all the remaining texts a different construction is used (по ногатѣ). In every other instance, with the exception of example No. 15, which is not a straightforward instance (see Appendix 1, pp. 354, 356, the accusative is found in at least three Vidy. There is a significant number of instances where the accusative is as common as, or more common than, the nominative.

Two other verbs appear in the infinitive on more than one occasion with a relevant direct object: these are дати and платити (in one

instance заплатити). With both these verbs the position seems more complicated. An examination of the table in Appendix 1 shows that with the exception of the two examples No. 21 and 22 considered earlier, where only the accusative is encountered, in every instance the various copies of the text provide examples of both the nominative and the accusative used for the object of the verb concerned. Further, there is considerable variation in the distribution of the two cases among the various Vidy: thus in example No. 7 the nominative is used throughout except for three Vidy of the Sinodal'no-Troitskaya Gruppa, while in example No. 18 the nominative is found only in the three Vidy of the Karamzinskaya Gruppa, although here a number of Vidy employ a construction which does not contain an infinitive. Likewise there are differences in the distribution of nominative and accusative between, for example, No. 13 and No. 19 (with the nominative considerably more frequent in the former), where the infinitive in both passages is платити. The only other two infinitives to be involved are воротити and творити; each appears in one example, No. 16 and 17 respectively, and in both instances the nominative is used only in a very small number of copies.

It now seems pertinent to examine the various objects found in the independent infinitive sentences in this text, particularly with the verbs дати, платити. The two examples where the nominative is used most are No. 7 and No. 13, which both contain the object гривна. On the other hand, in example No. 20, where the object is likewise гривна, only one of the four Vidy containing relevant material, has the object in the nominative. It is interesting to note that where взати or имати is used as the infinitive (that is, where the nominative

is especially widespread) the object is, in each instance, a monetary term (коуна, гривна, ногата).

In the two examples where the object is правда (some copies have исправа in example No. 18) the nominative occurs noticeably less frequently than does the accusative. The nominative is also restricted to a small number of copies in example No. 19, where the object is татба и продаж, and even more so in example No. 6 where the object is своа часть. As can be seen from the table, the position is more complicated where the object is продажа (No. 8, 9, 10, 12, 15; in each instance the infinitive is платити). The relative distribution of nominative and accusative seems to vary quite considerably from example to example, while at the same time the various Vidy involved also show considerable variation.

For example No. 6 two possible explanations come to mind for the extremely frequent use of the accusative in this particular instance. Y. A. Sprinchak and F. P. Filin both consider that the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction with -i type nouns is a secondary, later development of this construction.¹ A second consideration not previously noted is that, since свои normally refers to the subject of the sentence and cannot itself usually form part of the grammatical subject and so rarely appears in the nominative, this factor may possibly act as a constraint on the use of the nominative-object with nouns qualified by this word. It must, however, be pointed out here that, as will be seen later (pp. 89, 90, 92), the material found in other texts provides no evidence to support either of these suppositions.

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p. 174; F. P. Filin (1972), p. 481.

As far as the remaining examples are concerned, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the influence of lexical content on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive in this text. Only in the one copy, the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, is there any correlation between lexical content and the Nominative and Infinitive construction. In the remaining copies it seems that such factors as the use of the infinitives взѣти and possibly дати, платити and the use of certain objects, especially those denoting monetary terms, may cause the nominative to be used more frequently than elsewhere; but such a conclusion can be no more than very tentative, given the lack of material to compare with and the contradictory nature of some of the evidence. Even in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok the correlation is not complete, since in the one example in this text where the nominative is used for the object of a gerund the gerund concerned is "закладающе".

Attention must now be turned to another construction which occurs widely in Russkaya Pravda and which may be connected with the Nominative and Infinitive construction. This construction can conveniently be referred to as the Nominative and Dative construction. It may be exemplified by the following instances from Russkaya Pravda:

(v) аже боудеть вира въ 80 гривень то вирникоу 16 гривень и 10 коунъ и 12 вѣкше а преди съсладна гривна а за голову 3 гривны (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

(vi) аже пьрьсть оутьнетъ кьи любо то 3 гривны продаже а самоу гривна коунъ (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

This construction has attracted little attention from scholars.

M. A. Sokolova notes the parallel use of the Nominative and Dative

and Nominative and Infinitive constructions in Russkaya Pravda, while A. D. Botyakov goes further and suggests that the former type of sentence "представляет собой промежуточный тип между безличными инфинитивными предложениями (оборот им. падеж + именит.) и определенно-личными предложениями."¹ Indeed, it does seem possible to see certain structural and semantic similarities between the Nominative and Infinitive and the Nominative and Dative constructions. In both types of sentence there is a noun in the nominative and a noun in the dative; moreover, although the latter construction has been called the Nominative and Dative, the noun in the dative would seem to be susceptible to omission, just as it is in the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

(vii) аже лодью оукрадетъ то 7 коунъ продаже а лодию лицемъ воротити а за морскоую лодью 3 гривны а за набоиноу 2 гривне а за челнь 8 коунъ а за строугъ гривна (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

The following example reveals the degree of semantic closeness between the Nominative and Dative and independent infinitive constructions.

(viii) а оже съвержетъ виру ть гривна коунъ съметна а штрокоу а кто и кльпаль а томоу дати дроугоую гривноу (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)²

As can be seen, both Nominative and Dative and Nominative (or Accusative) and Infinitive constructions are used in sentences where an amount is specified that has to be paid to someone, usually (in this text) either as a fine or as damages. As the above examples show, the Nominative and Dative is especially common in sentences where a

¹M. A. Sokolova (1952), p.77 (footnote); A. D. Botyakov (1949), p.303.

²In many copies of the text the accusative "дроугоую гривноу" is replaced by the nominative (see Appendix 1, Example No.7).

particular amount of money is concerned, as would seem to be the Nominative and Infinitive construction, although examples are to be found in Russkaya Pravda of the former construction with a more abstract noun in the nominative:

(ix) то наиметю свобода въ всехъ коунахъ (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

There is, within Russkaya Pravda, evidence for what would seem to be a closer link between the Nominative and Infinitive and the Nominative and Dative constructions. There are, for example, sentences where it is not clear beyond any doubt whether a particular passage is to be regarded as an example of the former or the latter construction. Example No. 10 in the table in Appendix 1 is such an instance, although a good reason for including it among the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction would seem to be the fact that продажа appears in the accusative in a large number of the copies of the text. Even this circumstance, however, is not a certain indication, as will be explained below.

Another example of the close connection between the two constructions is afforded by the following, where the reinterpretation (or misunderstanding) of an infinitive at some stage in the history of the text leads to the appearance of Nominative and Dative construction:

(x) нъ сынове ~~его~~ оуставиша по ~~ш~~тци на коуны любо и бити розв~~а~~завше или вз~~а~~ти гривна коунъ за соромъ (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

(xi) ... любо ли в~~а~~зати а гривна коунъ за соромъ (Rozenkampfovskiy sp.)

There appears also to be evidence of contamination between the Nominative and Dative and some other construction; this is shown by the occasional use of the accusative instead of the nominative in

what would otherwise be an example of the Nominative and Dative construction as in the following instance:

(xii) искавше ли послоуха и не налѣзоуть а истьца начьнетъ головою клепати то ти имъ правьдоу желѣзо (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

This particular example, however, may well owe its origins to the omission of an infinitive by a copyist at some stage in the development of the text. Many copies of the text have an independent infinitive here used with an accusative-object, while the various copies of the Karamzinskaya Gruppya have the nominative used with an infinitive (see Appendix 1, example No.18). A further example of contamination is the following:

(xiii) а се оуроци скотоу оже за кобылоу 60 коунъ а за вольт гривноу а за коровоу 40 коунъ а за третьакоу 30 коунъ а за лонциноу полъгривны а за телѣ 5 коунъ а за свинью 5 коунъ а за поросѣ ногата а за овьцю 5 коунъ а за боранъ ногата а за жеребець оже не въсѣдано на нь то гривна коунъ а за жеребѣ 6 ногатъ а за коровите молоко 6 ногатъ (Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

This example is less easily explained in the same way as that quoted above, since no copy of the text has an infinitive in this passage.

The accusatives are found only in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, the Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy Vid and Rogozhskiy Vid and in one text of the Rozenkampfovskiy Vid. Elsewhere the nominative is used consistently.

Yet another example of contamination is contained in the following passage:

(xiv) аже смердъ оумреть то задницю князю (Troitskiy I sp.)

This passage occurs in the form quoted in all but one copy of the Troitskiy Vid; all the remaining copies of the text have the nominative.

Since close links have already been shown to exist between the Nominative and Dative and between independent infinitive constructions, it seems probable that this contamination is between the Nominative and Dative construction and independent infinitive sentences with an object in the accusative. Close links between independent infinitive sentences and the Nominative and Dative construction exist to some extent in later texts, and indeed it will be suggested that the Nominative and Dative may be one of the factors influencing the widespread use of the Nominative and Infinitive in South Russian Otkaznyye Knigi in the late 17th century.¹

In such circumstances the possibility suggests itself that the Nominative and Dative construction may have played a role in the genesis of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. As was shown above, Botyakov saw the Nominative and Dative as an intermediate stage between personal constructions and the Nominative and Infinitive construction. He describes the latter as developing from the Nominative and Dative in the following circumstances: "При господствующем положении в конструкции дательного падежа, сказуемое есть начинает выражать только безличность, переходит на положение связки и нуждается в дополнении инфинитивом."² The evidence of Russkaya Pravda seems, however, to provide serious objections to this theory. The theory presupposes, as does that of Potebnya (which Botyakov on the whole accepts),³ that the nominative was originally

¹Ch. 4, p.156; Ch. 7, pp.293-296.

²A. D. Botyakov (1949), p.303.

³Ibid., p.308.

used consistently and regularly with independent infinitive verbs (at first as subject, later as object), whereas the problem posed by the evidence in Russkaya Pravda is precisely that it seems to show the nominative gradually becoming more frequent and replacing the accusative in independent infinitive sentences. Further, if the Nominative and Infinitive develops out of the Nominative and Dative, one would expect the Nominative and Dative to survive only in those circumstances where it could not develop into the Nominative and Infinitive, that is where the emphasis or the meaning of the passage is not the same as that expressed by the Nominative and Infinitive. Yet the passages quoted containing the Nominative and Dative seem to be extremely close, if not identical, in meaning to those where the Nominative and Infinitive is used. A striking example of this similarity of meaning would seem to be provided by the following passage from the Treaty of 1229, where the Nominative and Infinitive of the Gothland redaction is replaced by the Nominative and Dative in the Riga redaction.

(xv) такова правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ березѣ (A)

cf. (xvi) тако правда боуди роусиноу въ Ризѣ на готъскомъ березе (D)

There remains one possible explanation which would obviate the above difficulties. There may originally have been two constructions used to express very similar or identical concepts: one would be the Nominative and Dative construction, the other an independent infinitive construction, in which the direct object was, like the direct object

of any other verb, expressed in the accusative. There might then start to occur instances of contamination between the two constructions leading to the appearance of the accusative instead of the nominative in the Nominative and Dative construction and, conversely, the nominative instead of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences. In this way might arise the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

This theory is itself not immune to serious objections. First there is a marked imbalance between the two types of contamination: even in Russkaya Pravda examples of the Nominative and Infinitive outnumber the isolated examples of the accusative replacing the nominative in the Nominative and Dative construction. Indeed, whereas the Nominative and Infinitive goes on to become a widespread and frequent construction, examples of the accusative replacing a nominative in the Nominative and Dative construction remain exceedingly rare. Only four examples were found in other texts examined, none of which can be regarded as wholly unambiguous:

(xvii) да подъѣмлетъ ихъ по части иже обрѣтающимися на брани бываетъ и часть останочную оставшимъ (ZSL, Short Redaction, Ioasafskiy sp.)

This version occurs in only one copy of the text. All the remaining copies of the Short Redaction have after the word "бываетъ": "часть останочнымъ настанутъ" (Novgorodskiy spisok). The version quoted in passage (xvii) appears therefore to be an attempt to render a difficult passage comprehensible. In any case, it is possible to regard "часть останочную" as the object of "подъѣмлетъ".

(xviii) а за бесчестнѣю гривною золота аже боуде^т баба^а была

в золотѣ (ZSL, Composite Redaction, Karamzinskiy sp.)

Presumably "бесчестнѣю" does not agree with "гривноу"; бабу would seem to be understood here. It ought to be pointed out that the same passage occurs in the same form in the Arkheograficheskiy Vid of Russkaya Pravda.

(xix) да пребудуть же непорушно подѣ анаѣмою за што zde дан г^сди намъ побыть и з^дрв^іе а по семъ и д^темъ нашимъ вечную памѣть аминь (Roz. 11)

(xx) согрѣшихо^м казними есмы ꙗко^ж ны видѣти бѣдно пребывающа и се на^м сущюю радо^с скорбь да не хотѣше всѣхъ в будущи вѣкъ ѡбраще^м мл^сть (Lavr. Let., 6745)

The contamination in these examples would not in every instance be with independent infinitive sentences.

Another more general objection arises out of this point. The Nominative and Infinitive construction is frequently used in numerous texts originating in north and central dialect areas of Russia in the period from the 13th century to the beginning of the 18th century; it still occurs in a number of north Russian dialects. It is difficult to see how a construction arising purely and simply out of contamination between two other constructions could become so widespread, especially as there is no internal motive (such as potential ambiguity) to explain the replacement of the accusative by the nominative in independent infinitive sentences.

However that may be, the evidence of the Long Redaction of Russkaya Pravda would seem to suggest, in contradiction to the theories of Potebnya and others, that in the earliest reconstructable Russian

the accusative was used for the object of independent infinitive verbs, but that at some stage in the history of the language, perhaps before the first drafts of Russkaya Pravda, or perhaps between the earliest drafts and the writing of the oldest surviving copy, the nominative had started to replace the accusative. The above objections notwithstanding, it would seem that the Nominative and Dative construction, if not in itself responsible for the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, has played at least some role in the development of the latter construction, presumably in conjunction with some other factor not immediately discernible in this particular text. Nevertheless, the evidence provided by this one source is on both these points extremely limited and permits therefore only the most tentative of conclusions. It thus remains necessary to seek confirmation and clarification of questions raised in the other texts listed at the beginning of the chapter.

3. Russkaya Pravda (The Short Redaction)

The Short Redaction of Russkaya Pravda differs sufficiently from the Long as to require separate attention. The two copies of this text that were examined both date from the middle of the 15th century.¹ Only the following two examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction were noted here:

(xxi) аще помостивше мость взати от дѣла ногата а от городници ногата (quotations are taken from the Akademicheskii I Spisok)

(xxii) оже ли себе не можетъ мѣстити то взати емоу за

¹ RP, III, pp.11, 23.

обидоу 3 гривнѣ а лѣтцю мъзда

This passage is not wholly unambiguous, as the last section could be interpreted as an example of the Nominative and Dative construction. Once more it shows the close relationship between the two constructions. In addition, the following two passages may be noted:

(xxiii) а за княжь конь иже тои с патномъ 3 гривнѣ а за смердѣи 2 гривнѣ за кобылоу 60 рѣзанъ а за волю гривноу а за коровоу 40 рѣзанъ третьакъ 15 коунъ а за лоньщиноу полъ гривнѣ а за телѣ 5 рѣзанъ за ~~ара~~ ногата за боранъ ногата

This passage corresponds very closely to quotation (xiii) in the Long Redaction, and presumably the lack of congruence has its origin in the same source.

(xxiv) а се поклонъ вирнии вирникоу взати 7 вѣдоръ солодоу на недѣлю тѣже овень либо полоть или двѣ ногатѣ а въ сред(оу) рѣзаноу вѣже сыры в патницоу тако же а хлѣба по колькоу могоуть ~~л~~сти и пшена а куръ по двое на день конѣ 4 поставити а соутти имъ на ротъ колько могоуть зобати а вирникоу 60 гривень и 10 рѣзанъ и 12 вѣверици а передѣ гривна или сѣ пригоди в говѣнїе рѣбами (sic) то взати за рыбы 7 рѣзанъ

The nominative here is probably to be regarded as part of a Nominative and Dative construction rather than the direct object of either of the two infinitives взати. This passage is interesting for the use of the accusative "рѣзаноу" as the object of "взати". It corresponds to example 1 in the Long Redaction, where the nominative куна is used for the accusative рѣзаноу in all copies of the text. There is in the Short Redaction one further example of

the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(xxv) а иже крадеть любо конъ (sic) любо воли или клѣтъ да аще
боудеть един краль то гривноу и тридесѣтъ рѣзанъ платити емоу

Thus the evidence of the Short Redaction of Russkaya Pravda adds very little to what has been found out. It does, however, if anything, tend to contradict at least one aspect of the Long Redaction: in both sentences where an accusative is used with an independent infinitive the object is a monetary term, in one instance the infinitive being взѣти.

4. The 13th century Treaties between Smolensk and Riga

A total of nineteen examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction were found in the various copies of Tr 1229. There are, however, significant differences between the two redactions of the text, and, in a limited number of instances, between individual copies of the same redaction; the number of examples of the construction in each individual copy is as follows: A, B and C 14, D 7, E and F 8. The first three copies comprise the Gothland Redaction, the last three the Riga Redaction. Since it will be necessary to consider these examples in detail both here and later, they are given in full in Appendix 2.

This text also contains the following examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(xxvi) такоу правдоу възѣти роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на гочкъмъ
безѣзѣ (A; this passage occurs in this form also in B and C.)

(xxvii) ажебы налѣзли правдоу то написати то написати (sic)

како то держати роусьи с латиньскимъ языкомъ правдоу а
а латиньскомоу языкоу съ роусью держати правдоу ажьбыхомъ
то тако оучинили (B only; the remaining copies of the Treaty phrase
this passage differently, avoiding constructions involving independent
infinitives with direct objects)

(xxviii) ѡже коупити нѣмцичю гривну золота дати ~~н~~емоу
ногата вѣсцю (F)

This passage corresponds to example No.16a in Appendix 2. Since the
passage appears in the above form only in this one later copy of the
Treaty, it may be assumed to be a secondary version. Nevertheless,
the change of case of the subject from nominative to dative shows
clearly that the infinitive ending is not the result of a slip of the
pen and that the scribe has interpreted the first clause as an indepen-
dent infinitive clause. It would also seem reasonable to assume that,
since the scribe did not see fit to change the case of the object, he
found it acceptable to use the accusative for the direct object of an
independent infinitive verb.

Thus it may be observed that the nominative and accusative, when
used for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb, are
represented in rather different proportions than in any of the copies
of the Long Redaction of Russkaya Pravda. Two copies of the Treaty
(D and E) contain no examples at all of the accusative with an indepen-
dent infinitive, while only B has more than one example of
this usage. Nevertheless, even in these isolated instances may be
seen evidence of a degree of alternation between nominative and accu-
sative in the function in question. The use of the accusative for the
object of an independent infinitive must at least have been possible,

even if the nominative was preferred.

It is not entirely clear whether this Treaty represents an earlier or a later stage of the language than does Russkaya Pravda. As has been mentioned, at least one copy of the Treaty (A) is assumed to date from 1229, when the Treaty was drawn up, whereas the oldest surviving copy of Russkaya Pravda dates from 1282, with other copies being written in the 14th or even the 15th century. On the other hand, the language of the surviving copies of Russkaya Pravda is presumably influenced by the language of copies and versions which have not survived and which may well date from before 1229. Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that Russkaya Pravda represents an earlier stage of the language than the 1229 Treaty.

A further point is that, whereas Russkaya Pravda seems to be linked with Novgorod (see p.68), Tr 1229 presumably reflects the language of Smolensk of that time. It would seem to follow from this that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was current in Smolensk at the time the Treaty was written. At the present time the construction is used very rarely, if at all, in the dialect of the area around this town (see Chapter 7, pp.310,311).

To compare the lexical content of the material in Tr. 1229 with that of Russkaya Pravda, it will be noted that in all the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the former text the infinitive is взѣти, дати or платити. All these infinitives occur widely with the nominative-object in Russkaya Pravda. On the other hand, in example (xxviii) (albeit a secondary version) the accusative is used with the infinitive коупити, while copy B has two examples

of the accusative used with the infinitive держати. Neither infinitive is used in Russkaya Pravda in such a way as to provide relevant information. It may also be noted that, with the exception of example No. 9 (which employs an expression not found in Russkaya Pravda), objects consist entirely of monetary terms or of the expression тая (такова, та) правда. Objects of the former type have already been noted as being particularly common in the Nominative and Infinitive sentences in Russkaya Pravda.

Returning to the infinitives, it will be seen that there are certain differences between Tr. 1229 and the Russkaya Pravda. In the former дати and платити are used only with nominative objects, whereas in Russkaya Pravda both nominative and accusative are found in varying proportions with these particular verbs. Взати, on the other hand, the only infinitive to be used almost exclusively with the nominative in Russkaya Pravda, provides one of the rare examples of an independent infinitive used with the accusative in the Treaty (example No.(xxvi)). In view of the large number of examples of правда in the nominative in independent infinitive sentences in the Treaty, it is noteworthy that in Russkaya Pravda this word tends to occur more frequently in the accusative than in the nominative with an independent infinitive verb (appendix 1, examples 11 and 18). A relevant factor may, however, be the fact that in Russkaya Pravda it occurs only with the infinitive дати, while in the Treaty it occurs with the infinitive взати.

Tr. 1229 provides further evidence of a close relationship between the Nominative and Infinitive and the Nominative and Dative

constructions. The two passages quoted on p.78 show how the latter construction in one redaction can render a Nominative and Infinitive sentence in the other. Indeed, where the Gothland redaction has a Nominative and Infinitive sentence in examples 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 19 (Appendix 2), the Riga Redaction uses a Nominative and Dative construction of the type quoted on p.78 (example(xvi)).

TSR contains no material which is relevant here, although certain points arising from its language will be considered in the following chapter. This text, while making widespread use of independent infinitive sentences, happens to contain only one such sentence where the direct object is an -a type noun. Here the object is expressed in an abbreviated form:

(xxix) аже оучинить роусинъ насилъе надъ робоу въ Ризѣ
или на гѣтъскомъ **ѡтрѣзѣ** платити емоу за соромъ гри^В
сѡтрѣбра

5. Novgorod Gramoty.

Gram. Shakh. contains thirteen examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Eight of these occur in text No. 20; this consists of two Treaties between Novgorod and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'yevich and his son Ivan Ivanovich, and for the purposes of this chapter are of limited value, since the Treaties date from 1471 and survive only in copies of uncertain date.¹ The remaining examples may, however, be quoted in full:

(xxx) а тоу грамотоу кнѣ **ѡ**наль **ѣ**си а та грамота кнѣ

¹The editor considers that the copies may have been made at about the same time as the original treaties (see Gram. Shakh., p.278).

дати ти назадъ (No.3, 1270 or 1269)

(xxxі) продати ти дань своѧ новгородцю а холопоу и
робѣ на г^сдарѧ вѣры не рати (No.10, 1304-1305)

(xxxіі) аже възидеть к тобѣ княже на моужа ѡбада томоу
ти вѣры не рати дати томоу исправа а оу коупьць повозовъ
не имати развѣ ратной вѣсти (Ibid.)

(xxxііі) а в томъ кнѣю измѣны не оучинити а како] князь
серебро поемлетъ тако емоу всѧ таль поустити по цѣлованью
(No.12, 1314)

(xxxiv) а исплатить новъгородъ то серебро двѣнадцатъ тысячи
то великому кнѣю грамота изрѣзати что докончали на городкѣ
на Волзѣ и другаѧ грамота новоторзьскаѧ что в Торжькоу
доконьчали (Ibid.)

Only one, doubtful example of the accusative with an independent
infinitive was found in these documents:

(xxxv) [се] послаше Новъгоро^д Юрьѧ и ѧкимѧ къ кнѣю к Михаилѣ
на Тѣ^рь а велѣ^лѣ миръ имати на семъ аже бра^тю нашу
попуща^{ти} без окупа новгоро^дскихъ бо^ларъ и новоторьскихъ
бо^ларъ житьихъ людѣи и сиротъ новгоро^дской волости и новоторь-
ской волости (No.13, 1372)

The infinitive ending of "попущати" is an editorial reconstruction,
the basis of which is unclear; it would appear from the context that
the infinitive is not the only form possible here.

Gram. Nap. contains the following examples of the nominative
with an independent infinitive:

(xxxvi) в которой волости человекъ виниться ту ему правда
дати или вина его (No.11a; a copy of an original dating back to

1264. This is a document of the Lithuanian Grand Prince Gerden' in his capacity as prince of Polotsk and Vitebsk.)

(xxxvii) а немцѣмъ дати вѣсчєго ѿ бѣрковьска заоушнѣ ѿ
воску ѿ мѣди ѿ олова (No. VII; a Treaty between Polotsk and
Riga circa 1330)

(xxxviii) ѿ бѣрковьска оузати ѿ нему долгѣ ѿ рубля дати
ѿ нему долгѣ (Ibid.)

No examples of the accusative with an independent infinitive relevant at this point were found in the text.¹

It will be noted that the above passages contain examples of both infinitives and direct objects which do not occur in examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russkaya Pravda. This, together with the almost complete absence of the accusative with an independent infinitive, suggest that these sources reflect a usage which differs from that of Russkaya Pravda, and in particular that here the use of the nominative-object in independent infinitive sentences is more general than in the latter text. To turn to individual examples, it may first be noted that in the one possible example of the accusative with an independent infinitive the object is "бра^тю", a feminine singular collective noun formed from a masculine animate noun, which even in texts where the Nominative and Infinitive construction is widespread (most notably DDG), seems to be used consistently in the accusative (see Ch. 4, p.152). In examples (xxxi), (xxxiii) the objects in the nominative are -i type feminine nouns, the case being indicated in both instances by a qualifier, while in example (xxxi) the qualifier concerned is "своѣа". This

¹For a discussion of the one example involving the accusative singular feminine of the anaphoric pronoun, see Ch. 3, p. 124.

contrasts with example No. 6 in Russkaya Pravda where the nominative-object своя часть occurs only in a small number of copies, almost all of the remainder having instead the accusative (see p.72, also appendix 1). In example (xxxviii) the object of both verbs is a substantivised adjective (долгая); in Russkaya Pravda, on the other hand, where feminine substantivised adjectives are used as direct objects of independent infinitive verbs, they are found only in the accusative (see pp.68, 69).

As far as the chronological significance of this material is concerned, the examples from the Gramoty quoted above are approximately contemporary with, or slightly later than, the oldest surviving copy of Russkaya Pravda. It is therefore possible that, bearing in mind the arguments of p.85 these sources could represent a later stage in the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction than does Russkaya Pravda.

6. The Novgorod Birch-bark Texts.

As has been pointed out by F. P. Filin, examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are very rare in the Novgorod Birch-bark Texts.¹ There is one clear example of the nominative used with an independent infinitive in these Gramoty:

(xxxix) какъ ꙗси дѣкънчалъ Марке съ мнѣю мнѣ выѣхати на петрѣво днѣ к тобѣ и росмѣтрити съла своѣгъ тѣбѣ рѣже свѣа снати а мнѣ наклады твоѣ дати (No. 142, possibly dating from the second half of the 13th century).

The following may also be an example of this construction:

(x1) се доконьцѣху Мысловѣ дѣтѣ Труфалѣ з братьею давати

¹F. P. Filin (1972), pp.480, 481.

оусповъ .ṣ̄. коробеи ржи коробѣ пшеници .ḡ. солоду дару
 .ḡ. кунници да пудъ меду дѣтемъ по бѣлки г.і.г. горсти
 лену боранъ оуновину (No. 136, possibly 14th century)

Although it is possible that the infinitive "давати" is dependent on "доконьцѣху", it seems more probable that a colon is to be understood after "братъю" and that the infinitive is independent, just as the infinitives are independent (the dative subject makes this clear) in example (xxxix). The editors seem, however, to prefer the former interpretation.¹ It is also possible to account for the nominative "коробѣ" by interpreting this passage as if there were a colon after "оусповъ", in which case what follows would be a separate list explaining "оусповъ". "Оуновину", presumably an accusative form,² tends to make this interpretation less likely.

The following example may also be noted here:

(xli) пусти на немъ тажа а не на мнѣ (No. 142)

This passage can be interpreted in various ways. Artsikhovskiy translates it giving "пусти" its modern meaning and thereby making "тажа" the genuine subject, and presumably supplying the verb 'to be'. As Artsikhovskiy himself, however, points out, пустъ is not found with this meaning in other sources until the 17th century and this, together with the fact that with such a usage one would normally expect a future form of быти to be used, makes this interpretation unlikely. If "пусти" is to be regarded as the verb, then it would seem most probable that it is in the imperative, thereby providing a rare example of the nominative-object used with a verb in this form. Elsa Melin, in her study of the birch-bark texts, produces a rather

¹NBT (iii), pp.76, 78.

²Ibid., p.78.

different interpretation: "Vermutlich bedeutet пусти nicht пусть, sondern ist eine Abkürzung des Infinitivs пустити."¹ Although Melin seems to imply that the abbreviation was deliberate, it is possible that one of the repeated ти syllables in the infinitive form was accidentally omitted by the scribe. There is in the birch-bark texts one other possible example of the nominative with an imperative. This is quoted and discussed in Ch. 3, p.114.

The birch-bark texts contain no examples of the accusative of an -a type or qualified -i type noun with an independent infinitive. Unfortunately the extreme paucity of relevant material and the ambiguity which is to be found in many of the examples quoted make it difficult to come to any conclusions. It may, however, be noted that the object of example (xxxix) is an -i type noun qualified by своя ("свѣа") (see pages 72,90).

7. The First Novgorod Chronicle.

A Novgorod text of a rather different type, 1 Novg. Chron. also contains only one clear example of the nominative used with an independent infinitive:

(xlii) вложи семоу в ср^дце со^им^а съ себе ризоу об^ѣшас^а
б^оу на .г. л^ѣт^ѣ како при^иати риза сво^ѣа а оустава мнишь-
скаго не остас^а (Year 6773)

Less straightforward are the following two examples:

(xliii) а мн^ѣ ре^ч даи б^ѣ исправити правда новгородьска^ѣ
тоже ѿ ва^с по^иати с^ѣна сво^ѣго (Year 6737)

(xliv) а даи б^ѣ м^лтва ѣго ста^а вс^ѣмъ кр^сть^ѣаномъ и мн^ѣ

¹E. Melin (1966), p.33.

грьшномъ Тимоѣю (Year 6738).

Many scholars¹ have assumed that the imperative phrase даи богъ is an integral part of the sentence concerned, with the result that in example (xliii) the nominative is seen as the object of an infinitive dependent on "даи", while in (xliv) the nominative is seen as the object of the imperative "даи". Other scholars² have, however, suggested that the phrase даи богъ is a parenthetical appeal to the Deity which grammatically is not part of the main sentence at all. Following this interpretation, which is perhaps the more probable, example (xliii) then becomes a second example of the nominative used with an independent infinitive, while example (xliv) would seem to be an instance of the Nominative and Dative construction. It may be noted that for example (xliv) two of the representatives of the late recension (the Akademicheskij and the Tolstovskij copies) have a different version which omits "ста " and replaces "мѣтва" by the instrumental МОЛИТВАМИ.

The portion examined of the First Novgorod Chronicle contains the following examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(xlv) і побѣжа Михалко і з города къ стому Георгию како было ему своіѣмъ полкомъ оуразити нашу стороноу і ізмасти люди (Year 6763)

(xlvi) і докончаша с Михаіломъ кнѣзь миръ како іти въ ордоу обѣма а брата Юрѣва і кнѣгыню поустити (Year 6826)

The following examples are less clear: the infinitive clause in each

¹For example, A.I. Sobolevskiy (1907), p.197; most recently: V. Kiparsky (1960), p.339 and, with specific reference to example (xliii), F. P. Filin (1972), p. 479.

²B. O. Unbegaun (1935), p.131, fn.1; B. Havránek (1968), p.173; A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.38, 39.

instance is closely linked to another clause, but in spite of this, it is uncertain whether the infinitives are to be regarded as independent or dependent. It may well also be that the infinitive in example (xlvii) is used for what would earlier have been a supine, which might account for the apparent genitive singular form "плѣти".

(xlvii) зане навель бѣ за грѣхы наша іс поустына звѣри дивитѣ части сильныхъ плѣти и пити кровь богарьскоую (Year 6767)

(xlviii) тоѣ же лѣтѣ вложи бѣ въ срѣце Довмонтоу блгѣть свою побороти по сѣи Софѣи и по сѣи Трѣи змьстити кровь хрѣстьянскоую (Year 6774).

Thus 1. Novg. Chron. differs from the Novgorod Gramoty considered earlier in that the accusative is used at least as often as the nominative for the direct object of independent infinitive verbs. Any chronological significance that this circumstance may have is hard to determine, since the various sentences quoted above may have taken on their final form at any time between the events they describe and the writing of the copy of the chronicle in which they appear. Examples (xliii) and (xliv) refer to events of the early 13th century and are written in a late 13th century hand; the remaining examples are written in a handwriting probably dating from the first half of the 14th century and with the exception of (xlv) refer to events taking place in the second half of the 13th century. In spite of the uncertainty, the period covered by the examples in the chronicle is approximately contemporary with that covered by the Novgorod Gramoty in the Shakhmatov collection.

A possible explanation for the apparent anomaly might lie in the fact that the Chronicle represents a different genre from the Gramoty. As was indicated in Chapter 1 (section 6), a number of scholars have suggested that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was in general limited to those genres which, in old Russia, seemed to be closest to popular speech, most notably Gramoty, Treaties and legal texts, and that its presence in more literary texts (including Chronicles) was rarer. This explanation, however, does not seem justified by internal evidence: in example (xlii) the Nominative and Infinitive construction is used in a clearly religious context, where the object of the infinitive is itself a religious word. It may be observed here that in Chapter 5 it will be shown that in later texts (Stoglav and Domostroi), the Nominative and Infinitive construction is used without difference in the literary and in the Prikaznyy forms of the language. Thus it seems likely that the presence of the accusative with an independent infinitive verb cannot be due to the literary level of the language used in the Chronicle; it would therefore seem reasonable to infer that both nominative and accusative were possible for the object of independent infinitive verbs in Novgorod in the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

Before leaving this text, it is necessary to examine in detail example (xlv). This passage is notable as it contains in the infinitive sentence not only an object in the accusative, but also the past tense form "было". As has been pointed out, Potebnya's theory of the origin of the construction postulates in the earliest form of the Nominative and Infinitive construction the presence of a form of быти agreeing with the nominative which was then the subject of the

sentence. The above quotation is not incompatible with Potebnya's theory, since this supposes that the former subject of the sentence is reconstrued as the object (thereby leading to the appearance of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences), with the result that the sentence becomes impersonal, and that where any tense of быти involving the -1 participle is required, the neuter singular form is used.

Nevertheless, one might expect from this theory that during the process of reinterpreting the construction, when both nominative and accusative were being used with independent infinitive verbs, the combination of a noun in the nominative and the feminine singular form of the -1 participle of быти would tend to survive longer, since the verb form would tend to reinforce the interpretation of the noun as the subject. Consequently the combination of noun in the accusative and verb form in the neuter singular might be expected to appear at a relatively late stage. Yet, whereas the texts examined for this work yield a few, albeit isolated, examples of the accusative with an independent infinitive plus the verb form было, including this one, in what is one of the earliest texts available, no examples whatsoever were found in these early texts of the nominative with an independent infinitive and a verb form agreeing with the noun in the nominative. A much later text (Mor., dating from the 17th century) contains an example with the noun in the nominative and a non-agreeing past tense form "было" (Chapter 4, example (xxxviii), p.163).¹

¹Isolated examples of the past tense auxiliary appearing in the feminine form are found in one particular group of South Russian documents (see Ch.7, pp.298,299).

8. The Laurentian Chronicle.

The portions of the Laurentian Chronicle which were examined contain no examples at all of the nominative used with an independent infinitive. There are, however, a small number of instances of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(xlix) ни одиночество ни чернечество ни голодъ ꙗко инии добрии терпѣть но малы^м дѣломъ оулучити мл^сть бѣю (From the Poucheniye of Vladimir Monomakh)

(l) а къ бѣ баше покаѣтисѧ а ко мнѣ баше гр^амоту оутѣшеную а сноху мою послати ко мнѣ (From the letter to Oleg)

The use of "баше" may be noted here. The same comment as was made in respect of example (xlv) (pp.95, 96) applies here also, since a personal construction would have required the plural form бяху.

(li) та бо ꙗсть млтва всѣхъ лѣпши нежели мыслити безлѣпицю ѣзда (from the Poucheniye)

The infinitive after "нежели" is probably to be regarded as independent.

The following passages may contain examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive, but are less straightforward:

(lii) наша свѣтлость болѣ инѣхъ хотящихъ еже о бзѣ удержати извѣстити такую любовь бывшую межи хрестьяны и Русью многожды право судихомъ то^чю просто словеснѣ и писанием и клятвою твердою кленшесѧ оружьем своимъ такую любовь утвердити и известити по вѣре и по закону нашему (from the Treaty of 912)¹

(liii) и еже помыслить от страны руския разрушити такую любовь (from the Treaty of 947)

¹This passage, and also examples (lv), (lix), are quoted from the Radzivillovskiy spisok (see p.61).

The example in (liii) and the second example in (lii) occur in indirect speech. If it is assumed that such usage derives from direct speech, where the infinitive clause would be separate from the introductory verb, it is then possible to regard the infinitives concerned as independent at least in origin. The first example in (lii) is also hard to assess, since infinitive constructions introduced by еже are not Russian in origin (see Chapter 5, p.209). The Stoglav, however, contains an example of the Nominative and Infinitive in a clause introduced by еже (Chapter 5, p.199, example xii).

(liv) ꙗко^ж бо Василии оучаше собравъ ту юноша дѣа ч^сты
нескверьни тѣлеси худу кротку бесѣду и в мѣру слово г^сне
ꙗди питью бесъ плища велика быти при стары^х молчати
прѣмудрыхъ слушати старѣшимъ покарѣтисѧ с точными и
меншими любовь имѣти без лукаи бесѣдующе а много разумѣти
не сверѣповати словомъ ни хулити бесѣдоу не ѡбило смѣѣтисѧ
срамлѣтисѧ старѣши^х к жена^м нелѣпымъ не бесѣдовати долу
ѡчи имѣти а дѣю горѣ пребѣгати не стрѣкати оучить легкы^х
власти (from the Poucheniye)

It is uncertain here whether the infinitives are to be considered independent or dependent on the distant "оучаше". The first part of the instruction (immediately after "юноша") is hard to follow in the version which survives and may possibly be corrupt. At least one translator supplies here the infinitive иметь¹. The following passages contain the accusative with an infinitive in purpose clauses:

(lv) аще кто идеть снадобѣти лодию с рухло^м своимъ
(Treaty of 912)

¹PVL (1950), 1, p.355.

(lvi) и пристави к ним мужи свои показати им церковную
красоту и полаты златыа (Year 912)

(lvii) и ти принимающе харатью на роту идуть хранити
истину (Treaty of 947)

The following is probably to be considered an example of the accusative with a dependent infinitive, although the meaning of "увѣдѣль" in this context is unclear:

(lviii) ныне же увѣдѣль есть князь нашъ посылати грамоту
ко црѣву нашему (Treaty of 947)

Повесть временных лет (for all the examples quoted above are taken from that part of the work) thus stands out from the other works previously examined here by the complete absence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Separate consideration may be given to those examples taken from the treaties between Russia and the Byzantine Empire. As may be seen from works examined elsewhere in this chapter, as well as in later chapters, treaties are often useful sources of information on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, and it might therefore be thought that these treaties, dating back in their original form to the 10th century, would be particularly useful. They do, however, pose special problems.

The treaties date from a time before the official Christianisation of Russia and the existence of any tradition of writing at that time remains unproven.¹ The question therefore arises as to whether the versions of the treaties contained in the Chronicles reflect Russian copies which were produced at the time of the signing, or whether they go back to translations from the Greek or the Bulgarian carried out

¹V. Kiparsky (1963), pp.25, 26.

at a later date. Learned opinion on this question has been divided. Some scholars have taken the former view;¹ of those taking the latter view, S. P. Obnorskiy has regarded them as translations done at about the same time as the treaties were drawn up, while E. S. Istrin considered them to be translations which first appeared in the 11th century.² As far as the independent infinitive constructions are concerned, attention has already been drawn to the example of the accusative with an infinitive in a clause introduced by еже; this use of еже is known to be derived from the Greek. Another feature of the treaty is that, whereas other old Russian treaties usually express the instructions contained therein by means of independent infinitive sentences (as witnessed by the various passages quoted from Tr. 1229 in this chapter and in Appendix 2), the 10th century treaties avoid independent infinitive constructions in this type of sentence, using instead constructions involving да and a finite indicative verb. This construction can be exemplified by the following:

(lix) аще ли оудари^Т мече^М или оубье^Т кацѣ^М любо сосоудомъ
за то оударение или бьенье да вдасть литръ .ѣ. сребра по
законѣ роу^Скомѣ (from the Treaty of 912)

(lx) аще ли взалъ будетъ да заплатитъ сугубо и аще створить
грѣчинъ русину да приметъ ту же казнь ꙗко же при^Талъ есть
и ѿнъ (from the Treaty of 947)

Constructions of this type do not appear in other Old Russian treaties.

On the basis of the above, it seems that, without attempting to answer the question of whether the treaties as a whole are late

¹I. S. Svyentsitskiy (1949), pp.121, 122; M. I. Korneyeva-Petrulan (1952), pp.280, 281.

²S. P. Obnorskiy (1936), p.103; V. M. Istrin (1925), pp.391, 392.

translations or not, it is at least possible to discern a non-Russian linguistic influence on the syntax of these documents.¹ It is consequently possible that this non-Russian linguistic influence may have extended to the use of the accusative with the infinitive in the passages quoted from the treaties earlier in this chapter.

As far as the remaining examples are concerned, it is less likely that these are affected by a non-Russian linguistic influence, which in this instance would be Old Church Slavonic, where the Nominative and Infinitive construction is not attested.² Indeed, the evidence of the First Novgorod Chronicle, where the nominative is used with independent infinitives, suggests that the presence of the accusative alone in independent infinitive sentences in this text is not due to any linguistic conventions of the chronicle genre as such.

A greater role, on the other hand, may be played by either chronological or geographical factors. Although the copy of the Chronicle from which these passages were taken dates from 1377, the events described therein refer to the early 12th century or earlier. The original versions of the works of Vladimir Monomakh, from which a number of these examples are taken, were also presumably written in the early 12th century. Thus it is possible, although by no means certain, that the language of that period is reflected in the use of the accusative with independent infinitive verbs. It may also be noted that those of the other texts examined in this chapter that can be definitely assigned to one particular place, were written either in Novgorod or in the area encompassing Smolensk, Vitebsk and Polotsk; the chronicle

¹S. P. Obnorskiy (1936) points out a number of Greek elements in the syntax of these treaties.

²A. E. Vygorbina (1961), p.5; A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.123, 124; see also Ch.1, p.33.

now in question belongs to neither area, since the Laurentian Chronicle itself is a Suzdal' chronicle, while Повесть временных лет is connected most closely with Kiev. Unfortunately there are too many uncertainties surrounding both chronology and geography to allow any significant conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless, the evidence of Повесть временных лет does not provide support for any theory that considers the Nominative and Infinitive to be a construction of ancient origin which was at one time found throughout Russia.

9. The Zakon Sudnyy Lyudem.

The Short Redaction of this text contains no clear example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, although the following passage contains a possible instance:

(lxi) а проче^{те} вѣ^ѣ сто^ѣати и послоушати литоургиѣа
(Novgorodskiy Spisok)

The ending in -ѣа may, however, be the Church Slavonic ending of the genitive singular. This interpretation would seem to be supported by the following passage, where the same verb is clearly shown to be used with a noun in the genitive:

(lxii) чинъ же постоу томоу сице .ѿ. лѣ^ѣ вѣ^ѣ сто^ѣати
плачущисѣа и послоушающе литоургиѣе (Ibid.)

The Long Redaction contains examples of послоушати used with both the accusative and the genitive (see Chapter 6, pp.244,245). A possible example of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive found in the Short Redaction of this text is quoted in Chapter 6, p.242.

The following seem to be clear examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(lxiii) сию достоить ѿ княза земли той да въ иноу землю продадѣть ю а цѣноу ~~не~~ дати нищимъ (Ibid.)

(lxiv) та же боу дающе побѣдоу шестоу часть взимати князю (Vyaznikovskiy Spisok)

The version quoted in example (lxiv) appears in most of the copies of the Sofiyskiy Izvod of the text. Three copies, however, of this Izvod, as well as all the remaining copies of the text, insert the word достоить before the infinitive, turning the independent infinitive into a dependent one.

Also to be noted are the following two passages:

(lxv) а проче ~~не~~ все в число взимати всѣмъ людемъ равную часть раздѣлити и великаго и малаго (Troitskiy Spisok)

This version is found only in the copies belonging to the Извод Мерила праведного; the remaining copies have instead в равную часть, which seems to make more sense and is probably the original correct reading.

(lxvi) а .ѿ. ~~не~~ лѣто всю да ~~сто~~ати не взимати же нъ ко^нчавше .ѿ. лѣт въ ~~ѿ~~смон ~~не~~ же лѣт всю приимати (Novgorodskiy Spisok; a number of texts in several Izvody replace one or other всю by все)

This passage is not entirely clear and may well be corrupt. J. Vašica suggests that "всю да" is a corruption of вѣсѣдѣ, a word of Germanic origin meaning 'communion' which also occurs in the Kiev Missal.¹

A study of the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in ZSL is affected by the problem of the origin of the text itself. Although the provenance of the Short Redaction of the text is uncertain,²

¹J. Vašica (1951), pp.163, 164.

²Different theories are put forward by J. Vašica (op.cit.) and M. Andreev (1963).

it seems beyond doubt that it was compiled outside Russia, most probably in Bulgaria. Consequently the possibility exists that the language of those copies of the Short Redaction of ZSL which survive in Russia may be influenced by non-Russian factors. Of special interest, however, are those examples where the use of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences arises out of an apparent corruption of the text. Such corruptions are more likely to have occurred at a late stage in the development, especially in those instances where there is a difference in treatment in various copies of the text. It may be possible to infer from these passages that for the scribe who misunderstood the text (and perhaps for subsequent scribes) the use of the accusative with an independent infinitive verb was, at least, acceptable.

It seems probable that the Long and Composite Redactions of ZSL were drawn up in Russia itself. The editors of the text suggest that, in addition to the Short Redaction of the same text, the compilers used Russian sources.¹

Two examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive are found in the Long Redaction:

(lxvii) а робу ту достойтъ ѿ кнѣа земля тоѡа продати черес
землю ту въ ину землю а цѣна та дати оубогымъ (Pushkinskiy Spisok)

(lxviii) аще ли тепетьсѧ и да продастьсѧ в поганыѡа поганъ
бо то ~~ѡ~~есть зѡло и дати чѣна та бѣднымъ (Ibid.).

These examples occur only in the Pushkinskiy Spisok. The various copies of the Arkheograficheskiy Spisok have in both instances the accusative:

¹ZSL, ii, pp.13-27.

(lxix) а робоу тѣ достоитъ ѿ кнѣзь зем'ла тоѣ продати
чресъ землю тоу въ иноую область и цѣноу дати оубѣымъ
(Arkheograficheskiy Spisok)

(lxx) аще ли да биетсѧ да продастьсѧ в' поганы поганъ
бо есть зѣло и дати цѣноу тоу бѣднымъ (Ibid.)

There is, however, one example of the nominative occurring (with a dependent infinitive) in the Arkheograficheskiy Izvod where the Pushkinskiy Spisok has the accusative; this passage is quoted in Chapter 6, p.241, examples (li) and (lii).

The following apparent example of the accusative with an infinitive in a clause introduced by еже occurs in the Pushkinskiy Spisok:

(lxxi) да впишетъ вѣры своѣѣ ѡбразъ еже дѣю избавити аще
же и бѣдно избавити ю преже житиѣмъ чѣтымъ не оустроише

The Arkheograficheskiy Spisok has a rather different version:

(lxxii) да въпишетъ вѣры своеѣ ѡбразъ иже и дѣю избавитъ
аще же и дѣю избавити аще же и бедною избавити и преждѣ
житиѣмъ чѣтымъ

Two copies of the same Izvod omit the passage "аще же и дѣю
избавити." It would seem that either this last version or the version
of the Pushkinskiy Spisok is the correct reading.

The Composite Redaction has one example of the nominative used
with an independent infinitive:

(lxxiii) а ѡже баба не была в золотѣ а по мѣтри емѣ не
звѣати (sic) золота взѣати гривна серебра (Karamzinskiy Spisok)

No corresponding passage appears in the Long Redaction. As far as the
passages corresponding to examples (lxvii) and (lxviii) are concerned,
the Composite Redaction follows the pattern of the Arkheograficheskiy
Izvod of the Long Redaction:

(lxxiv) а рабоу сию достоить ѿ князь земли тоѣа продати
 чрезъ землю тѣ в ыноуѡ область а цѣнѣ еѣа дати оубогымъ
 (Ibid.)

(lxxv) да бьень бѣдетъ и продастьсѣа в поганыѣа погано
 бо есть сло дати цѣнѣ тѣ бѣднымъ (Ibid.)

Additional passages in the Composite Redaction which do not
 correspond directly to passages in the Long Redaction are the following:

(lxxvi) повинень есть и тѣ и г^сноу томоу того своему г^снѣ
 пристроити друугаѡ или иного кѣпивъ или цѣноу дасть
 такового раба дати цѣноу его и да тепоуть егѡ (Ibid.)

This provides a further example of the accusative used with a dependent
 infinitive;

(lxxvii) а прочее вѣстѣ стати и послушати литѣргѣа друузии
 же .ѡ. лѣта до вѣроу въ единого бѣа а се^дмое лѣто всю да
ѣати не взимати же ѿ сѣныхъ ничто^ж но кончати^ж .ѣ. лѣто въ
 .ѡ. же все приимати но с раз'соужениемъ (Ibid.)

All but two copies of text replace "всю да ати" by всю литургию
сто ати. The one surviving copy of the Troitskiy Izvod has a slightly
 different version:

(lxxviii) а .ѣ.е лѣто всю дастоѣати не взимати же но кончѣати
 же .ѣ. лѣтъ во .ѡ.е же лѣто всю приимати

This passage corresponds to example (lxvi) of the Short Redaction and presents the
 same problem as was discussed on p.103. It will be noted that example
 (lxxvii) contains a possible instance of the nominative used with an
 independent infinitive. Interpretation of this passage is rendered
 difficult by the fact that elsewhere in the text examples occur of the
 same verb governing both accusative and genitive (see Chapter 6, pp244,245,
 and also this chapter, p.102).

(1xxix) а самъ дастьсѧ в постъ .ѣ. лѣтъ въ .ѣ. же лѣто всю
приимати с разъсоужениемъ (Bal'zerovskiy spisok)

This form occurs only in one copy of the text; the remaining copies replace the underlined passage with the clause яко же и преже рекохомъ.

The following is almost certainly not an example of the accusative used as an independent infinitive:

(1xxx) и аще котораѧ тасѧ два моужа и оуразити женѣ
непразноу (Karamzinskiy Spisok)

All but two copies of the text have уразита, a finite indicative dual form, which in the context seems to make more sense.

One can see that the Long and Composite Redactions of ZSL taken as a whole provide another example of a text in which both nominative and accusative are used for the objects of independent infinitive verbs. This would seem to provide a further indication that in the oldest texts the use of the nominative for objects of verbs of this type was not an absolute norm. It is interesting that the same lexical content (infinitive дати, objects цѣна/цѣну) is involved in a high proportion of the instances involving both nominative and accusative objects. It will be noted that the lexical content of the examples themselves is very similar to that of Russkaya Pravda, the treaties and the gramoty examined for this chapter.

Nevertheless, ZSL is a work of religious and moral instruction, and the language of the text as a whole, in all three redactions, is much closer to Church Slavonic than is the language of the other texts mentioned. In example (1xviii), for example, Church Slavonicisms include not only the use of "аще" and "ѣло", as well as the accusative plural form "поганѣ", but also syntactic features such as the use of "да" with the verb in the future (cf. p.100) and the use of the conjunction

"60". It would thus seem that for the editors and scribes of ZSL (at least in its Long and Composite Redactions) the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction was not incompatible with the use of elements of the formal literary language. This in turn would seem to provide further support for the argument adduced on pp.66, 67 that the widespread use of the accusative with independent infinitive verbs in Russkaya Pravda cannot be due merely to a desire to imitate the literary language.

10 Conclusions.

It was stated in the introduction to this chapter that it was hoped to reconstruct the circumstances in which the Nominative and Infinitive construction first appeared in Russian. It is, however, extremely difficult to draw any firm conclusions on this point from the evidence which is available. The oldest texts available date from the 13th century; texts which may originate from an earlier date survive only in later copies, while in certain instances, there is the possibility of external linguistic influence to contend with. Further, the evidence obtained is in many important respects contradictory. In the Novgorod Gramoty the nominative is used consistently for the object of independent infinitive verbs; in Tr. 1229, while the nominative is used in the majority of instances, the accusative is also found. In another group of texts, including most notably Russkaya Pravda, both nominative and accusative are widespread in independent infinitive sentences, albeit in varying proportions, but without it being possible to describe either of the two cases as constituting a norm. Finally there exist texts in which only the accusative is used for the object

of an independent infinitive. What is more, any tentative attempts based on the evidence of Russkaya Pravda to draw distinctions between the nominative and the accusative on the basis of the lexical content of the passages concerned have not received confirmation in the remaining texts examined. On the question of morphological factors, the evidence of Russkaya Pravda suggested that the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction may possibly have been particularly infrequent when the object concerned was a substantivised feminine singular adjective, a qualified feminine singular -i type noun or a feminine singular noun qualified by свои. On all these points such evidence as has been obtained from other texts has outrightly contradicted that of Russkaya Pravda.

There are, however, two points to be made: first, the widespread use of both nominative and accusative with independent infinitive verbs would seem to indicate that from the oldest recorded period of the history of the language, the nominative in this construction is to be regarded as an object.¹ Moreover, the fact that the vast majority of texts dating from the period in question permit the use of the accusative for the object of an independent infinitive verb indicates that the Nominative and Infinitive construction cannot be considered a syntactic norm, but merely as a tendency. In Ch. 4 it will be shown that this limitation applies a fortiori in the later period.²

¹Cf. D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.5, who suggests that the use of the Nominative side by side with the accusative in independent infinitive sentences "свидетельствует в пользу раннего переосмысления формы именительного падежа."

²Cf. Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.3.

As far as the earliest development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian is concerned, it would seem that the balance of evidence goes against theories such as that of Potebnya, which presuppose that the nominative was originally used for the subject in the type of sentence which became the independent infinitive sentence, and was therefore the norm, but that, as these sentences developed, it was reinterpreted as an object and was gradually replaced by the accusative. This evidence is firstly the widespread use of the accusative with independent infinitive verbs in certain of the earliest surviving texts, especially Russkaya Pravda, and secondly the complete absence of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction used with an auxiliary verb agreeing with the noun in the nominative, while isolated examples are found of the accusative used with an independent infinitive and an apparently impersonal auxiliary verb. It thus would appear more probable that the accusative was originally used for the object of independent infinitives, as it was for other verb forms, but that it was, at least under certain circumstances, replaced by the nominative.

If this, however, is so, the reasons for this replacement remain at this stage unclear. Although it may well be that contamination with the Nominative and Dative construction, which has semantic and structural affinities with at least some examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, may have played a significant role, it seems improbable that such a factor could alone be responsible for the appearance of a construction as widespread as the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Other influences are, however, not as yet discernible in the texts examined, and further consideration will be given to these texts in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Introduction

In the previous chapter attention was concentrated on examples of independent infinitive sentences where the object was a feminine a type noun, a qualified feminine i type noun or a substantivised feminine singular adjective. In this chapter it is proposed to take the same texts, but to examine other aspects of their language which may help to elucidate some of the problems already raised.

The first two sections will be devoted to syntactic aspects of the Nominative and Infinitive construction: the question of whether the nominative-object can be used in other than independent infinitive sentences or to replace cases other than the accusative. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the morphological limitations of the construction: four sections will consider other nominal forms which in the oldest Russian distinguish nominative and accusative cases, while the final section will explore the relationship between the development of the genitive-accusative and the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

1. The Syntactic Limitations of the Nominative and Infinitive Construction.

As was pointed out in Chapter 1 (Section 4), the vast majority of scholars have concluded that the appearance of the nominative-object was limited to infinitive sentences. As, however, was also pointed out, a number of examples of the nominative-object are found

with other verb forms, and it is now necessary to examine such examples in detail, in order to determine whether it is indeed justified to regard the Nominative and Infinitive construction as a syntactically restricted phenomenon.

The question to be examined at this point is whether the nominative-object occurs in the oldest texts with finite verbs. In the texts examined for this and the previous chapter, a number of possible examples of this usage of the nominative-object were found.

(i) аче ли оутнеть руку а ѿпадетъ рука или оусхнеть или нога или око или носъ оутнеть (Russkaya Pravda, Pushkinskiy sp.)

This passage occurs in the form quoted in the Pushkinskaya Gruppya and the Karamzinskaya Gruppya. In the Sinodal'no-Troitskaya Gruppya the passage appears in a different form:

(ii) аще ли оутнеть роукоу и ѿпадетъ роука или оусъхнеть или нога или око или не оутьнеть ть полъ виры 20 гривень (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)

It would seem that of the two versions the former makes more sense and is probably the original reading, or closer thereto than the latter version. Even so, it is not wholly unambiguous, since, although "нога" seems from the sense to be part of the object of the second "оутьнеть", it is not impossible that it is to be construed as part of the subject of "ѿпадетъ...или оусхнеть".

A much quoted example is to be found in Gram. Nap.¹

(iii) а нынѣ есмь оувѣдалъ любовь ваша права съ сѣномъ моимъ с Витенемъ (VI, circa 1300)

A. Timberlake, who considers that the nominative-object is not found with finite verbs before the seventeenth century,² provides a different

¹First quoted, it seems, by A. I. Sobolevskiy (1907), p.197.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.43-48.

explanation for this passage. He considers that the words "любовь ваша права" form a separate sentence subordinate to "есмы оув - даль", with "любовь ваша" as the subject and "права" the complement. Although this is a possible explanation,¹ it may be noted that the use of the long form of the adjective for the complement is extremely rare at the beginning of the fourteenth century.² It thus seems equally possible that this passage represents an example of the nominative-object used with a finite verb.

A possible example in NBT of the nominative-object used with a finite indicative verb is provided by the following:

(iv) онтане послале овдокиму два клеща да щука с васильевы рыбы клещ послале клеще стопане цетворты (No.169, 14th or 15th centuries)

A. V. Artsikhovskiy, in his gloss of this passage, interprets "щука" as being a personal name and representing the subject of the second "послале".³ This explanation is not impossible, since at one time names of fish and other animals were used as forenames and nicknames in Russia.⁴ Nevertheless, in the context of a passage where fish are mentioned it seems at least as reasonable to construe "щука" as having its primary meaning, and as being part of the object of the first "послале".

NBT also contains two possible examples of the nominative-object used with an imperative. One of these has already been quoted and

¹I. I. Sreznevskiy (1893), III, coll.1125, 1126, gives examples of this verb used both with a direct object and with a noun clause.

²V. L. Georgiyeva (1968), pp.41, 42; V. I. Borkovskiy, P. S. Kuznetsov (1965), p.369. In a later work Borkovskiy notes examples, albeit extremely rare, of the long form of the adjective used predicatively going back to 1229 (see V. I. Borkovskiy (1968), pp.19, 20).

³NBT (iv), Moscow, 1958, pp.55, 56.

⁴A. M. Selishchev (1968/1), p.113; L. M. Shchetinin (1968), p.23.

discussed in Ch.2 (p.91); the other is the following:

(v) приказъ ѿ романа к пантелѣю цо прилбица ѿ тебе ондрѣева
прилбица даі ондрѣю (No.383, probably late 14th century)

It is not completely clear whether the phrase "ондрѣева прилбица" is the object of "даі" or part of the subject of the preceding clause, although the former is perhaps more likely.

A further example of the nominative used for the object of an imperative verb may be provided by the following passage in the Long Redaction of ZSL:

(vi) Моисей оубѡ пороуцѣ дайте роука за роукою око за око
а глава такоже за главою (Solovetskiy V Spisok)

This passage occurs in the form quoted in this one copy only. The remaining copies of this text have a different wording:

(vii) Моисѣи бо поруци да идетъ рука за руку и нога за ногу
главу за главу (Pushkinskiy Spisok; the copies of the Arkheograficheskiy Izvod, except for the copy quoted in example (vi) replace the нога, 'ногу' by око)

It seems that example (vi) does represent an instance of the nominative-object used with the imperative, although its appearance may in some measure be due to contamination with the version found in the remaining copies.¹

In addition to the instances found in the text studied for this thesis, one further possible example of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb needs to be taken into consideration. The following passage, first quoted by D. S. Ishchenko,² occurs in the

¹The unexplained accusative "главу" suggests, however, that (vii) must also be a corrupt version.

²D. S. Ishchenko (1967), p.129. The passage is also quoted by F. P. Filin (1972), p.483, A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.44. None of these scholars gives a context for the passage.

text Устав Студийский, which Ishchenko dates on paleographical grounds at ca. 1170:

(viii) вина же всеи тои нѣдели ни единомуу причастити ся не
достойтъ нѣ въ него мѣсто чрѣплють мьнихомъ ривифиная оуха
(p.208, lines 3-6)

If this passage indeed contains an instance of the nominative-object with a finite verb, then it is, as Ishchenko points out, the earliest example to which a date can be ascribed. Timberlake is, however, inclined to doubt this interpretation: he considers that "чр плють" may be an error for an infinitive, since an infinitive of instruction would, in his view, correspond more closely to the modal significance of the first part of the sentence. In the absence of a context¹ (the text, unpublished, was inaccessible to me) such a hypothesis must remain pure speculation. There is no absolute reason why the second part of the sentence should not be a statement of fact; indicative sentences of the type quoted above do appear in texts containing instructions, often alongside passages with a modal significance. This can be illustrated by the following passage from ZSL:

(ix) по закону людьскому носѣ има обѣма оурѣзаятъ и
разлоучати ѿа а по црѣвномуу законуу разлоучати ѿа и въ
постѣ .ѣї. лѣт да даѣтасѣ (Short Redaction, Novgorodskiy
Spisok. Some copies do, however, replace "оурѣзаятъ" with an infin-
itive.)

Although many of the above passages can be shown to be ambiguous, it seems probable that certain of them do represent examples of the

¹ Ishchenko gives no context, while Timberlake appears to quote at second-hand, referring only to Filin (1972).

nominative-object used with a finite verb; it therefore must be concluded that isolated examples of such a usage are to be found even in the oldest Russian. At the same time, however, it must be emphasised that such examples are isolated. Moreover, in some instances (such as example (vi)), the appearance of the nominative-object may have little or nothing to do with the existence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

It is consequently reasonable to conclude that in the period in question, a syntactic limitation does exist with regard to the Nominative and Infinitive construction, and that the use of the nominative-object does not generally extend to finite verbs; this syntactic limitation is not, however, as absolute or as rigid as Timberlake suggests. It should be pointed out that the aim here was only to establish the fact of a syntactic limitation; the exact nature of this limitation, a question which involves a study of the material of later texts, will be assessed separately in Chapter 6.

2. Oblique cases and the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Numerous scholars have observed that the object of a negative independent infinitive verb during the period in question appears regularly in the genitive.¹ This can be confirmed by the following examples from the works examined for the previous chapter.

a) Russkaya Pravda:

(x) то не платити ни продаже ни татьбы (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)

b) Tr. 1229:

(xi) аще которыи немчиць оучинить насилье надъ волною

¹P. Bicilli (1933), p.201; Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.29; D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.5; A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.75-77.

женоу Смоленскѣ а дотолѣ не слышати было бладне ее .ѣ.
грѣнь серебра за соромъ

(xii) тако роусиноу не оузати оу латинеского товара
своего ѡпѣть платити ѣмоу

c) TSR:

(xiii) аже оучинить роусинъ насилъе въ Ризѣ или на гѣтьскомъ
бѣрѣзѣ надъ вольною женоу а дотолѣ не слышати было до нее
лихого оурока за то .ѣ. гри^в сѣрѣбра такоже и немъчицю
Смоленскѣ

d) Gram. Shakh.

(xiv) а что кнѣже мыть по соуждальской земли и въ твоѣи
волости ѡ воза имати по .ѣ. векши и ѡ лодьѣ и ѡ хмѣльна
короба и ѡ лѣна а дворѣномъ твоимъ оу коупчевъ повозовъ
не имати разве ратной вести а свободѣ ти ни мыть на
новгородской волости не ставити

Exceptions to this are exceedingly rare. In all the texts
examined for this thesis only one apparent example of
the nominative with a negated infinitive was noted:

(xv) а в новгородской волости не надоби ни что иное Литви
ни на дѣмянѣ ни на снѣ ни на Полоновѣ не надоби брати
чорна куна ни иное ничто же (GNP, No.70; the Treaty between the
Lithuanian Grand Prince Kazimir and Novgorod, 1440-1447)

In this example the infinitive is dependent on "не надоби". The use
of the nominative is perhaps to be explained by contamination with
sentences containing надобѣ, a noun and no infinitive. The nomin-
ative is used regularly in the negated form of such sentences.¹

¹See pages 143, 144 for a discussion of the relationship between
the constructions involved.

An example of the nominative used with a negated independent infinitive, which occurs in an early eighteenth century text not specially studied for this thesis, is, however, quoted in Ch.8 (p.330). There is in addition one example of the nominative used with an infinitive and the negative adverb негде (Ch.4, p.163, example (xxxix))

It is difficult to assess whether this regular use of the genitive in negative independent infinitive sentences can in any way help to interpret the Nominative and Infinitive construction, or explain its origin. A number of scholars¹ have suggested that this widespread use of the genitive indicates that the nominative in the Nominative and Infinitive construction is really an object; the basis for such a judgement seems to be that the object of finite verbs appears regularly in the negative in Old Russian, and that therefore this situation with independent infinitive sentences reflects some form of parallel usage. Timberlake observes that the nominative cannot be a subject in independent infinitive sentences, since a nominative subject is only replaced by the genitive after negation in existential sentences, which he claims independent infinitive sentences are not.

While there are, however, other reasons for assuming that in the oldest recorded Russian the nominative in independent infinitive sentences represents an object (see Chapter 2, p.109), the use of the genitive in negative independent infinitive sentences is in itself not inconsistent with the nominative having once represented a subject. For, if one accepts Potebnya's theory (see Chapter 1, p.7), the reconstructed original form of Nominative and Infinitive sentences (*такова

¹Most recently, A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.75-77. Also, D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.5; Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.175.

правьда есть взяти русину) can, it would seem, be regarded as a form of existential sentence, which in the negative would read

*таковоѣ правьды нѣтъ взяти русину. One factor which does serve to cast doubt on Potebnya's theory (if the above reconstruction is correct) is a complete absence of any recorded negative independent infinitive sentences which contain an object in the genitive and the negative verb form нѣтъ; нѣтъ, unlike есть, shows no tendency to disappear in other types of sentences, and would therefore not be expected to disappear from independent infinitive sentences.

A further aspect of the Nominative and Infinitive construction which has been taken for granted by the majority of scholars¹ is that only the direct object of independent infinitive verbs is affected by the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Verbs which normally take an object in the genitive, dative or instrumental continue to do so when used as independent infinitives. This can be illustrated by the following examples from the oldest available texts.

a) Russkaya Pravda (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok):

(xvi) а того ѣму желѣти а ѡному желѣти своихъ коунъ

(xvii) а прока ѣмоу желѣти что с нимъ погыбло а ѡному своихъ коунъ желѣти.

(xviii) то не насилити ѣмоу ни продати ѣго

b) Gram. Shakh.

(xix) а чего будеть искати мнѣ и моимъ бодромъ и моимъ слугамъ у новгородьцевъ и у новоторжьцевъ и у волочанъ

¹Only A. Timberlake (1974/1) has explicitly made this point (p.75), although he quotes no examples. The same point is implied, rather than stated, by V. L. Georgiyeva (1949), pp.46, 47.

а тому всему судъ дати безъ перевода (№ 4)

(xx) ино и^М посо^Лство правити обѣма великимъ кнѣзѣ^Мъ и
исправы просити ѿ ѿбои оу вели^Х кнѣзи (№ 206)

с) Gram. Nap.

(xxi) ѿже тажа родить в ѿно~~е~~ з~~е~~мли в рускихъ городѣхъ
 то оу тѣхъ сво~~е~~ таже прашати искати новугороду не надобе
 а тажа на города а нѣмчинъ свободъ и новгороци

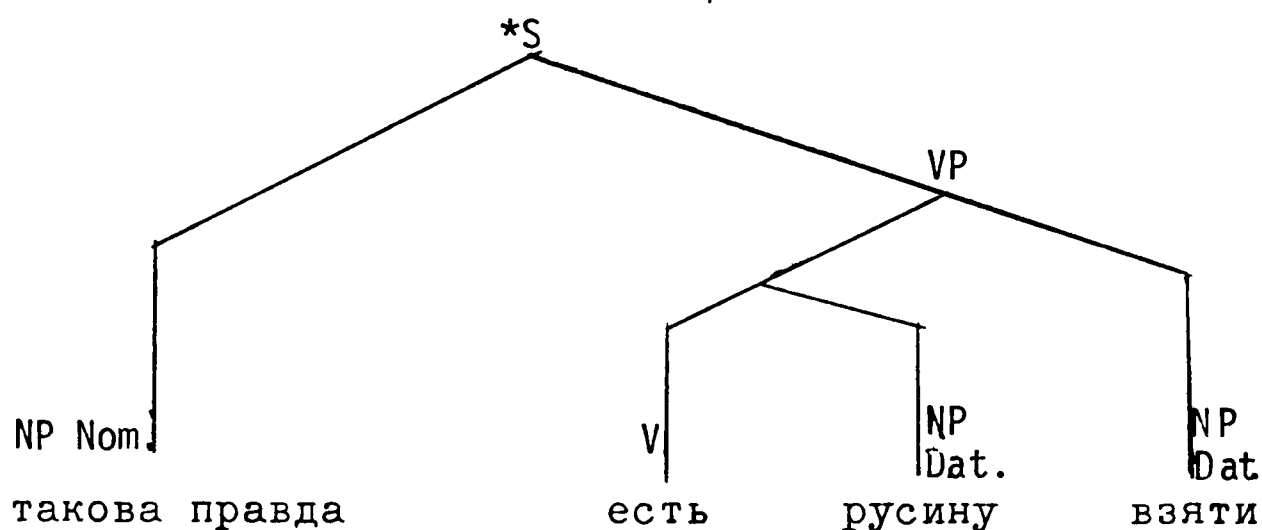
(Ib; an original of 1195 surviving in a copy of 1257-1259).

Few, if any, exceptions are found to this rule in Old Russian. One possible such instance is recorded in Chapter 4 (p.177, example xciv), although, as is pointed out there, the verb concerned (досмотрить) is found with objects in both accusative and genitive cases in the text concerned. This rule no longer applies to the same extent in certain modern North Russian dialects. V. L. Georgiyeva quotes a number of examples of the nominative of-a type feminine nouns being used instead of genitive, dative, instrumental or prepositional cases in these dialects.¹

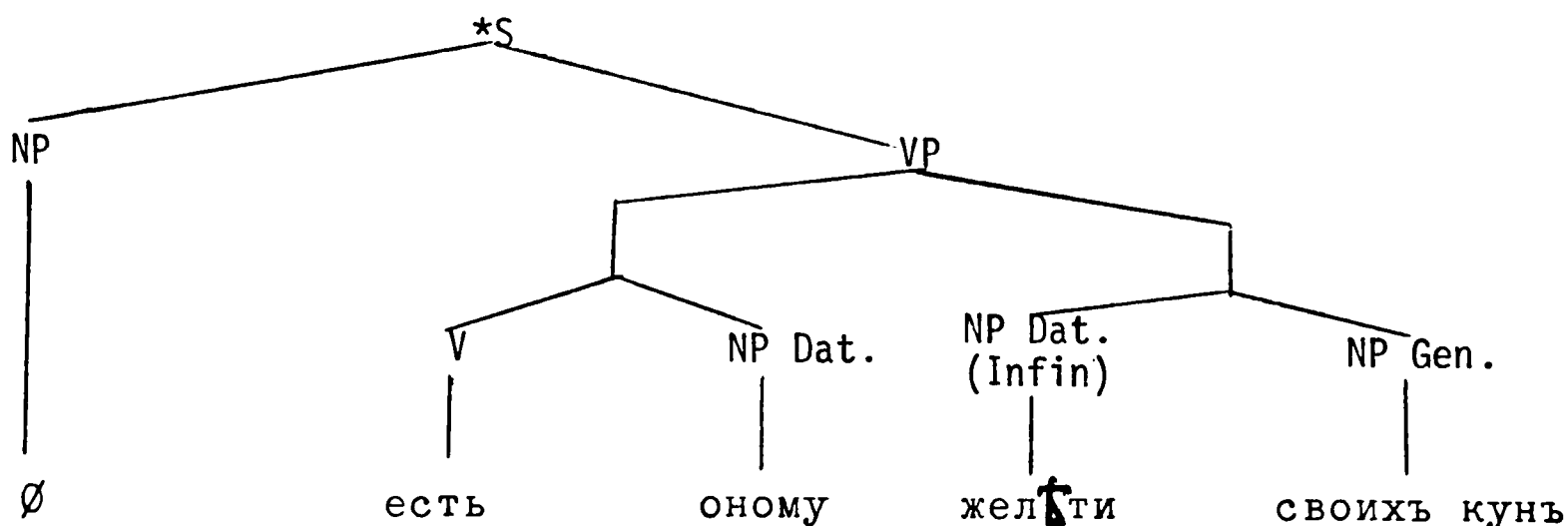
The fact that independent infinitive verbs are used with objects in oblique cases in the earliest recorded Russian would seem to have significance as far as the interpretation and also the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are concerned. If independent infinitive verbs can take objects in various oblique cases, it would seem probable that they can be, are are, used with direct objects, and that therefore this would provide a further reason for assuming that the nominative used with such verbs is all the more probably to be seen as a direct object rather than a subject.

¹V. L. Georgiyeva (1949), p.46.

This usage, moreover, casts more doubt on Potebnya's theory of the origin of the construction. As A. A. Shevtsova has pointed out (Chapter 1, p18), Potebnya's theory with its implications on the origin of independent infinitive constructions cannot satisfactorily account for those sentences which involve an intransitive verb. The problem can now be shown to exist for verbs with the object in an oblique case, for although a sentence such as такова правда оузати русиноу can be reconstructed as *такова правда (subject) есть (verb) взяти (noun in dative) русину (noun in dative) or, in terms of an Immediate Constituent diagram,^{1/}



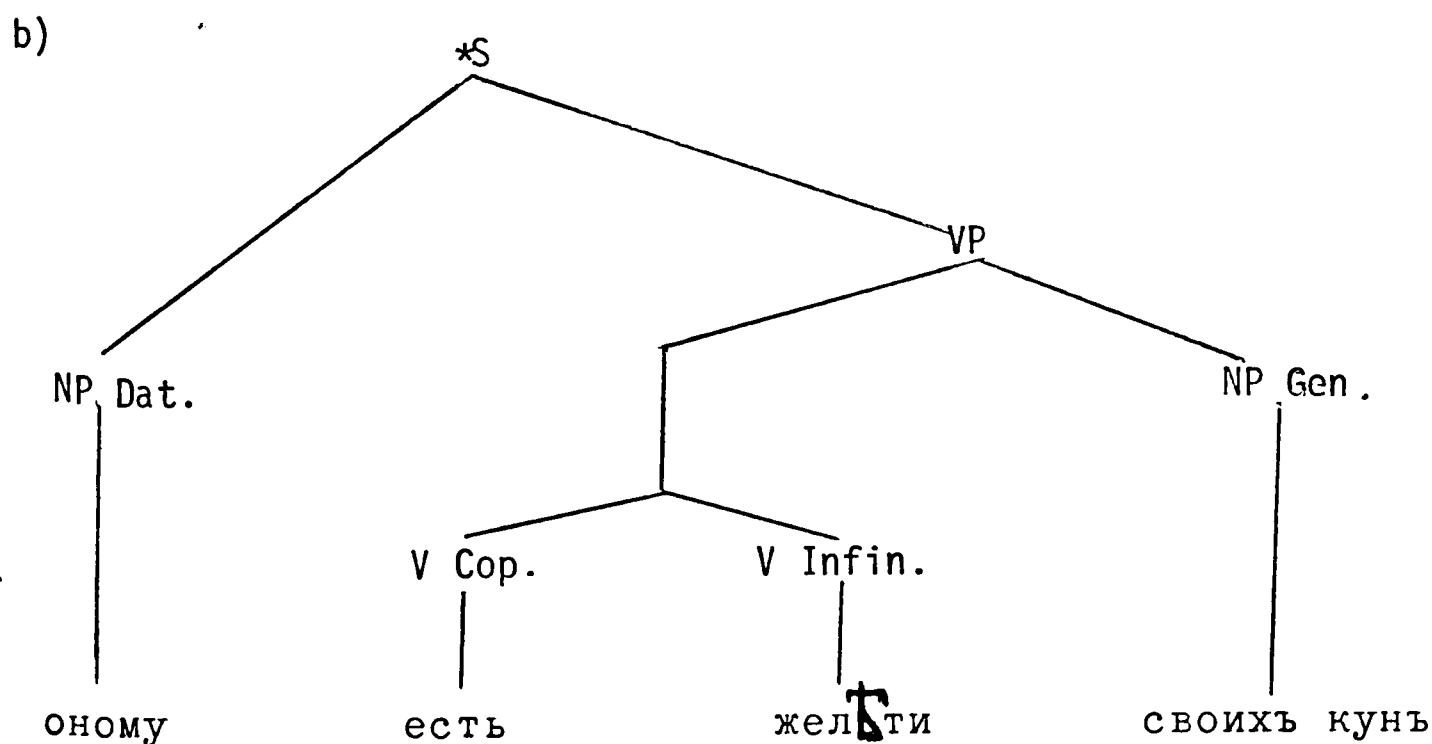
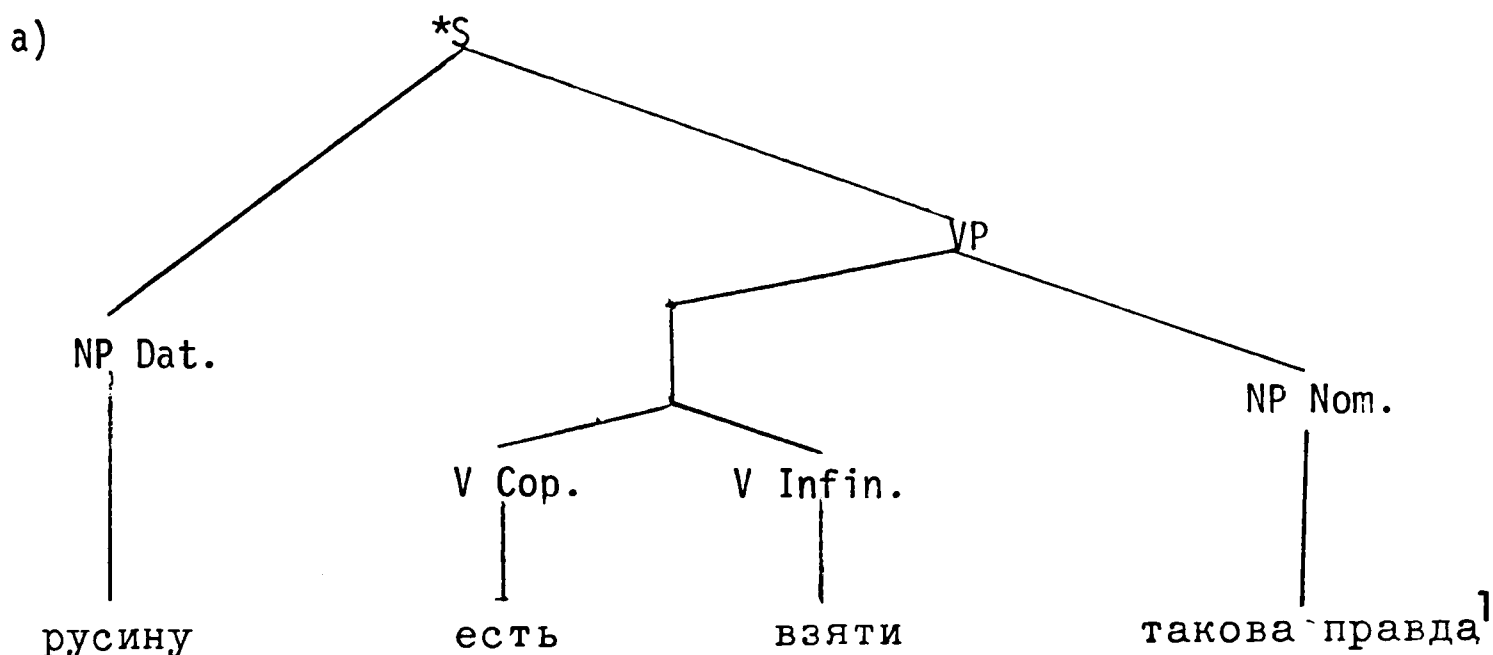
a sentence such as оному желти своихъ кунъ would, reconstructed in the same way, contain three objects in the verb phrase and no subject. An Immediate Constituent diagram for such a sentence would look as follows:



¹A diagram of this nature is drawn by G. Jacobsson (1964), p.76.

Such a scheme seems to be inherently unlikely.

If, however, nouns in both nominative and oblique cases are to be regarded as objects of different sorts, then plausible reconstructions can be made in both instances:



This evidence seems to provide further grounds for the postulation made in the last chapter that the accusative was originally used for the object of independent infinitive verbs, and that it was later replaced partially or wholly by the nominative.

¹Note that the "dative subject" is now reinterpreted as a subject, the infinitive, since it is used with an object, is regarded as a verb, and the form есть is consequently treated as a copula.

3. The Feminine Singular Anaphoric Pronoun.

Having established a syntactic limitation to the appearance of the nominative-object, it is now necessary to examine those nominal forms which in the oldest Russian distinguished nominative and accusative cases in order to determine whether the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is not also restricted by morphological factors.¹

In the oldest Russian, the anaphoric pronoun distinguished in the feminine singular the accusative (ю) from the nominative and the genitive.² One might therefore expect that this pronoun would appear in examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the same way as a type feminine nouns.

Three possible examples of a nominative-object consisting of a feminine singular anaphoric pronoun were found in the various texts studied, although all of these must be considered doubtful.

(xxii) и повелѣ зажечи ѣа ѿ двери (Laur. Chron., Year 6453).

It may be noted that the infinitive here is dependent on "повелѣ".

This passage is quoted by V. Kiparsky and, as that scholar points out, the "ѣа" could here, instead of being the nominative singular feminine anaphoric pronoun, referring to the bath house, equally well be (and indeed more probably is) the Church Slavonic form of the accusative plural masculine, referring to the Drevlians incarcerated therein.³

(xxiii) боудеть ли ѣа Смоленскѣ немъчицю съ смолнѣниномъ соудити я смолѣнскомуу кнѣзю тоу же и ѣа и коньць (TSR).

Here too the "я" used with the independent infinitive is ambiguous,

¹Such a restriction is, for example, implied by the working definition quoted in Chapter 1, p.1.

²V. Kiparsky (1967/2), p.153.

³V. Kiparsky (1967/1), pp.264,265; (1967/2), pp.154,155.

for it could be either the nominative singular feminine referring to "тажа" or the nominative-accusative dual referring to the two parties involved.

(xxiv) и ѿрадивъ та вземъ Псалтырю в печали разгнухъ та
(Laur. Chron., Poucheniye of Vladimir Monomakh)

In some ways this is the most difficult to explain. A strong a priori reason for assuming the second "та" not to be a nominative-object is that it occurs with a finite verb (see p.116); on the other hand it is difficult to see what other form it could represent in this context (the first "та" refers to Vladimir Monomakh's fellow princes, who had come asking for aid).

The following are the examples of the accusative singular feminine anaphoric pronoun used with an independent infinitive found in the texts studied:

(xxv) а гдѣ сѧ тажа родить тоу ю кончати (Gram. Nap. No.1a, 1257-59)

(xxvi) аще възлюбить пояти ю и възхотѧще и родителѧ ~~и~~еи да бываетъ свадьба (ZSL, Short Redaction, Novgorodskiy Spisok)

(xxvii) аще възлюбить ю ѿрок поняти ю женою (ZSL, Long Redaction, Arkheograficheskiy Spisok)

(xxviii) да впишетъ въры своѧ на ѿбразъ ~~и~~еже дѣю избавити аще же и бѣдно избавити ю преже житѣемъ ч^стымъ не оустроивше (ZSL, Long Redaction, Pushkinskiy Spisok)

The infinitive may here be dependent on the adverb "бѣдно". It will be observed that example (xxvi) occurs in a text where there are no certain examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction anyway; example (xxvii) and example (xxviii) occur in a text where both nominative and accusative are found with

independent infinitive verbs. There can thus be no certainty that the accusative is used in these passages merely because the object is the anaphoric pronoun. Nevertheless, taking the texts as a whole, while there exist clear examples of the accusative singular anaphoric pronoun with an independent infinitive, the only possible instances with the equivalent nominative are very doubtful. It seems rather more probable that the Nominative and Infinitive was not used with the feminine singular anaphoric pronoun.

There is, however, a complication surrounding the nominative of the anaphoric pronoun. This form (including the supposed feminine singular form *я) does not seem to be attested in any Slavonic language, including both Russian and Old Church Slavonic.¹ This nominative form might be seen to survive in the relative pronoun иже, яже, еже etc., as well as in the nominative case of the long form of the adjectives, although A. Meillet considers that the relative pronoun was originally distinct from the anaphoric pronoun.² The apparent absence of the nominative of the anaphoric pronoun in all other circumstances can only serve to cast further doubt on the interpretation of the pronoun forms in examples (xxii) to (xxiv) as nominative singular forms. This absence would in itself provide one explanation for the fact that only the accusative of the anaphoric pronoun appears to be used in independent infinitive sentences, since it is possible either that the nominative was replaced by the accusative at a very early stage, or, if, as was suggested in the last chapter (p.109), the

¹A. Meillet (1965), p.438; G. Nandriş (1965), p.110; V. Kiparsky (1967/2), p.153.

²A. Meillet, loc. cit.

Nominative and Infinitive construction is a late development, that the construction was never extended to the anaphoric pronoun.

4. Personal Pronouns.

Relevant material with personal pronouns which also distinguish the nominative and accusative cases seems to be extremely sparse. Only the following two examples, where the accusative appears to be used with an independent infinitive were found:

(xxix) ре^ч имъ д^а аще мѧ просити право то пришите мужа нарочиты (Laur. Chron., Year 6453)

(xxx) согрѣ^шихо^м казними есмы ~~тако~~^ж ны видѣти о^дно пребывающа (Laur. Chron., Year 6745)

The first of these examples may be slightly doubtful, since the two variant texts (see Chapter 2, p.61) have instead of "просити" a finite verb просите, which may well be the original correct form.

Neither of these two examples can be regarded as particularly convincing evidence, as they both occur in texts where no examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are found. A. Timberlake quotes the following passage from the Hypatian Chronicle (Year 1150):¹

(xxxi) а^ѣ ti mja ubiti s^ñu na sem^ь m^ěstě

An example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction from this source involving a feminine a type noun is quoted in A. Timberlake (1974/2), p.231.

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.59.

5. Masculine Plural Nouns in Independent Infinitive Sentences.

The nominative and accusative cases were also distinguished in the oldest Russian in the plural paradigms of masculine-o and -jo type as well as masculine-i type and masculine consonant type nouns. Thus, while the original nominative forms were столи (послуси), кони, путье, горожане, the original accusative forms were стола (послухи), конѣ, пути, горожаны.¹ The question, however, whether the Nominative and Infinitive construction was ever used with such nouns is rendered extremely hard to answer by the early date at which the two cases start to merge in the above types of nouns.² According to Kiparsky, the process starts to take place around 1200 with the first examples recorded by him dating from the first twenty years of the thirteenth century.³ It follows from this that if reliable material on this problem is to be found anywhere, it is only in the very oldest of the texts examined.

Tr. 1229 contains one possible example of the accusative plural of an-i type masculine noun used with an independent infinitive:

(xxxii) аже тѣоунѣ оуслышитъ латинескыи гостѣ пришеде послати ѣмоу люди с колы пѣрѣвѣсти товарѣ а не оудѣржати ѣмоу (A)

In this copy of the Treaty the old nominative and accusative plural endings, although they appear infrequently in other constructions, seem to be kept distinct. Thus, in the following example, the old nominative form "людиѣ" is used for the subject of a sentence:

¹V. I. Borkovskiy, P. S. Kuznetsov (1965), pp.192-194.

²A. Timberlake, who seems to be the only scholar to have considered the problem, refuses for this reason to attempt an answer (see Ch.1, p.47).

³V. Kiparsky (1967/2), p.42. V. M. Markov (1974), p.66, however, gives examples of the merging of the two cases going back to the eleventh century.

(xxxiii) пре сеи миръ троудилисѧ дѣбрии людиѣ (A)

TSR contains the following example, apparently of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(xxxiv) аже оубѣуть моужа вольного тѣ выдати розбоиники
колико то ихъ боудѣтъ было

Only four examples of a relevant nominative plural are found in this text (there are no instances of the accusative, apart from the above); on each occasion the old nominative plural form is used. For example:

(xxxv) аже не бѣдетъ розбоиниковъ боудоуть розбоиници
выдати е

The remaining texts either have no relevant material or contain examples of confusion between the nominative and accusative plurals in situations other than independent infinitive sentences, thereby indicating that the process of the merging of the endings was already taking place at the time that the text concerned was written. This even applies to the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok of Russkaya Pravda, where the accusative form occurs instead of the old nominative for the subject of a finite verb:

(xxxvi) тоѡже на нь выведеть послоуси то ти подоуть на ротоу

(xxxvii) оже выбѣуть зоубъ а крѣвь оувидѣтъ оу него въ
ртѣ а людѣ вылѣзоуть

Thus the evidence provided by the texts is but minimal: all that may be said is that the two texts in which the relevant nominative and accusative plural forms appear to be distinguished do not contain any examples of such a nominative used with an independent infinitive verb.

6. The Masculine Plural Anaphoric Pronoun.

Just as the masculine nouns considered in the preceding section once distinguished nominative and accusative cases in the plural, so the masculine plural anaphoric pronoun may be assumed to have had separate forms for the two cases.¹ As, however, was stated on p.125, the nominative of the anaphoric pronoun is not reliably attested in Old Russian, and therefore the conclusions drawn in the context of the feminine singular apply here as well. Nevertheless, what might seem to be an example of the nominative plural of the anaphoric pronoun used with an independent infinitive was found in the texts studied:

(xxxviii) боудѣтъ ли тажа смолнаниноу съ немъчицемъ на
гѣтъскѣмъ березѣ а соудити и гѣтъскѣмъ соудѣмъ тоу то и
тажи и коньць (TSR)

The form "и" is unclear, but in the light of the above and since the dual or, alternatively, the feminine singular form might be expected here (cf. example (xxiii), p.123), it seems unlikely that this represents an example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Two examples, both in TSR, were found of the accusative plural of the anaphoric pronoun used with an independent infinitive:

(xxxix) аже не бѣдетъ розбоиниковъ боудоуть розбоиници
выдати е

(xl) а почнѣтъ сѧ кто ѿ нихъ просити в ѡную землю то
како то было при моемъ оцѣ при Мьстиславѣ при Романовицѣ
и при моемъ братѣ при Мьстиславѣ о немъ сѧ прашати а мнѣ
не по доумѣ поущати

¹V. I. Borkovskiy, P. S. Kuznetsov (1965), p.230.

7. The Genitive-Accusative.

The development of the animate gender, affecting in its final form all animate nouns in the plural and masculine animate -o and -jo type nouns in the singular, as well as many pronouns, leads to the creation of further classes of nouns in which the accusative is distinguished from the nominative. The original accusative of the various types of noun in question, having become at different stages in the development of the language the same as the nominative, is replaced by a form identical with the genitive (the so-called genitive-accusative); the process begins in the twelfth century or earlier, with masculine -o type nouns referring to persons and also with certain pronouns, and appears to reach its present state in the early years of the eighteenth century.¹ As was indicated in Chapter 1, section 5, scholars have been able to show that the Nominative and Infinitive construction does not extend to the animate gender and that the genitive-accusative is used for the object of independent infinitive verbs as it is for the object of other verb forms. As, however, was also indicated, no universally acceptable theory has been able to account for this situation.

Valuable material concerning this question would seem to be provided by the following instances from Gram. Shakh., all of which involve masculine -o type nouns referring to persons.

(xli) ТИВОУНЬ СВОИ ДЪРЖАТИ на своѣи чѣсти държати а НОВЪГОРОДЬЦЬ на своѣи чѣсти държати (No. 1, 1264 or 1265; a passage following an identical pattern is to be found in No. 2 (also 1264-65), in No. 3 (1269 or 1270) and in No. 10 (1304 or 1305).)

¹V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), pp. 363-375; E. I. Kedaytene (1958), *passim*.

(xlii) а в Ладогоу ти кнѣ слати ѿсетръникъ и медовара по грамотѣ оца своего Ярослава (No.1; a passage following an identical pattern occurs in No.3 and in No.15 (1325-1327).)

(xliii) тивоунъ свои държати на своѣи части а новгородца на своѣи части (No.9, 1304 or 1305; a passage following this pattern occurs in No.6, in No.7 (1305-1308), in No.15 and in No.8 (1371).)

(xliv) а в Ладогоу ти кнѣ слати ѿсетръника и медовара по грамотѣ дѣда своего Ярослава (No.9; a passage following the same pattern occurs in No.6, in No.7 and in No.8.)

(xlv) а за волокъ ти своего мужа не слати слати новгородца (No.9).

(xlvi) а за волокъ ти слати своего мужа изъ Новгорода въ двоу посадоу по пошлинѣ (No.6; a passage following this pattern occurs in No.7 and in No.8.)

(xlvii) а кто коупиль боудеть в новгородьской волости знати имъ своего истьца (No.15; a passage following the same pattern occurs in No.16 (1368-1371).)

(xlviii) и на волоцѣ тиоунъ свои държати на свои части а новгородьча на своѣи части¹

The genitive-accusative singular of the anaphoric pronoun used with an independent infinitive is found in the following example:

(xlix) которые ли въстровить соудъ собѣ соудити его въ новгородѣ (No.10)

With finite verbs only the genitive-accusative singular with masculine *o*-type nouns referring to persons is found, although the earliest example is the following passage from No.9:

¹The reconstruction is mine.

(1) а. про землю и про [села] кто оу кого боудеть
коупиль знатеть своего истьца про коуны

Taking the examples as a whole it seems possible to detect a gradual tendency¹ for the genitive-accusative to supersede the older nominative-accusative in masculine singular-o type nouns, which, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, were the first to develop the new ending. Since in the same group of documents there occurs the exclusive use of the nominative-object in independent infinitive sentences, this would seem to provide an indication that the Nominative and Infinitive construction developed or was present before the genitive-accusative appeared.

The evidence of these gramoty is, however, somewhat contradicted by that of certain other texts studied. Thus, in Tr. 1229, the genitive-accusative seems to be in general use for masculine-o type nouns and for the masculine singular anaphoric pronoun in all positions, except when governed by a preposition.² Thus in this text the following examples are to be found of the genitive-accusative used in the singular for the object of an independent infinitive:

- (li) аже извинить^c латининъ въ Смоленьскѣ не метати его
въ погребъ аже не боудеть пороуки всадити его въ желѣза (B)
(lii) роусиноу же не лзѣ възвѣсти одного роусина въ послуш-
ство нѣ поставити роусина же немчица въ послушство (D)
(liii) а како оуслышитъ волочьскыи тивоунъ ожо гость немечьскыи

¹This tendency is not absolute, for it will be seen, for example, that sentences of the pattern exemplified by No.(xli) occur in documents later than that which contains example (xliii). These variations do not, however, invalidate the general tendency.

²There seems to be evidence that the genitive-accusative developed later in nouns governed by a preposition than elsewhere. See J. Dietze (1973), p.265.

съ смолнѣны приехалъ на волокъ послати емоу члѣвѣка своего
въ борзѣ къ волочаномъ (D)

(liv) который роусинъ или латинеский противоу сеѣ правды
мълвить того почѣсти за лихий моужь (A)

There are two exceptions (other than after a preposition): one involves a substantivised adjective, the other the masculine singular anaphoric pronoun. In both examples the word concerned is the object of a dependent infinitive.

(lv) оже старейшии его не оумолвить то лзѣ емоу деть-
ский приставити (D)

(The same passage in the Gothland redaction has the genitive-accusative:

(lvi) аже не слоушаѣть старосты тотъ можетъ на него
дѣткого (sic) приставити (A).)

(lvii) аще роусьский гость въ Ризѣ или на готскомъ березѣ
извинитсѣ никакоже его въсадити въ дыбоу ѿже боудеть
пороука по нь то дати на пороукоу не боудеть ли пороуки
то лзѣ и въ железа въсадити (D)

In TSR, the genitive-accusative is used in all positions for masculine singular nouns referring to a person:

(lviii) такоже и нѣмчицю своихъ немѣчь одинѣхъ на
послоушьство не выводити ставити имъ на послоушьство
роусина же нѣмьчица такоже

(lix) тѣтъ ли дѣтский не исправить возма мѣздоу
приставити на нь дрюугого

The only exception would seem to be the following:

(lx) аже боудѣтъ смолнѣниноу немѣчичъ дѣлжнѣ въ Ризѣ или
на гѣтскомъ берѣзѣ правити емоу поемъши дѣтский оу соудѣ

With the accusative singular masculine of the anaphoric pronoun both old and new forms are found:

(lxii) аже боудѣть пороука по нь на пороуцѣ его дати или
не боудѣть пороукы а въ желѣза и въсадити

(lxiii) тѣтъ ли еметь хытрити а поставити и передъ соудьею
ать выдасть и соудья

(lxiiii) аже немчиць коупитъ въ Ризѣ и на гѣтьскомъ бѣрѣ
оу смолнанина товаръ понесеть его домовъ :

Note that the pronoun here refers to an inanimate object

The position in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok of Russkaya Pravda is rather more complicated: here both nominative-accusative and genitive-accusative are used widely with masculine singular-o type nouns referring to persons and with the masculine singular anaphoric pronoun. Both forms of accusative seem to occur in all positions, including after a preposition. The usage can be illustrated by the following examples.

I. With masculine singular-o type nouns:

(a) as the object of a finite verb:

(1) with the nominative-accusative:

(lxiv) аже кто переиметь чюжь холопъ

(2) with the genitive-accusative

(lxv) аже кто оубиетъ княжа моего въ разбои

(b) as the object of an independent infinitive verb:

(1) with the nominative-accusative:

(lxvi) или не боудеть на немъ знамениа то привести немоу
видокъ слово противоу слова

(2) with the genitive-accusative:

(1xvii) ажъ оубы~~т~~еть моужь моужа то мьстити братоу брата

(c) after a preposition:

(1) with the nominative-accusative

(1xviii) а за тиоунъ за ѿгнищныи и за конюшии то 80 гривень

(2) with examples of both the nominative-accusative and the genitive-accusative:

(1xix) за ремьствьника и за ремьствьницу то 12 гривне
а за смердии холопъ 5 гривень а за робоу 6 гривень а за
кормилца 12 гривне

II. The masculine singular anaphoric pronoun:

(a) as the object of a finite verb:

(1) with the nominative-accusative

(1xx) то холопоу на правдоу не вылаз^іти нъ ѿже хочеть
истьчъ или иметь и а река тако

(2) with the genitive-accusative:

(1xxi) оже ли господинъ ѿтслеть его на сво~~те~~ ѿроудь~~те~~

(b) as the object of an independent infinitive:

(1) with the nominative-accusative:

(1xxii) то поб^ѣдавшѣ ~~т~~емоу по~~н~~ати оу него ѿгрокъ и шедъши
оув^ѣзати и и дати ~~т~~емоу в^ѣзѣбно~~те~~ 10 коунъ

(2) with the genitive-accusative:

(1xxiii) аже кто поустить холопа въ торгъ а ѿдолжа~~т~~еть то
выкоупати его господиноу

This is the only example. There are no examples of the masculine singular anaphoric pronoun in the genitive-accusative used after a preposition.

A final point to be noted is that both Tr. 1229 and the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok of Russkaya Pravda have a small number of examples of the genitive-accusative in the plural.

I. From Tr. 1229:

(lxxiv) аже боудоуть люди~~е~~ из ыно~~е~~ земель тыхъ послъ вѣ~~ѣ~~сти (A)

In the following example, the second "людии" is possibly an instance of the genitive rather than the genitive-accusative:

(lxxv) аже ~~ѣ~~моу въ пособленье людии мало боудеть а к томоу приняти людии боудеть емоу в помочь што боудеть соулилъ имъ наима чересъ то имъ боле не вз~~ѣ~~ти (D)

II. From Russkaya Pravda:

(lxxvi) а боудеть былъ кн~~ѣ~~зь конь то платитъ за нань 3 гривны а за инѣхъ по двѣ гривнѣ

(lxxvii) то по ноужи ти сложити на бо~~ѣ~~тарского тиоуна а на инѣхъ не складывати

(lxxviii) а ~~ѡ~~же боудоуть с нимъ крали и хоронили то всѣхъ выдати

It will be noted that with the exception of the doubtful example (lxxv), all the above instances involve pronouns. In Gram. Shakh. only the genitive-accusative is used for pronouns in the plural, the earliest example being the following:

(lxxix) а холопы и долъжники и поручники кому не будетъ суда тѣхъ выдаваю безъ суда (No.5, 1294-1301)

The earliest example in this source of a plural noun taking the genitive-accusative ending is the following:

(lxxx) а кто купил...(sic) зна~~ѣ~~ть сво~~ѣ~~го истьца или дѣ~~ѣ~~ти ~~ѣ~~го (No.8, 1371)

A possible explanation for the discrepancy between Gram. Shakh. and the other texts is that in the former a high proportion of the examples concerned are standardised expressions, which are transmitted from document to document. In these circumstances, it is possible that scribes, in reproducing these expressions, would tend to copy archaic endings from earlier documents.

Thus the question of the relative chronology of the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction and the genitive-accusative would seem to be more complicated than was suggested by Gram. Shakh. Both the Nominative and Infinitive construction and the genitive-accusative are used more widely in Tr. 1229 than in Russkaya Pravda; this suggests that the two phenomena in question may have developed simultaneously. Even if they did not make their first appearance at the same time, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the genitive-accusative (at least for certain categories of noun and pronoun) is becoming more widespread at the same time as is the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

This situation presents certain difficulties, since the two developments in question appear to represent, at least in part, contradictory tendencies. In the Nominative and Infinitive construction, the accusative seems to be replaced by the nominative, at least in one specific syntactic environment. The genitive-accusative, on the other hand, is a new accusative form distinct from the nominative, which seems to develop equally for the object of independent infinitive verbs and for the object of other verbs. A. Timberlake in his answer to this problem, postulates what he calls an animacy constraint on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.¹ As Timberlake points out

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.68-75.

(pp.67-68), such a theory is supported by the fact that the Nominative and Infinitive construction seems not to be used with masculine-a type nouns (which are invariably animate).¹ Elsewhere in this thesis (chapter 4, pp.152 and 153), evidence will be brought to show that not only does the nominative object not occur with nouns of the above type, but also that it seems not to be found with the collective noun братья, which, although in Old Russian feminine, refers to male persons. Feminine animate nouns² (with the exception of братья) are not in the oldest available sources affected by the animacy constraint, although they appear but rarely in examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction found in seventeenth century texts.³ If the animacy constraint first arose, as Timberlake suggests,⁴ because of some special quality attached to all animate nouns, his theory leaves unexplained why in the oldest available sources masculine animate-a type nouns (plus братья) need to distinguish nominative and accusative cases in independent infinitive sentences, when feminine animate-a type nouns appear not to do so.

Furthermore, it is probably necessary to see the restrictions on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in terms other than those of an animacy constraint. For, as was shown in Section 3, the Nominative and Infinitive construction is also not found with the feminine singular anaphoric pronoun; it may well not occur with masculine-o and -i type nouns, and also the anaphoric pronoun, in

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.32, contains a similar observation (see ch.1, p.45).

²Grammatically, feminine singular-a type nouns, even when referring to animate beings, do not belong to the animate gender, since they never develop a special animate accusative.

³Ch.4, pp.153, 185. It should be noted, however, that this constraint only seems to affect feminine nouns referring to a person.

⁴A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.99, 100.

the plural, although conclusive evidence on this point is not available. It therefore seems that in the oldest Russian that can be reconstructed, the construction should be regarded not as one that affects all nouns, adjectives and pronouns, except for those subject to an animacy constraint, but as one which affects feminine-a type and qualified feminine -i type nouns only.

As one might expect from the foregoing, when the genitive-accusative spreads to animate nouns (of all genders) in the plural, this new accusative form is used for the object of independent infinitive verbs; this can be exemplified by the following passages:

(lxxxix) поучати мужоу своа жена какъ б̄гоу оугодити и мужоу своему оуноровити ꙗко до^м свои добре строити и всакаа пораднаа домашнаа и рукодѣлье знати и слоугъ оучи^{ти} и самой дѣлати (Domostroi, List of contents)

(lxxxix) како чадъ воспитати с надѣлкомъ за мѣжъ выдати (Ibid., ch.16)

(lxxxix) а малы^х дѣвокъ оучити (Ibid., ch.29)

7. Conclusion.

The material adduced above permits certain conclusions to be drawn. First is that the appearance of the nominative-object is in the earliest texts limited by syntactic factors. As a syntactic phenomenon, the Nominative and Infinitive construction can be described in the following terms: the direct object of an affirmative infinitive verb can appear in the nominative.¹ It will be noted that the formulation

¹In Ch.6 it will be shown that the use of the construction was, in the oldest reconstructable Russian, almost certainly restricted to independent infinitive verbs. (ch.6, pp.242, 243; 251, 252).

is not prescriptive, but permissive: as was mentioned in Chapter 2, almost all the texts examined for this thesis contain examples (often in large quantities) of the accusative used for the direct object of an affirmative independent infinitive verb. There is, however, one significant exception to the formulation: as was shown in Section 1, and will be shown in Chapter 6, a small number of instances occur where the nominative-object is used with other than independent infinitive verbs. These are isolated instances and seem to represent a secondary phenomenon. There are, on the other hand, no examples whatsoever of the nominative replacing an oblique case, even with an independent infinitive verb, and only one or two examples of the nominative used with a negative infinitive.

A second conclusion is that the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is also in the oldest sources available restricted by morphological factors. Only feminine singular nouns of the -a type and (with a qualifier) of the -i type are clearly seen to be affected by the construction. Other nominal forms which in the texts under consideration here distinguish nominative and accusative cases, namely the feminine singular anaphoric pronoun and the masculine singular -o type nouns referring to persons, are not affected by the Nominative and Infinitive. It is also possible, albeit less certain, that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is not used in the oldest reconstructable Russian with feminine singular substantivised adjectives (for which the evidence is contradictory, see Chapter 2, pp.68, 69 and 89) or with masculine -o type, -i type and consonant-type nouns and the masculine anaphoric pronoun in the plural; for these the texts provide no completely reliable evidence.

The reasons for these limitations are not wholly clear. It seems improbable that a syntactic phenomenon would be restricted to certain classes of nouns because of certain qualities which these nouns possess, and, in this instance, no such qualities suggest themselves. It therefore seems more reasonable to look for qualities in the remaining categories of nominal forms to see why these are exempt from the construction.

The loss of the original nominative form of the anaphoric pronoun provides a possible explanation for the absence of this pronoun from Nominative and Infinitive sentences. A. Timberlake's solution to the problem of the animate nouns was discussed in Chapter 1 (p.47); as was stated there, this solution seems less than satisfactory.

A possible solution to the paradox presented by the simultaneous existence (perhaps even simultaneous development) of the Nominative and Infinitive construction on the one hand, and the genitive-accusative on the other, lies in the different natures of the phenomena. The Nominative and Infinitive construction is a syntactic phenomenon affecting nouns only in the specific environment of the independent infinitive sentence. The genitive-accusative affects only particular classes of nominal forms (in the first instance masculine singular-o type nouns referring to a person, as well as certain pronouns). As far as the use of the accusative for the direct object of a verb is concerned, this development takes place regardless of the structure of the sentence. Thus the only place of competition, so to speak, between the two developments is when an animate noun (or pronoun) of the relevant class is used as the object of an independent infinitive verb. In such a

situation the user of the language would be faced with a choice between syntactic analogy (suggesting the use of the nominative) and morphological analogy (suggesting the use of the genitive-accusative); here it would seem that morphological analogy was the stronger. This may in some part be due to the fact that, as has been pointed out (see Chapter 2, p.109), the Nominative and Infinitive construction remains a tendency, rather than becoming a rule. Almost all the texts examined have examples of the accusative used side by side with the nominative to form the object of an independent infinitive verb. Further, the texts examined in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8 show a gradual tendency for the accusative to become more frequent from the late fourteenth century onwards until, in the early eighteenth century, it completely replaces the nominative, except in certain dialects. The genitive-accusative, on the other hand, in spite of fluctuations in the earlier texts, develops into a rule which not only comes to be used with minimal exceptions, but which spreads to include further classes of nouns and pronouns.

A further factor which may be relevant here is that, because of the nature of the Nominative and Dative construction, the significance of which is discussed in Ch.2, pp.73-80, neither pronouns nor animate nouns are found in the nominative in examples of this construction. None of these considerations, however, would seem to account satisfactorily for the fact that, as has been pointed out earlier (see p.138), the Nominative and Infinitive construction is found with feminine animate nouns but not with masculine animate nouns belonging to the -a type, or with the grammatically feminine collective noun братья.

As far as the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian is concerned, the only conclusion possible is the negative

one that the material available in the oldest recorded Russian does not provide any satisfactory explanation of this problem. While the evidence considered in this chapter does not contradict the suggestion made in Chapter 2 that the construction is a late development with the nominative replacing the accusative, it does not provide any confirmation which might put this theory beyond doubt.

Even more problematic is the reason for the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The postulated late development of the construction casts doubt on almost all the theories mentioned in Chapter 1, which require that the nominative was the original case for what became the object of an independent infinitive verb. This applies to the most widely accepted theory, that of Potebnya, as well as the most recent, that of Timberlake. None of the theories accounts for the widespread use of the accusative with an independent infinitive in all the surviving texts, including Russkaya Pravda; Timberlake's suggestion¹ that such examples are due to a desire to imitate high style has been shown (Chapter 2, pp. 66, 67) to lack any substance. A further reason for doubting Potebnya's theory, even if my postulation is not accepted, is the use in the oldest recorded Russian of oblique cases with an independent infinitive verb.

The only theory to support a late origin for the Nominative and Infinitive construction is that put forward by Shakhmatov and supported among others by Georgiyeva and possibly Filin.² This suggests that the Nominative and Infinitive construction arose out of such sentences as мне надо коса via an intermediate stage нам надо истопить байна.³

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), p. 33.

²See Ch. 1, pp. 10, 11, 16, 22.

³The examples are those used in A. A. Shakhmatov (1925), §138.

But as was pointed out in Chapter 1 (p.II and I6), this theory seems to be based entirely on modern Russian dialect material. In the Russian texts of the oldest period, although examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive are widespread, sentences with надо (or надоѣ), an infinitive and a nominative-object are almost completely lacking. The only example to be found in the various texts examined for this and the preceding chapter is that quoted on p.117. It may also be noted that in надоѣ sentences (without an infinitive), the nominative continues to be used when the sentence is negated, as in the following two examples:

(1xxxiv) тѣ то задница не надоѣ (RP Sinodal'nyy I sp.)

(1xxxv) а коли поѣдешъ из Новагорода тѣгда даръ не надоѣ
(Gram. Shakh., No.10)

In negative independent infinitive constructions, the genitive, not the nominative, is used for the object. It would therefore appear that this theory cannot on its own account for the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

It may further be noted that the existence in the oldest texts of both a syntactic and a morphological limitation on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction renders unlikely the suggestion put forward, albeit tentatively, by V. A. Bogoroditskiy, that analogy with masculine and neuter nouns, where the nominative and accusative singular forms are in the oldest Russian identical, may have been one of the factors leading to the appearance of the construction.¹ It thus remains to conclude that the material available in the oldest surviving Russian texts, while permitting a somewhat tentative reconstruction of the earliest usage and the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian, does not provide any single satisfactory explanation for its origin.

¹V. A. Bogoroditskiy (1935), p.261 (footnote).

CHAPTER 4

Introduction

In this and the following two chapters attention is devoted to the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the period from the late fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century as reflected in texts originating in the Central and North Russian areas, in many cases from Moscow itself.¹ The widespread use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in such texts has been noted by many scholars.² The problems to be examined here, therefore, concern not the existence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, which is clear, but the relation of nominative and accusative used to express the direct object in independent infinitive sentences (in particular the degree of regularity with which the nominative occurs in this function and the factors which influence the choice of case), the use of the nominative as object in other than independent infinitive sentences, the significance of word order in the construction, as well as its stylistic significance. The principal concern of the present chapter will be the first of these problems. It may be noted here that the material from the texts examined for this and the subsequent two chapters is summarised in tabular form in Appendix 3.

1. The sources of material.

Almost all the texts to be discussed in this chapter can be divided into two groups. In the first group come official documents of the

¹The position of the construction at that time in South Russian dialects, which involves questions of a special character, is considered in Chapter 7.

²For example, M. I. Pigin (1954), p.87; F. P. Filin (1969), p.75.

Muscovite state, treaties and codes of law. Here the following sources were used.

I) DDG. The oldest document in this collection of Muscovite wills and treaties is the will of Prince Danilovich Kalita, dating from around 1339; the oldest treaty is that between Grand Prince Semen Ivanovich and Princes Ivan Ivanovich and Andrey Ivanovich, dating from about 1350. The availability of alternative sources for the later period made it desirable to concentrate on those documents dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; the last document examined was No.40, a treaty dating from 1445. Some of the documents in the part of the collection surveyed survive only in later copies; these were used (and are referred to) only where they contain material of special interest.

II) Sud.1497. The edition used contains a photoreproduction of the manuscript. This, the sole surviving manuscript of the text, is thought to date from the late 1490s or the very early years of the sixteenth century.¹ This relatively brief code of laws was the first to be issued by the Muscovite state, apparently as a replacement for Russkaya Pravda.²

III) Ulozh.1649. Two printed editions appeared in 1649, since when the text has not been republished for the purposes of linguistic research. Access was gained to a microfilm version of a copy dating from 1649.³ This copy appears to represent the first of the two editions of that year, but the second version of that edition, containing certain textual amendments.⁴

¹ Судебники XV-XVI вв., p.15.

² Ibid., p.37.

³ The original is in Uppsala University Library. Another copy dating from 1649 is in the Bodleian Library, but this was unfortunately not accessible at the time it was required.

⁴ The differences between the editions and the versions are explained in P.Y. Chernykh (1953), pp.111-133.

One important legal text of this period which was not examined is the Sudebnik of 1550. This was because of the existence of two articles, Y. A. Sprinchak (1939), and L. I. Konovalova (1968), which consider in detail the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in this Sudebnik, and to which reference will be made elsewhere in this chapter (see. pp. 181, 182).

The second group of texts consists of semi- and unofficial documents, all dating from the seventeenth century.

I) Mor. The largest group of documents in this collection comprises notes consisting mainly of instructions sent by B. I. Morozov from Moscow to his various lands, principally to his prikazchiki, but also to starosty and others. The remaining documents include notes (отписки) from the various prikazchiki to Morozov, petitions from villagers and representatives of the clergy, and also several описи of the lands and possessions of A. L. Morozova carried out in 1667.

II) Bezobr. Here are to be found the following: 227 gramotki, most of which were sent or received by A. I. Bezobrazov or by members of his family; 12 documents, the fragments of letters presumably also involving the Bezobrazov family; 5 letters of O. Shcherbaty; 21 documents consisting of petitions from A. I. Bezobrazov and other assorted documents found on the backs of gramotki.¹ The material in this edition comes from various parts of Russia, and the majority of the documents are undated. From the evidence of those that do bear dates, the edition covers the period from the 1630s to the 1680s. It should be noted that there appears to be no necessary link between the sender

¹It should be noted that in Bezobr. each group of documents is numbered in a separate series. For the purposes of this chapter, therefore, the various series are given prefix letters, these being respectively G, F, S and P.

of any gramotka and the handwriting: there are gramotki sent by different people but in the same handwriting, while the handwriting may change within an individual document.¹

III) MDBP. Here the first three sections were examined. The first consists of 20 letters sent by various people between 1668 and 1689. In the second section appear 142 petitions, nearly all from different people; these are arranged in chronological order, No.1 dating from 1617, No.142 from 1698. The third section contains сказки, written evidence relating to disputes of various kinds; the oldest of these сказки dates from 1646, the most recent from 1688. As the title indicates, all the documents contained in the collection originate from Moscow. Both MDBP and Bezobr. were prepared specifically for linguistic purposes.

Finally a section is devoted to the writings of J. Križanić on the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

2. DDG.

In the section of DDG studied 42 examples were found of the nominative used in an independent infinitive sentence. All the examples occur in treaties; one instance is to be found in No.23, a sixteenth century copy of a treaty between Grand Prince Boris Aleksandrovich of Tver' and Grand Prince Vitautas of Lithuania, dating from 1427 (the document printed is the version of the treaty sent from Tver'); a further example is from No.27, a fifteenth century copy of a treaty between Grand Prince Vasiliy Vasiliyevich and Prince Vasiliy Yaroslavich of Serpukhov and Borovsk, which dates from 1433. The remaining instances all occur in original documents.

¹Bezobr., p.7.

Special attention must be drawn to five examples where the infinitive управливати is used with the nominative-object орда, as in the following example:

- (i) а орда ми оуправъливати самому великому кня³ (№ 34)

Although the modern Russian verb управлять normally governs the instrumental case,¹ in all the examples under the relevant entry in Sreznevskiy (1893) the verb управливати is used with an object in the accusative case.² Instances such as (i) do not therefore depart from the rule that only the accusative case is affected by the Nominative and Infinitive construction (cf. Ch.3, pp.119, 120).

The apparent examples found in Treaty No.11 (dating from 1389), where the nominative-objects occur in passages reconstructed by the editor of the collection, are included among the unclear examples in Appendix 3.

DDG also contains a number of examples where the nominative replaces an accusative in other than independent infinitive sentences. There are two examples of the nominative used with an infinitive which is dependent on an independent infinitive, as in the following instance:

- (ii) а что ин^Атци твои на поруц^Т подаваны или на ни^Х кабалы поиманы и мн^Б с ни^Х вел^Тти порука свести а кабала и^М подавати (No.30a)

The other example occurs in No.30 б, these being the two versions of a treaty dating from 1433. No instances were found of the accusative used in a comparable construction in this text; dependent infinitive sentences of any sort are, however, extremely rare

¹V. I. Dal' (1914), 4, coll.1046-1047; SSRLY, 16, coll.759-763; E. Daum, W. Schenk (1971), p.660. The first two sources do, however, give examples of управлять used with an accusative. In none of the sources is управливати attested.

²I. I. Sreznevskiy (1893), III, col.1246.

both in the treaties and the wills.

Two examples of the nominative used with a finite verb should be noted at this point. The following, seemingly unambiguous example was found in treaty No.27:

(iii) а ѡрды^нцы и люди (sic) а тѣ знаю^т своѣ^а слу^жба
по старинѣ

It seems reasonable to suppose that the appearance of this particular example may well be influenced by the formula знати своя служба recorded in three treaties (Nos.5, 11 and 13), all dating from the fourteenth century. The other example comes from No.21, a will dating from 1417:

(iv) да свои же примысль даю ей на Бѣлѣозерѣ слободка
што была княжа Васи^лева Семенови^ч да на Вологдѣ Оухтюшка
да Брюховскаѣ слободька да Федоровские села Свибловы
да свои примысль и прикупъ на Вологдѣ и на Тошнѣ

It is possible here that the section in the nominative is an expansion of "примысль" and is regarded by the scribe as an independent clause. No. (iii), however, provides one of the clearest instances of the nominative-object used with a finite verb in a text dating from before the seventeenth century.¹

There is in DDG one instance where the object is expressed by two nouns, one in the nominative and one in the accusative (in Appendix 3, therefore, this passage is included in both columns 1 and 2). This will be examined in detail on p.152. There are an additional thirteen examples of the accusative of an -a (-ja) or -i type noun used with an independent infinitive. These include the following, and also a

¹cf. A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.43-48.

passage from No.306, where the infinitive and object phrase are identical:

(v) а что есмь зан^л оу гостей и оу суконнико^в шестьсотъ
рубле^в да заплати^л есмь въ твои долгъ в Сердиньской
Рез^лпъ Хоз^л да Абипу в кабалы и на кабала^х есмь то
серебро по^дписа^л и тоб^л с мене то^т долгъ ту шестьсотъ
рубле^в сн^лати (№ 30a)

It would appear that "шесть" is here treated as a feminine singular -i type noun and that "ту" therefore is the accusative singular feminine of the demonstrative pronoun.¹

The following are probably not to be regarded as examples of the accusative and independent infinitive and are included among the unclear examples:

(vi) а сноха^м своимъ приказываю свою д̄шу и поминати
по свое^м кн^з и по мн^л и по мои^х д^лте^х правити по силе(No.28);
"д̄шу" is presumably the object of "приказываю".

(vii) тако же вашу шчину не въступатис^л ни обид^лти ни
моимъ д^лтемъ (No.32; cf. this instance from No.351a:

(viii) а в В^лтку ми с^л г^с не не въступати)

It will be noted that in independent infinitive sentences examples of the nominative-object considerably outnumber those of the accusative-object, but that there is still a considerable number of instances of the latter. It is therefore necessary to examine in detail the various examples in order to assess what factors, if any, influence which case is used. Of the examples with the accusative

¹cf. V.Kiparsky (1967/2), p.177. Note also the following example found in a document sent from Novgorod to the Master of the Livonian Order in 1417: а только не отдадутъ нашей братъи того серебра и мы имъ велимъ взяти ту четыреста рублевъ на вашей братъи на купчехъ

most noteworthy are five almost identical instances occurring in treaties Nos.23, 24a, 24б, 30a and 30б, where the accusative occurs in a list; for example:

(ix) а холопа робу должника пору^чника бѣглеца тата роз-
боиника по исправѣ выдати (No.24a)

No equivalent examples with the nominative were found. In two instances братю appears as the object of the infinitive for example:

(x) имѣти ти мене князѣ великого старѣшимъ а брата моего
князѣ Юрьѣ братомъ а братю мою молодшую братею
молдшею (No.13)

In DDG no examples at all were found of the nominative of this word in an independent infinitive construction. A possible third instance occurs in the following passage:

(xi) и мнѣ брате оставити своѣа мати [и свою братю]
молдшую и свои бо^лше (No.13)¹

This is the example mentioned on p.150 where both nominative and accusative are used to express objects of the one infinitive.

It is possible that the apparently consistent use of the accusative with the noun братя may be influenced by semantic considerations. As was pointed out in Ch.3 (p.138), only feminine nouns of the -a (-ja) type are affected by the Nominative and Infinitive construction; in this particular text this observation is borne out by the regular appearance (on six occasions) of the phrase своего воеводу as the object of independent infinitive verbs, as in the following instance:

(xii) и мнѣ слати с тѣми людьми своего воеводу с твои^м
воеводою (No.30a)

The usage with grammatically masculine nouns may have influenced the

¹ "и свою братю" is reconstructed by the editors, presumably from a later copy of the treaty. The survival of "молдшую" in the original seems to suggest that the reconstruction is correct.

choice of case with the logically masculine, but grammatically feminine братья.

The regular appearance of робу in the accusative might suggest a further tendency for feminine nouns referring to a female person to be used in the accusative in independent infinitive sentences (such a tendency is noted by Sprinchak in his article of 1941).¹ There are, however, two examples of nouns referring to a female person which occur in the nominative: one example, involving the phrase "своя мати", has already been quoted (No. (xi), p.152); the other is:

(xiii) тако же и городнаѣ осада оже ми брате самому сѣсти в городѣ а тобѣ ми послати из города и тобѣ оставити своя княгини и свои дѣти и свои боѣаре²

Both examples are found in the same document, No.13, dating from 1390; the earliest examples with робу come from a sixteenth century copy of a treaty of 1427 and a treaty of 1428.

It may be noted that in the examples where робу appears the remaining constituents of the object phrase are masculine singular nouns in the genitive-accusative case, while the instances where there is a feminine noun referring to a person in the nominative there appear alongside objects (masculine plural nouns also referring to persons) in the old nominative-accusative form. The question arises as to whether these surrounding objects could have influenced the case of the feminine singular noun. In the presence of nouns in a clearly specified object case (the genitive-accusative) the use of the nominative case may have felt incongruous; this incongruity would presumably

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.41.

²It will be noted that both in example (xi) and in example (xiii) the nominative-objects are qualified by свои and that in the former instance the object is an -i type noun (cf. Ch.2, pp. 72, 89, 90, 92).

not have been felt where the other objects were in the nominative-accusative. It seems, however, that if this influence existed, its role was only marginal: examples will be quoted from Domostroi (Ch.5, p.211, examples (lii), (liii) in which the nominative-object is used side by side with an object in the genitive-accusative.

There remains a small number of other instances where the accusative is found in an independent infinitive sentence:

(xiv) а какими дѣлы отыметсѧ отъ брата мое^г князѧ Володимера или отъ его дѣтей Городецъ или Козлескъ и мнѣ имѣ дати в Городцѧ мѣсто Тошну а в Козельска мѣсто Рожѧ-
[лого] да Боженку (No.16)

This is a treaty between Grand Prince Vasiliy Dmitriyevich and Prince Vladimir Andreyevich of Serpukhov and Borovsk, dating from 1401-1402. No other examples of either nominative or accusative are found in infinitive sentences in this treaty. On the other hand, examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are found in other treaties between Moscow Grand Princes and Princes of Serpukhov and Borovsk, both earlier and later than No.16, namely Nos.13 (seven examples) and 27 (one example). That the objects concerned are place names would seem to be irrelevant: instances of the Nominative and Infinitive construction involving Russian place names occur in Nos.24a, 24б, 351a, 11a, 1б, 11б, 381a, 11б 1б, 11a.

(xv) а пошлину имати с мои^х со тѣх^х рьски^х людей в моего г^сна дѣда великого князѧ Витовта ѡчине в Смоленскѣ в Витебскѣ на [Киеве] в Дорогобѣжи в Вѣзмѣ и по всем^ѣ его великому княженю по давному (No.23)

One example was found of the nominative with an independent infinitive in this treaty, a sixteenth century copy of a document apparently first drawn up in

Tver' in 1427:

(xvi) а чемѸ наши волостели не оучина^т исправы и намъ сославс^а да оучинити исправа без перевода

One other example was found of the accusative in this treaty: this involves the noun роба and is similar to quotation No.(ix) (page 152). No instances parallel to No.(xv), but with the nominative instead of the accusative, occur in the documents studied.

(xvii) а што брате еще до скла^дные грамоты поиманы мои города и волости и мои села и мое м^три села великие кн^гини и мои^х бо^тарь села воиноу и грабеже^м а на то ти мнѸ дати су^д и исправу (Nos.38Ia, 38IIб)

No.38 is a treaty between Grand Prince Vasiliy Vasiliyevich and Prince Dmitriy Yuriyevich of Galich, dating from 1441-1442; 38Ia and 38IIб are copies of the version sent from the Grand Prince. In the version sent from Prince Dmitriy the equivalent sentences in both copies contain a nominative-object:

(xviii) а что г^сне буду^т твои люди имали в моеи ѿ^тчинѸ в городѸ^х и в волосте^х и в селѸ^х и оу бо^тарь мои^х селѸ^х воиноу и грабежо^м а на то ти г^сне дати су^д и исправа (Nos.38Iб, 38IIa)

The version sent from the Grand Prince does, however, contain three examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The formula represented in examples (xvii) and (xviii) is not found in any other document studied, although the expression исправа учинити occurs in Nos.2, 13 (twice), 23, 24a and 24б.

In the three examples just examined (xiv, xv, xvii) it is impossible to discern any distinguishing factor, either in the nature of the

documents themselves, or in the lexical content of the passages in question, which might have caused the accusative to be used here. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that both the nominative and the accusative could be used for the object of an independent infinitive verb, and that at least in certain circumstances they co-existed as pure alternatives. Where the object of the verb is a feminine noun referring to a person, or, possibly, where a feminine noun is used alongside nouns in the genitive-accusative, there seems to be a preference for the accusative; elsewhere there is a clear preference for the nominative.

3. Sud. 1497.

This short text contains six straightforward examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive; these can be exemplified by the following:

(xix) а не бѣде^Т оу него свѣ^Дтеле^И ино ему пра^Вда дати
(Art.47)

Listed as unclear is this passage, which may be an instance of the same construction:

(xx) а побіютьсѧ на поли в заемно^М дѣ^ле или в бою и
богаринѧ с діакомъ взѧ^{ТИ} на оубитом противень противѧ
исцева а ѡколничему полтина а діакѧ четверть а недѣ^лшикоѧ
по^Лтина да недѣ^лшикоу^Ж вѧсчего .д. алтыны (Art.6)

Here the nouns in the nominative are fairly remote from the infinitive; the structure of the passage suggests the possibility of interpreting the section from "ѡколничему" onwards as examples of the Nominative and Dative construction, which is not infrequent in

this text.¹

There is one possible example of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb:

(xxi) а христіаномъ ѿказыватисѧ из волости ис села в село ѿді^н сръ^к в годѣ за недѣлю до Юрьева днѣ ѿсеннего и нѣлю после Юрьева днѣ ѿсеннего двори пожилые платѧ^т в полѣ^х за дворъ рѣбѣ а в лесѣ^х по^лтина (Art.57)

This passage, however, is also ambiguous: the section after the word "полѣ^х" may be a separate clause, explaining the words "двори пожилые", rather than a constituent of the object of "платѧ^т".

There also occur the following examples of the accusative with infinitive verbs:

(xxii) а на кого взмолвѧ^т дѣтеи бо^тарскы^х члѣкѣ пѧ^т и^{ли} шесть добры^х по велико^г кнѣзѧ по кр^стному целованію и^{ли} черны^х члѣкѣ пѧ^т шесть добры^х хр^стіанъ цѣловалниковъ что ѿнѣ татъ а довода на него в прежнемъ дѣлѣ не бѣде^т оу кого краль или кому татѣ^б плачивалъ ино на то^м взѧти исцевѣ^б гибель бес сѣда (Art.12).

This is the only clear instance of the accusative used with an independent infinitive in this text.

(xxiii) а которой кѣпѣць идѣчи в торгѣ^влю возме^т оу кого де^нги или товаръ да на пѣти^б ѿ него оутерѧетсѧ товаръ бѣзхитростно истоне^т или згорить или ра^т возметъ и бо^ари^н

¹For a detailed account of the Nominative and Dative construction see Ch.2, pp.73 - 80; the construction as it appears in Sud. 1497 can be exemplified by the following: а досѣдѧтсѧ до полѧ а оу полѧ не стоѧвъ помирѧть^с и бо^аринѣ и діакѣ по тому росчетоу бо^арину с рѣбѣ^а два алтына а діакѣ ѿсмѣ денегъ а ѿколничему и діакѣ и недѣлшико^м пошли полевы^х нѣ^т (Art. 4)

ωбыска^В да вели^Т дати том^δ діак^δ великω^Г кнз̄^А пол^Т н^δю
грамот^δ с великω^Г кнз̄^А печатію платити истин^δ б^ез
 рост^δ (Art.55)

In this passage the first accusative occurs with an infinitive clearly dependent on "вели^Т". The second infinitive may also be dependent on the same word; it is possible, however, that this clause is a separate sentence describing the contents of the gramota; if so, it provides a further example of the accusative used with an independent infinitive.

(xxiv) а вел^Тти проклина^Т (sic) по то^Ргомъ на Москв^Т і
 во вс^Т^Х город^Т^Х моско^Вскіе земли ино во горω^Дцкіе земли
 и по вс^Т^М волосте^М запов^Тдати чтобы ище^А и ω^Тв^Тчикъ
 с^δдіамъ и приставо^М посл^δл^δ не с^δлили в с^δд^δ а посл^δхомъ
 не в^ід^Т^В не посл^δществовати а вид^Т^Вш^і сказати пра^Вд^δ
 (Art.67)

Here the accusative is used with an infinitive after "чтобы". The structure of the sentence is complicated and perhaps a little unclear, but the presence of a dative subject in the final part does suggest that this section is to be regarded as an independent infinitive construction used in indirect speech after "запов^Тдати".

Even if Nos.(xxiii) and (xxiv) are not wholly unambiguous examples of independent infinitive constructions, it still remains unclear why No.(xxii) should contain an object in the accusative. It will be noted that the object concerned consists of an -і type noun with a qualifying adjective, and in this text there are no instances of such a noun phrase appearing in the nominative. It is probable, however, that this is merely a fortuitous consequence of the small amount of material in the text: the figures in columns 3 and 4 of the table in Appendix 3

show no clear tendency for the accusative to be preferred when qualified-*i* type nouns are used in independent infinitive sentences.

4. Ulozh. 1649.

Ulozh. 1649 is a much longer text and provides many more relevant examples than does Sud. 1497. Indeed, a total of 83 unambiguous instances of the nominative used with an independent infinitive is to be found in this source, of which a number of examples will be given later.

There occur in addition two examples of the nominative with an infinitive after чтобы :¹

(xxv) а боудеть кто комꙋ вотчинꙋ свою заложить родовꙋ или выслꙋженꙋ или коупленꙋ до срокꙋ и закладнꙋ кабалоу на себѣ дать и по той закладной кабалѣ оучнеть тоу свою вотчинꙋ выкупати на срокꙋ или до срокꙋ и денги къ томꙋ оу кого та егѡ вотчина заложена принесеть и тотъ оу кого та егѡ вотчина в закладѣ хотя тоу егѡ вотчиною завладѣть тѣхъ денегъ до срокꙋ или на срокꙋ оу него не пріиметь для того чтобы тѣмъ срокомъ оу него та вотчина ѿдавати и томꙋ заимщикꙋ на того кто оу него тѣхъ денегъ не пріиметь бити челомъ г^сдрю не прощаа того срокꙋ
(Ch.XVII, Art.32)

(xxvi) а впредь толко тѣ полонаники и полонанки оучнѣть бити чело^м чтобъ имъ дати вола и тѣхъ литовскихъ полонанниковъ по тѣмъ записка^м велено ѿдавати тѣмъ же людемъ оу кого они жили (XX.69)

¹As will be seen from the table in Appendix 3, separate consideration is given to sentences of this type; the reason for this will be explained in Section 6, p.176.

In the first instance the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurs in a purpose clause; in the second it is used in a noun clause explaining the phrase "оучнѣть бити чело^М".

There are in addition a number of instances where the nominative is used with a dependent infinitive or with a gerund; these will be considered in detail in Ch.6 (pp.232-235, 243-252).

Ulozh. 1649 also contains 51 clear examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive. Included among the unclear examples are two instances of the accusative with an infinitive in a purpose construction, in a context where at one time a supine might have been used:

(xxvii) боудеть кто посланъ боудеть межовать спорнѣю
землю (Table of contents)

(xxviii) а боудеть кто посланъ боудеть межевати спорнѣю
землю и розведеть не по правдѣ (XVII.53)

There is also one example of the accusative used with an infinitive after чтобы (again in a construction dependent on учнѣть бити челомъ):

(xxix) а которые помѣщики и вотчинники всакихъ чиновъ
оучнѣть межъ себѣ менати вотчинныя земли на помѣстныя
земли или помѣстныя земли на вотчинныя земли и оучнѣть
бити челомъ чтобы по ихъ челобитью тѣ ихъ земли роспи-
сати помѣстнѣю землю в вотчинѣ а вотчиннѣю землю в
помѣстѣе и по томѣ ихъ любовномѣ челобитью тѣ земли
за ними росписывати же противъ того же какъ ѿ томъ
писано выше сего (XVI.5)

Where masculine-a type nouns occur as the object of independent infinitive verbs, the accusative is used throughout; the five examples

can be exemplified by the following:

(xxx) а боуде^т кто сѣдѣю в приказѣ или гдѣ ни боуди
оубъетъ до смерти и того бояцѣ самого казнити смертію
же (X.106)

It will be observed that in the independent infinitive sentences the object appears in the accusative rather more frequently than in the texts previously examined in this chapter, the proportion of accusatives to nominatives being almost two to three. There is indeed one situation where the former case seems to be preferred, namely where a noun referring to a person is used. Only two instances occur of the nominative of a feminine noun referring to a person in an independent infinitive sentence:

(xxxi) и по мѣже ѡдати с нимъ и жена (Table of contents)

(xxxi) а которой боарской человекѣ или раба котормѣ исцѣ
или ѡвѣтчикѣ крепчае и по сѣдѣ доведетсѣ ѡдати моужа а
тотъ боудетъ холопъ женатъ ѡдати с нимъ и жена (XX.60)

On the other hand, nine examples of the accusative of such nouns are to be found, as in the following:

(xxxi) а кто кабалного своего холопа женить оу себѣ на
волной жонке а послѣ того тотъ кабалной холопъ оу него
оумреть а та жонка котораѣ за тѣмъ его члкомъ была ѡ
него збѣжить и бѣетъ челомъ комѣ иномѣ и дать на себѣ
слѣжилѣю кабалоу а прежнѣй еѣ боаринѣ оу которого она
была за кабалнымъ члкомъ за неѣ поимаетсѣ и тоу жонкѣ
по первомъ еѣ мѣжѣ ѡдати томѣ еѣ прежнемѣ боаринѣ
(XX.85)

It may be observed that in one instance the noun concerned is братѣя:

(xxxiv) а которые крестьяне и бобыли за кѣмъ написаны
 в переписныхъ книгахъ прошлы^х .р̄н̄д̄.го и .р̄н̄е̄.го годовъ
 и послѣ тѣхъ переписныхъ книгъ изза тѣхъ людей за кѣмъ
 они в переписныхъ книга^х написаны збѣжали или впредь
 оучнѣтъ бѣгати и тѣхъ бѣглы^х крестьянъ и бобылей и ихъ
братью и дѣтей и племяннико^в и вноуча^т з женами и з
 дѣтьми и со всѣми животы и с хлѣбомъ столичимъ и с моло-
 чены^м ѣдавать из бѣговъ тѣмъ люде^м изза кого они вы-
 бѣжа^т по переписнымъ книгамъ без ѣрочны^х лѣтъ (XI.9)

In DDG only the accusative of this word is found in independent infinitive sentences.

It is interesting to note that in two of the examples in question the infinitive is negated, as in the following passage:

(xxxv) а женоу оубитого кр^стьянина и з дѣтьми и зъ
 животы оу того помѣщика оу которого кр^стьянина оубили
не ѣимати (XXI.71)

Normally in the Ulozhenie the object of a negated independent infinitive appears in the genitive case, for example:

(xxxvi) а ратны^м люде^м идѣчи на г^сдрвѣ слоужбѣ на дорогѣ
 и на станѣ^х никаки^м люде^м никакова насильства и оубытка
не чинити своихъ и конскихъ кормовъ ни оу кого бе^з денежно
не имати (VII.2) (cf. Ch.3, pp.116-119).

Where the object is a feminine noun which does not refer to a person, the position is more complicated. An attempt to assess the role of lexical factors in determining the case used will be made later in the chapter (pp.184-192).

5. Mor.

Of the remaining texts studied Mor. yielded the greatest amount of material: here 83 clear examples of the nominative in an independent infinitive sentence were found, a number of which are worthy of special comment:

(xxxvii) а писано г. к ним делать ему мука в купленной пшенице всю з осьмины (Gramota No.277)

Here there is an instance of breakdown of agreement between the noun and its qualifier; it antedates Timberlake's first such example of lack of concord by more than fifty years.¹ The change to the accusative in example (xxxvii) is, however, probably at least partly due to the separation of the word "всю" from the noun which it qualifies, and also from the infinitive. This particular example comes in a document sent by A. Dement'yev from the village of Pavlovskoye in the Zvenigorod Uyezd; the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurs several times in documents sent by this prikazchik.

(xxxviii) а пахать де было ему та пашня собою на себя (No.42)

This passage is interesting because of the past tense form "было" in a sentence containing the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The importance of examples involving an auxiliary is explained in Ch.2 (pp. 95,96)

A further unusual construction is the following:

(xxxix) рыбы у нас нет платити тебе г. нечево взять рыба негде (No.392)

As was mentioned above, the object of negated infinitive verbs generally appears in the genitive (see Ch.3, pp.116-119); elsewhere in the same document the same construction as in

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.33, 34. An even earlier example, dating from 1631 and originating in Tomsk, is quoted in V. V. Palagina (1973), p.107 (footnote).

example (xxxix) is found with the object in the genitive:

(xl) а ныне мне с. т. будучи у твоего государева
таможенного збору рыбы добывать негдя

The following passage has not been included among the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction:

(xli) вотчины твоей государска^й села Котельников пашня
пахать поспеваает (No.191)

"Пашня" is the subject of the finite verb "поспеваает", with the infinitive "пахать" appended, so to speak, onto the sentence. The result is an elliptical construction, in which the infinitive would seem to have a passive meaning.

In addition to the various examples mentioned above there are eight instances of the nominative used with an infinitive in a чтоб(ы) clause:

(xlii) а как срок дойдет и те деньги тысяча рублей взять
на нем тотчас чтоб таможенная и кабатцкая казна привести
ко мне вся сполна (No.76)

(xliii) а вашему брату приказшику то и надобно чтоб во
всем мне больши радеть и правда и раденье показати
(No.87)

(xliv) а как будешь на Москве и тебе б об них меня
доложить чтоб им впредь пашня отвесть (No.130)

(This passage, which comes at the end of the document, has been crossed out in the original.)

(xlv) а посажен г. мостовщик был для того чтобы мосту
беречь днем и ночью и мостовщина збирать (No.163)

(xlvi) апреля г. в I день писано г. ко мне х. т. чтобы
пашня пахать тотчас (No.190)

(xlvii) и прислать ко мне не помешкав чтобы та межа

розыскать (No.263)

(xlviii) в нынешнем во 168-м году били челом мне вотчин моих села Мурашкина и села Лыскова и иных моих вотчин старосты и целовальники и все крестьяне своею скудостью хлебным недородом и мойданною работою чтоб мне их пожаловать в том пощада учинить (No.384)

(xlix) в нынешнем во 168-м году говорил мне Данило Васильев сын Веселовской в прошлых де годах бежали из-за него Нижегородцкого уезду Закудямского стану из дер. Лукина крестьяне ево а живут в Курмышском уезде и приходят в мою вотчину в село Новое Покровское торговать а те ево крестьяне живут не в моих вотчинах за разными помещики и чтоб мне дать моя грамота к тебе Смирному чтоб ему в вотчине моей в селе Новом Покровском тех своих беглых крестьян поймать (No.463/II)

Three of the above examples (xlii, xlv and xlvii) occur in purpose clauses; the remainder are in clauses expanding orders or requests. Similar to the latter is the following example:

(1) а ныне та пора уж приспела что рыба [к Москве] присылать (No.336)

There is also one instance of the nominative used with an infinitive in a purpose clause that is not introduced by чтобы:

(li) и мне х.с. о том как укажешь ково произволишь подлиннова мерщика х пашне [] прислать и розверстать г. пашня которая под ерь и которая под рошь (No.191)

These two examples have been listed in Appendix 3 as unclear.

There are also to be noted at this point four examples of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb:

(lii) а из сенных покосов косят на боярской обиход про боярскую животину оселок Старая деревня мордовская поляня задняя поляня Парышиха и по врагом и по заполицам (From an opis' of 1667)

(liii) есть г. твоя боярская земля 8 дес. а та земля чистил Иван Брылкин (No.247/1)

(liv) а бревнам г. мера секли и возили по 4 саж. и по 3 (No.249)

(lv) и он Павел тот свой коробин и половина своего чюла^{на} приказал Игнатью Едигееву (No.471/II)

In none of these instances is there an obvious explanation for the use of the nominative; in two examples the object is adjacent to the verb, while in a third it is almost so. Only in the case of No.(lii) might the distance of the object from the verb have any significance. It is also possible that here a colon is to be read after the word "животину" (this is the punctuation of the edition), and that what follows is to be considered a separate clause.

Mor. also contains a number of examples of the nominative used with dependent infinitives and gerunds; these will be examined in detail in Chapter 6.

As in Ulozh. 1649 the accusative is widely used in independent infinitive sentences in Mor., with 62 clear examples of this usage occurring in the latter text. The proportion of examples with the accusative to those with the nominative is almost exactly three to four;

the former case is thus relatively more frequent here than in Ulozh. 1649.

In addition to the above there are two examples of the accusative used with an infinitive in a чтобы clause:

(lvi) а в Астрахани г. они рыбу мою грузят к верховному отпуску в осенние и в вешние свои в большие и в глубокие насады не против гостя Васильевых насадов Шорина для того чтоб г. тем их большим и глубоким насадом с моею рыбою из Астрахани в Нижней идучи на мелких водах паузитца и рыбу на солнце и на жару изсушить (No.78)

(lvii) в нынешнем во 168-м году бил челом мне вотчины моей села Лыскова крестьянин Ивашко Демидов прислана де моя грамота к тебе Левонтью велено на нем Ивашке взять на мой обиход полтретьяста ведр вина и ты де на нем того вина правишь и стоит де на правеже многое время и по се число а взять де вина негде потому что де у него винного промыслу и заводу нет и тем промыслом ныне не промышляет а промышляет де низовым промыслом тому третей год слишком и чтоб мне ево жаловать в том вине пощаду учинить (No.414/II)

The first of these examples occurs in a purpose clause, while the second appears in a form of indirect request, expanding the words "бил челом".

Slightly different from the above is the following:

(lviii) и то ты блядин сын дурак делаешь негораздо хуже малова робенка коли то ведетца что боярскую землю пусту покинуть (No.368)

It is noteworthy that this passage with its invective

and also the word "коли"¹ is written in an exceptionally colloquial style. There is also an example of the accusative occurring with an infinitive in what would seem to be a purpose clause (but without чтобы):

(lix) а ту нам взаимы рожь вели имать в той же дер.

Холязине из оденей молотить выморочную (No.355/XXI)

The accusative in the example quoted below is presumably the editor's emendation of a defective passage in the original, although the edition for some reason offers no guidance on this point:

(lx) и о том ко мне отписать и поруч[ную] запись прислать
(№ .447)

A further noteworthy instance is represented by this passage:

(lxi) есть де у них озеро а дают его исполу рыбу ловить
(No.148)

Here the accusative and the infinitive seem to form a separate phrase (rather than a clause), explaining the use of the lake. Such constructions appear similar to the "appended" infinitive constructions noted in the Otkaznyye Knigi for Belgorod,² as well as in Mor., where they are exemplified by quotation No.(xli) and also by the following passage:

(lxii) да ты же отдавал на пус. Тикшилеях крестьяном
моим пашню пахать и ярь сеять подесетинно (No.35)

This example is similar to No.(xli) (p.164) in that "пашню" is the object of "отдавал" with the infinitive "пахать" appended (again with a passive meaning) to explain the purpose of the land. The above examples from (lviii)onwards are listed as unclear in Appendix 3.

¹V. I. Borkovskiy, P. S. Kuznetsov (1965), p.534.

²See Chapter 7, pp. 294,295.

The accusative is used regularly with masculine -a type nouns in independent infinitive sentences, as in the following examples:

(lxiii) и тебе б как их год отойдет октября I-е число тамо-
женного и кабатцкого голову с товарищи переменить
(No.60)

(lxiv) и чтоб мне их крестьян Евсютку Васильева Петруньку
Максимова Янку Михайлова пожаловать (No.155)

The following might seem at first sight to be exceptions to the above norm:

(lxv) велеть тово моего крестьянина Ивашка Фуфая отыскать
(No.470)

(lxvi) а в дер. Княже есть бобыль Андрюшка Данилов з
женою и с сыном живет без тягла и я х.т. тово Андрюшка
Данилова в дворники без твоего государева указу взять
не смею (No.487)

The endings of qualifiers and of nouns in apposition might suggest that the nouns concerned are also in the genitive-accusative case, being declined like -o type nouns. Such an interpretation would seem to be supported by the following quotation:

(lxvii) Роспись дер. Красной Митьке Тарасову что я принял
у прошлова закащика у Гордея Никитина дедушка своего
Агафона Трофимова и отца своего Тараса живатов (No.356)

Here "дедушка" can clearly be seen to be a genitive ending. The example below, on the other hand, taken from the same gramota as No.(lxv) provides an instance of Ивашка used with an -a type ending:

(lxviii) крестьянин мой Васька Муромцов ево Ивашку отпустил
в Астрахань (No.470)

It would appear possible, however, that certain diminutive forms of nouns can belong to more than one declension

pattern.¹

Interesting, and slightly different from the above, is one instance where surnames appear in the nominative form alongside diminutive forms of Christian names in -ко and -ка:

(1xix) и ныне де Наумко Иванов и Трошка Троекуров и .
Потешка Иванова велел ты посадить в тюрьму (No.97).

Since the name nearest the verb appears in the expected genitive-accusative form, it would seem probable that the remaining forms represent errors of some sort.

As far as feminine nouns referring to a person are concerned, no examples of the nominative were found in independent infinitive sentences. Six instances, however, of the accusative occur in sentences of this type; these may be exemplified by the following:

(1xx) и тебе б ево Васькину жену и дети и рухлядь при-
слать ко мне к Москве (No.416).

On the question of geographical origin, it may be noted that the vast majority of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occur in documents emanating from B. I. Morozov's household in Moscow. Of the remaining sources, from the village of Pavlovskoye (Zvenigorod Uyezd) there are eight examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, including three examples in чтобы clauses and one instance of the nominative with a dependent infinitive; from the village of Lyskovo (Kurmysh Uyezd) there is one instance of the nominative with an independent infinitive (in a petition from the monks

¹That the same diminutive form of one name can follow two declension patterns within one and the same document is shown by these examples from MDBP, Section 2, No.7:

а) жалоба г^сдр мн^б на б^гглова свое^г стари^нно^г чл^вка на
Деми^тку Устаева сна Ко^рмышева
б) ве^{ли} г^сдрь мн^б да^т на то^г мое^г б^гглова стари^нно^г чл^вка
на Деми^тка Устаева сна Ко^рмышева в холо^пстве сво^и ц^рьской
суд и управу

See also B.O. Unbegaun (1972), p.73.

of a local monastery) and two examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive. There is also one instance of the nominative with an independent infinitive in a petition from Astrakhan', from a peasant originating in Lyskovo. From the village of Kotel'nikov (Moscow Uyezd) there is one example of the nominative with a dependent infinitive and one with a finite verb; there are two instances of the nominative with an independent infinitive from Seletskaya Sloboda (Ryazan' Uyezd) and three such examples from the village of Murashkino (Nizhniy Novgorod Uyezd). The village of Gorodnya (Tver' Uyezd) provides one instance each of the nominative used with an independent infinitive and with a finite verb; there is one example of the nominative with an independent infinitive from the village of Lotoshino, also in the Tver' Uyezd, while one instance each of the nominative with a dependent infinitive and with a finite verb are to be found in a document which cannot be placed more accurately than the Moscow Uyezd. Finally, three examples of the nominative with an independent infinitive occur in a document probably originating in Nizhniy Novgorod itself.

The same document also contains one example of the accusative with an infinitive in a чтобы clause. There are in addition single examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive in documents from the villages of Ivanovskoye (Kolomna Uyezd), Murashkino, Novoye Pokrovskoye (Nizhniy Novgorod Uyezd) and from the Gorokhovets Uyezd (Vladimir Guberniya). The extracts from the Opisnyye Knigi contain one example of the accusative with an independent infinitive, as well as one instance each of the nominative with a dependent infinitive and with a finite verb.

In addition to the examples mentioned above three instances of the accusative with an independent infinitive occur in what are described as Царские грамоты. No examples of the nominative in a corresponding construction are to be found in documents of this type (of which there are nine). The small number of examples, the lack of information on the scribes concerned and on which to assess the possible influence of Morozov's office in Moscow on their language, make impossible any conclusions on the basis of this material as to the geographical limits of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the seventeenth century.

6. The Bezobrazov documents.

The texts examined so far in this chapter have all contained more examples of the nominative in independent infinitive sentences than of the accusative. A different pattern is revealed, however, by Bezobr. Here there occur only six straightforward instances of the nominative used with an independent infinitive, for example:

(lxxi) отда^т ся грамо^тка на Москвѣ^ѣ на и^линьско^и ^ѣлице ^ѣстарова двора Посо^лского на дворѣ^ѣ О^ндрѣ^ѣю И^личю Безо^бразову (G.113, 1673)

(lxxii) а на челоби^тно^и помета дьяка Лариона Пашина .рп^ѣ.^ѣ се^нтя^бря въ .л. де посла^т г^сдрва грамота к воеводе вы^сла^т к Москве для допросу (P.1, 1680)

The remaining instances are undated.

A further two examples are to be found of the nominative used with an infinitive in a чтобы construction:

(lxxiii) а о^н ~~А~~едоръ То^нко^в беспрестани да^ѣчаетъ что^б что^б

(sic) на него кѣпчая взя^т и ево^б в др^вню ѡтпѣсти^т (G.5, 1681)

(lxxiv) побѣ^и чело^м за мня бе^днова великому г^сдрю чтобѣ
присла^т великого г^сдря грамота налатарь (G.118, undated)

In addition there are two instances of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive:

(lxxv) ино по а[едора] мочно грамота взя^т (G.57)

(lxxvi) хотя бы і не такая ско^рбѣ и про нево мошно баня
топи^т (F.9).

Both these examples are undated. It is noteworthy that among the numerous instances of the accusative used with dependent infinitives there are no examples of an infinitive dependent on мошно taking an object in this case. There is also one apparent example of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb:

(lxxvii) [по указѣ] г^сдря своего а^ндрѣя [Ильича] ска ска
вели Ма^рка Дми^тре^в да Ива^н Ше^рбочо^в про ужи^н и про зомоло^т
(P.20)

The editors observe, however, that "ска ска" is a "чтение предположительное".

In contrast to the above there are eleven clear examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive; these can be exemplified by the following:

(lxxviii) а полова рыбы гора^зда а что бгѣ пошле^т и тое
рыбѣ при^сла^т бы вамъ и недобо^рные о^брошны^е [] де^нги к
на^м к Мо^скве с чл^вкомъ с нашимъ (F.2, 1670)

(lxxix) и тобѣ^б взя^т тое ѡтписку у Игна^тя да посмотри^т
(S.3, 1631)

Apart from two further examples from F.2, the remaining instances are undated.

In addition the following is perhaps also to be taken as an example of the above type, although the last few letters of the important last word have been lost.

(lxxx) и ему Григо^Рю с то^И мое^И земли кр^Стя^Н свои^Х све^Сть
и дворы кр^Стя^Нские переवे^Сть и землю мою очис....
(Р.10, 1669)

Another noteworthy instance is the following; here the accusative and infinitive phrase forms the complement to "мало^И убытокъ":

(lxxxi) а хорошо бы прислалъ великого г^Сдря грамоту об
о^Ддаче т^Бх кр^Стя^Н теб^Б мн^Б бы безопасна ; теб^Б кр^Бпчи
а грамоту г^Сдрь взять мало^И убытокъ (G.206, undated)

In the example quoted below it is not clear whether the infinitive governing the object in the accusative is to be regarded as independent or dependent on "веле^{ЛИ}":

(lxxxii) и мне хлеба веле^{ЛИ} да^Т и^З наши^Х жи^Тни^Ц бе^Днымъ
кр^Стяно^М на семена вса^Имы которые^Х не^Т и в то^М хлебе
веле^{ЛИ} има^Т саемые памя^{ТИ} а писа^Т те памя^{ТИ} цер^Рковно^{МУ}
дьячку а р^Бку приложи^Т въ и^Х места свеще^Ннику а вно^В
ни^Х то^Т хле^Б опя^Т збира^Т в нашу жи^Тницу спо^Лна (F.2)

The above three examples are classified in Appendix 3 as unclear.

Eight examples are to be found of the accusative used in a чтобы clause; the relatively large number of such examples, compared to similar instances with the nominative, makes it desirable to quote them in full:

(lxxxiii) да писа^Л ты г^Сдрь про зе^Млю про де^Шки^Нскую что^Б
по меже да^Смо^Тре^Т и зе^Млю смети^Т что в Де^Шкине у Ло^В-
чиковы^Х (G.66, undated, as are all of the following except for
lxxxv)

(lxxxiv) и^зволи^л ты г^сдрь ко мнѣ {бог^ому писать что^б
мнѣ промы^слить ры^б сте^рледе^и леще^и судаковъ да ло^тку
(G.70)

(lxxxv) и писа^л о то^и ря^дно^и записи к мату^шке что^б
тое ря^днѣю запи^с сыска^т и присла^т к тебѣ (G.115, 1673)

(lxxxvi) писа^л ты ко мнѣ А^ндрѣ^и И^личь что^б мнѣ показа^т
х тебѣ знако^м сво^е та^кжа бы^т добрѣ х члвкѣ твоемѣ и
о чо^м стане^т би^т чело^м и дере^вню твою побѣ^речь и розори^т
не дова^т о^т дете^и боя^рски^х (G.124)

(lxxxvii) и да^и помози и^м г^сдрь мо^и А^ндре^и И^личь въ и^х
челоби^тю что^б на^м рабо^м твои^м едни^м гласо^м мл^сть твою
г^сдря ншего слави^т (G.133)

(lxxxviii) да посла^л я тебѣ г^сдрю своемѣ два осет^ра свѣ^жи^х
что^б тебѣ г^сдрю мое^{му} тое рыбу куше^т на здорове (G.177)

(lxxxix) о^н приходи^л на тво^и г^сдрь дво^р и би^л челомъ
что^б ему баню вытопи^т (F.9)

(xc) они шу^ря мо^и радею^т о то^м што^б и^м бе^з меня
и^м дамишка моего взять у се^стры свое^и и жяни^шки мое^и
пожи^тки мо^и лошади и платья и служивую ру^хляди^шку мою
и завладе^т бе^з а^тдачи (P.13)

The following examples have что instead of чтобы, but in other respects seem similar to the above:

(xci) да пише^ш ты г^сдрь про Ма^реи^нско^и дво^р что мне которою
половину бра^т (G.64)

(xcii) и^зволи^л г^сдрь ты по мл^сти свое^и рѣ^чь что зе^млю спра-
вить во^тчинѣ (G.185)

Both these examples are undated; they are classified as unclear in Appendix 3.

It will be seen that chronology is of almost no assistance in attempting to make a detailed assessment of the material contained in Bezobr., since the vast majority of relevant examples occur in undated documents. Of the documents quoted which do bear dates all but one were written in 1669 or later.

Attention must now be turned to those examples which occur in a clause introduced by чтобы. Here it will be noted that the distribution of nominative and accusative cases is different from that of the straightforward independent infinitive sentences, such as examples (lxxi) and (lxxviii) and that the nominative is relatively less frequent in чтобы sentences. Particularly noteworthy is document F.9 (undated), where occur examples (lxxvi) and (lxxxix), with the same lexical content; in the former passage the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on можно, while in the latter the accusative occurs with an infinitive in a чтобы clause. This tendency towards a different treatment of чтобы sentences was not detected in any of the texts previously examined.

7. MDBP.

In the three sections of MDBP ten clear examples of the nominative were found in independent infinitive sentences. Two of these examples are worthy of special attention:

(xciii) а то свѣ^т мо^и все было говорили бояря что было да^т
тебѣ такая грамота что б^ы бы^т князь Григо^рю у тебя в товарища^х
(Section 1, No.2и, 1677)

Here the nominative and infinitive occur in a clause containing the past tense form "было".

(xciv) РНЗ Г икня въ Д де досмо^Трить баня ка^К далеко ѿ^Т
колоде^Зя поста^Влена (2.49, 1649)

It may be thought here that the nominative replaces a genitive, since the verb досмотрить, like other verbs of prolonged perception, including смотреть, is often to be found with this case.¹ This text does, however, contain at least one clear example of досмотрить used with the accusative:

(xcv) пожалу^іте меня сироту своего велите г^Сдри то^Т
и^Х бои і ѿвѣч^ѣья на мнѣ досмо^Трѣть и саписа^Т (2.138)

A possible though unclear instance of the nominative with an independent infinitive is the following passage:

(xcvi) пожалѣ^ѣте меня холопа своего ѿсвободите мнѣ
дочеришка свое выдать бесп^Нна (2.50, 1649)

In Standard Modern Russian the diminutive of дочь would be a feminine noun, like the word from which it is derived.² The form "свое", however, suggests that the diminutive here has acquired neuter gender, presumably taking the endings of an -o type noun. The following passage contains examples of дочеришка used with both -o and -a type endings:

(xcvii) к вашему г^Сдрву делѣ наѣч^ѣены у меня чатыре доче-
ришка бра^Ню и ши^Тю а пятоя еше невеличка и дочеришка я
выда^Л свою в Кадашеве а другую зговори^Л ислободы что к
мое^И дочеришке в Кадашеве никово нѣ ѿбыскало^С (2.50)³

¹See T. P. Lomtev (1956), p.268. The following may serve as an example of the use of досмотрить with the genitive in MDBP:
вели г^Сдрь того пожегѣ досмо^Трить (2,75).

²V. Kiparsky (1975), p.225.

³Elsewhere in this text there is a small number of examples of the diminutives of feminine nouns being treated as neuter nouns of the -o type, for instance:

а) в ннѣ^ѣшнемъ г^Сдрь во РМЕ^М го^Ду авѣгѣ^ѣста въ КА де^В
вечорѣ^ѣ па^С г^Сдрь сынишко мо Васка корове^Нко мое по^Длѣ^ѣ

In addition to the various examples quoted above there are two examples of the nominative used with an infinitive in а чтобы clause:

(xcviii) и били чело^М они ~~А~~ома и О^Ндре^И чтобъ та во^Тчина
за ними ро^Списа^Т по заручно^И и^Х челоби^Тно^Иа н^Т по то^И
дхо^Вно^И и н^Т по зяписямъ (2.119, 1683)

(xcix) да о^Н же Ива^Н бѣе^Т чело^М что^Б на^М положи^Т в при-
казе дѣховная дядѣ ншго (3.12, 1688)

One instance was found of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive:

(с) и по т^Воему г^Сдрѣ^ѣ ука^{ЗУ} по и^Х ло^Жному челоби^Тю
указана имъ с нами холопи твоими да^Т очная ста^Вка в ро^З-
ряде (2.59, 1661)

There is also one apparent example of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb:

(ci) РПГ г ~~е~~е^Враля въ Г^І де в Приказе масте^Рския полаты
дѣмном^ѣ дворянину А^Врам^ѣ Никитичю Лоп^ѣхин^ѣ да Д^Іако^М Иван^ѣ
Яковлев^ѣ да Ко^Рнил^ѣ Пе^Тров^ѣ ся явк^ѣ пода^Л кадашеве^Ц
Сенка Ивано^В дѣакъ Ива^Н Яковлевъ (2.89, 1675)

The lack of agreement between noun and qualifier should be noted here;
it is possible that the form "ся" is the consequence of a slip of the pen.

Five clear instances were found of the accusative used for the
object of an independent infinitive verb. In addition there are a
number of unclear examples; in the following the second accusative and
infinitive clause may be regarded either as independent or dependent
on "вели":

ωгорода боярина кн^Ся ω^Ндрѣ^ѣ Васи^Левича Хи^Лкова а то^Т Ива^Н
то^Т ωгоро^Д паше^Т и то^Т Ива^Н сшо^Тчи с ωгорода ^ѣча^Л сынишка
моего и то корове^Нко^М мое би^Т кн^ѣтико^М по голо^Вѣ и по ше^ѣ
в) вели г^Сдрѣ^ѣ мнѣ да^Т на него Ивана в то^М мое^М иску сво^ѣ
црьско^ѣ с^ѣд^ѣ и ^ѣправ^ѣ а в бою и в ^ѣвече^ѣ сынишка моего и в
мое^М женишка моего въ безчестья^Х что ты г^Сдрѣ^ѣ ^ѣкажешь
(Both from 2.28)

(cvii) да и ннѣ г^сдри Пе^тръ Кра^сноі добивае^тся что^б ту
мою жо^нку всѣ^т к Москвѣ (2.12, 1633)

(cviii) а в челоби^тно^и свое^и пише^т будто о^тцъ и^х ~~А~~ома
Малыгинъ с тѣ^{ст}е^м моимъ ро^здели^л тое во^тчину по духовно^и
о^тца своего и по записямъ и чтобъ тое духо^вную и записи
положи^т мнѣ холопу вашему г делу (2.119)

(сix) в ннѣ^м во РО^м го^ду и^зволи^л велики^и г^сдрь свои^м
цр^ьски^м рассмотре^ни^е во всяки^х чинехъ ра^зсудить мл^стиво
что^б ннешнюю насто^ящую доро^го^в за помощью бжиею умали^т
и ѿ^бщество^б хр^сти^анское види^т бе^з ѿ^скорблениа и для
тово на Дене^жно^м ѿ^дно^м дварѣ дѣла^т в за^па^с серебряны^а
днги (3.6а, 1662)

(сх) в то^м в ннѣ^м во РО^м го^ду и^зволи^л велики^и г^сдрь
свои^м цр^ьски^м расмо^тре^ни^е во всяки^х чинѣ^х ра^зсуди^т
мл^стиво что^б ннѣ^ю насто^ящею доро^го^в за помощью бжиею
умали^т ѿ^бщество^б хр^сти^анское виде^т без оско^рблениа и для
тово на Дене^жно^м одно^м дворѣ дѣла^т в за^па^с сере^бренны^е
днги (3.6б, 1662)

It may be noted that in this text, while both nominative and accusative are used for the objects of independent infinitive verbs, the former appears more frequently. Where, however, the infinitive occurs in a clause introduced by чтобы, the object is found more often in the accusative. MDBP is thus similar to Bezobr. in distinguishing infinitive constructions in чтобы clauses from straightforward independent infinitive constructions.

8. The Sudebnik of 1550.

Reference must now be made to the articles mentioned on page 147 which discuss the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the Sudebnik of 1550. Y. A. Sprinchak notes the predominance of the nominative in independent infinitive sentences. The accusative is found in such constructions, but, it would seem, only extremely rarely, a circumstance which leads him to the following observation: "Незначительное количество разночтений по обороту "инфинитив + именительный" в разных рукописях Судебника говорит о том, что в приказно-юридическом языке существовали довольно четкие и твердые нормы в употреблении этой синтаксической конструкции."¹

L. I. Konovalova provides a more detailed examination of the variations in the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction and comes to a conclusion rather different from Sprinchak's: "В списках Судебника, относящихся к XVI веку, мы отметили выше целый ряд примеров замены именительного на -а винительным падежом." It is interesting that she finds more examples of the accusative in independent infinitive sentences in the sixteenth century manuscripts of the text than in those dating from the seventeenth or even the eighteenth centuries. She accounts for this in the following way: "Большее единообразие рукописей XVII века связано с усилением ведущей роли московских приказов в утверждении общерусских языковых норм, и это ведет к сглаживанию московских языковых норм."²

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1939), p.141.

²L. I. Konovalova (1968), pp.82, 83.

In order to obtain a general idea of the relative numbers of nominative and accusative objects in independent infinitive sentences (Konovalova does not give these totals for individual copies of the text), the relevant material relating to two manuscripts selected at random from those surveyed on pp.74-78 of Konovalova's article was examined. In the manuscript referred to as Соф. 1443 (dating from the sixteenth century) the nominative occurs with an independent infinitive 21 times, the accusative six times; in the manuscript referred to as 17.8.19 (dating from the eighteenth century) the nominative occurs with an independent infinitive nineteen times, the accusative seven times.¹ It may be noted in passing that the evidence of these two particular copies contradicts Konovalova's comment on the wider use of Nominative and Infinitive construction in later copies of the text.

9. J. Križanić.

Although in Chapter 1 (p.1) it was stated that the earliest comments on the Nominative and Infinitive construction date from the nineteenth century, there is one earlier reference to the construction which deserves to be noted at this point. In his work Грамаѣчно изказанье об руском језику, written in Tobol'sk in 1666, J. Križanić, a Croatian priest, who spent time both in Moscow and in Tobol'sk, wrote the following:

¹These figures refer to those feminine singular nouns and adjectives in which nominative and accusative are distinguished; the discrepancy between the totals for the two manuscripts is caused by the fact that a singular noun in one manuscript may correspond to a plural noun in another.

"Въ ѿбщѣ рꙋскоѣ бесѣде јест повѣдно (въ жѣнскихъ ѿменехъ)
 јменникъ класт, въ мѣсто крозника. Какот,
 Сїја грамота дат томꙋ и томꙋ
 Р: Сїѣꙋ грамотꙋ дат.
 Надобе јест нѣжа терпѣт
 Р: Хотѣщемꙋ спѣстисѣ надобе јест нѣждꙋ терпит.
 Тꙋ намъ јест сꙋжено глава положит
 Реци, Овди, о дружино, јест намъ сꙋжено главу положит.
 Треба ми јест рꙋда метѣт
 Р: Триба ми јест рꙋдꙋ метѣт.
 Пора јест пшеница сѣѣт
 Р: Доба јест пшеницꙋ сїѣт.¹

Since Križanić was not a Russian, his remarks must be treated with considerable caution. They are, nevertheless, interesting for several reasons. First, they seem to indicate that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was still part of the living conversational language at the time of Križanić, although it is not known whether his remarks apply to Moscow, Tobolsk or both. Second, Križanić is the only foreign writer of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries who in any way describes the Nominative and Infinitive construction.² Finally, it is striking that with one exception all the examples quoted of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occur in dependent infinitive sentences.³

¹Quoted from Чтения МОИДР, 1859, Book IV, p. РѢ. A brief reference to this passage is made in M. T. Dolobko (1937), pp.36, 37.

²See Ch.8, pp. 333-335.

³Cf. Ch.6, pp.238-243; Ch.8, p.339, where it is noted that there is a tendency for the use of the nominative-object to become frequent in dependent infinitive sentences in the early years of the eighteenth century.

10. Factors determining the choice of nominative or accusative case.

All the texts examined for this chapter contain examples both of the nominative and of the accusative used for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb. It is now necessary to examine this material, especially the considerable body of evidence found in the seventeenth century texts, in an attempt to find out what factors, if any, determine which of the two cases is used. Some of these factors have already been noted: thus no examples whatsoever were found of a masculine-a type noun used in the nominative with an independent infinitive verb. The treatment of such nouns, and also that of the feminine singular collective noun братья, for which no instances of the nominative-object were found, is discussed in Chapter 3, pp.137-138.

In certain other circumstances a clear preference for the accusative was discerned. In two of the seventeenth century texts, Bezobr. and MDBP, the nominative is proportionally less frequent when used with an infinitive in a clause introduced by чтобы than it is in straightforward independent infinitive sentences. The earliest instance of a construction of the former type in the texts examined occurs in Sud.1497 (example(xxiv), p.158), and it would appear that these constructions arose during the fifteenth century. It seems permissible to regard чтобы constructions as being in origin independent infinitive sentences transformed into noun clauses in indirect speech or command.¹ In some texts, notably Mor., there is no evidence that чтобы sentences are treated in any way differently from straightforward independent infinitive sentences (See Appendix 3).

¹See K. Gabka (1958), pp.235-253.

It therefore appears that in the later years of the seventeenth century (most of the material from Bezobr. and MDBP that can be dated was written after 1670) a tendency develops for the nominative to be replaced by the accusative in чтобы clauses at a more rapid rate than happened in straightforward independent infinitive sentences. This tendency may be supposed to arise when чтобы constructions are no longer regarded as being independent infinitive sentences and would seem to mark one of the stages in the disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. As the construction starts to be lost from the language, it would presumably go first in those environments where it was less typical; by the late seventeenth century the чтобы constructions would appear to belong to this category.

As has been noted earlier in the chapter, and as can be seen from Appendix 3, the accusative also seems to be preferred in independent infinitive sentences where the object is a feminine singular noun referring to a person. Such a preference is possibly to be discerned in DDG, although here two examples with the nominative occur in a treaty dating from the late fourteenth century (example(xi), p.152, example(xiii), p.153). In the seventeenth century texts studied only two examples, both in Ulozh.1649, (examples (xxxi),(xxxii), p.161) were found of the nominative of this type of noun used with an independent infinitive.

As will be shown in the next chapter (Ch.5, p.220), there are texts where this preference is not observed. Consequently one may speak in this context only of a tendency. It is, furthermore, a tendency that is not easy to account for. Timberlake, observing that nouns which develop the genitive-accusative are not subject to the

Nominative and Infinitive construction, links the development in question to the extension of the animate category to feminine nouns in the plural.¹ It seems, however, odd that a phenomenon affecting only the plural should be directly connected with a different phenomenon which involves only the singular. There is, nevertheless, one other aspect in which feminine nouns referring to a person are accorded special treatment: the only examples where the accusative of a feminine noun is used with a negated independent infinitive both involve nouns referring to persons (see p.162).

There still remains a large number of examples of the accusative used for the object of an independent infinitive verb which fall into none of the above categories. Since such examples do not differ from those with the nominative-object either syntactically or morphologically, it is necessary to determine whether the distinction lies in the lexical content of the passages involved, most probably either in the object or in the infinitive.

Where certain words are involved there does seem to be a tendency for one or the other case to be preferred. Thus, when гpамота or one of its diminutives is the object of an independent infinitive verb, there seems to be a preference for the nominative: in Ulozh. 1649 гpамота appears as the nominative-object of an independent infinitive verb on nine occasions (eight times with the infinitive дати); the accusative of the same word is used in the same function only once. Out of the six straightforward examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Bezobr. two involve the object

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.114-116.

грамота and two the diminutive form грамотка. The accusative form (грамоту) occurs only once in an independent infinitive sentence in this text. In eight of the ten instances in MDBP where the nominative is used with an independent infinitive the object is грамота or (twice) грамотка; the accusative of this word, in either its full or its diminutive form, does not occur here in this construction. In one seventeenth century text, however, this pattern seems not to exist: in Mor. the word грамота in independent infinitive sentences occurs twelve times in the nominative and nine times in the accusative. This corresponds almost exactly to the relationship between the two cases for all relevant independent infinitive sentences (see pp.166-167).

There is one infinitive which seems to be used exceptionally often with a nominative-object: in Ulozh.1649, when the infinitive (у)чинить is used with different objects of a kind susceptible to the Nominative and Infinitive construction, the nominative is used on 18 occasions, the accusative only once. In Mor. the same verb is found five times with a nominative-object and not at all with an object in the accusative. No relevant examples occur with this verb in the other seventeenth century text.

Thus with neither of the above words can it be shown that the tendency described applies throughout; where other words are concerned the picture is even less clear. Sometimes a particular preference seems to be discernible in one text, but fails to receive any confirmation in any of the other sources. For instance, in Ulozh.1649 the expression отсечь рука occurs eight times, as in the following:

(сxi) а боудеть кто при г^сдрѣ выметъ на кого какое ни
боуди оружье а не ранить и не ꙗбѣть и того казнити
ѡбѣчь рѣка (III.4)

Only one example was found of the equivalent expression with the accusative:

(сxii) а боудеть кто на слоужбѣ оу кого оукрадетъ лошадь
и емоу за тое татьбоу роукѣ ѡбѣчь (VII.29)

It may be noted that, in contrast to the above passage, in all the examples involving this expression where the object is in the nominative the object follows the verb. As will be pointed out later (ch.6, p.260), in the vast majority of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurring in this text the object follows the verb.

In the same text the word вотчина appears as the nominative-object of an independent infinitive verb ten times; the same noun appears in the accusative with the same type of verb only three times. With the word цѣна, however, the tendency is apparently reversed: used as the object of an independent infinitive verb, this noun is found five times in the accusative, but only once in the nominative, although there is in addition one example of the nominative of this word used with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive:

(сxiii) а боудеть кто лѣсъ росчищаючи чужое бортное дерево
со пчелами или безо пчоль ѡбѣчь или огнемъ ѡбожжеть
или боудеть кто чужое бортное дерево ꙗ себѣ на полѣ на
пашнѣ сохоу по^дпашеть и тѣмъ бортнымъ деревьѣмъ порѣхѣ
оучинить и в томъ на нихъ боудѣть челобитьчики и с
сѣда сыщется про то допрама и на нихъ велѣть за то бор-
ное деревье доправити оуказна цѣна (X.240)

Evidence to confirm or refute the apparent preferences noted on n.128 is not, however, available in the remaining sources.

Occasionally the evidence of one text appears to be contradicted by that of another: in Mor. the noun рыба occurs eight times in the nominative with an independent infinitive verb, as well as in the "unclear" example (1), whereas the only instance with the accusative was found in a чтобы sentence (passage 1vi). In Bezobr., however, this word does not occur as a nominative-object, although it occurs twice in the accusative as the object of an independent infinitive verb.

The final group of words is that for which no preference can be discerned in any of the sources. In Ulozh.1649 the expression да(ва)ти воля occurs twice, as does the equivalent expression with the object in the accusative. The same text contains the word половина used five times as the nominative-object of an independent infinitive verb and five times in the accusative as the object of the same type of verb. In Mor. the same word occurs twice both as the nominative-object and as the accusative-object of an independent infinitive verb (it also occurs once as the nominative-object of a finite verb). The infinitive взять is used with a nominative-object on thirteen occasions in Ulozh.1649, with an object in the accusative on nine occasions; the respective figures for Mor. are twelve and seven. Да(ва)ть when used as an independent infinitive in Ulozh.1649, takes a nominative-object on thirteen occasions, an accusative-object on six occasions; here the respective figures for Mor. are thirteen and five.

Particularly noteworthy are those passages where the nominative and the accusative of the same word are used adjacently for the object

of an independent infinitive verb. Two such passages, both involving the word половина, occur in Ulozh.1649:

(cxiii) а боудеть которой слоужилой челоуѣкъ боудѣчи на г^сдрвѣ слоужбѣ з бою збѣжить к себѣ домовъ а воеводы на него ѿ томъ ѿпишѣтъ къ г^сдрю и оу такихъ за тотъ побѣгъ ис помѣстныхъ ихъ и из денежныхъ ѿкладовъ оубавити половина да оу нихъ же ис помѣстей ихъ взати на г^сдрѣ половинѣ же (VII.19)

(cxiv) да изъ его же животовъ и с помѣстьѣ и с вотчины взати заповѣдь противъ ѿпасной грамоты сполна и половина тое заповѣди взати в г^сдревѣ казну а дрѣгоу половинѣ ѿдать оубитого женѣ и дѣтемъ и родѣ его кто на того ѣбойца оучнетъ г^сдрю бити челоуѣкомъ (X.133)

It is interesting to note that in the first passage взати is used with an object in the accusative, in the second with an object in the nominative.

Two passages similar to the above are found in Mor.:

(cxv) а мякины и солома будет надобна в село Богороцкое велеть перевезти и будет за обиходом лучитца и тебе б тое мякину и солому продать (No.34)

(cxvi) и вам бы той ржи отмерять осьмину в ту же меру в которую на суду мерели и та осьмина запечатав в мешке прислать ко мне к Москве. (№ 489/I)

In the first of these examples the nominative "солома" is used side by side with the partitive genitive "мякины". This combination of forms, as well as the positioning of the conjunction "будет", would seem to indicate that "солома" is to be read as the object of "перевезти", rather

than as the explicit subject of "будет надобна".¹

The above material allows one to conclude that with the exception of feminine nouns referring to a person (and here it is unclear whether the distinction is lexical or morphological) the choice of nominative or accusative for the object of an independent infinitive verb does not depend to any significant extent on lexical factors. Even where some texts show a tendency for one or the other case to be preferred when certain particular words are involved, this tendency can never be shown to be universal. Almost always nominative and accusative co-exist as apparently free alternatives, and the last four passages quoted make it hard to avoid the conclusion that in at least some circumstances the choice of case for the object of an independent infinitive verb was purely random.

This conclusion has a certain amount of importance in assessing the status of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the language of Moscow from the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century; for were it to be shown that the Nominative and Infinitive construction had become dependent on lexical factors, and especially that the nominative-object was particularly common in phrases and expressions peculiar to official procedural language, then it would have been possible to conclude that the construction was no longer part of the contemporary living language, but was an artificial element of official style. Since, however, the documents do not show this, it is probable that in this respect the usage reflected in

¹In the second passage the example with the nominative-object is not included among examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Appendix 3, since it is not clear whether the noun is the object of the infinitive "прислать" or the gerund "запечатав". Examples of this type are discussed in Chapter 6 (pp. 248, 249).

these sources is not very far removed from the living language of Moscow at the period in question.

11. Conclusions.

Sprinchak observes that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was a "Синтаксическая норма" for documents written in Prikaznyy Yazyk.¹ If this is to be taken as meaning that the use of the nominative-object with an independent infinitive verb is a rule of this level of language, then the material examined in this chapter fails to confirm this statement. The sources used, both official and otherwise, show that in the period from the late fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century both nominative and accusative are used for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb. In the texts written before the seventeenth century, including, it would appear, the Sudebnik of 1550, the nominative clearly predominates. In the seventeenth century sources the position is more complicated: with the exception of Bezobr. examples with the nominative continue to outnumber those with the accusative, but the predominance of the nominative case is not as great. In Bezobr. the accusative case is used for the object of an independent infinitive verb more often than is the nominative.

The texts show that the nominative-object is prone to disappear more rapidly in certain environments: in Bezobr. and MDBP there is a clear preference for the accusative in infinitive clauses introduced by чтобы, although this tendency is not discernible in the other sources. In all the seventeenth century sources instances of the nominative-object involving feminine nouns referring to a person are

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.3.

extremely rare; this may reflect a tendency which begins much earlier, although the evidence of DDG is not conclusive.¹ Elsewhere, however, no clear distinction can be found between nominative and accusative cases in independent infinitive sentences. Indeed, evidence can be brought to show that at least sometimes the choice between the two cases was purely random. Nevertheless, even here there is a clear tendency for the accusative-object in independent infinitive sentences to become more frequent in the later texts. These sources can therefore be seen as reflecting part of the process of the disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction from the language of Moscow; they indicate that this disappearance was not, as has been suggested by Bicilli² a sudden change, but the culmination of a process which appears to have been taking place for well over a century and perhaps for as long as three centuries.

¹The preference for the accusative in the environments described remains only a preference; this is especially true of the чтобы sentences, where examples of the nominative-object are not unknown in the eighteenth century (see Ch.8, p.317).

²P. Bicilli (1933), p.207.

CHAPTER 5

Introduction

No consideration was given in the preceding chapter to the question raised in Ch.1 (section 6) of the levels of language in which the Nominative and Infinitive construction was used. This is because the texts examined there contained what were for the most part official or quasi-official documents, and consequently the language reflects either the contemporary Prikaznyy yazyk or, in at least some of the Bezobrazov and Morozov documents, a more colloquial variant of this level of language. There are, however, two lengthy texts, dating from the period covered by the last chapter, which contain not only considerable elements of Church Slavonic, but also a certain amount of variation in the levels of language used. On the basis of the material contained in these works it should be possible to assess whether the Nominative and Infinitive construction was also used in the literary (книжный) levels of the language. As in Ch.4, much of the relevant material is tabulated in Appendix 3.

1. The texts to be examined.

The first of the works concerned is the Stoglav, the document containing the decisions of the Council of 1551. Four editions of this text have been published, although two of these, the London edition of 1860 and the Kozhanchikov edition of 1863, are described by both E. Duchesne and E. N. Bogdanova as being useless for the purposes of linguistic study.¹ The material quoted here is taken from the edition

¹E. Duchesne (1920), pp.XXXIX/XL; E. N. Bogdanova (1958), p.1. Of these only the Kozhanchikov edition could be examined personally; it indeed proved to be defective.

of I. M. Dobrotvorskiy, published in Kazan' in 1862. This has as its main text a manuscript which then belonged to the Library of the Kazan' Academy (No.932); the manuscript represents the Long Redaction and dates from the seventeenth century. Variants are given from a number of manuscripts: three of these, referred to as Nos.2, 3 and 4, belonged to the same library and date from the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century and 1848 respectively; the last two represent the Short Redaction, while No.2 breaks off in the middle of Chapter 56. Text No.5 is an undated manuscript described as belonging to the Bishop of Vyatka. Also used for variants are two short extracts taken from other printed editions: the source referred to as A.И., first printed in Акты исторические, vol.1, No.155, covers chapters 66 to 69; the source referred to as A.э. was first printed in Акты археографической экспедиции, vol.1, No.229 and contains the last chapter. No details are given of the respective manuscripts used for these editions.¹

The second text to be considered here is Domostroi. This guide to family life and domestic economy appears to have been drawn up first in the mid-sixteenth century and may well be linked with the Priest Silvestr, at one time a close associate of Ivan IV.² The edition used is described in the bibliography (p.367); it uses as its main text the so-called Konshinskiy Spisok, which dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Variant readings are taken from four manuscripts, two (referred to in the edition as П.7 and И.38) dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, one (П.8) from the second half

¹Cf. E. Duchesne (1920), p.XL; on page XXXIX he writes: "La rédaction longue paraît donc la plus proche de l'original supposé, et les autres n'en sont qu'une dérivation."

²Such a view was put forward in A. I. Sobolevskiy (1929).

of that century, and one (N.80) from the early eighteenth century.

The importance of both these sources is that they combine elements of Church Slavonic with elements of those styles employed in the documents considered in the last chapter. In the Stoglav the literary and the official levels are combined throughout the length of the work; this reflects the fact that the text is a form of law code, albeit one dealing with matters of religion and morality. Domostroi, on the other hand, divides into two distinct sections. The first part, consisting of chapters 1-25 and chapter 64, is concerned with matters of religion and family morals and is consequently written in a high, literary style which is largely Church Slavonic; the second part, the remainder of the work, deals with everyday matters of domestic economy, and its language, consequently, is closer to that of, for example, the Morozov documents.¹

As was indicated in chapter 1 (pages 48-51), the majority of scholars have taken the view that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was not normally an element of the more formal levels of language, and that its appearance in texts containing these levels was merely due to the influence of those levels where it was a regular feature. Only M. A. Sokolova seems to have adopted a different standpoint. It is interesting to note that she bases her conclusion to a large extent on the appearance of the construction in the Stoglav and the first section of Domostroi, although she does not describe in great detail the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in these two particular sources.² Elsewhere, the use of this construction in the works in

¹ Certain aspects of the language of the Stoglav and Domostroi are examined in M. A. Sokolova (1957).

² Her treatment of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Domostroi on pp.57-60 of the book mentioned in note 1 is, it is true, fairly detailed, but here she only considers the work as a whole, without differentiating between the sections or comparing them one with another.

question has not been examined to any great extent; L. I. Kononova, for instance, merely notes in passing that the Nominative and Infinitive is found 42 times in the Stoglav.¹

2. The Stoglav.

The Kazan' edition of the Stoglav contains 21 clear examples of the nominative-object used in an independent infinitive sentence. In two instances the object is a noun referring to a person:

(i) чинъ и указъ еще будетъ поняти вдовцу дѣвица или за уношу идетъ вдовица (List of contents)

(ii) еще будетъ поняти вдовцу дѣвица или за юношу идетъ вдовица (Ch.19)

The following five passages require special comment:

(iii) во уставѣ написано въ субботу вечеръ такоже и праздникомъ христовымъ и богородицынымъ и святыхъ нарочитыхъ пѣти литѣя (Ch.41)

(iv) а по вся дни за упокой пѣти литѣя послѣ заутрени а вечерни а въ которой день славословие великое поется тогда оставляется литѣя заупокойная (Ch.41)

(v) а нынѣ по тѣмъ монастыремъ потому же давати милостыня въ прокъ (Ch.97)

(vi) позовуть попа къ нужному болю опоздаеть до седмаго часа обѣдня заложити ли или служити и тѣхъ нужныхъ въ миру и въ селехъ по вся дни много (Ch.100)

(vii) а давати имъ милостыня въ приказъ по старинѣ же

¹L. I. Kononova (1968), p.83.

въ колко годовъ какъ государь укажетъ (Ch.101).

Although from the context it is probable that each of the above passages provides an example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, it cannot be excluded that the nouns underlined are in the Church Slavonic nominative-accusative plural or (in examples (v) and (vii)) genitive singular form. Because of this slight ambiguity the above examples are classified as unclear in Appendix 3.¹

There is, in addition, one example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in a чтобы sentence:

(viii) и повелитъ чтобы имъ имати своя пошлина по старинѣ въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ кто чимъ ихъ почититъ (Ch.46)

Tabulated as an unclear example is the following instance where the nominative is used with an infinitive in a construction introduced by что:

(ix) а у тебя царя всѣхъ тѣхъ многіе грамоты поимали что имати милостыня въ прокъ (Ch.97).

Also listed as unclear are a number of sentences which at first sight appear to be examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, but where the object is more probably an exact quotation, reproducing the words to be used on a particular occasion and, therefore, grammatically a separate clause; this phenomenon can be exemplified

¹With reference to examples (iii) and (iv) the following passage may be noted; here the nominative-accusative plural appears in the form "литѣи" по божественному уставу во всѣхъ святыхъ соборныхъ церквахъ праздничные литѣи и повседневные литѣи пѣти неотложно за здравіе и за упокой поминати якоже уставъ повелѣваетъ (Ch.41)

by the following:

(x) и того ради не подобаетъ святѣя аллилуіи трегубити
но дважды глаголати аллилуіа а втретии слава тебѣ Боже
(Ch.42)

(xi) какъ его ради святыхъ молитвъ извѣсти и запрети
пречистая Богородица о трегубой аллилуіи и повелѣ
православнымъ хрестьяномъ говорити сугубую аллилуію а
третие слава тебѣ Боже (Ch.42)

It will be noted that in example (xi) the phrase "сугубую аллилуію"
is placed in the accusative, showing that it is here not regarded as
a quotation; it is possible that the same applies to the unqualified
"аллилуіа" in passage (x), which would make it a further example of
the use of the nominative-object.

Also worthy of note is the following, which occurs in Ivan IV's
address to the Council:

(xii) Бога ради потружайтеся во еже исправити истинная
и непорочная наша хрестьянская вѣра (Ch.3)

This passage will be discussed in detail later; here it may be pointed
out that the clause introduced by "во еже" seems to approximate in
meaning to a purpose clause using чтобы.

In 7 instances the nominative is used with a dependent infinitive:

(xiii) и о семъ въ заповѣдехъ Божиихъ вельми возбраняетъ
хрестьяномъ довленина ясти (Ch.5)

(xiv) сихъ убо всѣхъ купно яко и во дни недѣльные должно
есть служба творити въ началѣ третьяго часа въ средніа
же праздники въ началѣ пятаго часа (Ch.7)

(xv) мы же соборне повелѣхомъ отъ дияконства и отъ поповства двѣ златницы на соборъ взимати сирѣчь рубль московской да благословеная гривна а въ однѣ дияконы поставити златница дати сирѣчь полтина московская да благословеная гривна а готоваго диякона въ попы совершити полтина же да благословеная гривна (Ch.89)

(xvi) о пустыхъ церквахъ пригоже государь лгота имъ дати а отдати бы имъ пошлина десятильнича и заѣздъ и всѣ мелкіе пошлины митрополичи а дань митрополича имати на попѣхъ и тѣмъ церковь сооружати (Ch.100)

here there are also two examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive;

(xvii) благочестивому царю здѣ въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ и по всѣмъ градомъ и по волостемъ и по погостомъ и по селомъ велѣти своя царская заповѣдь учинити (Ch.41)

In this last passage the infinitive is dependent on an independent infinitive. In one instance the nominative occurs with an infinitive dependent on an adverb:

(xviii) всего злѣе преступати крестное цѣлование цѣловати накриве святой крестъ или икона святыя Богородицы или инаго святаго образъ (Ch.38)

In the following passage it is not clear whether "отняти" is independent or dependent on "велѣти":

(xix) и тѣмъ десетинникамъ отъ царя и отъ святителейъ быти въ великой опалѣ и взятое велѣти на тѣхъ доправливати втрое по царьскому судебнику да и десятина отъ него отняти (Ch.68)

There are as many as five possible examples of the nominative used with a finite verb:

(xx) милостыня и кормъ годовой и хлѣбъ и соль и денги и одежда по богадѣльнымъ избамъ по всѣмъ городомъ даютъ изъ нашия казни (Ch.5)

(xxi) и вшедъ въ церковь поютъ владычицу большую потомъ октеня съ кадиломъ по прежеписанному и отпустъ со крестомъ (Ch.35)

(xxii) иже аще епископъ или причетникъ съ митрополитомъ имать нѣкая распря отъ патриарха всея тоя земли да судится (Ch.55)

(xxiii) или скотъ или птица или псы безъ великия нужда введетъ въ церковь (Ch.63)

(xxiv) при отцы твоимъ имали съ митрополита и со архиепископовъ и со владыкъ из казны владыкѣ смоленскому пошлина для его недостатковъ (Ch.80)

Of these No. (xxiii) is perhaps rather dubious: here it seems probable that the form "птица" represents the Church Slavonic nominative-accusative plural with the ending я (<А), written а after ц¹. It may also be that the apparent nominative singular "октеня" in No.(xxi) is a Church Slavonic nominative-accusative plural, although elsewhere in this section there occurs the unambiguous accusative singular form "октеню" ("дѣаконъ глаголетъ октеню съ кадиломъ"). It is also possible that "октеня" is the subject of a separate clause from which the verb (есть or будетъ) is omitted.

¹An unambiguous example of the Church Slavonic ending in the form -ца, in this case a genitive singular, is to be found in the following example: елико ми Богъ поможетъ молитвами пречистыя Богородица (Ch.49)

Most unusual is the apparent example of the nominative used after a preposition:

(xxv) позори же дѣя въ недѣлю воинства лишенъ будетъ и имѣніе его разграбити позывая на судище преступивъ законъ тоже постражетъ подобно же есть совѣщевати и раздрешати въ недѣля (Ch.94)

The relevant passage in the variant texts Nos.3 and 4 reads:

(xxvi) подобно же въ недѣлю раздрѣшати а не вязати

Although instances of the nominative used after a preposition occur in Modern Russian dialects,¹ such forms are generally considered to be completely absent from Old Russian sources.² In the texts examined for this survey other examples of this usage were noted, but only in the Old Ukrainian and South Russian sources (the examples concerned are quoted and commented upon in Chapter 7, pp.276,277,302. The instance in the Stoglav is therefore rather an isolated one, and it is not impossible that it is to be explained in some other way, perhaps as a plural form (although the variant readings militate against this interpretation) or as a slip of the pen.

The Stoglav contains sixteen clear instances of the accusative used with an independent infinitive. In one of these examples the object is братѣя, for which no examples of the nominative-object are found (see Ch.4, p.152):

(xxvii) и имѣ по всѣхъ тѣхъ боголюбцехъ которые села и купли давали ставити по нихъ кормы да на ихъ памяти пѣти соборомъ понахиды самѣмъ пастыремъ и обѣдни служити и братію кормити по монастырскому чину (Ch.75)

¹F. P. Filin (1947), p.22.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1, p.49) makes the following observation: "Thus, there are no examples of nominative after preposition until the modern dialects."

Nouns referring to persons are used in the following further two passages, where they would seem to form the objects of infinitives which are implied, rather than stated:

(xxviii) хотящихъ жити въ коейждо обители о Христѣ въ братствѣ и во всемъ духовномъ покореніи у настоятеля и въ конечномъ послушаніи и таковыхъ приходящихъ съ вѣрою приимати и къ братству о Христѣ сочетати и покоити ихъ какъ и прочюю братію по монастырскому чину и смотрити пастыремъ житія ихъ (Ch.50)

(xxix) да въ тѣ же имъ грамоты писати что вдовымъ священникомъ и диякономъ которые общаются въ чистотѣ пребывати по священнымъ правиломъ святаго .ѡ.го вселенскаго собора .ѣ. правило въ дому у себя женскаго полу не держати отъ зазорныхъ лицъ но токмо кому матерь или сестру или тетку по отцѣ или по матере или дщерь свою (Ch.81)

There are three instances of the accusative with an infinitive in a clause introduced by еже:

(xxx) а шестый соборъ совершенно отсече еже епископу жену имѣти не на отверженіе ни на развращеніе (Ch.79)

(xxxi) и святыхъ апостоль правило .г. прощаетъ еже безкровную службу сія совокупляти и купно обое раздѣляти людемъ (Ch.79)

This passage seems especially obscure: it is difficult to see any sense in which "безкровную службу" could be the object of the verb "совокупляти", but as the sentence stands there appears to be no other function this phrase could fulfil.

(xxxii) сего ради правило еже о поставленіи священническомъ пошлину давати обычно (Ch.89)

In three instances there is doubt as to whether an infinitive

governing an accusative is dependent or independent:

(xxxiii) якоже предаша вамъ святѣи отцы седми святыхъ соборовъ вселенскихъ и помѣстныхъ праведный законъ удержати и истинную православную вѣру хрестыянскую (Ch.3)

(xxxiv) и вашихъ ради святыхъ великихъ молитвъ и намъ даровалъ бы Богъ оставленіе грѣхомъ и получити жизнь вѣчную (Ch.49)

(xxxv) они же по благословенію пастирскому ихъ учать и наказуютъ страху Божію и всему житію и боренію иноческому хранити чистоту вкупѣ душевную и тѣлесную паче же пребывати въ воздержаніи и въ покореніи и въ любви и въ конечномъ о Бозѣ послушаніи къ пастырю и старцу и ко всей о Христѣ братіи имѣти же себе въ послѣднихъ и всѣхъ менши ничтоже разсужающи но токмо безпрестанно Бога славити избавльшаго его отъ мирскаго житія и суеты и спободившаго его ангельскому святому образу и житію и чину мнишескому но токмо помнити грѣхи своя и плакаться со слезами и жити съ правиломъ и съ молитвою якоже предасть ему пастырь старецъ и знати церковь Божію и кѣлію старцю и трапезу (Ch.50)

Finally, the following, somewhat unclear passage may be noted:

(xxxvi) Господи Боже нашъ иже Авраама друга назвавъ и Исаака возлюбивъ и Якова къ женѣ Лїи совокупивъ устроивше того и второму ложу Рахилину приобщитися (Ch.20)

Since "Рахилину" is unlikely to be the direct object of the reflexive "приобщитися", this is probably not to be considered an example of the accusative used with an independent infinitive. Passages (xxviii)

to (xxxvi) are all listed as unclear in Appendix 3.

A comparison of the relative frequency of the nominative and accusative cases in independent infinitive sentences in the Stoglav with the use of the same cases in this type of sentence in the various texts examined in Chapter 4 reveals that the accusative occurs more often in the Stoglav than in DDG and Sud. 1497, and also, it would seem, the Sudebnik of 1550. Though less frequent than the nominative, the accusative occurs proportionately about as often as it does in some of the seventeenth century texts examined in Chapter 4, notably Ulozh. 1649 and Mor. (See Appendix 3). It seems reasonable, especially when the probable, though ambiguous examples (iii) to (vii) discussed on pp. 197-198 are taken into account, to regard the Stoglav as not departing significantly from the pattern observed in Chapter 4, where the accusative becomes more and more frequent in independent infinitive sentences from the fifteenth century onwards.

To consider the usage in the Stoglav in greater detail, it seems that, at least in certain circumstances, the nominative and the accusative are used indiscriminately in independent infinitive sentences. It is difficult, for example, to draw any distinction between the two cases as used in the following passages:

(xxxvii) благочестивому царю въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ
и по всѣмъ градомъ своя царская заповѣдь учинити

(xxxviii) благочестивому царю въ царствующемъ градѣ Москвѣ
и по всѣмъ градомъ свою царскую заповѣдь учинити (Both Ch.41)

A further four examples of this formula occur: twice the object is in the nominative, and twice in the accusative. These passages, as might be expected in a work dealing with religious affairs, contain Church

slavonic forms, such as градъ. At the same time, it is the administrative side of Church affairs that is being discussed here, and the phrase царская заповѣдь учинити is perhaps to be considered an element of administrative language. It was noted in the last chapter (p.187) that the verb учинити is particularly common in examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The majority of instances in the Stoglav of an independent infinitive verb with an object in an unambiguous nominative or accusative case occur in passages where there is a combination of Church Slavonic and administrative language and where it is consequently difficult to assess the stylistic significance of the examples concerned.

There are, however, a number of examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive in passages concerned more with questions of liturgical practice, where the administrative element does not seem to be present:

(xxxix) святая вода крестити по правиломъ святыхъ отецъ единымъ крестомъ воздвизати въ три погруженія (Ch.41)

(xl) крестити вода единымъ святымъ крестомъ въ три погружении (Ch.41)

(xli) и о семъ достоить впредь чинъ и законъ уставити и заповѣдь учинити по правиломъ святыхъ апостолъ и по уставу како и когда молебны соборные пѣти по честнымъ монастыремъ и по соборнымъ церквамъ и по новымъ избраннымъ соборомъ и божественая литоргия когда соборне служити и со кресты честными хоженіе около монастыря а въ миру промежу себя по святымъ Божіимъ церквамъ и молебная совершати за всяко

прошеніе по настоящему времени всякихъ скорбей¹

Passages (iii), (iv) and (vi) quoted on p.197, if indeed they contain examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, also belong to this category.

In the following instances the accusative is used with an independent infinitive in a purely religious passage:

(xlii) а истинный глаголь по Давидову пророчеству возвѣ-
щати заутра милость твою и истину твою на всяку ночь (Ch.9)

(xliii) первое положити руку на челѣ своемъ потомъ на
персѣхъ таже на правомъ плечѣ потомъ на лѣвомъ (Ch.32)

(xliv) и того ради Христова слова благочестивымъ царемъ
и всѣмъ православнымъ хрестьяномъ не токмо плѣнныхъ окупати
но и душу свою полагати да сторичныя мзды во онъ день
сподобятся (Ch.72)

The first and last of these passages seem clearly to be quoted exactly, or almost so, from the Bible or other religious sources, although it is possible that in the process of quotation the construction is changed.² No examples are to be found of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in passages of this nature, where the language may be assumed to be more directly descended from Old Church Slavonic and less influenced by Russian. In the former language the Nominative and Infinitive construction

¹It may seem at first sight that there are two examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in No.(xli); it would appear, however that the form молебная is a neuter plural form, as it can clearly be seen to be in the following passage: и семъ вельми достоить наказати невѣдущихъ и нерадивыхъ чтобы впредь такое безчиніе не было и молебная совершались по правиламъ святыхъ отецъ и по заповѣдемъ Бож имъ (Ch.41)

²Passage (xlii) appears to be taken from Ps.91, vv.1, 2, where in the full text of the version examined (see Bibliography, p. 401) the infinitive is dependent on благо. (See also Ch.6, p.235.)

does not occur.¹ Example (xlili) deals with a point of liturgical practice and seems comparable to examples (xxxix) to (xli).

Biblical and patristic Church Slavonic of the type quoted above in examples (xlii) and (xliv) seems to provide the only context where the Nominative and Infinitive construction is not used. Elsewhere, not only in passages reflecting a combination of religious and administrative language, but also in passages laying down rules of liturgical practice, both nominative and accusative are used to express the object in independent infinitive sentences without any discernible difference.

One other aspect of the use of the nominative-object in the Stoglav which is worthy of comment is the relatively large number of instances where the nominative is used as the object of other than straightforward independent infinitive verbs. The examples have already been quoted where the nominative is used not only with an infinitive in a BO еже clause, or with a dependent infinitive, but also as the object of finite verbs and even (possibly) after a preposition. Examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive occur, albeit relatively infrequently, in various other texts; the relevant totals are listed in Appendix 3, and it is proposed to examine this usage in greater detail in the following chapter. Much rarer are instances of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb: most of the texts surveyed in Chapter 4 have only isolated examples of this usage or even no examples at all; the highest total was four instances found in Mor. (see Appendix 3).

It is noteworthy that the largest number of examples of the nominative as the object of a finite verb occurs in the Morozov documents, which are probably closer to the colloquial language than any of the other texts examined in the preceding chapter.² On the other hand, the

¹See Ch.2, p.101.

²See, for example, passage (lviii), Ch.4, p.167.

official texts, Sud. 1497 and Ulozh. 1649, show very few departures from the pattern of the nominative occurring principally or entirely in independent infinitive sentences.

Thus the presence of the examples in question in a text recording the deliberations of a Council of the Church would in itself appear surprising. It is all the more noteworthy that a number of such instances occur in passages dealing exclusively with matters of religion, where the language contains an especially large number of Church Slavonic elements. This situation can be exemplified by quotation No.(xii) (p.199), where the nominative appears with an infinitive in a clause introduced by the expression "во еже". Clauses of this type seem to be alien to Prikaznyy yazyk (they are, for instance, absent from Ulozh. 1649); the use of еже with the infinitive is a Church Slavonic construction borrowed, by Old Church Slavonic in the first place, from Greek syntax.¹ Quotation No.(xiii) (p.199) contains a number of Church Slavonic forms, such as "вельми", "возбраняеть" and "ясти" (even though the object of the infinitive is the word "довленина"); in quotation No.(xviii) (p.200), where the nominative appears with an infinitive dependent on an adverb, the object is "икона". It may be noted in passing that in Ulozh. 1649, in the passage dealing with the same topic, a very similar construction appears, also involving an example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction (see Ch.6, p.233).

It is extremely difficult to determine why there should be in the Stoglav so many examples of the nominative used as the object of other than independent infinitive verbs. It is possible, however, that the answer lies in the fact that the Stoglav appears not to be an official record of the Council of 1551; Duchesne, in his discussion of the

¹A. Stender-Petersen and K. Jordal (1957), p.213.

relationship of the Stoglav to the Council, writes of "le désordre qui règne dans l'ouvrage."¹ If this is indeed the case, it is quite probable that the language of the text will not have been edited and that misplaced colloquialisms and elements of Prikaznyy yazyk (made all the more likely by the very content of the work), as well as minor errors will not have been eradicated to the extent that might otherwise have been expected. This circumstance might also account for the confused nature of some passages of the text, as exemplified by passages (xxxi), p.203, (xxxvi), p.204.

As far as the variant texts are concerned, there remains only one point that is worthy of note. Texts Nos.3 and 4 both contain what is presumably an example of the nominative used with a gerund:

(xlv) которые причтены и (sic) тому собору у своей церкви прежде вечерня отпѣвъ и послѣ вечерни собираются и иныхъ церквей попы и дьяконы къ той своей соборной церкви (Ch.35)

the corresponding passage in the main text contains the accusative:

(xlvi) въ недѣлю всѣхъ святыхъ къ той соборной церкви на вечерне собираются отъ всѣхъ церквей попы и дьяконы которые причтены къ тому собору у своей церкви вечерню поранѣе отпѣвъ

3. Domostroi.

The Konshinskiy Spisok of Domostroi contains 74 clear examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive verb. Of these the following are worthy of special comment:

(xlvii) и капѣста ѿ червѣ і ѿ блохи беречи и ѡбирати и ѡтрасывати (Ch.45)

¹E. Duchesne (1920), p.X.

Elsewhere in the text there are a number of instances of беречи used with an object in the genitive case, as in the following example:

(xlvi) в погребе и на леднике всего беречи (Ch.54)

This government is not, however, universal, and examples are to be found of the nominative-accusative used with this verb:

(xlix) какъ вс^Акое платье кроити и остаткѣ и обрески беречи (Ch.31)

There are in addition four instances of a feminine noun referring to a person being used in the nominative with an independent infinitive. In three instances the noun concerned is жена, as in the following passage:

(1) поучати мужоу сво^А жена какъ б^Гоу оугодити и мужоу своему оуноровити (List of contents)

In the fourth example the noun concerned is слушка:

(li) за то сл^Шшка примолвити и пожаловати и естъ подати (Ch.33)

Domostroi contains, in addition to the 74 examples mentioned above, a large number of instances where there is for one reason or another doubt as to whether they should be considered examples of the use of the nominative with an independent infinitive. Two of these instances involve feminine nouns referring to a person:

(lii) како д^Тте^М ѡца и м^Ти любити и беречи и повиноватис^А и^М и покоити и^Х во все^М (List of contents)

(liii) како д^Ттемъ ѡца и м^Ти любити и беречи (Ch.18)

The abbreviation makes it difficult to be certain what form is intended here, but the nominative seems the more probable; the accusative (used unambiguously) is represented elsewhere in Ch.18 only by the form м^Трь:

- (liv) любите ѿца своего и м̄трь свою
 (lv) аще кто б̄іеть ѿца и м̄трь
 (lvi) покоаи м̄трь свою волю б̄ж̄ію твори^{т1}

Another group of examples worthy of attention consists of those in Chapters 1-25 and Chapter 64 where a feminine noun of the soft variant of the -a type occurs with an independent infinitive in a form that could be interpreted either as the nominative singular or, as the Church Slavonic variant of the nominative-accusative plural:

- (lvii) речено бысть лѣче не грабити неже мл^стына даати ѿ
 непр^авды (Ch.9)
 (lviii) по вса д̄ни в вечере мѣжъ ж женою и з дѣтьми и з
 домочадцы кто оумѣть грамоте ѿпѣти вечерна павечерница
полѣнощница с молчаніемъ и со вниманіемъ и с кротъко-
 стоаніемъ и с м̄лтвою (Ch.12)
 (lix) а оутре вставъ б̄г̄ молити^с и ѿпѣти заутрена и
 часы (Ch.12)
 (lx) а дома всегда павечерница и полѣнощница и часы
пѣти (Ch.13)
 (lxi) а н^дла и пр^азники госпо^дскіа и средѣ и пѣтокъ и с̄тѣи
 постъ и б̄городиченъ в чистотѣ пребывати (Ch.13)
 (lxii) и к ц̄рквамъ б̄ж̄имъ и ц̄рковникомъ и в мн^стри приносити
мл^стна (Ch.23)
 (lxiii) поучати мѣжъ своа жена какъ б̄г̄ оугодити и мѣжъ
 свое^м оуноровити и како домъ свои добре строити и вса
домашнаа пора^дна и рѣкоделье вса^кое знати (Ch.29)
 (lxiv) жены мѣжеи своихъ вопрошаю^т ѿ всакомъ бл̄гочиніи како

¹The nominative and accusative singular of мать seem to be kept distinct throughout the sixteenth century: see B. O. Unbegaun (1935), pp.66, 67; V. Kiparsky (1967/2), p.101.

дѣла спѣсти боꙗ и мѣжꙗ оугодити ѿ домъ свои добре строити
и во всемъ емꙗ покарѣтисѧ (Ch.29)

(lxv) заоутрени не просыпай обѣдни не прогꙗливай вечерни
не погрѣши и не пропивай павечерница и полꙗношница и часы
в домꙗ своемъ всегда по всѧ днѣ пѣти (Ch.64)

Examples No. (lxiii) and (lxiv), in spite of the fact that they are
taken from Chapter 29, are included in this list, since they seem not
completely free from ambiguity.

In all the above instances it is more probable that the noun
concerned is in the singular: this applies especially to Nos. (lvii),
(lxii) and (lxiv), which corresponds to the following passage in the
List of contents:

(lxvi) поучати мужоу своѧ жена какъ бꙗгоу оугодити и
мужоу своему оуноровити ѿ како до^м свои добре строити
и всѧкаѧ поряднаѧ домашнаѧ и роукꙗдѣлье знати и слоꙗтъ
оучи^{ти} и самой дѣлати

In other instances, such as No.(lxv), it is perhaps less clear whether
singular or plural is intended. Example No.(lxi) is worthy of special
attention: although it is not evident from the sense of the passage
whether "нѣлѧ" is to be interpreted here as a singular or a plural
noun, the presence of "средꙗ", and also the use of "нѣлю" in the
variant text II,7, make the former more likely. If so, then it is interest-
ing to note that the nominative is used together with the accusative in
what would seem to be a time expression, rather than as the direct object
of an independent infinitive verb.

A further possible example of the nominative used with an indepen-
dent infinitive is the following:

(lxvii) и ▲блони подчишати и сѣша вытирати и почки разсаживати (Ch.45).

Although the word "сѣша" used here could be an -a type feminine noun, it is not clear what the meaning is. The only meaning ascribed to this word in Sreznevskiy's and Dal's dictionaries is "dry land", which does not apply to this context.¹ The following passage is also open to more than one interpretation:

(lxviii) а питье в столѣ давати по приказѣ по гостемъ смотр▲ и без гостей а г^сдрне брага или квасъ (Ch.49)

This may provide an example either of the Nominative and Infinitive construction or of the Nominative and Dative construction.²

The nominative also occurs as object in a number of other types of sentences. One instance occurs of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in a purpose clause:

(lxix) а коли пиръ болшой ино всюды самомѣ дозирати и в поварне и в хлѣбне а за столомъ ества ѿдавати приставити добра члѣка (Ch.50)

A construction worthy of note is that where the nominative and infinitive, instead of being the main elements of the clause in which they appear, form a single unit which is itself a constituent element of the clause concerned. This construction is represented in Domostroi by three examples:

(lxx) а ѿ стола или ѿ трапезы ества и питье таино износити или высылати не по повеленію насто▲щаго и без блгословені▲ сѣтотатство сѣ^т (Ch.10)

¹I. I. Sreznevskiy (1893), III, col.684. V. I. Dal' (1914), 4, col. 655. Duchesne translates "сѣша" as "branches sèches" (see E. Duchesne (1910), p.95).

²A detailed discussion of the Nominative and Dative is given in Ch.2 (pp.73-81).

(lxxi) а котора^а женьщина или дѣвка рѣкодѣльна и той дѣла оуказати рѣбашка дѣлати или оубѣсь (sic) брати или ткати (Ch.29)

(lxxii) и вса^акіе сѣды съ ест'вою или с питіемъ или с водою или квашна^а ростворить всегда бы покрыто было (Ch.38)

Examples (lxxvii) to (lxxii) are listed as unclear in Appendix 3.

Six instances are to be found of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive:

(lxxiii) да самом^ѣ себѣ гдрю и женѣ и дѣтеи и домочадцо^в своихъ оучити не красти не бласти не солгати не ωклеветати не завидѣти не ωбидѣти не клепати чюжаго не прѣтиса^а не ωсѣжатиса^а не бражничати не просмѣивати не помнити зла не гнѣватиса^а ни на кого к болшимъ быти послѣшнѣ и покорнѣ к средьнимъ любовнѣ к меншимъ с оубогимъ привѣтнѣ и милостивѣ со вса^акимъ оуправа без волокиты ноипаче наимита наимомъ не изобидѣти а вса^ака^а ωбида со блгодареніемъ терпѣти бѣа ради и поносъ и оукоризна аще по дѣломъ поноса^ать и оукара^ають сіе с любовию пріимати (Ch.21)

Here the infinitive concerned is dependent on an independent infinitive.

(lxxiv) в домовитомъ ωбиходѣ коли лѣчитса^а какое платъ^а кроити себѣ или жене или дѣтемъ или людемъ камчато или тафт^ано или изѣфрено или кѣшачно или зенденинное или сѣкн^аное или арм^ачное или серм^ажное или кожи какіе краити или сагадакъ или на седло или ωмѣтлюкъ или сѣмы или сапаги или шѣба или кафтанъ или мерликъ или одноратка или кортель или лѣтникъ и каптѣрь или шапка или нагавицы или какое платно ни бѣди (Ch.31)

(lxxv) а лѣчитсѧ оу кого кока сѣда взѧтъ или свое да^т саженъе или мониста или сѣкта женъна сѣдно серебраное или мѣдно или слованое или какое платно и како ни бѣди запасъ пересмотрити (Ch.32)

(lxxvi) ино достойтъ мѣжѣ жена своѧ наказывати и ползовати страхомъ на едине (Ch.38)

There is one clear example of the nominative used with a gerund:

(lxxvii) ино соимѧ рѣбашка плеткою вежливенко побить (Ch.38)

In the variant texts П.7 and П.8 the noun appears in the accusative.

In a further instance the noun in the nominative can be taken as being the object either of an independent infinitive or of a gerund:

(lxxviii) платьѧ всѧкое и рѣбашка и оубрѣсы и ширинки и всѧкои нарядъ и складши и свертевъ хорошенько положити гдѣ нибѣди в сѣндѣкъ или в коробью (Ch.37)

There is also a small number of examples of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb. In one instance the verb concerned is in the imperative mood:

(lxxix) а жена на тебѣ наказѣи наедине да наказавъ при-
молви и жалѣи и люби еѧ (Ch.64)

In a further instance the verb is in the third person plural of the present (or future) indicative:

(lxxx) потрохи голова оуши гѣбы скороньи и мозгъ кишки шсердые шкоренье ноги печень почъки жонки передѣлають да кашею сальною шшвариною начинѧ^т (Ch.42)

The use of the nominative here may be wholly or partly influenced by such factors as the distance of the object from the verb and the inverted word order, with the object placed before the verb. There

is one other apparent example of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb:

(lxxxі) а рыба прѣтоваа в рогожи вертеть а пласти по полице класти (Ch.63)

It seems almost certain, however, that this passage has been corrupted; the variant texts, П.7, И .38 and И .80 all have a clear infinitive "вертѣти" or "вертѣть", which from the context would appear to be a more likely reading.

Another passage that may well be corrupt is the following:

(lxxxіі) а столъ и сѣды вса^кіе всегда чисто мыти а скатерть чиста (Ch.33)

As the sentence stands, "скатерть" could be the object of the verb "мыти", with the adjective "чиста" in agreement with it; it is more probable, however, that it is a more elliptical version of the reading of П.7:

(lxxxііf) ... skate^pти бы были чисты

A final group of sentences which contain apparent examples of the nominative used for the direct object consists of the following passages:

(lxxxiv) оуказъ ключникѣ какъ держати на погребе вса^кой запасъ просолной и бочкахъ и в' ^хклада и в мѣрникахъ и во^тчанахъ и в ведерца^х месо рыба капѣста ѿгѣрцы съливы лимоны икра рыжики грѣзди (List of contents)

(lxxxv) ~~на~~коже и долготерпѣливаго ~~Іо~~ва искѣшаа посылаа раз-
личныа скорби и болѣзни и тѣжкіа недѣги ѿ дѣхов' лѣкавы^х
мѣченіе тѣлѣ согнитіе костемота (sic) ѿтокъ и ѿпѣхоль на
все оуды проходомъ обоимъ ^дзакла и камень во оудахъ и

глѣхота и слѣпота и нѣмоста в оутробѣ терзаніе и блеваніе
 злое и на низъ во ѡба прохода кровь и гнои и сѣхотнаа и
 кашель и главоболеніе и зѣбная болезнь и камчюгъ и
 френъчюги и разслабленіе и трасеніе и всакіе ташкіе
 различные недѣги наказаніе гнѣва бжїа (Ch.23)

(lxxxvi) а коли лѣчитсѧ какое платно кроити молодѣ члвкѣ
 снѣ или дщери или молодой невѣске лѣтникъ или кортель
 или шѣба с поволокою или ѡпашень зѣфранъ (Ch.31)

(lxxxvii) оуказъ ключникѣ какъ держать на погребѣ всако"
запасъ просолной и в бочкахъ и в кадехъ и в мѣрикехъ и
 во тчанехъ и в' ведерцахъ мѧсо рыба копѣста ѡгѣрцы сливы
лимоны икра рыжики грѣзди (Ch.63)

It seems probable, however, that the lists containing the nouns in the nominative do not form the objects of the verbs concerned, but are to be understood as separate clauses, expanding and explaining the generic term which does form the object of the verb. With a modern system of punctuation the two elements would be separated by a colon. In Appendix 3 examples (lxxxix) to (lxxxvii) are classified as unclear.

Seventeen clear examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive occur in Domostroi. In addition the following instance may also belong to this category:

(lxxxviii) и хранити и блюсти ѡ чистотѣ телесней и ѡ всакаго
 грѣха ѡцѣмъ чадъ свои^x накоже зѣницѣ ѡка и тако своѧ дѣша
 (Ch.15)

The accusative here is governed less by the infinitives which are present than by a verb, or verbs, presumably equivalent in meaning, which are left to be supplied. The expression "своѧ дѣша" is ambiguous in the same way as are those examples discussed on pages 212-13;

the plural forms "ѡцѣмъ" and "чадѣ свои^х" may suggest that here the accusative plural is intended, although the use of the singular "зѣницѣ" and the fact that each person possesses one soul are arguments in favour of interpreting "своѣ дѣша" as a nominative singular.

(lxxxix) а что попортило^{сѧ} ино то напередѣ ести и в заимѣ давати и милостыню и нѣж^ным (Ch.63)

The variant texts И.38 and И.80, however, have "в милостыню" which would seem to be a more probable reading in this context.

(хс) а которой товарѣ или запасѣ не порти^тца вдалѣ а коли дѣшево ино и с лишкомѣ кѣп^ить свою нѣж^ни^и исполнить на свои ѡбиходѣ а лишнее в порѣ продаетѣ (Ch.40)

Here the variant text И.80 replaces the infinitive "исполнить" with a finite verb "исполнить", thus linking the clause concerned with the final clause, both explaining the benefits of hoarding. This would seem more likely to be the original version.

Only one example was found of a masculine -a type noun used with an independent infinitive; the noun is in the accusative:

(хсі) изыскати ѡца дѣховнаго добра бѣлюбива и блѣгоразѣмна и расѣд^ительница а не потаковѣника пѣаницѣ ни сребролюбива ни гнѣвлива (Ch.14)

The accusative can thus be seen to be rarer in independent infinitive sentences than is the nominative. Indeed, the accusative occurs proportionally rather less frequently than it does in the Sudebnik of 1550 and considerably less frequently than in the seventeenth century texts examined. The accusative is noticeably less frequent than it is in the Stoglav. It is difficult to know how significant these variations are; all the texts examined in this and

the preceding chapter, with the possible exception of Sud. 1497, contain a significant number of examples of both case forms in independent infinitive sentences, and there are indications that at least in certain circumstances the two cases can serve as genuine alternatives. A certain degree of inconsistency in the proportions in which the two cases are used is therefore to be expected.

It is possible, however, that the slightly greater frequency with which the nominative is used in Domostroi is connected with the fact that the text may well have originated in Novgorod,¹ where the Nominative and Infinitive construction may have been used more regularly and survived for longer than it did in Moscow. As was indicated in Chapter 1, many scholars consider that the Nominative and Infinitive construction originated in the Novgorod area; mention was made in the same chapter of the survival of the construction in modern North Russian dialects.²

Domostroi does differ from the texts examined in this and the last chapter in that there is no tendency for feminine nouns referring to a person to appear in the accusative in independent infinitive sentences. Alongside the four clear examples with the nominative discussed on page 211 only two instances are to be found of the accusative of such nouns being used in this type of sentence:

(хсiі) да самомѣ себѣ гд̄рю и женѣ и дѣтей и домочадцо^в своихъ оучити не красти не бласти (Ch.21)

(хсiіі) какъ ихъ наказывати грозю і женѣ тако же (Ch.36)

¹A. I. Sobolevskiy considers that Domostroi was written by a Novgorodian (Silvestr), but edited in Moscow. (A. I. Sobolevskiy (1929), p.194.)

²See Chapter 1, Section 3.

As was pointed out at the beginning of the chapter (page 196), Domostroi can be divided into two sections. This circumstance provides an opportunity to compare the usage of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in two different levels of language but within the same work, where conditions, in the absence of indications to the contrary, may be assumed to be in other respects equal. Restricting the discussion to those examples tabulated in columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 3, ten examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occur in Chapters 1-25, while 52 instances of this construction occur in Chapters 26-63. There are no examples in Chapter 64, and the remaining twelve examples are to be found in the List of Contents.

The true total of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the first part of the text is probably greater than the figure mentioned above. Of the nine ambiguous examples discussed on pages 212-13 (lvii to lxv), six occur in this portion of the text, while a seventh is to be found in Chapter 64. Three instances of the accusative with an independent infinitive are to be found in Chapters 1-25, while thirteen examples occur in Chapters 26-63. The seventeenth example comes in the List of Contents. It thus transpires that not only do instances with the nominative considerably outnumber those with the accusative in both sections of Domostroi, but also the relative frequency of the latter case compared with that of the former is not significantly higher in the first section than in the second. Indeed, when the ambiguous examples mentioned earlier in the paragraph are taken into account, it may even be slightly lower.

Some of the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the first section of the work occur in passages where the immediate subject matter is not particularly exalted, as in the following instances:

(xciv) в домовитомъ ѿбиходѣ и вездѣ всакомѣ члѣкѣ г^сдрю или г^сдрни или снѣ или дщери или слѣжке мѣжеска полѣ и женьска и старѣ и малѣ всакоє дѣло начати или рѣкодѣлничати или ести или пити или ества варити или печи што и всакіє приспехи дѣлати и всакоє рѣкодѣліє и всакоє мастерство (Ch.19)

(xcv) ино лѣчшее платенко верхнее и нижнее и рѣбашка и сапогъ блюсти по праздникомъ и при добры^х люде^х (Ch.22)

Others, however, are found in passages dealing with purely religious aspects of life, written in a language employing many Church Slavonic words and forms:

(xcvi) и совѣтовати с нимъ часто ѿ житіи полезномъ и востазатисѣ ѿ грѣховъ своихъ и како оучити и любити мѣжѣ жена своѣ и чада (Ch.14)

(xcvii) и приходѣще молитисѣ со всакою ч^стою совѣстію тѣмъ, цѣлба всакимъ различнымъ недѣгомъ ѿ бѣга полѣчити (Ch.23)

(xcviii) а ѿцѣвъ дѣховны^х заповѣди хранити и еп^ітемъи исправлати тѣмъ ѿчистити сѣ ѿ грѣха и дшевнаѣ и телеснаѣ болєзнь исцелити (Ch.23)

Of the various examples where the nominative is used with other than independent infinitive verbs, it may be noted that the instance of the nominative used for the object of an imperative verb (lxxix, quoted on page 216) occurs in Chapter 64.

4. Conclusions.

The two texts examined here provide no evidence to support the contention (see Ch.1, pp.48,49,51) that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is

restricted to the colloquial and official levels of the language and is normally absent from the literary (книжный) language. It would seem that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (the period covered by these texts) the Nominative and Infinitive construction is absent only from passages where the Bible, and perhaps also patristic sources, are being quoted, where the influence of Old Church Slavonic and Greek syntax is particularly strong. In other forms of Church Slavonic, where liturgical procedure or rules of moral conduct are being laid down, both nominative and accusative cases are used for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb. The nominative is, moreover, proportionally no less frequent in this level of language than it is in the prikaznyy and more colloquial levels.

If the Nominative and Infinitive remains infrequent in the former level of language, this is probably to be explained by other factors. Especially to be noted is the fact that independent infinitive sentences themselves appear to be much rarer in the higher, literary language; thus M. A. Sokolova, in her study of the various forms used for expressing commands or instructions in Domostroi, makes the following observation: "Для поучения, предписания, того или иного изъясления воли первая часть, так и 64-я глава, предпочитают пользоваться формами повелительного наклонения, значительно реже прибегая к помощи инфинитива."¹ Indeed, it may be observed that Chapter 64 contains one ambiguous example of the nominative used with an independent infinitive and no examples of the accusative in this type of sentence, while alongside the one of the nominative used with an imperative, there occur eight instances of the accusative used with this form.

¹ M. A. Sokolova (1952), p.67.

Y. A. Sprinchak considered that those examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction which appear in works written in a high, literary style do so as a result of the influence of the "народный, живой, разговорный язык" on the literary language.¹ Domostroi would seem to provide an example of a text where the rôle of such an influence might be tested, since both levels of language are represented in different sections of the one work. The material found here provides no grounds for attributing the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the first section to the influence of the second. For were it merely the case that the author or scribe used the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the first part of the work simply as a result of the fact that he had allowed his Church Slavonic to be influenced by his everyday Russian, one would still expect that the counter-vailing influence of the norms of Church Slavonic would cause the nominative-object to be proportionally less frequent in the first part than in the second. It has, however, been shown (p.221) that the nominative-object outnumbers the accusative in independent infinitive sentences to almost exactly the same degree in the first part of the work as in the second.

It ought to be pointed out that this identity of usage also eliminates the possibility of a reverse influence: the use of the accusative-object with independent infinitive verbs in the non-literary levels of language cannot be ascribed to a desire to imitate the more elevated levels.² It must be concluded that with the exception of Biblical (and perhaps other) quotations, where special factors apply,

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), pp.19, 20.

²Such a suggestion was put forward by A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.33. See also Ch.2, pp.66,67.

the Nominative and Infinitive is used in exactly the same way in Church Slavonic as it is in the prikaznyy and more colloquial levels of language, and that therefore stylistic factors seem on the whole to be irrelevant to the usage of this construction.

It should be noted that the above observations apply only to the language of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Since the Nominative and Infinitive construction does not appear in Old Church Slavonic, it must be assumed that the construction comes into Church Slavonic ultimately through the influence of Russian. This influence may well go back a long way, as would seem to be supported by the presence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the Long and Composite Redactions of ZSL (see Ch.2, section 9). At any rate by the period in question the Nominative and Infinitive construction is used quite freely in most registers of Church Slavonic.

CHAPTER 6

Introduction

Attention must now be turned to a number of general questions connected with the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. These questions are being examined separately, since they arise from the material found in most or all the texts considered in the previous chapters.

In Chapter 3, Section 1, it was established that the Nominative and Infinitive was a syntactically limited phenomenon. In the first two sections of this chapter it is proposed to consider this question in greater detail, and by examining those examples where the nominative-object is used with a dependent infinitive or with a gerund, to assess whether such usage is a primary or a secondary feature of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The third section will be devoted to a special use of the nominative-object with finite verbs, while the fourth section will be concerned with the question of word order.

1. The Use of the Nominative with a dependent Infinitive.

As was indicated in Chapter 1, section 4, while all who have studied the Nominative and Infinitive construction have agreed that it was originally found in independent infinitive sentences, a number of scholars have considered that the original sphere of the construction also included certain types of dependent infinitive sentences. It is because of this divergence of views that examples of the nominative-object occurring outside independent infinitive sentences have been for the most part excluded from the analyses of the material made in the previous chapters.

Certain scholars state that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was originally found in sentences where the infinitive is dependent on надо, надобно, надобѣ or their variant forms. It seems probable, however, that such an observation is based solely on modern dialect material, for as was indicated in Chapter 1 (p.37), the vast majority of instances recorded for modern North Russian dialects occur in this type of construction. For Old Russian Filin makes the following comment: "В древнерусских памятниках предложения типа надобѣ гривна заплатити обычны,"¹ but this statement is not borne out by the material studied for this work. In the various texts examined, only one example was found of the nominative used with an infinitive dependent on надобѣ or a word derived therefrom. This example is quoted and discussed in Chapter 3 (example (xv), p.117). The only example of a relevant accusative appearing in a construction of this type is found in Mor.:

(i) сказывают села Синькова поп и крестьяня что де надобѣть было написать в орошныя книги пус. Пронинскую (No.332)

It would seem that constructions involving надо(ѣ) etc. with an infinitive are rare in Old Russian: in the section of DDG that was examined this construction is found only twice, in neither case with an objective relevant as far as the Nominative and Infinitive construction is concerned. It is possible that these constructions were more common in speech, as they evidently are in modern Russian, but the written Old Russian sources offer no evidence as to whether the Nominative and Infinitive construction was originally found in these

¹F. P. Filin (1972), p.478.

sentences or not. It is not impossible, however, that the modern Russian dialect usage arises from a contamination of two constructions: вода пить and вода надо, reinforced by the semantic similarities between вода пить and вода пить надо.

A few scholars have considered that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was originally found in certain other dependent infinitive constructions, particularly where the infinitive is dependent on another impersonal form. To consider this question it is necessary to examine in detail the material concerning the use of nominative and accusative cases with all types of dependent infinitive verbs, especially that found in Mor. and Ulozh. 1649. It must be pointed out that these texts are not an ideal choice, since even in independent infinitive sentences the accusative occurs widely there, but they are the only texts containing sufficient material involving dependent infinitive sentences to enable a detailed survey to be made.

In Mor. twenty-nine examples are to be found of the nominative used with an infinitive which is dependent on an independent infinitive; these can be exemplified by the following:

(ii) а пашня моя бояская крестьяном велеть пахать во всех 3-х полях (No.87)

(iii) и тебе б однолишно зола и дрова велеть готовить (№ 360)

In six instances the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on велено, as in the following example:

(iv) а велено с его Дмитриевыми людьми и со крестьяны розделка учинить (No.377/II)

In one example the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on приказано:

(v) и тот хлеб и на скотном дворе всякая животина при-
казано беречь до указа великого государя (From an opis' of 1667)

One apparent example occurs of the nominative used with an infinitive dependent on можно:

(vi) и в те г. поры можно пашне сметить и угодье высмот-
реть покрепче (No.339)

Since the verb сметить would seem to be used normally with the accu-
sative,¹ it may be assumed that in the form "пашне" "e" is used for
я as a consequence of the reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables.²

The following six instances occur where the nominative is used
with an infinitive dependent on a finite verb:

(vii) и велел ему Третьяку вас крестьян ведать судить и
росправа меж вас и во всем чинить (No.86)

(viii) и велел ему вас кр[е]стьян ведать и росправа меж
вами чинить (No.113)

(ix) пожаловал Борис Иванович указал ему дать взаймы
2000 руб. денег или сколько будет хотя и меньше и о том
дать грамота (No.371)

(x) пожалуй меня х. с. вели г. мне дать в Московском уезде
села Синькова у Москвы реки в лугех озерко[] Лужицы да на
Полежаеве лугу озерко Оздо подле лугу Егоревского девица
монастыря озерко Дедня по речке по Долгушке лужица заводная
да рыбные ловли что подле Москвы реки лужица плотная и
иные лужицы (No.134/I)

¹V.I. Dal' (1914), 4, col.310; SSRLY, 13, coll.1370, 1371. See
also Ch.4, example (lxxxiii), p.174.

²No unambiguous examples of ekan'ye are to be found in this document,
which was written in the village of Pavlovskoye in the Zvenigorod Uyezd;
examples of akan'ye do, however, occur, e.g. "прошает", "дворовова
г. строения".

(xi) и тебе б по ево письму крестьян и бобылей^[и] на лысковские мойданы высылать тотчас не мешкая в пору как лысковским крестьяном и бобылем наряды будут дрова готовить и зола жечь (No.436)

(xii) в нынешнем во 168-м году подрядился у меня суконной сотни торговой человек Михайло Бечевин из Муромы из моих житниц рожь моя вся привести к Москве (No.483)

The following example is unclear:

(xiii) а доведетца г. кому площадному подъячему подписать челобитная или память (No.100)

It would seem that in the seventeenth century довестися can be used both as a personal and as an impersonal verb and that therefore "челобитная" could be interpreted either as the subject of "доведетца" or as the object of "подписать."¹

One instance occurs in Mor. of the nominative used with an infinitive dependent on an adverb:

(xiv) а хороше бы г. им хлеб и волога давать с лишком видечи к тебе г. какая работа (No.308)

Alongside these examples, fifty instances occur of the accusative used with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive; fourteen

¹Such usage can be exemplified by the following passages from the Ulozheniye:

а) а на которы^х людехъ по судны^м дѣламъ доведѣтсѧ взѧти г^с древы пошлины и пересоуд^д и правой десѧтокъ и тѣ соудные пошлины имати на ни^х в г^с древѣ казною сполна (X.127)

б) а боудеть доведетсѧ ѡдать кому по крѣпости женѣ а оу не^а есть мужъ ѡдать за жонкою и мужа (XX.60).

instances are to be found of an accusative with an infinitive dependent on велено; forty-five instances occur of an accusative with an infinitive dependent on велел (or other finite indicative forms of the same verb); three examples where the infinitive is dependent on a finite indicative form of приказать and eight where the main verb is a finite indicative form of указать. Three instances are to be found of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on вели.

In addition to the above, the following instances occur:

(xv) похваляютца де оне деревню поч. Яблонной выжечь и стада отгонить и хлеб потолочить и животину розграбить и крестьян моих живых не пустить (No.29/2)

(xvi) а у меня Адуша Армаева ездил племянник мой нанимался он весть из Синбирска до Нижнего патриаршу рыбу (No.523)

Example (i), quoted on p.227, may also be noted in this context. In the following passage, the accusative form is presumably a reconstruction on the part of the editor (see Chapter 4, p.168):

(xvii) или тем бедным людям за оброк велеть золу **[]** жечь в моих лесах и угодьях (No.97)

There also occurs in Mor. a large number of instances where the accusative is used with an infinitive dependent on a personal verb other than велел or its synonyms or those verbs found in examples (xv) and (xvi). Such instances can be exemplified by the following passages:

(xviii) вотчину мою хотят разорить (No.46)

(xix) а как рудни зделают и фирмы направят и руду почнут дуть (No.132)

(xx) ты бы и опричь ево крестьян заставил рожь мою жать
а ево долю оставить а будет бы он ту свою долю не стал жать
и хлеб обронил (No.322)

(xxi) а как г. изволишь тое вотчину торговать (No.339)

No examples were found of sentences of this type with the object in the nominative.

In Ulozh. 1649, four instances were recorded of the nominative used with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive, for example:

(xxii) да на нихъ же велѣти исцо^М правити проестъ и волокиа
противъ того же какъ писано выше сего (X.119)

A further example is quoted in Ch.4 (p.188). Four further instances were found of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive. In one instance the infinitive is dependent on мощно; in a second the infinitive is dependent on велено, while in the remainder the infinitive is dependent on an adverb:

(xxiii) а которые г^Сдрвы ратные всѣкихъ чиновъ люди боудѣ^Т
на г^Сдрвѣ^ѣ слоужбѣ^ѣ в полкѣхъ и г^Сдрва слоужба имъ по
розборѣ^ѣ слѣжити мощно а они не дождавсѣ^ѣ ѿпѣскѣ^ѣ з г^Сдрвы
слоужбы збѣгоуть а имъ за побѣгъ чинити оуказъ (VII.8)

(xxiv) а велено имъ слѣжити городовѣ^ѣ ѿсаднаѣ^ѣ слоужба
(XVI.61)

(xxv) а боудеть кто помѣщикъ или вотчинникъ похочетъ оу
себѣ^ѣ в помѣстьѣ или в вотчинѣ на рѣкѣ^ѣ плотинѣ^ѣ здѣлати и
мельницѣ^ѣ оустроити вново а береги оба тое рѣки боудѣ^ѣть его
а выше тое плотины оу иныхъ помѣщиковъ и оу вотчинниковъ на
той же рѣкѣ^ѣ старыхъ мельницъ и пашенныхъ земель и сѣнныхъ

покосовъ блиско береговъ тое мелницы не бѣде^т или и бѣдетъ да ѿ тое новыа запроудные воды тѣмъ верхни^м мелницамъ и пашнамъ и сѣннымъ покосомъ никакіа порѣхи не боудетъ и емѣ та мелница вново строити вольно (X.238)

(xxvi) всего слѣ престѣпати кр^стное целованіе и целовати сѣти кр^стъ или икона сѣа бѣцы или иного сѣго образъ (XIV.10)

Eighteen examples were recorded of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive. There are no examples of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on either мощно or велено. In addition to the above, there is one example of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on an impersonal verb and two examples of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on an adverb:

(xxvii) и того ради Хр^стова слова бл҃гочестивымъ црѣмъ и всѣмъ православнымъ христіанымъ не токмо плѣнныхъ ѡсѣпати но и дшю свою за нихъ полагати достойнѡ (VIII.1)

(xxviii) а боудетъ доведетсѣ ѡдѣти комѣ по крѣпости женѣ а оу неа есть моужь ѡдѣти за жонкою и моужа да с них же взѣти головные пошлины (XX.60)

(xxix) а боудетъ которой стрелець оучнетъ бити челомъ г^сдрю что емоу того бесчестѣ платити нѣчемъ и за то бы бесчестье оучинити емоу наказаніе и по томѣ его челобитію велѣти емоу за то бесчестье оучинитъ наказаніе бити его кнѣгомъ чтобы емоу и инымъ такимъ не повадно было свою братію стрельцовъ и жонъ бесчестить (XXIII.3)

In passage (xxix) the object is "братѣю", a word which in the texts examined is never used as a nominative-object (see Ch.4, p.152).

Numerous examples occur of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on a finite indicative verb; in ten instances the verb concerned is a form of велѣти. Other examples include the following:

(xxx) а закрѣпѣ то оуложеніе рѣками оуказалъ г^сдрь списати в книгѣ и закрѣпить тоє книгѣ дѣломъ Гаврилѣ Левоньтѣевѣ да Федорѣ Грибодовѣ (Introduction)

(xxxi) а боуде^т которыми мѣрами с которы^м г^сдрьствомъ оу московского г^сдртва война зачнетсѣ или в которое время изволи^т г^сдрь комѣ своемѣ г^сдрвѣ недрѣгѣ мьстити недрѣужбѣ (VII.1)

(xxxii) и кабалѣ на себѣ дати похотѣть (XX.37)

(xxxiii) а иной в тѣ же поры оучне^т на того холопа бити чело^м что тотъ холо^п напередъ того емѣ в холопство билъ челомъ и слѣжилѣю кабалоу на себѣ емѣ дати хотѣль (XX.78)

(xxxiv) а боуде^т онъ на тѣ сосѣдни нискіѣ хоромы ѣчне^т водѣ лечь или соръ метать или иноую какоую пакость чинить а сѣда сыщетсѣ про то допрама и емѣ тѣ свои высокіѣ хоромы ѿ тѣхъ сосѣднихъ хоромъ велѣть ѿнести а боуде^т онъ тѣхъ своихъ хоромъ ѿ сосѣднихъ хоромъ не ѿнесетъ и тѣснотѣ томѣ своемѣ сосѣдѣ ѣчне^т дѣлать по прежнемѣ и оу него тѣ хоромы велѣть ѿломати чтобы впредь сосѣдѣ его ѿ него никакова насильства не было (X.279)

The last quotation represents a type which is particularly common, but which must be regarded as ambiguous, since examples of учну and an infinitive can be regarded either as dependent infinitive constructions or as periphrastic futures.

A number of other texts contain examples of the nominative-object used with a dependent infinitive. The seven such examples found in the Stoglav were quoted in Chapter 5 (pp.199 and 200). Alongside those examples there is to be found one instance of the accusative used with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive:

(xxxv) и того ради благочестивому царю повелѣти по всѣмъ градомъ свою царскую заповѣдь послати (Ch.91)

Ten instances occur in the same text of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on a finite indicative form of велѣти or one of its derivatives. The following passage provides an example:

(xxxvi) и видѣвъ Иванъ милостивый и повелѣ изгнати его и иному іерѣю повелѣ совершити вечернюю службу (Ch.16)

Three clear instances occur of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on an adverb, two in passage (xxxvii):

(xxxvii) благо есть исповѣдаться Господеви и пѣти имени твоему вышнѣй возвѣщати заутра милость твою и истину твою и всякую ночь по самочинию же глаголють а не по существу возвѣщати заутра милость твою и истину твою на всякъ день (Ch.9)¹

(xxxviii) и паки рече тако есть намъ лѣпо исполнити всяку правду (Ch.15)

¹This passage contains the full context from which the quotation passage (xlii) in Ch.5 is taken. I am grateful to Dr. A. E. Pennington for indicating the source of the quotation.

In addition, there is the following more ambiguous sentence:

(xxxix) и лѣпо есть ему едину отъ таковыхъ церковь воспріемшу
ту созидати (Ch.84)

"Ту" could here, it would seem, be either the accusative singular feminine of the demonstrative pronoun or an adverb of place.

As far as the remaining examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive are concerned, no equivalent passages with the corresponding accusative are found in this text.

It may, however, be noted that two examples occur of the accusative with an infinitive dependent on the impersonal verb подобаетъ

(xli) также подобаетъ и всѣмъ православнымъ крестьяномъ
руку уставляти и двѣма персты крестное знамение на лицѣ
своемъ вообразати и поклонятися (Ch.31)

(xlii) подобаетъ быти живописцу смирену кротку благовейну
неразнословцу несмѣхотворцу несварливу независтливу непьяниці
неграбежнику неубиѣцы наипаче же хранити чистоту душевную
и тѣлесную со всяцѣмъ опасениемъ (Ch.43)

In a further two instances an adverbial expression of time in the accusative occurs in this type of sentence:

(xlii) по святымъ церквамъ подобаетъ вѣрнымъ упражняться во
псалмѣхъ и въ пѣніихъ веселитися всю недѣлю иже по святомъ
воскресеніи Христа Бога нашего (Ch.95)

(xliii) отъ святаго воскресенія Христа Бога нашего дни даже
до новыя недѣли всю седмицу во святыхъ церквахъ упражнятися
подобаетъ неоскудно вѣрнымъ (ibid.)¹

There are also two examples of the accusative with an infinitive dependent

¹An apparent example of such an adverbial time expression in the nominative, found in Domostroi, is quoted in Ch.5 (p.212).

он достойтъ:

(xliv) достойтъ убо по уставу выимати предтечеву часть якоже и пречистые часть и класти на лѣвой сторонѣ агнца противу пречистой части (Ch.41)

(xlv) достойтъ убо по уставу выимати предтечеву часть якоже и пречистые часть мало поменши и класти на лѣвой странѣ агнца противу пречистые части (Ch.41)

There is one instance of the accusative with an infinitive dependent

он невозможно:

(xlvi) а въ которыхъ дѣлехъ невозможно тамо имъ управу учинити и они обоимъ исцомъ срокъ чинятъ передъ святители и святители выслушавъ списковъ да потому имъ и управу чинятъ (Ch.68)

The various examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive found in Domostroi were also quoted in full in Chapter 5 (pp.215 and 216); as the number of examples of the accusative with a dependent infinitive in this text is small, these can be quoted in full:

(xlvii) тогда аггѣли невидимо пре^дсто^{ят}, и напис^ѹтъ дѣла добра^а и ества и питіе в сладость бывае^т аще начнетъ пре^дпоставлен^ѹ ествѣ и питіе пох^ла^т тогда мотыло ѿбращаетс^я (Ch.11)

(xlviii) вс^акого брашна не подобаетъ пох^лити гл^ати гнило іли кисло или прѣсно или солоно или горко или затхлос^я іли сыро ил^і переварено или как^ѹ ни бѹди х^лѣ возлагати (Ch.11)

(xlix) и вс^ак^ѹ бы ествѣ и м^асн^ѹ и рыбн^ѹ и вс^акой приспѣх скоромной и посной жена сама бы знала и оумѣла здѣла^т (Ch.29)

(1) ино бы оумѣть свою женѣ наказывати всякимъ разсуж-
женіемъ оучити (Ch.38)

In (xlvi) the infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb. In the remaining instances the infinitive concerned is dependent on a finite indicative verb. It would seem possible to interpret (xlvi) as representing a periphrastic future rather than a dependent infinitive.

Of the texts considered above Domostroi is unusual in that examples of the nominative-object with a dependent infinitive outnumber those of the accusative-object with the same type of verb. If a distinction is made between instances where the infinitive is dependent on personal finite indicative verbs and those where the infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb or an independent infinitive, then it will be found that in the former instances only examples of the accusative are found, while in the latter, examples with the nominative predominate. In the remaining texts the evidence suggests that in all dependent infinitive sentences, no matter whether the infinitive is dependent on a personal verb form or an impersonal verb form or an adverb, the accusative is used more frequently for the object than is the nominative. In all the texts under consideration here the nominative is used more frequently for the object of an independent infinitive verb. Thus it can be seen that the use of the nominative-object in dependent infinitive sentences differs clearly from its use in independent infinitive sentences.

At the same time, however, it would appear that the nominative-object is not used in the same way in all types of dependent infinitive sentence. The nominative seems on the whole to be used most frequently where the infinitive is dependent on another independent infinitive. This is perhaps not surprising, since such sentences are syntactically

and semantically closest to independent infinitive sentences.¹ Noticeably less frequent are examples of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on other impersonal verb forms; such forms would include the impersonal verbs proper (лучится, подобаетъ, etc.) as well as the impersonal predicate form можно. This category also includes past passive participles, although it is to be noted that the only past passive participle used at all frequently with the nominative-object is велено, which is used in sentences which are again semantically close to independent infinitive sentences.²

Very few examples indeed were noted in any text of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on another personal verb. It is remarkable that in the majority of such examples quoted above, the personal verb concerned is a verb of ordering or forbidding, carrying therefore the same modal significance as the majority of independent infinitive constructions.³

¹Cf. the following passages from Mor.:

- a) пашню ему указал пахать ту же прикащикову что пахал он Иван Федоров а пахать ему Любиму та пашня сабою же а не крестьяны (No.42)
- b) а пашня моя боярская крестьяном велеть пахать во всех 3-х полях (No.87)

²Cf. the following two passages, likewise from Mor.:

- a) и ему Иванису во крестьянах и во всяких делах с сторонними людьми велено чинить росправа смотря по тамошнему делу (No.46)
- b) и ведать ему Любиму в деревне поч. Сергаче з деревнями и с починки крестьян моих и бобылей и их судить и росправа меж ими чинить безволокитно и безпогульно и без корысти (No.87)

³Cf. the following passage, also from Mor., with the two passages quoted in note 2.

- и велел ему Третьяку вас крестьян ведать судить и росправа меж вас и во всем чинить и от сторон от обиды оберегать (No.86)

The use of the nominative-object with a dependent infinitive verb seems to be related to the degree of semantic and syntactic closeness which the sentence concerned bears to an independent infinitive sentence. Thus the nominative-object is extremely rare, except in those sentences where there is no grammatical subject and where the main verb is impersonal, as in an independent infinitive sentence; it seems, moreover, most common of all in those sentences where the main verb is itself an independent infinitive, although the verb governing the object concerned is dependent on this independent infinitive. Equally, the nominative-object is to be found more often in those sentences, whether the main verb is personal or impersonal, which express the idea of ordering or forbidding, the idea contained in most independent infinitive sentences.

It would appear that two explanations can be put forward to account for the use of the nominative in dependent infinitive sentences described above. It is possible that the nominative-object was originally used with independent infinitive verbs, but spread later to other types of construction, syntactically and semantically close to independent infinitive constructions, when the original reasons for the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction no longer applied. It is, however, also possible that the nominative-object was originally also used regularly in some or all of the types of sentences considered above, but that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its usage in such sentences was beginning to disappear, just as in the seventeenth century a tendency developed for the nominative-object not to be used in independent infinitive constructions where the object is a feminine noun referring to a person, or in certain types of clause introduced by чтобы. (See Chapter 4, pp.184, 185)

Unfortunately, the question of which of these two explanations

is the more likely cannot be answered by reference to texts dating from an earlier period, since such texts that were examined do not contain a sufficient number of dependent infinitive sentences to provide clear evidence. As has been pointed out (Chapter 4, p.149), DDG contains two examples of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive, while no examples of the accusative are found in a comparable construction. No other instances of a relevant nominative or accusative object with any sort of dependent infinitive were noted in this text. The Arkheograficheskiy Izvod of the Long Redaction of ZSL contains the following example of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on an impersonal verb:

(li) но ѿ бѣа крѣпость бѣоу дающему побѣдоу плѣна же шестая часть достоитъ в'зати кнѣземь (Arkheograficheskiy Spisok)

In the sole surviving text of the other Izvod (the Pushkinskiy Spisok) the equivalent sentence has the object in the accusative:

(lii) крѣпостью бѣ дающему побѣду плѣна же шестую часть достоитъ взимати кнѣземь

In the following instances of infinitives dependent on impersonal verbs the accusative is used for the object in all surviving texts (in each case the version quoted is that of the Pushkinskiy Spisok):

(liii) подобаетъ имъ хранитисѧ ѿ всякого слова неприѣзженнаго и ѿ женъ к бѣ единому мыслѣ имѣти и молитву и обѣты къ сѣмъ

(liv) а робу ту достоитъ ѿ кнѣзѧ земля та продати через землю ту въ ину землю а цѣна та дати оубогымъ

(lv) егда въспросиша фарисѣи г҃а ис҃а х҃а аще достоитъ члв҃ку по всякой винѣ пустити жену свою

The following is a possible example of the nominative-object used

with a dependent infinitive which occurs in one copy of the Short Redaction of ZSL:

(lvi) ѣ-те лѣто всю достоѣти не взимати же но скончавше
.ѣ. лѣтъ въ .и. же лѣто всю да приимати достоитъ же не
ѣсти хлѣбъ их толико и вода .ѣ. лѣтъ (Tolstovskiy III sp.)

The infinitive пити is presumably to be supplied here. The remaining copies have воду, воды or водъ, while all copies, other than those belonging to the Sofiyskiy izvod omit the не before ѣсти.

Also to be noted is the following passage, where the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on an impersonal verb. The example was first quoted by A. I. Sobolevskiy,¹ and occurs in the Milyatino Evangeliiye of 1215:

(lvii) достоитъ ли мужю жена пустити

Notwithstanding the inconclusive nature of the above evidence, there is one a priori reason for believing that the appearance of the nominative-object in dependent infinitive sentences is a secondary phenomenon. An assumption that the nominative-object was originally found in those sentences where an infinitive dependent on an impersonal verb was used, but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was gradually being replaced by the accusative accounts for the syntactic factors influencing the use of the nominative-object in dependent infinitive sentences, but does not account satisfactorily for the fact that the use of the nominative-object in dependent infinitive sentences, both where the infinitive is dependent on an impersonal verb and also where it is dependent on a personal verb, appears also to be influenced by a semantic similarity to independent infinitive sentences.

¹A. I. Sobolevskiy (1907), p.197.

The existence of the two separate factors seems to indicate that the nominative-object started to appear in dependent infinitive sentences, including, most probably, those sentences where the infinitive is dependent on надобѣ, etc., as a result of semantic and syntactic analogy, once the original reasons for the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction no longer applied.

2. The Use of the Nominative with a Gerund.

A phenomenon requiring separate consideration is that of the nominative used for the object of a gerund. Some scholars have regarded examples of this nature as falling into a separate category and different explanations to account for them have been put forward by Sprinchak, Jacobsson and Timberlake.¹ Examples of this use of the nominative-object are to be found in several of the texts studied; they occur in certain very old texts, as well as in sources dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Thus in Russkaya Pravda the following instances are to be found:

(lviii) а се оуручи городникоу закладающе городьна кѣна
взѣти а кончавше ногата (Sinodal'nyy Ispisok)

(lix) а переди пачѣба исплатив'ше а въ процѣ князю
поточити и (Rozenkampfovskiy spisok)

A rather later example occurs in the treaty between Novgorod and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Kazimir of 1440-47:

(lx) оже учинится нелюбовь мнѣ великому князю Казимиру
королевичю до Великого Новагорода или Новугороду до мене
великого князя Казимира или будетъ миръ нелюбъ сославъся

¹See Ch.1, pp.39-41.

и грамота отославъ а послѣ грамоты мѣсячъ не воеватися
(GNP, No.70)

In Domostroi, the following example is to be found:

(lxii) ино соима рѣбашка плеткою вежливенко побить (Ch.38)

Ulozh. 1649 contains one clear example of the nominative used with a gerund:

(lxiii) дати на чистѣю порѣзъ з записью что емоу впредь такъ не воровати и взавъ по немъ порѣзка выдати томѣ оу кого онъ человекѣка оубиль (XXI.69)

Three such instances occur in Mor.:

(lxiii) а буде деловые и огураютца ино сыскав вина и за вину бить батоги слехка (No.200)

(lxiv) и как к тебе ся моя грамота придет и тебе б и та рожь велеть отдавать которая ныне привезена и отдав та рожь Ивану Гурьеву говорить что рожь из вотчин вся привезена (No.453)

(lxv) а рожь мерять в государеву в нижегородцкую таможенную меру вверх и смеряв та чети при себе вверх и спустить в спуск под гребло для отмеру для поспешенья (No.480)

A more ambiguous example is the following, found in the Composite Redaction of ZSL:

(lxvi) .ē. лѣтѣ вѣнѣ цркви стоѣти плачущесѣ и послоушающе литоургия (Muzeyskiy II spisok).

It is unclear whether the form "литоургия" represents a nominative singular or a genitive singular, or, less probably, a nominative-accusative plural. Some copies of the text have the accusative singular (литоургию) in this sentence. Evidence in favour of interpreting

the ending in -a, -Ѧ as a genitive singular or a nominative-accusative plural is provided by the equivalent passage in the Short Redaction of the same text:

(lxvii) чинъ же постоу томоу сице .ѿ. лѣтѣ вѣстѣ стати
плачущисѧ и послушающе литургіе (Novgorodskiy sp.)

Some of the instances quoted above would seem to require comment. Thus, alongside the two passages from Russkaya Pravda, there occur two examples of the accusative used with a gerund:

(lxviii) а се оуставиль Володимиръ Всеволодичь по Свѣтополче
сѣззавъ дружиноу свою на Берестовомъ (Sinodal'nyy I spisok)

(lix) что еи далъ моужь съ тѣмъ же еи сѣдѣти или свою
часть въземъши сѣдѣть же (ibid.)

Although the instances of the nominative and the accusative with a gerund are numerically equal, there is a significant difference in their distribution among the various copies of the text. The two examples where the accusative is used with the gerund are found in all copies of the Long Redaction of Russkaya Pravda (although it may be noted that a small number of copies of this text replace сѣззавъ with a finite verb созва). (lxviii) on the other hand occurs in the form quoted only in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok and in the five copies of the Arkheograficheskiy Vid; elsewhere, the object of the gerund appears in the accusative case. Likewise, (lix) appears in the form quoted only in the various copies belonging to the Rozenkampfovskiy and Ferapontovskiy Vidy, as well as in the Tolstovskiy (abbreviated) Vid. Again, the accusative replaces the nominative in the remaining copies of the text, while in the Sinodal'nyy I Spisok a finite verb replaces the gerund. Thus it would seem that the use of the

nominative-object with a gerund is a much less regular feature of Russkaya Pravda than it at first sight appears.

No examples of the accusative-object with a gerund were found in the Treaty from which (1x) was taken. In this example, however, as in (1ix) and (1xiii) it is noteworthy that the gerund clause, separated from the following clause by a conjunction, seems as a result to fulfil the same function as an independent infinitive clause. It is possible that this functional similarity leads to contamination by the independent infinitive type of sentence and hence to the appearance of the nominative-object with the gerund.¹

As far as the later texts are concerned, Domostroi contains sixteen examples of the accusative used with a gerund; in Ulozh.1649 there are 35 clear examples of this construction, while in addition the following 4 instances should probably be included in this category:

(1xx) а боудеть которой холопъ или кр^стьянинъ ѿ кого побѣжитъ покинаѿца своего или матеръ и дастъ на себѣ иномѣ кому оу слѣжилѣю кабалѣ вновѣ (XX.24)

A similar instance occurs in the Table of contents

(1xxi) а боудеть которой сынъ или дочь оу отца или оу матери животы пограбѣть насильствомъ или не почитаючи отца и матеръ и избываючи ихъ оучнѣть на нихъ извѣщать какѣ слышѣла (XXII.5)

In this text матеръ seems to occur only as an accusative form.²

¹ An example of contamination between gerund and independent infinitive constructions, as indicated by the appearance of a dative subject in the gerund clause, is provided by the following passage:
аже възгономъ въ блазну возмутъ новгородское или человекъ или лошадь (sic) бѣхавъ ис тои волости человекѣ к воеводѣ рекъ право свое взяти а имъ дати (From the same treaty as (1x)).

² P. Y. Chernykh (1953), p.283.

(1xxii) а первомѣ кѣпцоу тоу вотчиною владѣти не велѣти для
того что онъ тоу вотчинѣ кѣпѣ в помѣстномъ приказѣ за
собою в книги не записалъ (XVII.34)

The accusative seems to belong here rather more closely to the gerund than to the negative finite verb. There is also one instance of an accusative of a masculine-a type noun used with a gerund:

(1xxiii) а боудетъ тотъ оубойца сѣдью ранѣ или оубивъ до смерти
кѣды зобѣжитъ и его сыскавъ по томѣ же казнити смертію
(X.106)

There are four occurrences of the time expression недѣлю спустя as in the following example:

(1xxiv) да на немъ же велѣти исцѣ доправити проѣсти и воло-
киты с того числа которое в приставной памяти написано
недѣлю спустя да по то число какъ онъ на Москвѣ обя-
вится по гривнѣ на день (X.139)

Mor. contains twenty-one examples of the accusative with a gerund; in addition, there is one instance of the time expression неделю спустя. No examples were found in any text of the nominative used with спустя.

Thus, in the three later texts considered, examples of the nominative-object with a gerund are relatively isolated, heavily outnumbered by examples of the accusative used with this form. The evidence of the earlier texts considered above is less clear, since, while there are only isolated examples of the nominative with a gerund, instances of the accusative with a gerund are also few in number. It would, however, appear significant that both the examples of the nominative-object with a gerund in Russkaya Pravda are restricted to

a small proportion of the different versions of the text, with the accusative being used elsewhere. There also exist a number of texts containing examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction where only the accusative is used for the object of a gerund. Thus the Long Redaction of ZSL has five instances of the accusative used with a gerund, but none with the nominative. The portion examined of the first Novgorod Chronicle contains sixteen examples of the accusative with a gerund, with a further three instances where the object (in the accusative) is a masculine-a type noun; here too no examples of the nominative-object were found with a gerund. In these circumstances it seems reasonable to conclude that the nominative-object in Russian was not originally used in gerund constructions and that the relatively isolated examples of such a usage represent a secondary phenomenon.

Attempting to explain the appearance of the nominative as the object of a gerund, Sprinchak considered that the phenomenon spread from those sentences where the nominative could be interpreted as being the object either of an independent infinitive or of a gerund.¹ Such sentences can be exemplified by the following instance from Ulozh. 1649: (1xxv) и оу того кто такъ оучинить та чюжа▲ земл▲ въз▲въ ѡдати томъ ѡ кого ѡн▲ль (X.233).

Support for this explanation would seem to be provided by the seventeenth century texts examined. In Ulozh. 1649 there are four examples of the above type of sentence containing the nominative, while five examples occur of the same type of sentence with an object in the accusative. In Mor. three instances are to be found of this type of

¹Y. A. Sprinchak (1941), p.35.

sentence containing the object in the nominative; one of these is quoted in Chapter 4 (example (cxvi), p.190). The accusative is used in this type of sentence on five occasions.¹ Thus, while the nominative is used in these sentences rather less often than it is in straightforward independent infinitive sentences in the same texts, it is far more frequent than it is in the gerund constructions considered earlier. It is therefore possible that these ambiguous constructions are an intermediate stage in the spread of the nominative-object from independent infinitive to gerund constructions.

There is, however, an important obstacle to accepting Sprinchak's theory: the 'intermediate' type of construction described above, while not uncommon in seventeenth century sources, is not found in any text examined earlier than Domostroi (where one such instance occurs). Examples of the nominative with a gerund, on the other hand, occur, as was shown earlier, in texts going back as far as Russkaya Pravda, including the oldest surviving copy thereof, which dates from the thirteenth century. The evidence therefore suggests that the influence of the sentences containing both gerund and independent infinitive, if it existed at all, is probably restricted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it would seem unlikely that these constructions played any role in the initial appearance of the nominative as object of a gerund.

Timberlake took the view that the nominative was originally used as the object of a gerund, where the gerund is subordinate to what Timberlake describes as a systematically impersonal verb and that its

¹Because of possible ambiguity the examples under discussion have not been included in any of the statistics concerning either independent infinitive sentences or gerund constructions.

usage in such sentences was as regular as its usage as the object of independent infinitive verbs.¹ At first sight, the passages quoted earlier from Russkaya Pravda seem to provide support for this hypothesis. It will be noted, however, that in both (lviii) and (lix) the nominative is replaced by the accusative in the great majority of copies of the text; in (lxix) the finite verb сѣдѣть is found only in some copies of Russkaya Pravda, while the remaining copies replace the finite verb with the infinitive form сѣдѣти. Thus many of the extant copies of Russkaya Pravda contain two or three examples of the accusative with a gerund in a sentence where the main verb is an independent infinitive and no examples at all of the nominative as the object of a gerund.² It is true that in the example from ZSL the nominative is used with a gerund subordinate to an independent infinitive, but this example is, as was pointed out on pp.244, 245, dubious.

Later texts also contain a number of examples of the accusative with a gerund subordinate to an independent infinitive; in Domostroi the following instances occur:

(lxxvi) да млѣвъ ѿсовѣ проговора да перекреста^с молва гѣ блгослови ѿче то^ж начати вса^кое дѣло (Ch.19)

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.27-30. See also Ch.1, p.39.

²The following vidy of Russkaya Pravda contain three examples of the accusative used with a gerund in a sentence where the main verb is an independent infinitive and no instances at all of the nominative used with a gerund: Pushkinskiy, Rogozhskiy, Myasnikovskiy (three copies), Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy and the Troitskiy (Sinodal'no-Troitskaya Gruppy). In the following vidy there are two examples of the accusative used with a gerund where the main verb is an independent infinitive, again with no examples of the nominative used with a gerund: Myasnikovskiy (three copies), Muzeyskiy, Obolensko-Karamzinskiy and the Troitskiy (Karamzinskaya Gruppy).

(lxxvii) и г^сдри бы себ^а и свою дш̄ и домъ свои добре строивъ
и домочадцовъ безо вс^ак^іа скорби тоже нищ^х и странны^х,
и оубоги^х вдовицъ и сирот^т покоити достойно ѿ свои^х праведны
(sic) тр^гдовъ (Ch.22)

(In this example there appears to be a certain lack of congruence between the beginning and the end of the sentence.)

(lxxviii) а постав^а еств^ѣ или пит^іе да т^ѣтъ ни кашл^атъ
ни сморкать (Ch.49)

("кашл^атъ" is presumably to be read as an infinitive: the variant texts П7, И38 replace "кашл^атъ" by "кашл^ати"). In Ulozh. 1649 the following example occurs:

(lxxix) и за то сотеннымъ главамъ сказавъ имъ виноу
при ратныхъ многихъ людехъ чинити наказан^іе (VII.16)

In Mor. the following examples are to be found:

(lxxx) а прочитая сю нашу грамоту и списывая спискі^ѣ остав-
ливать у себя а сю нашу грамоту отдавати боярина нашего
Бориса Ивановича Морозова людям (No.313)

(lxxxі) а рожь бы отпустить выбрав самую добрую не гнилую
не слежалую (No.480)

(lxxxіі) велено их бить батоги сыскав вину передо всеми
деловыми (No.198)

In this example, as in (lxxvii), the accusative is used with a gerund subordinate to what Timberlake would call a systematically impersonal verb.

It will be noted that all the examples of the nominative with a gerund occur in sentences where the gerund is subordinate to an independent infinitive verb and that examples of the accusative used as the object of a gerund in this context are comparatively rare.

This would suggest that the type of sentence in which the gerund is used is a relevant factor in the use of the nominative-object. Nevertheless, the fact that the accusative does occur even in the earliest texts with a gerund subordinate to an independent infinitive does not provide support for the view that the nominative is used regularly in sentences of this particular kind. It would seem more probable that the use of the nominative-object is extended to gerund constructions as a secondary phenomenon rather in the same way as it is to certain dependent infinitive constructions. One would then expect that as a result of syntactic and semantic influences it would appear more frequently in those sentences where the gerund has almost the same significance as an independent infinitive, for example (lix), (lx), (lxiii); in those sentences where the nominative could be the object of either an independent infinitive or a gerund, as occur in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also those gerund constructions subordinate to an independent infinitive verb.

3. The Use of the Nominative for the Object of a Finite Verb in a list.

Mention must be made of one other type of construction where what would seem to be a nominative-object appears. This is where a verb, frequently a finite verb, is followed by a long list of objects and where the first few of these objects appear in the accusative or, with nouns which do not distinguish the two cases, in the nominative-accusative, while some, or all, subsequent objects in the list appear in the nominative. This phenomenon can be illustrated by the following examples:

(lxxxiii) иже дали есмо и записаи Ленькови Зарубичю та села

в Луцко^і земли **О**лыку на рец^ѣ Олыц^ѣ а мытельно а Долгие
Шии а Велбичи а в Крема^нецкой волости Вандруга а Семеновка
на рец^ѣ Семеновце (Roz., No.69)

(lxxxiv) а се даю с̄ну своему кн^а^з Ивану Звенигоро^д со вс^ѣми
волостми и с мы^тмь и съ селы и з бортью и с оброчники
и с пошлинами Кремична Руза Фоминьское Суходоль
Истерва Сводька свободу Замошьскую Ростовци Кремичну
Тростну Н^ѣчугу (DDG, No.4a)

(Note in this example the return to the accusative case.)

(lxxxv) и я х. т. по твоей государеве грамоте Московского
уезда твоего государева села Синькова у Москвы реки в
лугах озерко лужицы да на Полежаеве лугу озерко Дедня по
речке по Долгуше лужица Заводня да рыбные ловли подле
Москвы реки лужица Плотная и иные лужицы и пус. Смолин-
скую и пус. Зубатово твоему государеву боярину Борису
Ивановичю Морозову отказал (Mor., No.134/V)

Here the objects precede the verb and it is the last object, rather than the first, that is in the accusative.

This use of the nominative was first noted by A. A. Shakhmatov, who observed that its origin is entirely unrelated to that of the Nominative and Infinitive construction and is simply due to the separation of the objects concerned from the verb, leading to a loss of syntactic link.¹ This explanation would seem to be the most probable and has been accepted by those subsequent scholars who have commented on the phenomenon.² Consequently instances of this type have not been

¹A. A. Shakhmatov (1903), p.130.

²These include: D. S. Stanisheva (1966/1), p.49; B. A. Larin (1963), p.90; A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.36.

included in the enumerations of examples of the nominative used for the object of a finite verb that have been made in other chapters of this work.

There are, however, a number of points to be made about this construction. First, it is interesting to note that Shakhmatov draws up a rule for the appearance of the nominative: "Едва ли не общимъ правиломъ можно признатьъ, что, въ случаѣ за глаголомъ слѣдуетъ два или нѣсколько прямыхъ дополненій, форму вин. падежъ принимаетъ только первое, ближайшее къ глаголу дополненіе."¹ Although this statement has gone unchallenged, it cannot serve as a general rule, as has already been indicated by (lxxxiv), where some of the objects coming after the appearance of the nominative are in the accusative case. More significantly, there are a large number of examples where a whole series of objects in the accusative occur, without any switch to the nominative, as in the following instance:

(lxxxvi) а се даю снѹ своему Ивану Звенигоро^Д Кремичну Рузу Фоминьско^е Сухо^Дль Великую свободу Замошьскую свободу Оугожъ Ростовци Окатъ^еву свободку Скирминовско^е Тростну Нѣгучю (DDG, No.16)

It is interesting to note that in document 1(a), another copy of the same will, the objects from "Окатьева свободка" onwards are in the nominative. Taking as a whole those dukhovnyye gramoty examined in DDG (the construction in question is rare in the treaties), examples where the accusative is used to the end of the sentence outnumber those where there is a change from the accusative to the nominative by sixteen instances to eleven.

¹A. A. Shakhmatov (1903), loc. cit.

Further evidence to indicate that the nominative-object in a 'list' construction is not directly connected with the Nominative and Infinitive construction, is provided by the fact that the nominative does not replace only the accusative in the former construction (see Ch.3, pp.116-122). Isolated examples are to be found of the nominative used instead of an instrumental in a long list:

(lxxxvii) и какихъ казни не послалъ на насъ Богъ приводя насъ на покаян^іе ово плѣненіемъ и святымъ церквамъ разореніе и попраніе всякимъ святынямъ и многобезчисленное кровопролитіе и пожженіе и истопленіе и въ плѣнъ расхищеніе всякого священническаго и иноческаго чину (Stoglav, Ch.3)

(lxxxviii) а чѣмъ ма блг^слвилъ оѣ мой князь великий и мою братью молодшую двѣма жеребьи Москвы и Коломна с волостями, и Звенигородъ с волостями Можаескъ с волостями Дмитровъ с волостями и отъѣздана мѣста и всимъ великимъ княженъемъ того ти под нами блюсти а не обидѣти (DDG, No.13)

An example of the nominative replacing the dative is the following:

(lxxxix) а то есьмо дали панъ Иванъ Мѣшатъ и его дѣти и его ближніе тое имѣн^ѣе продати и заставити промѣн^ѣити или по дѣши дати (Gol., No.XLIV)

It would seem that the nominative replaces oblique cases rather less frequently than it does the accusative. In the portion studied of DDG, including both dukhovnyye gramoty and treaties, there are five examples of the nominative used to replace the instrumental, of which two can most probably be explained as slips of the pen (the forms concerned are "трѣ^т" and "муро^м").), while in a third instance a single nominative appears in the middle of a list where otherwise the

instrumental is used throughout.¹ In nine instances the instrumental is used throughout the list. The principal reason for the nominative replacing the accusative more often than oblique cases may be the fact that for many categories of nouns the cases are identical. The presence of such nouns in a list might lead more readily to a scribe losing his thread in a sentence, re-interpreting the nominative-accusative forms as nominatives and then continuing the list using the nominative case.

Examples (lxxxvii) to (lxxxix) indicate that, when an oblique case is replaced by the nominative, not only singular-a and -i type nouns are affected. Thus in example (lxxxvii) all the nouns concerned are neuter verbal nouns in -ie; in (lxxxviii) most of the nouns concerned are -o type nouns (alongside the -a type Коломна), while in (lxxxix) a plural -i type noun and a substantivised adjective are in the nominative.

A final point about this construction is that it is not restricted to those texts where the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurs.

¹The full passages concerned are:

а) бл̑с̑ словляю с̑на своего кн̑з̑а Ивана своею отчиною тре̑ ю Москвы своимъ жеребьѣмъ и с пошлинами и с пу̑ми и з бортью и численъ̑х̑ людей тре̑ ч̑мъ ма̑ в Москвѣ̑ бл̑с̑лови̑ от̑ц̑ мой ка̑ писано в д̑шевн̑ой грамотѣ̑ отца моего великого кн̑з̑а да̑ Коломною с̑ь вс̑ми волостми и с̑ь селы и с бортью и с пу̑ми и со вс̑ми пошлинами (No.20)

б) а ч̑м̑ гне кн̑з̑а велики бл̑с̑лови̑ теб̑ ш̑ц̑ твои кн̑з̑а велики Василеи̑ Дмитрееви̑ в Москвѣ̑ и Коломною волостми и вс̑ми велики̑ кн̑же̑ е̑ та̑ жо̑ и М̑ро̑ с̑ волостми и Козе̑скими м̑сты̑ и иными примыслы то̑ ми̑ г̑ не по̑д̑ тобою блюсти а не ш̑бидети (No.27)

с) а вну̑к̑ своего бл̑с̑ словляю̑ кн̑з̑а Василь̑а А̑рослави̑ с̑елы Ому̑цкы̑ В̑схо̑скимъ а в Лу̑ с̑елы Ю̑рьевское̑ з̑ деревн̑ами̑ и з̑ Дегот̑ьскимъ Осене̑вскимъ А̑рамо̑ски̑ Миха̑лковымъ Мисе̑д̑ьски̑ Соснов̑ьски̑ и з̑ деревн̑ами̑ и что̑ х̑ т̑м̑ с̑ело̑м̑ пот̑а̑гло̑ а в̑ь стану̑ в Мо̑сков̑ьско̑ с̑ело̑ Тулов̑ьски̑ з̑ деревн̑ами̑ что̑ к̑ нему̑ пот̑а̑гло̑ (No.28)

Isolated examples of the 'list' nominative occur, for example, in the Laurentian Chronicle, where the following instance is found in the introductory passage:

(xc) имать же и острова Вротанию Сикилию Явию Родока Хиѡна Лѣзовона Коѣирана Вакуноѣа Кеѣалиньѣа Иѣакину Керькуру часть всѣчьскиѣа страны нарицаемую Ѡнию рѣку Тигру текущи межю Миды и Вавилономъ до Тонетьского моря на польнощныѣа страны Дунай Дынѣстръ и Кавкаисинскиѣа горы рекше Оугорьски и Ѡтудѣа доже и до Днѣпра и прочаѣа рѣки Десна Припетъ Двина Волховъ Вольга

Passages (lxxxiii) and (lxxxix) are taken from the Old Ukrainian sources. As will be pointed out in Chapter 7 (pp.280,281), the Nominative and Infinitive construction is extremely rare in these documents; the nominative in 'list constructions', on the other hand, is quite common. The documents examined contain six clear examples of the nominative in a 'list construction' alongside only one instance of the nominative with an independent infinitive. It is interesting to note that these texts contain one example of the accusative replacing a nominative:

(xci) а на то есмы дали ѡблазничомъ сесь нашъ листъ под нашею печатью а к тому и нашихъ слугъ землѣаньскиѣа печати пана Ходкова Чемерева печать и пана Ленкова печать Зарубича воеводы Зудечовьского и пана Короваеву печать Процевича (Roz. No.43)

3. Word Order in Nominative and Infinitive Sentences.

A further question concerning the use of the Nominative and

Infinitive construction is that of word order: whether it was more usual in the oldest recorded Russian as well as in later texts for a nominative-object to precede or to follow the infinitive. This question, although not one of the most important problems posed by the Nominative and Infinitive construction, is worth examination, since it has been answered in various ways. V. I. Borkovskiy considered that in the oldest texts available representing the living language ("живая русская речь") the normal word order was for the nominative-object to follow the infinitive, although this is not supported by the statistics he quotes, which show more examples, both for the whole period covered (the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries) and also for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries considered together, of the noun in the nominative preceding the infinitive. This discrepancy is left largely unexplained. M. I. Pigin observed that the nominative-object usually preceded the infinitive in what he describes as "более ранние памятники" and that the nominative-object continued to precede the infinitive in the majority of instances in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A. Timberlake took the view that word order in Nominative and Infinitive sentences is "not grammatically significant", although he observes a "stylistic preference" for the object to precede.¹

As far as the texts surveyed in Chapter 2 are concerned, in Russkaya Pravda, out of the twenty-three examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction quoted in Appendix 1 (Nos. 1 to 20, 25 to 27), in only two instances (Nos. 16 and 20) does the object precede the infinitive. In No.4 one object precedes the infinitive with a second object following it, while in No.9 the qualifier precedes the infinitive with the noun qualified following it. In the remaining 19

¹V. I. Borkovskiy (1949), pp.347,348; M. I. Pigin (1954), p.103; A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.14.

examples the object follows the infinitive. It is noteworthy that in every example the word order remains the same in all the relevant copies of the text regardless of whether the object concerned is in the nominative or the accusative.

The position in Tr. 1229 is rather different. Out of the twenty-two examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction found in the various copies of the text (quoted in Appendix 2), the object follows the infinitive on only twelve occasions and precedes it on the remaining ten. There is, however, a possible explanation for this discrepancy. In nine of the ten examples where the object precedes the infinitive the object concerned is та (тая, такова) правда. The demonstrative pronoun here is a link with the previous sentence and it seems probable that the whole phrase precedes the verb precisely because of this link. These examples might therefore be interpreted as reflecting a marked word order. There are two exceptions to this pattern: in example No.1, the object precedes the infinitive without there being any link with the preceding sentence (as happens in example No.20 from Russkaya Pravda); in example No.13 the object "та правда" follows the infinitive, presumably because it is qualified by a relative clause and does not refer to the previous sentence. It may also be noted here that in example No.16 in Russkaya Pravda the object appears to refer back to the previous sentence, although because of the absence of the demonstrative pronoun the connection is less explicit than in the examples just described.

In Gram. Shakh. out of the five examples quoted on pp.87 and 88 of Chapter 2, the object precedes the verb on two occasions and follows it on two, while in the fifth instance (example (xxxiv), p.88) one object follows and one precedes; in example (xxx) the object preceding

the verb refers back to the previous sentence, although in the remaining instances no motivation can be discerned for the word order. In Gram.Nap. (the three examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are quoted on pp.88 and 89 of Chapter 2) the object follows the infinitive in two instances, while in the third one object precedes and one follows the verb.

It will be seen that examples where the noun in the nominative precedes the infinitive form a clear minority of the total number (fourteen out of thirty-two examples) and that in the vast majority of those examples where this word order occurs (ten instances), the noun would seem to be placed at the beginning in order to provide a link with the previous sentence.¹ Thus, while there is no fixed word order for the constituents of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, there is a clear tendency (amounting, it would seem, to more than a "stylistic preference") for the nominative-object to follow the infinitive, with deviations for the most part being determined by the sense of the passage in question. It may therefore reasonably be inferred that the oldest recorded Russian had a normal, though not a fixed word order, which was for the nominative-object to follow the infinitive.

As, however, will be seen from Appendix 3, this no longer applies in the later texts. In some texts (Ulozh. 1649, Bezobr., MDBP) there remains a clear tendency for the object to follow the infinitive. In the Stoglav there is a similar, though less distinct tendency, while in Sud. 1497 examples with the object preceding and following the infinitive are equally divided. In a third group of texts, all of which

¹These totals exclude examples where part of the object precedes and part follows the infinitive.

contain a large number of instances of the Nominative and Infinitive construction (DDG, Domostroi and Mor.), examples where the object precedes the verb outnumber those where the reverse word order is found.

Moreover, in these texts it seems that where the object precedes the verb, this is neither for special emphasis nor to refer back to something already mentioned. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

a) from the Stoglav

(xcii) святая вода крестити по правиломъ святыхъ отецъ единымъ крестомъ воздвизати въ три погружения (Ch.41)

(xciii) крестити вода единымъ святымъ крестомъ въ три погружении (ibid.)

(xciv) да на томъ втрое взяти безъ суда да отдати исцомъ да боярина от боярства а дворецкого от дворечества изврещи да и помѣстья у нихъ отписати и со очей сослати аки непотребных рабъ а у десетинниковъ десетина отняти а у дьяка дьячество а взятое на нихъ втрое доправити да отдати исцомъ а ихъ отъ себе отослати (Ch.69)

b) from Domostroi

(xcv) а оу которого члѣка ѿгородецъ есть и кто пашетъ ѿгородъ сам ли г^сдрь дозирае^т или г^сдрнѣ или комѣ приказано первое города переукрепити (Ch.45)

It is also possible to find examples of objects, qualified by та and apparently referring back rather than forward, following the infinitive, as in the following passage from Ulozh. (1649):

(xcvi) а с сѣда по исцѣ^х и по ѿвѣтчикѣ^х имати стравочныѣ

порѣчныа записи в то^м что тѣмъ исцо^м и ѿвѣтчиномъ до вер-
шенъа соудного дѣла безъ оуказѣ с Москвы не съѣжжати а
велѣти такія порѣчныа записи приставомъ збирати и к дѣлѣ
тѣ порѣчныа записи ѿдавати послѣ сѣда вскорѣ а бес порѣки
исца и ѿвѣтчика послѣ сѣда ѿпѣскати не велѣть и принести
приставѣ та порѣчнаа запись в приказъ к дьячьей помѣтѣ
кончье в третѣи день (X.123)

It may therefore be concluded that in texts of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there is no longer a normal, unmarked word order for examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. Taking the texts of this period as a whole, it is impossible to discern any preference (stylistic or otherwise) for any particular word order, and it would seem that the choice of word order was free, just as in many circumstances the choice of nominative or accusative case for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb seems to have been free (see Ch.4, p.191).

CHAPTER 7

Introduction

One of the questions concerning the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction that still have to be examined is whether the construction was at one time common to the whole of the East Slavonic area, or whether it has always been a regional phenomenon, restricted to the North Russian, Old Muscovite and Old Belorussian dialects. The question is not so much one of whether the construction is ever found in any South Russian or Old Ukrainian sources: as has been shown, scholars have quoted a number of examples from texts written in these areas, while in recent years references have been made to the appearance of the construction in certain modern Central and South Russian dialects. The problem is more one of how such examples are to be interpreted: whether they are to be seen as representing a feature of the living language of their area of origin, or whether they can be accounted for more satisfactorily by some other explanation. In recent years both views have been put forward.¹ The question is of special importance in that it concerns not only the usage of the construction during the recorded history of the East Slavonic languages, but also the problem of how the construction arose. For if it can be shown that the construction is a purely regional phenomenon in the recorded history of the East Slavonic languages, then it is less likely, pace V. I. Borkovskiy,² that its origin is connected with properties of the

¹Previous work on this question is discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 24-37.

²See Chapter 1, pp. 26, 27.

common Slavonic infinitive or that it represents the survival of an Indo-European construction. It would not mean that these theories have to be eliminated, since the construction might have disappeared from the South Russian areas before the oldest surviving texts were written; nevertheless the absence of the construction from a large part of the East Slavonic area would seem to suggest that it is more probably a dialect element which was formed at a relatively late stage, and would therefore provide support for the view of the origin of the construction advanced in Chapter 2 (p.110).

1. The sources of material.

One of the major complications affecting the question of whether the Nominative and Infinitive construction was used in the South Russian and Ukrainian areas is the relative paucity of surviving texts which can be used to provide relevant material. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that there are even fewer printed editions of South Russian sources, and that almost all that do exist date from the nineteenth century and were published for historical rather than linguistic purposes.

The sources used with regard to this problem can be divided into three groups. The oldest sources used were fourteenth and fifteenth century documents from the areas of Russia which had come under Polish and Lithuanian control, and also from Moldavia. As was noted in Chapter 1,¹ F. Miklosich, V. Yaroshenko and others drew attention to examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in these gramoty;

¹See Chapter 1, pp.24, 25, 27.

they did not, however, produce detailed evidence, and consequently did not answer all the questions which the appearance of the construction posed. No indication was given, except in the most general terms, of how frequently it occurred; at the same time it was not stated whether only the nominative was used to express the direct object of an infinitive verb, or whether it occurred side by side with the accusative; finally, no consideration was given to the question of whether only the direct objects of independent infinitive verbs appeared in the nominative case, or whether the nominative-object occurred with dependent infinitives, gerunds or finite verbs. That the recorded examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction might not reflect a feature of the contemporary living language of those areas where the documents were written was suggested by D. S. Stanisheva and F. P. Filin.¹

The material was taken from Gol., Roz. and Ulyan. After work on this section of the thesis was completed, a new collection of texts, c.14 G, was published; this book contains a number of the fourteenth century gramoty published in the other collections, and these were re-examined and, where relevant, are quoted in the form in which they appear in the new collection.² The documents contained in these editions are gramoty of various sorts: treaties, charters, professions of loyalty (to the King of Poland) and other official and quasi-official documents. To some extent the editions overlap. For the most part, however, Gol. and Roz. contain documents which stem from the Polish and Lithuanian domains; the places of origin (not always

¹See Chapter 1, pp. 30, 31.

²For the most part this corresponds to Roz.

indicated) include L'vov, Lutsk, Kraków, Kiev, Galich, Vilna (Vilnius), Sandomierz, Polotsk and Peremyshl'; there are also a number of documents from the Moldavian capital, Suceava (in the documents Сучева or Сочева). Most of the Russian language material included in Ulyan. originates from Suceava.

The term "Russian" used in the last sentence was not employed in its narrowest sense. Indeed, V. Rozov in the edition already mentioned and V. Yaroshenko in his study of Moldavian gramoty refer to the language concerned in the titles of their respective works as Ukrainian.¹ Many of the documents contain what seem to be Ukrainianisms, for example the confusion of ѣ and и ("соби" -Gol.XXVIII, "нѣнишними" -Ulyan.8, the confusion of в and оу ("со оусѣмъ" -Ulyan.8, "вчынисьа" -Gol.XLVII); the use of words like "що" (Ulyan.53), "оужитки" (Roz.27). There are also a number of Polonisms, many of them terminological in nature, for example "вшого посполства" (Roz.20), "кролю Влодиславу" (Roz.27), also "гродо" (C.14 G, No.4), used alongside "города".²

It should be noted that Ulyan. was studied only in part. This was largely because in the language of the documents contained therein, under the influences of Moldavian and also Bulgarian, the noun declension system, which in the oldest gramoty is close to that of Old Russian, begins during the fifteenth century to break down, a phenomenon which seems to become more widespread.³ In some examples oblique cases are confused, as in the following: "напротивъ его непрѣтелемъ оусихъ как

¹V. Yaroshenko (1931), pp.247-338. The same view is implicit in the full title of C.14 G (see Bibliography, p.367).

²A survey of the language of these documents is to be found in Yaroshenko's article. Aspects of the language are also considered in I.S. Syentsitsky (1957).

³N. S. Antoshin (1961).

наши передци чинили противъ татарохъ и противъ каждому непріятелю" (Ulyan.58, 1445), "и иныхъ многымъ землѣмъ господарь" (Ulyan.41, 1435); in others the nominative singular replaces some other case form: "обѣ часть куты" (Ulyan.48, 1436), "отъ прѣчистыя его матеръ и от четири еуглисть" (Ulyan.38, 1435). When this happens, it becomes impossible to distinguish examples of the nominative-object, whether with an infinitive or with any other form of the verb. The last document studied in Ulyan. was No.68, dating from 1448. The gramoty studied in the editions mentioned cover the period from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries.

The sources used for material from South Russia proper date from the second half of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries. The presence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in South Russian gramoty of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is attested to by S. I. Kotkov, whose observations led him to the conclusion that the construction was lost in the South Russian area in the seventeenth century, an event which began the process of the disappearance of the construction from the Russian language. D. S. Stanisheva questioned this conclusion, while accepting that the construction was at one time an element of South Russian dialects. On the other hand, F. P. Filin and others doubted the significance of the recorded South Russian examples, taking the view that they appeared as a result of the influence of the official language of Moscow on the language of the local official and semi-official documents.¹ It was felt that by concentrating in this work on sources dating from the second half of the seventeenth century it would be possible to examine both the

¹See Chapter 1, pp. 28-31.

questions of whether the construction was a native feature of South Russian dialects and, by comparing it with Moscow sources of the same period, whether the process of disappearance does indeed seem to begin earlier for the South Russian area than for the language of Moscow.

The following South Russian sources were studied:

I) OKB, covering the years 7157 (1649)-1700. The 149 documents in the collection are numbered, twice, in Arabic figures in consecutive series, in both instances starting at 1. The numeration adopted for reference during the course of this survey is that involving the fewer mistakes.

A description of Otkaznyye Knigi and a statement of their importance for studying the history of the Russian language was given in S. I. Kotkov (1959). Kotkov himself used material from the Otkaznyye Knigi for Kursk for the years 1630-1662 in his article of 1959;¹ the fact that in the article Kotkov does not quote the material in full (particularly with reference to the use side by side of nominative and accusative in infinitive sentences) and the differing interpretations placed on his findings seemed to justify a return to Otkaznyye Knigi, albeit from another South Russian town.

II) Mat. Vor. The documents studied were Nos.CXXVIII-CLXXXIX, which comprise all the documents in this collection written in the South Russian area as well as a small number written in Moscow. Most of the former stem from Voronezh or the surrounding area; they include petitions, instructions (some of these from the Belgorod Voyevoda) and letters.

¹S. I. Kotkov (1959), p.49.

A considerable section of the material examined (38 documents) is related to the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks. Linguistically the documents which seem to have been drawn up by the Cossacks stand apart: Ostrogozhsk was founded in 1652 by Cossack settlers from the Ukraine, and the language is not without what would appear to be Ukrainianisms. This is mainly reflected in the confusion of *и* and *ы*, as in the following instances: "всякими своими товари торговать *і* промысли промышлять *і* всякими заводи владѣть" (CLII), "протывѣ" (CLII), "обыдѣ" (CLXIX), "сламалы" (CLXXIV), but also, it would seem, in such words as "шинковать" (CLII and elsewhere), and possibly also "помагать" (CLXIX), "сламать" (CLXXIII) (the question of *akan'ye* in these documents will be considered on pp.298, 299). These Ukrainianisms, however, are not a major feature of the language, and seem to affect only the orthography and vocabulary in the manner of the above illustrations.

The final source of material was found in present-day Russian dialects. As was noted in Chapter 1, while many scholars have attested to the existence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in modern North Russian dialects, only a small number of relatively recent studies has suggested that it may also survive in certain areas in the South.¹ Furthermore, the position of the construction in North Russian dialects appears to be reasonably clear: a detailed account was given in Kuz'mina and Nemchenko (1964),² while a map showing the isogloss for the construction in the North Russian area is to be found in their article

¹See Chapter 1, pp.35-37.

²I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.152-165.

of 1961.¹ On the other hand, although Kuz'mina and Nemchenko in the former article also describe the use of the construction in Central and South Russian dialects, it is probably fair to say that the position here is much less clear. D. S. Stanisheva calls such examples as there are in modern South Russian dialects "случайными и нетипичными;" F. P. Filin in his book of 1972 wrote: "В современных южновеликорусских говорах 'инфинитив + -а (-я)', в отличие от говоров северновеликорусских, фактически не употребляется, встречаясь как исключение лишь в немногих местностях," while K. F. Zakharova and V. G. Orlova consider the construction to be a characteristic feature of what they call the "Северная диалектная зона."² They make no mention of its possible occurrence in Central and South Russian dialects. Kuz'mina and Nemchenko themselves observed that the construction is far more infrequent in Central and South Russian areas than in the North, and also that in the former areas proportionally far more examples are found of the nominative-object used with finite verbs.³

Because of this situation material was studied from Central and South Russian dialects only. To obtain this material I was generously allowed access to the Картотека по вопросам № 129 и 130 Программы собирания сведений для составления Диалектологического атласа русского языка; these card indexes were

¹I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1961), p.312.

²D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.14; F. P. Filin (1972), p.484; K. F. Zakharova, V. G. Orlova (1970), pp.85-87. On page 85 they define the "Северная диалектная зона" in the following terms: "Ареалы явлений, характерных для северной зоны, охватывают большую часть территории северного наречия, кроме ее юго-восточной части."

³I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.152-165.

Kazimir Jagailovich (as the treaty describes him) and the city of Pskov. The document was drawn up in Vilna in 1440.

There are eight clear examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive, although these occur in only two documents. Three examples are found in the same Gol.XLVII:

ii) а обиднымъ дѣломъ оуложили есмо рокъ который бѣдѣть вчынилиса отъ Великого князя Витовтови до сихъ мѣсть тымъ дѣломъ на обѣ сторонѣ сѣдѣ и справѣ оучинити

iii) аже вчинитьса нелюбовь мнѣ великомѣ князю до Пскова и мнѣ Великомѣ князю тѣю грамотѣ крестнѣю не слати ни на Москвѣ ко князю великомѣ Василью ни къ Новѣгородѣ но положить мнѣ тѣю грамотѣ крестнѣю во Псковѣ

Five instances occur in C.14 G, No.14:

iv) не заимати намъ королевы землѣ ни его людии што его слухаютъ королеви держати лвовьскую землю исполна и намъ держати володимѣрьскую луцкую белзьскую холмьскую берес-тиискую исполна жъ

v) а оу томъ перемирьи кто кому криво оучинить надобѣ са оупоминати старѣишему и оучинити тому и(съ)праву оучинит(ь) , который добрыи члѣкѣ кривду любо воевода а любо панѣ оучинити исправу ис нимъ

vi) а што тои грамотѣ писано тую жъ правѣду литовьскимъ княземъ держати

C.14 G, No.14 is also a treaty, between Yevnutiy, Kestutiy and Lyubart Gediminovich, Yuriy Narimuntovich and Yuriy Kor'yatovich on one side and the Polish King Kazimierz on the other. The treaty indicates neither the date nor the place of origin; Golovatskiy (the document is No.1 in his edition) considers that the treaty was written in 1350, while Rozov in his

edition assigns it to 1352, a view accepted by the editors of C.14 G.¹ Another possible, but much less clear, example of the accusative used with an independent infinitive is the following from letters patent granted by Voyevoda Alexander of Moldavia from Suceava in 1433:

vii) оже тот истинный Илѣашъ тягаль на Журжа прѣд нами и осталь Журжъ намъ окупити свою шѣю (Ulyan.28).

It should be noted that the first example from quotation (iii) is atypical, in that the accusative is used with a negative infinitive. In general in these documents, as elsewhere (see Ch.3, pp.116-119; Ch.4, p.162) the genitive is normally used for the direct object of a verb in the negative, including independent infinitives: thus, while there are no other examples of negative independent infinitives in Gol.XLVII, in C.14 G. No.14 two examples are to be found of the genitive used with an independent infinitive verb, and in Gol.XXVII (described below) three such instances occur.

The small number of examples with unambiguous nominative or accusative with an independent infinitive is in the main due to the fact that independent infinitive sentences themselves are not particularly widespread in these documents. Only in Gol.XXVII, XLVII, C.14 G. No.14, No.19 could independent infinitive sentences be described as prevalent; elsewhere, a number of examples occur in C.14 G. No.34, 46, Gol.XV, XLVIII, while isolated examples are to be found in several other gramoty. Of the above mentioned, C.14 G. No.19, Gol.XLVIII are treaties; Gol.XXVIII is described as an Уставная таможенная грамота (issued by Voyevoda Alexander from Suceava in 1407).

The following five examples were recorded of a nominative used with an infinitive dependent on a finite verb:

¹C.14 G p.29.

viii) а на крѣпость того наша печать к сему листу велѣли
есми привѣсити (С.14 G. No.41)

ix) тому истому королеви Володиславови и ~~его~~ коро^лици
и ~~его~~ дѣте^м и корунѣ польской слюбунемъ держати цѣлую
правду и чиста вѣра с наши^м дѣтми и с наши^м послѣдки
при немъ и на вѣ^к бы^т (С.14 G. No.47)

Here part of the object is in the nominative and part in the accusative,
with the latter nearer the relevant verb.

x) велѣли есмы нашемъ вѣрномъ Логоетѣ писати и привѣсити
печать наша великаа къ семъ листѣ нашемъ (Gol.XXVIII)

xi) иже мы Романъ воевода Молдавський и дѣдичъ оусей
землѣ Волошьскоі отъ плонины аже до брегу моря иже из
доброи волѣ а ни кимъ не принуженъ али з доброі и з мудроі
рады своихъ слугъ и пановъ нашихъ вѣрныхъ и с приволѣннемъ
оусей землѣ Волошьскоі ни однѣмъ принужениемъ слюбили есми
и слюбунемъ обѣщеваучи чистою вѣрою чистою правдою вѣрна
служба служити (С.14 G. No.62)

xii) и слюбили есми и слюбунемъ вѣрне быти а ни иного госпо-
даря шюкати а не имати але королеви и его женѣ и его дѣтемъ
и корунѣ Польскоі вѣрне служити и помагати и добра рада
радити со оусѣмъ посольствомъ оусей землѣ Волошьскоі
(С.14 G. No.62)

Also probably of this type is

(xiii) а што коли идетъ изъ земли чересь Сочавы на Сиратѣ
колко давати на Сочавѣ половина отъ того мыта имѣть дати
на Сиратѣ отъ оусего и отъ кожи и отъ волны отъ овчины

GoI.XXVIII)¹

Of the above mentioned documents, C.14G., No.41 is a gramota sent by King Wladyslaw Jagiello of Poland to the Moldavian Voyevoda Peter (Lutsk 1388); C.14 G.No.47 is a note (запись) from the Lithuanian Prince Dmitriy Olgerdovich to Wladyslaw Jagiello (Molodechno 1388); C.14G. No.62 is a document in which Voyevoda Roman of Moldavia swears his loyalty to King Wladyslaw (Suceava 1393); GoI.XXVIII was described above.

The nominative form is used to express the object of a finite verb in the following seven instances:

(xiv) а на крѣпо^с то^г листа привѣ^сли ѱесмо наша печат^т
абы то крѣпко здержа^т неизрушисто никакими дѣ^л (C.14 G., No.47)

(xv) иже ѿ ты^х мѣст^ь с нашими дѣтми чиста^а вѣрност^ь
и полна будемъ держа^т тому истому королеви и ѱего королици
и ихъ дѣтемъ и корунѣ польской (C.14 G. No.44)

(xvi) а на того крѣпостъ к тому листу наша печать завѣ^сили
ѱесмо (C.14G. No.44)

(xvii) а на подтверженъе привѣ^сили есмы печать наша к сему
листу нашему во Львовѣ (Ulyan.19)

¹It seems reasonable to interpret the form "имуть дати" as a form expressing obligation, rather than a straightforward periphrastic future, therefore regarding the infinitive as being dependent on "имуть". This construction is widespread throughout these documents: it can be further exemplified by the following sentence from C.14 G., No.41:
пакъ ли бы то то исты^я гродо силою оуза^а то а мы оужды имае^{мо}
ты исны^а дѣ тиса^ачи рубли^я имо воротити исполна
Its use in such circumstances as the apodosis of conditional sentences, apparently to indicate obligations entailed by the observance or non-observance of the conditions, suggests parallels with the independent infinitive represented in GoI.XLVII and C.14 G. No.14, as well as in documents from other parts of Russia, for example Russkaya Pravda, Tr.1229 and the various treaties between the Muscovite Princes drawn up in the fifteenth century (see Chapters 2 and 4).

(xviii) ачбыхомъ самъ своимъ животомъ не поспѣшнѣ были
ку его млсти потребизность ехати пре нашей нѣкоторей
потребизность о нашей земли тогди мы пошлемы помощь своя
и паны свои ку кролеви ку его млсти ку его потребизность
(Ulyan.51)

(xix) а пань Косте логоуеть даль Ванчи и Или за их очиноу
половина Гочмънещи що была часть его що сѣ дали емоу по
своеи доброй воли Андриѣашъ и Чорра (Ulyan.53)

(xx) а еще есми дали емоу на Воинавѣ половина село где
есъ Пашко ватаманъ (Ulyan.61)

Of the relevant documents the following have not yet been described: C.14 G. No.44 is an oath of loyalty from Dmitriy Koribut, Prince of Severia (Kraków, 1388); Ulyan.19 is a confirmation of loyalty from Voyevoda Alexander of Moldavia to King Wladyslaw (L'vov, 1407); Ulyan.51 is a promise of loyalty and assistance from Voyevoda Stephen of Moldavia to King Wladyslaw (Bîrlâd, 1438); Ulyan.53, 61 are letters patent issued in Suceava in 1442 and 1445 respectively.

In addition the following two examples were recorded of the nominative used after a preposition; in the first example it replaces an accusative, in the second an instrumental would seem to be replaced:

(xxi) и на вечна крѣпость к сему листу печати нашѣ
велѣли ~~несмо~~ привѣсти (sic) (C.14G. No.43)

(xxii) слобуемо нашею чистою вѣрою безо лсти и безъ
хитрости при нашей чти подъ наша хрестыанская вѣра
никимъ к тому присиловани ани прину жени (Ulyan.16)

C.14G. No.43 is a statement of loyalty from the boyars and princes of South Russia to King Wladyslaw (Luchitsa, 1388), while Ulyan.16 is

a confirmation of loyalty from Voyevoda Mircea (Russian Мирча) of Moldavia to King Wladyslaw dating from 1403.

The example from Ulyan.16 is paralleled by the following examples, where the nominative also appears to replace an instrumental, albeit not after a preposition:

(xxiii) како кеды в то время коли кн^з велебный Дмитрии ин^ѣмъ имене^м Корибу^т кн^з Новгородский и С^ѣверьский гспдръ нашъ милыи голдовани^е и вѣрность и послушство и так^ж служба и х^рста ц^ѣлони^е наша добра рад^д и наши^м вшего посольства боаръ прилюбл^ѣни^е^м не приневоленіи а никотора^а зла вола^а примучени (C.14 G. No.43)

(xxiv) велико^м и славнему Володиславу Бж^ѣи мл^лсти^и королеви польскому и ины^х земель гпдрви и честной Адвизѣ корици и дѣтемъ ^ѣего и корунѣ польской со вси^м своими земл^ами и гро^д з боары и с людьми вѣрность права^а и не изрушиста^а слюбил^л а мы имене^м и моча вши^х земл^анъ ^ѣего повелѣни^ѣмъ ^ѣего ислубу^ѣмы за него и за ^ѣего дѣти' (C.14 G. No.43)

(xxv) тому истому Володиславу королеви польскому и Адвизѣ и ихъ дѣтемъ и корунѣ польской слюб^ѣуемы и ^ѣобч^ѣуемы наша приса^ага и наша вѣра и ч^ѣтью (C.14 G. No.44)

This usage is not, however, consistent even in these particular gramoty, as the following passage shows:

(xxvi) не изрушеною вѣрностью слюб^ѣили ^ѣесмо и слюб^ѣуемъ (C.14 G. No.44)

Both the documents concerned date from 1388, but were issued in different places, C.14 G. No.43 in Luchitsa, Ch.14 G. No.44 in Kraków, thus

having neither the time nor place of origin in common with Ulyan.16.

If one excludes the following

((xxvii) а се ꙗ Фебрунъ воꙗвода перемышльскѣи познавамъ
то нашимъ листъ (С.146.,No.53)

(xxviii) со всѣхъ городми со всѣми оужитки (С.146.,No.59)),

which seem rather more like slips of the pen, in that there is loss of agreement between adjective or pronoun and noun, with the nominative form appearing only once in each of the phrases concerned, the above quoted passages provide the only examples of such case confusion from the territory of Poland-Lithuania in the texts surveyed (but cf. Ch.6, pp.255,256). It is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for what seems to be an isolated phenomenon; there appears, however, to be no direct link with the Nominative and Infinitive construction, where the nominative only replaces an expected accusative.

Attention must also be drawn to the examples quoted earlier from Ulyan.51 and Ulyan.61: both the passages quoted contain an example of the nominative used instead of an oblique case; in Ulyan.51 "потребизность" or "потребизность" occur three times for different oblique cases after various prepositions, while in Ulyan.61 "село" occurs apparently instead of a genitive singular. These examples of confusion between the nominative and other cases must cast doubt on the significance of the use of the nominative to represent an object in these documents, and also to some extent on the example found in Ulyan.53, even though no other instances of case confusion were recorded there. It must be taken into account that these examples may well reflect the tendency of the nominative to replace other cases in the language of these Moldavian gramoty (a development referred to on p.266), rather than a phenomenon connected with the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

No fewer than five of the various examples of the nominative-object come from the concluding formula, in each instance the nominative feminine singular form наша being used, agreeing with печать. A more exact description is not possible, since, although the vocabulary of the formula is to a large extent standardised, there are important variations in the grammatical structure. Thus in two examples (No.viii and No.x) the nominative is used for the direct object of an infinitive dependent on a finite verb, while in the remaining three instances (No.xiv, No.xvi and No.xvii) the nominative appears as the direct object of a finite verb. The five examples between them also show considerable variations in word order. The nominative does not, however, predominate in this particular formula: in the texts examined the accusative is used with a dependent infinitive 37 times, with a finite verb at least seventeen times. The place of origin seems to be without significance in this matter; the documents containing the nominative stem from Lutsk (C.14 G. No.41), Molodechno (C.14 G. No.47), Suceava (Gol.XXVIII), Kraków (C.14 G. No.44), L'vov (Ulyan.19). Molodechno is represented by the one document; at least two examples are to be found from each of the other towns with the accusative used in the concluding formula. Thus from Lutsk are Roz. 70, 84, 85, 86 and others, from Suceava Gol.XLIII, Ulyan.15, 30a, 39 and others, from Kraków - Gol.LV, C.14 G. No.64 and from L'vov - C.14 G.No.79, Roz.44. Of greater significance, it would seem, is the date of origin: thus the nominative is not found in the formula in question in any document dating from later than 1407.

It seems unlikely that it can be mere coincidence that what is a relatively high proportion of the examples recorded of the nominative-

object should occur in the concluding formula. At the same time it appears reasonable to infer from the circumstances in which the nominative is used that its presence here is determined not by the grammatical structure of the formula, but by the use of the formula itself. The infrequent appearance of the nominative and its complete absence (in this particular context) after the first decade of the fifteenth century imply that the use of the nominative here was, during the period in question, dying out from the written Russian used in the documents studied.

The link between the nominative-object and official formulae is reinforced by the fact that in a further four examples the nominative appears as a direct object in various formulae of homage (Nos. ix, xi, xii, xv). Here there is by no means the same degree of standardisation as in the concluding formula, but it is still possible to discern a common pattern. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in three of the remaining examples the object of the verb concerned is половина. Since two of these instances, however, are from Ulyan.53 and Ulyan.61, and for reasons indicated on p.278 must be considered doubtful, it seems that no special significance can be attached to this usage.

It would appear that the evidence found, albeit small in quantity and, at times, of uncertain reliability, does permit some conclusions to be drawn. It is unusual that while only one example of the nominative with an independent infinitive was found, at least eight instances were noted of the nominative used apparently instead of an accusative in other circumstances. Further, the accusative is used more often in independent infinitive sentences than the nominative, although the number and distribution of the examples is extremely limited; the

majority of the other instances of the nominative-object occur in formulae which are to a greater or lesser extent standardised, the appearance of the nominative, in at least some such instances, being motivated less by the grammatical structure of the sentence than by the formula itself; finally, even here the nominative is used infrequently and is almost wholly absent from later gramoty. From these facts it may be inferred that, whencesoever it entered the language of the Old Ukrainian gramoty, the Nominative and Infinitive construction is no more than an occasional element thereof, and that, in so far as these documents reflect the local spoken language of the time, the construction is unlikely to have been a feature of this spoken language.

It would seem that two explanations can be adduced to account for the appearance of the construction. It is possible that it had once been a living feature of those East Slavonic dialects which form the basis of the language of these documents; that having entered the language of official texts, it comes to be considered part of the formulae in which it occurs, and the "official status" it thereby acquires enables it to survive in these circumstances even after its disappearance from the living language. Alternatively, the construction may have been "imported" into the language of the documents at the same time as the formulae in which it is to be found. If this latter explanation were true, however, one might expect the usage of the construction in the Old Ukrainian gramoty to resemble, if not be identical to, its usage in sources from other parts of Russia; yet in the latter sources the nominative is most often found with independent

infinitives, which is not so in the texts being studied.¹ Moreover, the formulae in which the nominative-object occurs most frequently are not, it would seem, formulae that were borrowed from other areas of Russia. In relation to the concluding formula Chr. S. Stang observes: "Die Abschlussformel ist auch vom Westen eingedrungen," quoting from a Latin letter of Kazimierz the Great: "In cuius rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus duxibus appendendum."² It is curious to note that in the Latin sentence above the phrase "Sigillum nostrum", which corresponds to the Russian печать наша/нашу does not distinguish nominative and accusative, but from the syntax would appear to be the subject. If, on the other hand, the construction was indeed a former living element of the language used for these documents, it seems odd that it should survive most readily in borrowed formulae. These considerations combined with the small quantity of evidence, make it impossible to decide which of the explanations is to be preferred.

3. OKB.

OKB contains 45 examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. In all but one instance the nominative is used with an independent infinitive. In addition there are two doubtful passages, where the endings concerned have been corrected, apparently by the scribe, in such a way as to make it unclear whether the nominative or the accusative is supposed to stand. These occur in otkazy Nos. 36 and 47,

¹Cf. the examples quoted in Appendices 1 and 2 from RP and Tr. 1229 respectively, and also those from Gram. Shakh. and Gram. Nap. quoted in Ch. 2, Section 5.

²Chr. S. Stang (1935), p. 141.

both dating from 7179 (1671), but written by different scribes. Examples of the nominative with an independent infinitive far outnumber instances of the accusative in the equivalent position, only thirteen unambiguous examples of the latter being recorded.

The examples of the nominative and accusative with independent infinitive can be divided according to their lexical content:

a) those with земля as the noun and пахать as the infinitive, for example:

(xxix) а земля имъ Семену и Потапу поха^Т чере^З между з де^Тми боя^Рскими с ~~А~~едоромъ Спицкины^М да с Тимо~~Ф~~емъ Озеровымъ
(No.3)

Eleven instances were recorded, while four examples with the corresponding content were found with the accusative, for instance:

(xxx) и зе^Млю пахать в дере^Вни по^Д Ви^Слоу в урочища^Х на речк~~ѣ~~
Липовомъ До^Нце то^И Ви^Сло^И дервни з де^Тми боя^Рскими с
Клемено^М Губоревы^М да с Мо~~ж~~имо^М Беседины^М с товарищи
чере^З десятину (No.94)

In addition the two ambiguous examples mentioned above belong to this group.

b) Those with пашня as the noun and пахать as the infinitive, as in the following example:

(xxxi) а пашня ему поха^Т в сел~~ѣ~~ Лозово^М чере^З десятину
з де^Тми боя^Рскими съ Яково^М Плетеневы^М с товарищи на
Лозово^М колодези да в поля^Нке (No.124)

Here there were also eleven examples with the nominative noted. In addition the following example may be placed in this category:

(xxxii) имъ з дядею з Приго^Ремъ попола^М пашня паханая
роспошная земля и дикое поля поха^Т в те^Х же урочища^Х
 о^Т ра^{ЗУ}ме^Нского лѣсу к рѣчке Ра^{ЗУ}мно^И (No.22)

Two instances with the accusative were found, for example:

(xxxiii) а пашню поха^Т проти^В своего помѣстья о^Т тре^Х
 ве^Ршковъ к о^Тско^Чно^{МУ} лѣсу на колодезь (No.42)

c) With вода as the noun and имать as the infinitive, for example:

(xxxiv) а во^Да ему имать в колодези которо^И коло^Де^Зь
 выше^Л ис по^Д мало^И леси^Нке ис по^Д ливе^Нско^И дороги к
 Севе^Рскому Донъцу (No.54)

Here again eleven such instances were noted.

d) Five examples occur with рыба as the noun and ловить as the infinitive, exemplified by the following:

(xxxv) а рыба и^М Га^Вриле да Мики^Оору лави^Т в рекѣ Сѣвер-
 ско^М въ Са^Жномъ До^Нца^Х (No.60)

e) In two examples the expression служба (...) служить is used, as in this passage:

(xxxvi) а Миха^Ило ка^К поспе^Т в г^Сдрву слу^Жбу и ему с того
 помѣ^Сстья слу^Жба служить (No.22)

The following individual examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction were also noted:

(xxxvii) и ему Прохору в томъ помѣ^Тствии ры^Бная ло^Вля лави^Т
 и бо^Бровые гоны а усада ему Прохору жеребе^И др^Вни Тишино^И
 на рекѣ на Снавѣ Липиново^И дели^Т с Ыгна^Темъ да с Ма^Темъ
 да с Василье^М Семеновыми де^Тми Тишины^Х с товарищи (No.104)

(xxxviii) а дворовая уса^Дба и огуме^Нное ; огоро^Дное м....
 владеть ему Лариону в то^И же др^Вни Непхаево^И (No.147)

In all the above examples from (c) onwards no corresponding examples of the accusative and infinitive were found. In connection with example (xxxviii), the following passage may be noted:

(xxxix) и ро^спашную посту^пною пом^ѣсною землю вла^{де}ть сме^жно
 жь чере^з межу и десяти^{ну} с Сидоро^м Ма^рковымъ да с ~~А~~оли-
 мономъ да с ~~А~~едоромъ Немыкиными с товарищи (No.141)

Examples (xxxviii) and (xxxix) are both unusual, since in OKB, the verb влад^ѣть normally governs a noun in the instrumental.¹ It is not impossible, however, that the example from No.141 is really an incorrectly formed instrumental, perhaps due to a slip of the pen: the instrumental singular feminine of adjectives is frequently used in these documents in place of the corresponding accusative,² although at the same time it must be observed that no examples of the reverse confusion were recorded in this particular text. As far as example (xxxviii) is concerned, the other objects of the verb seem clearly to be in the nominative-accusative (in spite of the illegibility of the noun). Elsewhere in this otkaz examples of both governments are to be found:

(x1) а сенные покосы владе^т ему в те^х же урочища^х
 (xli) да в те^х же урочища^х владеть ему Лариону роspoшною
своею землею два^тца^тю четве^ртми в поли а в дву потому^ж

To be noted here is the one example of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive:

¹There is, however, one example, from otkaz No.18, of влад^ѣть used with a genitive:
 да села ^ж Али^ца руски^м помещико^м Але^ѣю ~~А~~едорову с товарищи
 влад^ѣть за Хо^тмышскою дорогою вве^рхъ по Мураму сенны^х
 покосовъ на триста копень

²As is exemplified by the following instance from otkaz No.11:
 на дваровою уса^дбу р^ѣчки Везе^лки на Кры^мскою сторону
 A further example is to be found in passage No. (x1vi), p.286.

(xlii) велено ему Науму ^Твзя с собою ^Хтутошни и ^Нсторо^Нни^Х и ^Лсторожи^Лцо^В ^Хмного^Х ^Илюде^И да с ^Ттѣми ^Длю^Дми спо^Рною землею Артема Минюкова с товарищи о ^Икоторо^И у нихъ ^Рспо^Р с Микитой ^МАуниковы^М с товарищи ^Впроти^В ^Икрепосте^И ро^Звесть ; межа учинить (No.87)

The use of the nominative and the accusative side by side is noteworthy here. The greater distance from the verb "велено", with what consequently may be felt to be a lesser degree of dependence, is possibly one reason for the change to the nominative form.

For the following examples of the accusative and independent infinitive no corresponding instances with the nominative were found:

(xliii) а ^Рче^Рно^И ^Ллѣсѣ^Л и дуброву ^Бселидо^Бно^И и ^Идровено^И сѣ^Дчь ^Дпоза^Д ^Исвое^И ^Дуса^Дбы (No.46; an identical example was recorded in No.130)

(xliv) при ^Ттѣхъ ^Хлюде^Х по ^{МУ}сыску ^{МУ}свое^{МУ} то ^Лдикое ^Лполя круглую поляну с ^Иурочищи и^Змѣри^Т в ^Идесятины а десятину мѣри^Т в ^Тдлину по ^Сосмидеся^Т ^Нсаже^Н а ^Тпоперекъ по ^Нтри^Тцати ^Нсаже^Н (No.2)

(xlv) а десятину мѣреть в ^Тдлину по ^Тосмидеся^Т ^Тпоперекъ по ^Ттри^Тцати ^Нсажень (No.137)

(xlvii) ; ^Нмнѣ^Н Ники^Оро^{РУ}у при^Тх... в ^Ддрѣвню ^ЛБелом^Лсною на ^Нвыше-^Нписа^Нн... ^Тпоступное ^Тпомѣстѣе с ^Иурочищи ^Твзя^Т ^Нвышеписа^Нныхъ ^Впоступшико^В на ^Тту ^Лпромѣнною ^Иземлю с ^Икрепосте^И ^Исписки за ^{РУ}руками ; ^Знедо^Зжая ^Ттѣхъ ^Иурочищахъ ^Ивзять с собою ^Итутошнихъ ; ^Нсторо^Ннихъ ^Изнающихъ ^Длю^Дде ; ^Исколко ^Лчлѣвкъ ^Ипригожъ да в ^Мто^М и^Х ^Тпомѣстѣе переписать ^Имѣста ^Идворовые ; пашню ; ^Лсѣно и ^Слѣ^С ; ^Ввсякие ^Дуго^Ддя а ^Впереписа^В ; ^Ттѣхъ ^Иихъ ^ИНикинова ;

Аедосова і Ка^Рпова помѣ^ѣстьє а в нихъ на меновно^и жеребе^и пашни три^тцать о^дну че^тве^рть с. по^лпо^лчетверико^м в поли а в дву потому^ж со всѣ^ѣми уго^ді от^окозат^ь преосвещенно^{му} Авраамію митрополиту Белогоро^дцкому и Обоянскому (No.143) (xlvii) и мѣне Мики^ѳо^ру приѣ^ѣха^ѣ въ белогоро^дцко^и уѣ^ѣздѣ въ Саже^нско^и ста^н белогоро^дца в Аедоровѣ^ѣ поме^ѣстьє Ар^{те}ме^ѣва сѣна Мо^ѣсквитинова в жеребе^и дѣ^ѣрвни О^лша^нца во^зле ро^зумно^и ле^ѣ с урочищи възят^ь собою тутошни^х и сторони^х люде^и да в то^ѣ мѣ^ѣ еѣ^ѣ поме^ѣстьє переписа^ѣт^ь ме^ѣста дворовые и пашню и сено и ле^ѣ і всякия уго^дя (No.144)

In addition the following instance, where an accusative is used with an infinitive after чтобъ may be noted; no examples were found with the nominative used in this particular type of construction: (xlviii) а та о^тца и^х земля и се^нные покосы со в^ѣсѣ^ѣми уго^ді лежи^ѣт поро^зжо ника^ѣму напере^ѣд сего опрочи и^х Аб^ѣрама с товарищи не о^ддано что^ѣб то^ѣе зе^ѣмлю о^тда^ѣт имъ в помѣ^ѣстья (No.128)

It is possible that the following are to be regarded as examples of the accusative and independent infinitive, although in each instance they seem open to more than one interpretation:

(xlix) і великиі Г^ѣсдрь укоза^ѣл то уме^ѣршего исъ Аедорова поме^ѣстья Мо^ѣсквитинова сѣна еѣ^ѣ Власо^ѣ жеребе^и справи^ѣт ѡа в^ѣнучеты еѣ^ѣ Саве^ѣлѣмъ да за С^ѣтепано^ѣ и по^ѣла^ѣт к нему боярину і воево^ѣде с товарищи великого Г^ѣсдря грамоту (No.144)

Here the infinitive can be taken as being either independent or dependent on the verb "укоза^ѣл". In the following passage the accusative could be interpreted as governed by either the gerund or the infinitive,

which in turn can be seen as independent or dependent on the somewhat distant "велелъ":

(1) велелъ по^сту^пшика Івана Мо^сквитинова про по^сту^пку допроси^т и бу^{де} онъ в допросе скаже^т проти^в челоби^тя своево и ниче^м не о^спори^т и то поме^стье о^ткоза^т племе^ннико^м ево Саве^лю да С^степану а про распашною зе^млю сыска^т накре^пко и бу^{де} в сыску скажу^т что та ра^спашная зе^мля е^сть и лежи^т поро^зжо и спору ни с к^тм не бу^{де}ть и ту зе^млю и^змеря о^ткоза^т Саве^лю да С^степану Мо^сквитиновы^м (No.145)

The question posed by the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Otkaznyye Knigi is whether the examples found therein reflect the local dialect of the area where the texts were written, or whether the construction is employed in imitation of the norms of the Prikaznyy yazyk of Moscow. S. I. Kotkov indicated the presence of both local dialect features and of elements of the standard Prikaznyy yazyk of Moscow in the Otkaznyye Knigi: "Исторически сложившаяся процедура отказа и ее письменное оформление, вполне естественно, были стандартными и носили явную печать приказной регламентации. Общая стандартная схема "отказа", его конструктивный "остов", воплощались в нормах языка московских приказов. Но этот формальный "остов" акта наполнялся конкретным содержанием, в котором находим отложения живых народных говоров."¹ Kotkov's examples of local dialect features affect only the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the Otkaznyye Knigi; on the syntax he merely observes: "Желательно привлечение этой группы источников и с точки зрения исследования локальных вариантов синтаксиса в деловой письменности XVII в. Здесь, например, встречаются конструкции

¹S. I. Kotkov (1969), p.131.

типа земля пахать, которые обыкновенно относили только к северу и центральным областям Русского государства."¹

In an earlier article, however, Kotkov claimed that the Nominative and Infinitive construction belongs to the category of local dialect features, although the opposite view has been taken by a number of scholars, among them F. P. Filin.²

As far as the material found in OKB is concerned, it is noteworthy that all the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occur in the final section of the otkaz, describing the lands allocated and the privileges which accompany them. This section is common to all the separate otkazy. The actual wording of the section, however, shows considerable variation: the different otkazy mention different rights, with, for example, the right to take water or to catch fish being mentioned in some documents but not in others. Other variations seem to be more arbitrary, for instance the alternation (possibly purely lexical) between земля пахать and пашня пахать.

In spite of this, the basic structure and the constructions used remain to a large degree constant, as can be exemplified by a comparison of the various examples quoted above and the scheme of an otkaz given by Kotkov in his article.³ It will be further observed that almost all the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction are recurrent, there being eleven instances each of земля ... пахать, пашня ... пахать and вода ... имать. In many instances the equivalent construction with the accusative is not found at all; where

¹S. I. Kotkov (1969), p.135.

²See Chapter 1, pp.29-31.

³S. I. Kotkov (1969), pp.131, 132.

it does occur, it is significantly outnumbered by examples with the nominative (see pp.283-285).

Independent infinitives are encountered much more rarely in the other sections of the otkazy, but where they do appear and are used with a direct object consisting of a feminine singular noun of the -a (-ja) type, the object is expressed in the accusative case. It is possible that this indicates that where the scribe was not following a standard formula, repeated in many of the otkazy, he used the accusative with an independent infinitive, switching to the nominative only in more or less set expressions.¹ Particularly noteworthy in this context are two examples of the accusative and independent infinitive which occur in the section describing lands and privileges: these are example (xliii) and the similar instance from No.130, referred to on page 286. In other examples of this formula the word лѣсъ is normally used on its own, for example:

(li) а лѣсъ селидо^бной и дровяно^и сѣчь^м разу^мничьно^и
 бо^лшо^и и коре^лско^и лѣс^с (No.2)

In the two passages mentioned above, although дуброву has been added, the ending of the adjective is such that it agrees only with лѣсъ, which is the more distant of the nouns it refers to. This apparent disregard of the insertion would seem to indicate the extent to which the scribes followed official formulae: it perhaps also suggests that where the scribe was departing from the more usual wording of the formula his presumably more instinctive reaction was not to use the nominative with an independent infinitive.

¹It should be noted, however, that only a minority of the otkazy are so worded that their concluding sections require a clear nominative or accusative with an independent infinitive: the 149 otkazy contain in the relevant section 44 examples of the nominative and nine of the accusative with an independent infinitive.

On the basis of this evidence it is possible to infer that the Nominative and Infinitive construction appears in these documents under the influence of the official language of Moscow; that the construction was not part of the living language of the areas in which the otkazy were written, but was a form restricted to a number of expressions, themselves elements of a standardised bureaucratic terminology. Nevertheless, such a conclusion cannot be more than tentative: examples of the accusative with an independent infinitive occurring outside the description of lands and privileges are very few in number; in many cases they are themselves variants of a more common construction where the accusative occurs with a dependent infinitive. Thus the examples (xlvi) and (xlvii) quoted on pp.286, 287 should be compared with the following:

(lii) ; велѣно мнѣ приѣх^В в тѣ вышеписа^Нные урочища и недоѣ^Зжая тѣ^Х урочищъ взя^Т с собою тутошни^Х и сторо^Нни^Х люде^И ско^Лко члѣв^Къ приго^Ж и при тѣ^Х сторо^Нни^Х люде^Х на то^И земли переписа^Т мѣста дворовые и па^Шню ; сено и лѣ^С ; всякие уго^Дя а переписа^В ту вышеписа^Нною землю и се^Нные покосы ; всякие уго^Дя отказа^Т белогоро^Дцу Аеоктисту Пѣ^Нцову в помѣ^Тстья со^Всеми уго^Ди (No.139)

Examples similar to this latter are also to be found in Nos.138, 140 and 141. The possibility must therefore be admitted that the use of the accusative in examples Nos. (xlvi) and (xlvii) is motivated not by the independent infinitive which is actually present, but by the more frequent parallel instances where a dependent infinitive occurs and where the accusative is used regularly.

The material from OKB was also sub-divided according to chronology. The results of this process are indicated in Appendix 4. Noteworthy here is the frequent use of the nominative throughout the period covered by the documents, including the penultimate decade of the seventeenth century, with one example dating from 1700. This usage seems not dissimilar to that noted in contemporary Muscovite documents studied, where in independent infinitive sentences the nominative is used side by side with the accusative throughout the seventeenth century.¹ The evidence does not seem to provide any confirmation for Kotkov's statement: "В XVII в. произошла ее утрата в области южновеликорусского наречия." Nor, if one is to assume that the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in these documents represents a feature of the contemporary South Russian dialects, does the evidence confirm his view: "Утрата данной конструкции произошла не сразу, не в связи с Петровской реформой, а являлась постепенной, притом, вероятно, имело свое начало в южновеликорусской области."²

In the later years of the seventeenth century the Nominative and Infinitive construction is as widespread in the documents under consideration as it is in the official language of Moscow. Yet by about the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century (see Ch.8, p.337) the construction had disappeared from the language of both these areas, to become a feature restricted to North Russian dialects. It seems odd that a construction apparently so widespread should disappear so quickly, that a national phenomenon should change into a regional one within such a short period of time. It

¹See Ch.4, and Appendix 3.

²S. I. Kotkov (1959), pp.52, 53.

seems more probable that at least by the later years of the seventeenth century the construction was not an element of the South Russian dialects (although it may have been so at an earlier stage), and that its use in the Otkaznyye Knigi merely reflects what the scribes considered to be the norms of the language of official documents. Thus the chronological evidence seems to provide support for the tentative conclusions reached earlier.

Attention must here be drawn to another factor which may to some extent influence the appearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in these documents. As was observed on p.289, all the examples of the construction are found in the section of the otkazy describing the lands allocated and the accompanying privileges. In this section there occur side by side two constructions: the first is the infinitive construction, containing an independent infinitive, a dative subject and an object in the nominative or the accusative case; the second is the Nominative and Dative construction, structurally very close to the Nominative and Infinitive construction (see Ch.2, pp.73 fol.). The similarity and the manner in which the two constructions alternate can be illustrated by the following passage:

(liii) а зе^Мля ему Тимо^оѣю паха^Т пе^Рвая праворо^Тя которая праворо^Тя межъ речки То^Пли^Нки и р^ѣчки Оли^Пца спо^Рно^И гребен^И и вни^З по Оли^Пцу по Кры^Мско^И сторон^ѣ до пе^Рво^И олипе^Тцко^И прости а се^Нняя покосы ему Тимо^оѣю коси^Т ве^Рхо^Вя олипе^Тцкоя о^Т тово^Ж праворо^Тя вни^З по р^ѣчки Олиц^У по Кры^Мско^И сторон^ѣ до пе^Рво^И олипе^Тцко^И п..сти а дворовыя уса^Дбы и огоро^Дняя и гуме^Нняя мѣ^Тста ему Тимо^оѣю к то^{МУ} ево поместью ѿ^Т чюгое^Вско^И дороги и о^Т муро^Мско^И

яроги в лѣска^х и въ ярога^х а вода ему Тимоѣѣю има^т в тѣ^х
 жа лѣска^х и в ярога^х по колодезѣ^м а лѣсъ ему Тимоѣѣю
 селидо^бно^и и дро^вено^и сѣчь по тѣ^х жа лѣска^м и по ярога^м
 которые лѣски и яроги тяну^т к речки Теп^пли^нки и в ре^чку
 Олипе^ц (No.9)

That these two not dissimilar juxtaposed constructions may contaminate one another, or that there may be some other link between them, is suggested by the following example:

(liv) а ему Прохору в томъ помѣ^{ст}и ры^бная ло^вля лави^т
 и бо^бровые гоны (No.104)

Here, from the point of view of the sense of the passage, the infinitive seems superfluous, since it would be the fish that were caught, rather than the fishing rights; the expression "ры^бная ло^вля" would be more appropriate in a Nominative and Dative construction. Also to be noted are those instances where the Nominative and Dative construction is used for what is usually expressed in an independent infinitive sentence, as in the following instance:

(lv) а па^шня ему тѣ^х почи^нко^в дикое поля и ду^бровы на па^шню
 проти^в почи^нко^в и по ѡ^тско^чно^и лѣсъ а с ни^жнею сторону
 к О^нтипову рубежу Беседина вря^д з де^тми боя^рскими Степано^м
 Не^знановы^м да с О^вдѣ^м Бесединымъ с товарищи чере^з
 десятину (No.25)

Example No. (liv) might even be interpreted as a case of the Nominative and Dative construction into which an infinitive has been somewhat gratuitously inserted; a further example of an unexpected insertion of an infinitive is the following:

(lvi) земли похаты і жи^{во}ти^нному выго^{ну} быть негдѣ і
 что^б тѣх^х гра^не^и і ме^же^і досмо^треть і дѣ^рвни Жихорево^и
 помѣ^щико^м зе^млею і всякими уго^ді впре^д владѣ^т (No.18)

In this instance the infinitive has a passive meaning, which comes close to being descriptive; rather than the whole phrase forming a single command, as is normally the case with the Nominative and Infinitive construction, the noun here is clearly the more important element of the phrase, the infinitive being appended merely to state the purpose to which the lands may be put. The possibility of interpreting all the infinitive sentences in the relevant section of the otkazy (which would bring them close to the деревня видать type described in Chapter 1)¹ is suggested by the fact that in every example the object precedes the infinitive, a situation which contrasts with the contemporary Moscow sources, where the word order seems to be free.² Such an interpretation would seem, however, to be ruled out where владѣть is used with an instrumental, or where the infinitive of an intransitive verb is used, for example:

(lvii) да вѣжати е^{му} А^ртему для селито^бного и д^ровеного
 лѣ^са в разумничной бо^лшой и в ко^ре^нско^і лесы и в малыя
 леска (No.5)

Nevertheless, it does not seem improbable that the Nominative and Infinitive and the Nominative and Dative constructions are in some way connected, as they appear to be in certain other texts, such as RP (see Ch.2, pp.73 fol.). There is evidence of some degree of

¹See Chapter 1, pp. 16-18.

²See Ch.6, p.262, also Appendix 3.

contamination between the two constructions, and it is possible that the parallel use of another construction involving nouns in the nominative and dative cases is one of the factors which helps to preserve the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the particular context referred to, even when, it seems, the latter construction was not a living feature of the local dialects.

4. Mat. Vor.

This collection of material also contains a set of five documents relating to an otkaz; they are described by the editor of the collection as being "5 документов, хранящихся при Белополодской сельской церкви," and all seem to have been written locally, with the exception of the last, which was written in Moscow. In these documents one example was found of the Nominative and Infinitive construction:

(lviii) а пашня имъ пахат меж себя во всех своих трех полях и с церковною землею через межу а церковноі земли и попу с причетники с ними по десяти четі в полі а дву потомуж
(CXLVI/1)

One example occurs of the accusative used with an independent infinitive:

(lix) і по указу Великихъ Государей Царей і Великихъ князей Иоанна Алексѣевича Петра Алексѣевича всеа Великия и Малыя и Бѣлыя Росиі самодержцевъ Макару Іванову сыну Кораулову с товарищи тѣмъ помѣсе новыми дачами і санными покосы і рыбными ловли всякими угодыі владѣть і пашню пахать
(CXLVI/3)

The former example dates from 1674, the latter from 1689.

Perhaps the most significant material, however, was found in the documents relating to the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks, especially in their

petitions to the Tsar. Here nine examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction were recorded. Because it is necessary to quote the passages concerned at some length, they are listed separately in Appendix 5.

All the documents concerned are petitions from the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks, except for CLXVII and CLXIX; the former is a petition from а. гулящий человек, Andrey Durnev, while the latter is also a petition, but from the Polkovnik of the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks. The only examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive are the two contained in passages 3 and 9. In passage No.6 the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on "велено".

It will be noted that with the exception of examples 2 and 3, which cannot be dated accurately, all the examples are found in sources written in the last decade of the seventeenth century or in the early years of the eighteenth century. Consequently, the same conclusions reached in the case of the Otkaznyye Knigi apply here, only to an even greater extent, since it would seem even more unlikely that the construction could survive as a living feature of South Russian dialects into the eighteenth century, only to disappear completely not only from South Russia but from areas further north by about the end of the first quarter of that century.

As was pointed out on p.269, the fortress of Ostrogozhsk was founded by Ukrainian Cossacks, and, although most of the documents concerned were written at least forty years after the founding of the fortress, a number of Ukrainianisms are to be found in them. Given, however, the circumstances already indicated of the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the Old Ukrainian gramoty, and

the apparent absence of the construction from the Modern Ukrainian dialects,¹ it seems unlikely that this is one of the linguistic elements brought by the Cossacks with them from the Ukraine. Its appearance in the documents must be due either to its being part of the original Russian dialect of the area round Ostrogozhsk or to its being a feature of the language of official procedure, which the Cossacks were presumably imitating in their petitions.

It will be noticed that in three of the examples quoted (3, 4 and 5) the past tense auxiliary appears in the feminine form rather than in the neuter, which is used in the remainder of the examples. It is possible that the form была is merely a manifestation of akan'ye, but apart from No. CLXVII, akan'ye is not a regular feature of the documents concerned. A number of possible instances of akan'ye do occur in the documents of the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks; some of these may reflect variations in the Prikaznyy yazyk of the period (as, for example the alternation between "расправою" and "росправа" in CLXIX); others occur in words of non-Slavonic origins, mostly in forms where both o and a are widespread ("козакомъ" - "казаковъ", from CLXIX, "Озовскої", from CLXXIV); a third group are more probably Ukrainianisms ("сламать" - CLXXIII, "подмагать" - CLXXV), while it is possible that the forms "хвотаютъ", "воеводомъ" (both from CLXIX) are hypercorrections on the part of Ukrainians who learnt their Russian in an area where akan'ye was the norm, although with the latter the influence of the original-o type dative plural ending cannot be

¹Cf. D. S. Stanisheva's comment quoted in Chapter 1 (pp. 30, 31); none of the scholars who have studied the construction appears to have found examples in Modern Ukrainian dialects.

excluded.¹ Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that akanye is not a typical feature of the Ostrogozhsk documents. It cannot therefore be excluded that the feminine form of the past tense auxiliary in the Nominative and Infinitive construction is a hypercorrection, which arises out of a misunderstanding of the nature of the construction, perhaps due to an interpretation of the nominative form as representing the subject of the sentence. As was shown in Chapter 2 (p.109), even in the earliest North Russian texts, the nominative used in examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction is regarded as the object. Moreover, examples of the past tense auxiliary in the feminine form do not occur in any other of the texts studied for this thesis (see Ch.2, p.96). It seems probable that a misunderstanding of this nature would occur if the construction were in some way an alien feature to the scribes writing the documents concerned.

There is one other respect in which the examples under discussion differ from those found in contemporary Muscovite sources. Seven of the nine instances of the nominative-object occur in clauses introduced by чтобы, whereas, as was shown in Ch.4 (pp.184, 185), in the second half of the seventeenth century the Nominative and Infinitive construction becomes infrequent in this type of sentence in Muscovite sources. The failure of this development to take place in the language of the documents now under consideration may well be due to the fact that the construction was not a part of the living language of the writers of the documents.

¹It is possible that No.CLXVII (the челобитная гулящего человека) was written by a scribe from outside the community of Cossacks; the same would seem to apply to those documents sent by the Ostrogozhsk Voyevoda, where instances of akanye are also not infrequent.

All but one of the examples cited contain the same lexical elements (the phrase служба ... служить), and indeed, with one further exception (No.2), all come from the concluding formula of a petition. Although this might seem at first sight to provide further evidence for the Nominative and Infinitive construction being associated with official terminology, the very small number of instances in the documents in question of the accusative used with an independent infinitive means that it is impossible to attach any significance to this circumstance.

The two examples of the accusative with an independent infinitive (in Nos. 3 and 9) both occur in appeals to the Tsar in the final sections of petitions. It is more usual in such contexts to find an infinitive dependent on вели, as in the following instance:

(1x) вели Государь протывъ сего нашего холопеі Твоихъ челобитья в Острогожску і с Приказу полковихъ дѣль к Москве в Розрядъ отписать і сю нашу холопеі Твоихъ челобитною подь отьпискою послать чтобъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ отъ такова ихъ Коротояцкихъ жителей і разоренья і отъ болшихъ харчеі і волокить не оскудать і не обеднять і Твоеі Великого Государя полковоі козачеі службы не отбыть і по городамъ не разстроитца (CLXI; further examples are to be found in passages 4, 5, 7 and 8)

In such sentences the accusative is normal, and it is possible that the accusative survives in the two instances mentioned earlier under the influence of the more common construction. Indeed the wording of such passages, at least as far as the grammatical constructions used

are concerned, is standardised to the extent that it seems more reasonable to assume that вели is omitted, perhaps owing to a slip of the pen, in those instances where an independent infinitive is found.

The remaining documents in Mat. Vor. also contain a number of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction:

(lxi) и как къ тебѣ ся наша Великихъ Государей грамота придеть и ты бѣ Острогожскому посадскому человѣку Ивашку Ермолаеву буде онъ человѣкъ добрый и не пьяница и никакова порока за нимъ не бывало велѣть ему для письма быть въ Острогожску впредь съ 202 году въ таможи въ писчикахъ и собрать по немъ поручная записъ чтобъ ему будучи у того дѣла никакимъ воровствомъ не промышлять и въ сборѣ пошлинамъ поруки не учинить (CLXXXIII)

(lxii) і на мнѣ Максиму і на женѣ моеі і на детехъ і на родычех моихъ і на вступщику взят ему Авдѣю і женѣ ево і детем по сеі купчей записи за неустойку дватцат рублев денег а челобитемъ харчі і протора по ево скаскі (CXXXI/2)

V. I. Dal' (1914), 3, col.1363, I. I. Sreznevskiy (1893), II, coll. 1597, 1598, both give the two forms проторъ and протора; there being no reason for the genitive to be used here, it seems more probable that "протора" is a nominative form. CLXXXIII was written in Moscow in 1693, while CXXXI/2 was written in Voronezh and dates from 1694.

It is possible, though unlikely, that the following is also to be regarded as an example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction:

(lxiii) 207 г. февраля 14-го дня допросить по сему письму Кирила Павлова (CXLI, помѣта)

In the body of the document (written in Voronezh) the form "Кирила" is used alone for the nominative (eight times), while the only oblique ending is the -a type dative form "КирилѢ". Nevertheless the name Кирило or Кирила is found in contemporary sources with both -a type and -o type endings, and therefore it seems more probable that the form in question is an -o type genitive-accusative.¹ Thus, apart from the examples discussed earlier, there is only one reasonably clear instance of the nominative used with an infinitive in a document written in the Voronezh area.

There are, however, a small number of instances where the nominative replaces an accusative in other circumstances:

(1xiv) се яз вдова Трифоновская жена Жукова Акси́ня Ива́нова дочь в нынѣшнемъ въ 201-мъ году генваря въ 4 день поступилась есми я Акси́ня на Воронеже в Козачех дачех на Перекопном ярку половина мел(ницы) умершева мужа моего жеребя за денги Воронежцу Авдѣю Костентинову сыну Колесникову

(1xv) а взяла я Акси́ня за ту ную свою половина мелницы жеребеѣ́ мужа своего на немъ Авдѣю два рубли денегъ

Both these examples occur in the same document (CXXXI/1), written in Voronezh in 1693; the following passage, in which the first "половина" appears to stand for an instrumental, also occurs in this document:

(1xvi) ѣ́ ему Авдѣю по сеѣ́ моеѣ́ поступноѣ́ записи тѣм моим поступным половина мелницею жеребем в лотнине ѣ́ в ызбѣ́

¹Thus in the Belgorod Otkaznyye Knigi are found accusative "Кирилу" (Nos. 9, 100), genitive "Кирила" (No. 40), and datives "Кирилу" (No. 17) and "Кириле" (No. 86).

і в каменеі і во всяком мелничном строение владѣт во вся
з диверем моим Максимом Жуковым вместе по полам а оприч
ево Авдѣя в мелницы тот умершего мужа моего жеребеі
половина наперед сего никому не поступлен і не продан
і не заложен

The failure to decline половина in this document is not, however,
universal, as is shown by this passage:

(lxvii) а будет я Аксиня ілѣ дѣти мои і родственники іли
хто стороны станут в тот мелничноі половину жеребя мужа
моего к нему Авдѣю іли после ево живота к женѣ ево і
дѣтем іли к родственником ево какимі дѣлы вступатца і
ему Авдѣю і женѣ ево і дѣтем і сродычемъ ево взят на
мнѣ Аксини за неустоіку і на вступщике по сеі моеі поступ-
ноі записи пятнатцат рублев денегъ

It is difficult to assess these isolated examples, which are in
places almost incomprehensible. It is possible that in some instances
"половина" is a parenthetical addition, which does not belong to
the structure of the sentence proper. This may well be so in passages
Nos. (lxv) and (lxvi), but would not seem to apply in No. (lxiv).
Three examples of the nominative of половина in situations where
the nominative-object is not usually found were recorded in the Old
Ukrainian gramoty, as was mentioned on page 280, but it is hard to
find a more satisfactory explanation than coincidence for the recur-
rence of this particular word.

Mat. Vor. also contains the following noteworthy examples of
the accusative used with an infinitive:

(1xviii) а что Государевыхъ дровъ дана сажен на голиясы
і на 0уркаты греть воду в насосы і те дрова онъ Кирила
обретъ к себѣ і топит избы свои да онъ же Кирила оковалъ
подголовакъ желѣзам (CXLIИ, Voronezh, 1699)

This is probably not a pure independent infinitive construction, although examples with the nominative are to be found in other texts (see ch.5, pp.214,215);

(1xix) да в прошлом же Государь 1700 году Декабря въ I ден
он же Логинъ далъ мнѣ холопу Твоему росписку сверхъ тоі
своеі записи с неустойкою ж что ему Логину вышеписанную
подрядную пенку поставя на Воронеже отдать против тоі
своеі записи на урочные числа безо всякого задержания і
в том мнѣ холопу Твоему никакова убытку не доставит
(CLI, Voronezh, 1702)

It is possible here to interpret the accusative as being the object either of the gerund or of the infinitive.

(1xx) велено в Острогжскомъ полку в городѣхъ построить
вновь таможенные и кабацкіе зборы и посланы в ратушу
жъ і тѣмъ .боромъ^I и откупомъ быть в ратуше попрежнему
Нашему Царского Величества указу і о томъ ему полковнику
и старшинѣ и казакомъ дать Нашу Великого Государя Нашего
Царского Величества сію милостивую жалованную грамоту
(CLXXXV/I, Moscow, 1700)

The infinitive here could be regarded either as independent or as dependent on the rather distant "велено".

(1xxi) а учрежденную канцелярію комисіи тѣхъ слободскихъ
полковъ отнынѣ отставить и впредь оной тамо не быть
(CLXXXV/2, Moscow, 1743)

^IIn the microfilm copy of the edition that was used the first letter of this word cannot be made out.

The late date of this apparently clear instance of an accusative with an independent infinitive should be noted.

It will be seen that the total number in these documents of examples involving either a clear nominative or a clear accusative with an independent infinitive and originating from the Voronezh area is, if the Ostrogozhsk material, considered separately, is excluded, extremely small. It is therefore impossible to attempt any further conclusion other than to point out the presence in this source of both types of construction.¹

5. Modern Central and South Russian dialect material.

The material relating to questions 129 and 130 of the Programme for the Dialect Atlas of the Russian Language includes examples of the nominative with independent and dependent infinitives, with finite verbs and after prepositions. Not taken into account during the examination of the material were examples involving a nominative in time expressions (usually with the words зима or весна). Such constructions occur quite widely in Central Russian dialects, in areas where in all other circumstances the accusative is used for the direct object of a verb. Because of what would seem to be the special nature of these constructions, it was felt that they represent a separate phenomenon, and that to include them in the data referring to the Nominative and Infinitive construction would give a misleading picture of the position of the latter in Central and South Russian dialects.²

¹It is interesting that A. A. Dibrov, in his survey of the Donskiye Dela, notes only two examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in documents written in Voronezh. These are considered due to the influence of the language of Moscow. See A. A. Dibrov (1955), p.8.

²The constructions involving time expressions are described in I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko (1964), p.155, footnote 9, and I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko (1961), p.307.

The areas for which material was taken and the reasons for concentrating on these particular areas were indicated on pp.269, 270. In the territory under consideration examples of the nominative-object were recorded in 101 localities, of which 41 were in the area covered by the fifth volume, 25 in the area of the sixth volume, twenty in the area of volume VIII, twelve in the area of volume IX and three in the area covered by the tenth volume. Out of the 101 localities, more than one example of the nominative with an infinitive was recorded in fourteen instances, while for the nominative with a finite verb more than one instance was recorded in ten localities. In five localities the nominative was found after a preposition; the case replaced is not invariably the accusative, as the following example from the area of volume V shows:

(1xxii) у вас суп с крупа

In thirteen of the above instances the card bears a comment to the effect that the example or examples recorded were the only ones encountered, while in a further five instances there is an indication that the nominative is used as an object but rarely.

In a few localities the only instances recorded of the nominative-object merely repeat the examples contained in the Programme of questions; it would appear desirable to treat such examples with circumspection, since they may reflect answers which, rather than being spontaneous, were perhaps suggested by an inexperienced or over-zealous questioner.¹

¹In this context the following comment of S. I. Kotkov may be noted: "В пределах общего стандарта в содержании и оформлении материалов имеются все же известные различия, неизбежные при исполнении работы лицами неодинаковой квалификации и принадлежащими к разным научным коллективам... Ответы из разных населенных пунктов существенно различаются по степени их полноты. В некоторых ответах вместо живого материала, взятого из речи, даются только те слова, которые служат примерами в Программе."

[S. I. Kotkov and A. I. Sumkina (1967), p.198]

On these grounds, while it is accepted that such examples could well be genuine, it has been decided to leave them out of the reckoning as far as further analysis of the material is concerned. Evidence consisting solely of examples from the programme was found in fifteen localities; in two of these instances the material which coincided with the Programme referred only to question 129, while at the same time different examples were produced in answer to question 130. The above-mentioned localities also include four where more than one example of the nominative with an infinitive was found, and one locality where more than one example was produced in answer to both questions.¹

As far as the remainder of the material is concerned, instances of the nominative used only with an infinitive were recorded in 33 localities, while examples of the nominative used only with a finite verb were found in 40 localities.² In fourteen localities both constructions were represented. In one locality the only example produced was recorded without the relevant verb. Thus the Nominative

¹In this category were included six examples where the card has the same relevant noun and verb as an example in the programme, but differs from the latter by the absence of the word from which the infinitive is dependent (косить трава, where the programme has пойду косить трава). Not included in this category, however, were instances where the nominative and the infinitive are the same as in the programme, but where they are used in a different construction, as for example [вада н'ьхарашо п'ит'], where the programme has вода пить. It may be noted here that in some examples the material on the cards appears in phonetic transcription, while in others standard orthography is used. In this survey examples are reproduced in the form in which they appear on the card.

²Examples of the nominative with a finite verb also include one instance of the nominative used with a gerund (держа коза from the area of volume VIII). There are also in this group a number of examples of the nominative used with a periphrastic future. In a few instances the nominative is used with a verb in the negative, for instance хто ни знавши, ни будет трава косить, (Vorshchikovo, Vinogradovskiy Rayon, Moskovskaya Oblast') and [н'е в'идал'и мука] (Romanovka, Gorkovskaya Oblast'); in the following instances the nominative apparently replaces a genitive: [нал'еј вада], [пр'ин'асла т'одлыја вада], напьюсь вода (all from the area of volume V). Finally, the following example, from the area of volume VIII, bears on the card the observation "предполагается фонетике": [пажгл'и нам фс'у збруйа].

and Infinitive construction, if one excludes those where only examples coincident with those of the Programme were recorded, was noted in a mere 47 localities throughout the Central and South Russian area. Furthermore, the construction appears, if anything, to be somewhat less widespread than the nominative used with a finite verb.

To analyse the material further, the 47 localities provided a total of 56 examples of the nominative used with an infinitive. These consist of the following: 24 examples of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on надо or надобно, for example:

(lxxiii) [кам'у жына́ карм'йт' на́да] (Malakhovka, Kleŭnyansky Rayon, Bryanskaya Oblast');

six examples of the nominative with an infinitive dependent on a verb of motion, for instance:

(lxxiv) [пайд'у п'ецк' тап'йт'] (Yekaterinovka, Ryazanskaya Oblast');

eight examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive in other constructions, for instance:

(lxxv) [стала вада́ нас'йт'] (Lidayevo, Mordvin A.S.S.R.);

this category also includes:

(lxxvi) [н'и пра́вда хавар'йт' хужы фс'ах'о] (Sokolovo, Navlinsky Rayon, Bryanskaya Oblast').

In only six of the remaining examples does there appear to be a complete sentence recorded. In the others only the noun in the nominative and the verb in the infinitive are shown on the card, as in the example:

(lxxvii) [карто́шка рыт'] (Malyy Sapozhok, Sapozhkovsky Rayon, Ryazanskaya Oblast')

Not included in this latter category is the example

(lxxviii) булочка дат'? (Kiselevka, Mordvin A.S.S.R.)

This is because it would seem that the question mark in itself provides a context and because the remaining examples from this locality appear in the form of complete sentences. In the examples where only the relevant noun and verb are given, these cannot automatically be assumed to represent the nominative used with an independent infinitive, since the possibility exists that the collector did not record the whole of the sentence, but merely what he took to be the essential elements thereof.

The six clear examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive were found in the following places: Kiselevka, Mordvin A.S.S.R. (three examples); Rogovo, Pechenskiy Rayon, Bryanskaya Oblast'; Staroye Chirkovo, Nikolayevskiy Rayon, Ulyanovskaya Oblast'; the sixth example comes from volume V, locality No.228.¹ Thus, allowing for the various dubious instances, only a very small number of examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive was recorded. This is probably due, at least in part, to the relative infrequency of independent infinitive constructions in speech; as was noted by Kuz'mina and Nemchenko, even in North Russian dialects the majority of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occur in sentences where the infinitive is dependent on надо.¹

When the same allowance is made for doubtful instances, examples of the nominative used for the direct object of an infinitive verb, whether dependent or independent, were recorded in only a very small

¹ Unfortunately in the case of this volume the cards do not bear the name of the locality concerned; as a result of what appears to have been a renumbering of the localities in the area covered by the volume, it was impossible to check them against the list in the Institut Russkogo Yazyka.

² I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko (1964), pp.161-163.

number of localities, scattered over a wide area of the Central and South Russian dialect regions. This would seem to suggest that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is in no way a typical feature of these dialects. Such a view is supported by the number of occasions on which the collector considered it necessary to indicate that the example recorded was the only one encountered; the fact that the nominative appears to be more widespread with finite verbs than with the infinitive in these regions contrasts sharply with the situation found in both Old Russian texts and in Modern North Russian dialects.

The question remains as to how the examples of the construction that are found in Central and South Russian dialects are to be explained. To take instances where the nominative is used with an infinitive dependent on надо, fourteen localities where such examples were recorded lie in the area covered by volumes V and VIII, west of Longitude 36°E. This area to a large extent coincides with the area where the construction involving the use of the nominative with надо (but without an infinitive) is found.¹ It seems possible that the sporadic occurrence of the former construction is at least to some extent influenced by the presence of the latter. Sixteen localities, providing examples of the nominative with independent infinitives, with infinitives dependent on надо and on other forms and with finite verbs (and also including two localities where the examples recorded are coincident with those contained in the Programme) are found in the North-West corner of the area covered by volume V, west of the Volga

¹See the map on p.171 of I. B. Kuz'mina and E. V. Nemchenko (1964).

and north of Latitude 56⁰N. (the area around Velikiye Luki and Toropets). This region lies between Smolensk and Novgorod, both cities which provide early examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction and is in all probability one of the areas where the construction can be assumed to have been a living feature at least in the thirteenth century.¹

In the remaining areas only isolated examples of the nominative used for a direct object (or instead of other cases) are found in a very small number of widely scattered localities. These examples show that the Nominative and Infinitive construction is an occasional feature, of extreme insignificance, in the dialects concerned. Such isolated examples are very difficult to account for: the simplest explanation is that here too they represent that last traces of a phenomenon once current throughout the area in question. It is, nevertheless, possible to adduce other explanations: the examples concerned may represent a phenomenon involving a confusion of case endings not directly connected with the Nominative and Infinitive construction; they may be the result of inexpert questioning on the part of the collector of the material. Both these, however, are a priori suppositions, which, while they cannot be eliminated, are not confirmed by the available material.

6. Деревня видать sentences.

Brief attention must be given here to those sentences in which a nominative-object is used with the infinitive of a verb of perception. Such sentences, most commonly exemplified by the locution

¹See Ch.2, Sections 4-7.

деревня видать, have been considered by some scholars to be separate from straightforward examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, in that the infinitive is devoid of the modal significance it has in the latter sentences, and also in that they are found in South Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian dialects. Some scholars have postulated that sentences of the деревня видать type do not share a common origin with other examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. (See Ch.1, pp. 16-18.)

Notwithstanding the above, the only examples of the nominative-object used with the infinitive of a verb of perception found in the South Russian material examined were the following:

(1xxix) [Масквѧ в'идѧтъ]

(1xxx) [гр'ажу крыша в'идѧтъ]

These were noted in separate localities belonging to volume V of the Atlas. It thus appears that sentences of this type play no greater part in modern South Russian dialects than do other instances of the nominative-object. It is noteworthy that no significant material on this question was found in any of the Old Russian (or Old Ukrainian) texts examined. On the basis of these limited observations it would seem that the only difference between the two types of the Nominative and Infinitive construction lies in the modal significance of the infinitives involved, and that in all probability the two types of sentence do indeed share a common origin.

7. Conclusions.

Evidence can be produced which seems to show that in all the various sources examined in this chapter, in spite of the occurrence of a

greater or lesser number of examples of the nominative-object, the Nominative and Infinitive construction was not a regular feature of the dialect of the scribe or informant concerned. At the same time it may well be that no one single explanation can account for all the various instances of the nominative-object discussed above. It seems probable that the examples found in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century South Russian sources are very largely, even entirely due to the influence of the Prikaznyy Yazyk of Moscow. Both for the Old Ukrainian examples, however, and for those occurring in modern Central and South Russian dialects more than one explanation can be found. It cannot be excluded that the isolated instances of the nominative-object found in these different sources represent the last surviving manifestations of a construction which was once a regular feature of the language concerned. It therefore also cannot be excluded, although the question must remain open, that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was at one time found throughout the East Slavonic area.

CHAPTER 8

Introduction

In the conclusion to Chapter 4 (p. 193) it was observed that the decline of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the written language of Moscow was a gradual process that may have lasted for as long as three centuries. In this chapter it remains to consider the circumstances in which the construction finally disappeared from the language of Moscow to become a feature restricted to certain, almost exclusively Northern dialects.¹ This event is generally accepted to have occurred in the early years of the eighteenth century.²

1. The main source used.

Almost all the material concerning the question stated above was taken from one source, IYuA. Although much was written in Russian in the early eighteenth century, a large proportion of the accessible texts are not suitable for present purposes in that they cover too short a period of time or are written in a form of language which does not require the widespread use of independent infinitive sentences (see pp.331-332).

IYuA is a collection of legal texts dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century. The documents are divided into a number of sections of which only the first was examined. The remaining sections contain a high

¹See Ch.7, pp.305-311.

²P. Bicilli (1933), p.207; Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.179; D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.11; A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.5.

proportion of seventeenth century documents, while at the same time containing no documents dating from a later period than that covered by the first section, and it was therefore felt that these remaining sections could add nothing to what had already been found. The texts examined cover the years 1703-1722.

In the section examined of IYuA the following nine examples were found of the nominative used with an independent infinitive:

- (i) записавъ в книгу взять къ отпуску и послать къ сыщику грамата велѣть противъ сей отписки во всемъ розыскать (No.1, p.22, 1703/4)¹
- (ii) взять духовная к свидѣтельству ; челобитная записать (No.5, p.72, 1712)
- (iii) а ся духовная записать по Указу в томъ Приказе гдѣ подлежить в указные числа (No.5, p.74, 1712)
- (iv) взять к дѣлу и противъ сего послать грамота а духовную отдать с роспискою ему Кондратью (No.5, p.74, 1712)
- (v) и дать ему свобода и жену ево и з дѣтми и с рухледью ея боярыни вдовы княгини Авдотьи Васильевны человѣку еѣ кой за дѣлы ходить поставить в Приказѣ Земскихъ дѣлъ (No.10, pp.107, 108, 1713)
- (vi) принявъ поголовные денги по указу дать отпускная (No.11, p.110, 1713)
- (vii) а в Уложеньѣ въ 22 главѣ въ 8 статьѣ напечатано будетъ чей нибудь человѣкъ помыслить смертное убивство на того кому онъ служить или противъ ево выметъ какое

¹The Gramoty are divided into twenty groups, each group consisting of the documents concerned with a particular case. Since the documents within each group are not individually numbered, the number of the group and the page number are given for reference.

оружье хотя его убить ꙗко ему за такое ево дѣло отсѣчь рука (No.15, p.144, 1716; as the heading implies, this passage is a quotation from Ulozh. 1649)

(viii) а будетъ мы отъ того не очистимъ и въ томъ какихъ убытковъ доставим и ему Семену и женѣ ево и дѣтямъ взять на мнѣ Алексѣе и на женѣ моей и на дѣтяхъ по сей купчей тѣ свои вышеписанныя деньги и съ убытки своими сполна или дворовому и хоромному строению очистка (No.18, p.164, a 1718 copy of a Kupchaya dating from 1709).

In the following two passages it is uncertain whether the infinitives concerned are to be regarded as independent or as dependent on the very distant verb forms "велѣно" and "приказали" respectively:

(ix) и по помѣстѣ на отпискѣ о всемъ вышеписанномъ велѣно сыскать а для того сыска послать из дворянъ человека добра и дать ему наказъ а к воеводѣ для вѣдома и о перепискѣ дворовъ послать грамота (No.4, p.65, 1712)

(x) по указу великого Государя Царя ꙗко великого князя Петра Алексѣевича всеа великия и малыя и бѣлыя Росіи Самодержца кравчей и Московской Губернаторъ Кирила Алексѣевичъ Нарышкинъ с товарищи слушавъ челобитья Московского уѣзду дворцового села Коломенского деревни Батютиной крестьянина Івана Никифорова ꙗко выписки приказали вышеозначенную огородную землю с торгу отдать оному Івану Никифорову впредь на три года из оброку почему онъ с торгу давалъ по пятнадцати рублевъ по десяти алтынъ на годъ для того что апрѣля зъ 28 числа мая по 19 число сего 716 году иные с торгу никто болши ево не давали ꙗко в платежѣ оброчныхъ денегъ освидѣтельствовавъ подлинно у порутчиковъ дворовъ и промысловъ

собрать по немъ поручная запись по указу и сей приговоръ записать в книгу (No.14, pp.133, 134, 1716).

One example was found of the nominative used with an infinitive in a clause introduced by чтобъ:

(xi) и онъ де князь ~~А~~едоръ Юрьевичъ того доношен^ія не при-
нялъ и чтобъ у челов^ѣка ево отв^ѣтчикова Якова Княжева
взять скаска в поставк^ѣ одного Шурлова с товарищи к розыску
(No.17, p.154, 1717, but quoting from a petition written in 1711)

The following passage is not entirely clear, but is probably not to be regarded as an instance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction:

(xii) ^і подъячей Григорей Мих^ѣевъ взявъ то письмо дов^ѣрить
такимъ та заемная память ^і то де письмо подравъ ^і отдавъ,
~~А~~илипу Устинову ^і вел^ѣлъ передъ собою исчипать в мелк^іе
лоскутья а онъ де челов^ѣкъ неграмотной та ль заемная
память ил^і иное какое письмо (No.1, p.21, 1703/4)

It would seem here that the phrase "та заемная память" is the subject of a noun clause subordinate to "дов^ѣрить".

Five clear examples were found of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive; these are contained in the following passages:

(xiii) по новоуказнымъ статьямъ 207 году буде как^іе писмен-
ные кр^ѣпости объявятца не за ербомъ и по т^ѣмъ кр^ѣпостямъ
не в^ѣрить ^і вел^ѣно отказывать да с нихже вел^ѣно взять пеня
(No.10, p.107, 1713; this passage is presumably a quotation from the
original Article of 1699. An identically worded passage occurs also
in No.10 on p.109)

(xiv) да чтобы на той земл^ѣ повел^ѣно было поставить имъ
караульня для обережен^ія овощей (No.14, p.137, 1716)

(xv) и для того намъ повелѣно бѣ было та земля огородить и поставить сторожка (No.14, p.139, 1716).

The following passage is ambiguous:

(xvi) противъ той земли выставлены были листы о торгу ихъ той земли всякихъ чиновъ людемъ чтобъ шли к тому торгу кому та земля доведется отдать в наемъ к тѣмъ вышеписаннымъ челобитчикомъ (No.14, p.137, 1716)

In seventeenth century Prikaznyy Yazyk examples are to be found of довестися used both as a personal and as an impersonal verb.¹ It is therefore possible that in the passage quoted "та земля" is the subject of "доведется", rather than the object of "отдать".

One example was found of the nominative-object used with a finite verb:

(xvii) такову подлинная духовная исъ Приказу Земскихъ Дѣлъ Кондратей Селиверстовъ взялъ и росписался (No.5, p.72, 1712)

A further point of interest in this passage is the lack of agreement between "такову" and "подлинная духовная". According to the editor the sentence is written "по листамъ на списокѣ", and this disjointed manner of writing provides a possible explanation for the lack of agreement and perhaps even for the unexpected use of the nominative for the object of a finite verb.

Nineteen clear examples were found of the accusative used with an independent infinitive. Since it will later be necessary to refer to these examples in detail, they are for the sake of clarity quoted here in full:

(xviii) да на нихъ же имати на Государя пеню что Государь укажетъ смотря по дѣлу (No.1, p.11, 1703/1704; this passage is

¹See Ch.6, p.230 and footnote.

described as a "выписка из Уложения")

(xix) да тое выписку за дьячею приписью прислать в Московской Судной Приказъ к боярину Алексѣю Петровичю Салтыкову с товарищи для вершенья ево Михайлова дѣла (No.2, p.45, 1705)

(xx) дать грамоту по указу о присылкѣ дѣла (No.3, p.52, 1705)

(xxi) и тое записку для спору закрѣпить дьячьею рукою и держать тѣхъ людей с того числа какъ они в приказъ будутъ приведены мѣсяць (No.3, p.57, 1705)

(xxii) послать о свободѣ того крестьянина к воеводѣ грамоту буде до него не дошло губного дѣла (No.3, p.59, 1705)

(xxiii) да тое выписку за дьячьею приписью прислать в Приказъ Земскихъ Дѣлъ ближнему боярину и Московскому Губернатору Его Сиятельству Князь Михаилу Григорьеву Ромодановскому с товарищи для рознимательства допросного дѣла (No.4, p.61, 1713)

(xxiv) да тое выписку ис Концелярїи Московской губерніи за дьячьею приписью прислать к ближнему боярину и Московскому Губернатору Его Сїятельству Князю Михаилу Григорьевичю Ромодановскому с товарищи для рознимательства допросного дѣла (No.4, p.62, 1713)

(xxv) а в той моей вотчинѣ людей моихъ и крестьянъ и четвертную пашенную землю и сенные покосы и всякие угодыя 30 четей в поле а в дву потомужъ и хлѣбъ стоячей и молочной и которой на той вотчинной землѣ сѣянъ и животы и лошади и всякую скотину разделить имъ братьямъ моимъ Андрею да Кондратью межъ себя пополамъ (No.5, p.73, 1712)

(xxvi) а в той ево вотчинѣ людей ево и крестьянъ и четверт-
ную пашенную землю и сенные покосы и всякія угодыя 30
 четвертей в поле а в дву потомужъ и хлѣбъ стоячей и
 молочной и которой на той вотчинной землѣ сеяль и животы
 и лошадей и всякую скотину разделить имъ братьямъ ево
 Андрею и Кондратью межъ себя пополамъ (No.5, pp.78, 79, 1714)

(xxvii) и взять у него Ивана сказку что ему поставить Попкову
жену съ дѣтьми и с животы въ Преображенскомъ Приказѣ (No.6,
 p.81, 1711)

The accusative with the infinitive in the clause introduced by "что"
 is not included among the nineteen examples, but will be discussed
 below, on pp.323, 324.

(xxviii) а буде тое землю отдать имъ по сему торгу впредь
 на пять лѣтъ и противъ прежней отдачи иметца прибыли на
 всякой годъ по 15 рублевъ (No.14, p.138, 1716)

(xxix) а съ прежнимъ откупомъ иметца во взять в пять лѣтъ
 150 рублевъ и тое землю онымъ откупщикомъ впредь на сколько
 лѣтъ отдать (Ibid.)

(xxx) а ежели моимъ неочищеніемъ учинятца ему Матвею в
 томъ от кого какія убытки и ему Матвею и женѣ ево и дѣтямъ
взять на мнѣ Алексѣе и на женѣ моей и на дѣтяхъ убытки
 свои по своей скаскѣ все сполна и тому человѣку з женою
 и с сыномъ очистку (No.15, p.142, a 1716 copy of a kupchaya dating
 from 1714)

(xxxi) по указу великого Государя по вышеписанному дѣлу
сыскать шляпника также и вдову х которой въ гости оные
 люди приходили (No.16, p.149, 1716/1717)

(xxxii) а просвирню и сторожа перевести жить на церковную землю отъ церкви поодаль (No.18, p.159, 1718)

(xxxiii) и. мнѣ Ивану ее Аксиною въ томъ матери своей просвирническомъ дворѣ ото всякихъ крѣпостей очищать (No.18. p.162, 1718)

(xxxiv) а будетъ кто въ то мое дворовое и хоромное 'строение учнетъ у ней вдовѣ ~~Аеклы~~ вступатца и мнѣ Ксеньѣ въ томъ своемъ дворовомъ и хоромномъ строении ей вдовѣ ~~Аеклу~~ очищать и убытка никакова не доставить (Ibid.)

The form "вдовѣ", which occurs twice in an unexpected position, and which is perhaps influenced by the ending of the pronoun, may be noted here.

Two examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive are found alongside instances of the nominative used with an independent infinitive and have consequently already been quoted (examples iv, v).

In the following five instances it is unclear whether the object in the accusative is used with an infinitive which is dependent or independent:

(xxxv) прошу Вашего Величества вели Государь вышеписаннаго пономаря сыскавъ допросить и на дворъ свой положить ему купчую (No.18, p.161, 1718)

Although from the sense it might be expected that the infinitive "положить" would be dependent on "вели", the presence of an apparent dative subject ("ему") suggests that here it is independent.

(xxxvi) по указу Великого Государя бояринъ Алексѣй Петровичъ Салтыковъ с товарищи слушавъ сего дѣла приговорилъ воевод-цкую помѣту отставить а вѣдатца в томъ иску исцу с отвѣтчиномъ допросомъ (No.3, p.58, 1705)

It is uncertain here whether the infinitives are dependent on "приговорилъ", or whether they form part of separate independent infinitive clauses. It seems that the verb приговорить is not normally used with a dependent infinitive,¹ although SSRLY quotes two examples of such a usage, both dating from the nineteenth century.²

Two further examples, similar to No.(xxxvi), were found in the portion studied of IYuA; it will be noted that in the second of the two examples the object concerned is a masculine-a type noun:

(xxxvii) по указу Его Императорского Величества Святѣйшій Правительствующій Синодъ по челобитью вдовы Матроны Родіоновой дочери прапорщицкой Михайловской жены Огрыжанова о поставленныхъ въ Москвѣ у зятя ея Покровской Богадѣльни что на Грязяхъ у богадѣленнаго Семена Михайлова еѣ деньгахъ и пожиткахъ учиненной въ Синодѣ выпискѣ слушавъ согласно приговорили искъ еѣ Огрыжановой денегъ 50 рублей і за пожитки цѣну 40 рублей 23 алтына 2 денги і с того иску пошлины і канцелярские денги по указу взять Монастырского приказу на дьякѣ Прокоѣѣ Будыгинѣ и на подъячемъ Герасимѣ Лушневѣ неотложно (No.20, p.174, 1722)

(xxxviii) по указу Великого Государя бояринъ Алексѣй Петровичъ Салтыковъ с товарищи слушав сего дѣла приговорили исца Михайла Совѣтова оправить а отвѣтчика Илью Тюменева обинить (sic) (No.2, p.47, 1705)

In the following instance it is not clear whether the infinitive "поминать" is dependent on "пожаловать" or independent. The

¹See S. I. Ozhegov (1972), p.541; E. Daum, W. Schenk (1971), p.467.

²SSRLY, 11, col.421.

latter seems the more probable, since in Prikaznyy yazyk the verb пожаловать (more usually in the imperative than in the infinitive) is widely used to preface a request, the latter then being expressed in an independent sentence.¹

(xxxix) да имъ же душеприкащикомъ моимъ пожаловать поминать
душу мою навывнось (No.5, p.73, 1712)

In the following example it appears that a finite verb, such as начали, has been omitted. The object here is a masculine-a type noun:

(xli) и они де Федоръ и Прокофей съ людьми своими и со крестьяны вышедъ изъ дворовъ съ палашами а люди ихъ и крестьяня с колы и з дубьемъ ево воеводу и дворянъ и подъячихъ и служилыхъ людей бить и рубить чтобъ в деревни ихъ крестьянскихъ дворовъ не переписывать (No.4, p.63, 1712)

The text also contains ten examples of the accusative used with an infinitive in a clause introduced by чтобы. These can be illustrated by the following two instances:

(xlii) и той памяти онъ Илья из Сибирского Приказу не выносит многое время похотя чтобъ мнѣ в том дѣле продолженіе учинить и волокиту і убытокъ і какбы отъ иску моего отбыть (No.2, p.49, 1705)

(xliii) а нынѣ бьетъ челомъ в Концеляріи Земскихъ дѣлъ невѣдома какова чину человекъ чтобы вышеозначенную отда- точную землю отдать ему в оброкъ (No.14, p.134, 1716)

The example quoted above (in passage xxvii) of the accusative used with an infinitive in a clause introduced by "что" is probably also

¹Ch. 4, Examples (xcv) and (xcvi) (p.177) illustrate this usage.

to be included in this category, with which it seems to have a semantic affinity.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the above material is that the Nominative and Infinitive construction continues to be used in the Prikaznyy yazyk of the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Second, the usage of the construction in IYuA corresponds in certain matters of detail to that found in the seventeenth century sources examined in Chapter 4. Thus, only the accusative occurs when the object of an independent infinitive is a feminine noun referring to a person (examples v, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv). Moreover, ten examples of the accusative are found used with an infinitive in a clause introduced by чтобы, while only one example of the nominative-object occurs in a clause of this type.¹

As far as the remaining examples are concerned, it seems impossible to find any distinction between the usage of the nominative and accusative cases. This point is best illustrated by passages (iv) (the instance with the nominative) and (xxii), where the same combination of object and infinitive is used, but where the object is in the nominative in the former instance and in the accusative in the latter. The majority of objects concerned (apart from those considered separately in the preceding paragraph), whether in the nominative or the accusative, represent the names of various types of official documents. This lack of distinction between the nominative and accusative cases in straightforward independent infinitive sentences, when the object is not a feminine noun referring to a person, is also a continuation of the usage found in the seventeenth century documents.²

¹See Ch. 4, pp. 184, 185.

²See Ch. 4, p. 191.

There are, however, two respects in which the text under consideration differs from almost all the earlier texts surveyed in Chapter 4. In the first place it will be seen that, even disregarding clauses introduced by чтобы, there are significantly more examples of the accusative used with an independent infinitive than of the nominative. Such a relationship is found in only one of the seventeenth century texts examined, namely Bezobr. (see Chapter 4, p.192); in all the remaining texts the nominative is the more frequent.

Also to be noted is the high proportion of instances of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive: five clear examples of this usage occur alongside nine clear examples of the nominative used with an independent infinitive. There are in addition two passages where the infinitive in question could be either dependent or independent (Nos.ix, x) and one further, though doubtful, example of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive (No.xvi). Leaving aside the Old Ukrainian texts,¹ only in a few of the texts surveyed is there a significant number of examples of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive. The texts concerned are Mor., Stoglav and, to a lesser extent, Ulozh. 1649.² In all these sources, however, while the total number of instances of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive may exceed that of IYuA, the proportion of such instances to examples with an independent infinitive is much lower than in the last-named text. IYuA is the only text surveyed (again apart from the Old Ukrainian sources) where the total number of examples of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive is as high as half the total

¹These are discussed in detail in Ch.7, pp.271-282.

²The examples from Mor. and Ulozh. 1649 are discussed in Ch.6, (pp.228-235), those from Stoglav in Ch.5 (pp.199,200, 208, 209).

number of examples of the nominative with an independent infinitive.

A further point of interest is that in all five clear examples of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive the infinitive concerned is dependent on вѣлѣно or повелѣно; six instances of such a usage were found in Mor. On the other hand, no examples were found of the nominative used with an infinitive dependent on an independent infinitive, although four instances of the accusative occur in sentences of this type.¹ Mor. has 29 examples of the nominative used in this type of sentence.

It seems probable that the relatively infrequent use of the nominative with an independent infinitive and, on the other hand, the relatively high proportion of instances of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive are both reflections of a further stage in the decline of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The tendency noted in Chapter 4 for the accusative to become more and more frequent in independent infinitive sentences can be seen to continue into the eighteenth century. It is probable at the same time that one of the consequences of the gradual loss of the construction is that some of its users start to employ the construction where it was originally not found. Such a phenomenon has been noted by other scholars and been described by the term разложение.² All the examples of the nominative with a dependent infinitive in IYuA involve sentences which are both syntactically and semantically close to independent infinitive sentences in that they are impersonal sentences expressing obligation.

¹In one of the latter the object concerned is a masculine-a type noun.

²See Ch.1, pp.41-43.

It is, however, interesting that there is only one example of the nominative-object used with a finite verb in IYuA; even here one of the qualifiers is in the accusative, while there are special circumstances which may account for the appearance of the nominative in this particular passage (see p.318). Both Mor. and Stoglav contain several examples of the nominative-object used with a finite verb, while isolated instances of such usage occur as early as the twelfth century.¹ The lack of agreement between one of the qualifiers and the remainder of the phrase is, on the other hand, a reflection of a rare phenomenon found only in the very late stages of the development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.²

2. Other early eighteenth century material.

A further relevant source relating to this period might seem to be I. T. Pososhkov's work Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve.., which was written, or at least completed, in 1724.³ The use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in this text has been noted by a number of scholars.⁴ In particular D. S. Stanishev has noted: "В Книге о скудности и богатстве за нечастым исключением наблюдается последовательное употребление формы на -а в одной позиции при независимом инфинитиве."⁵ She notes that alongside 131

¹See Ch.3, pp.III-II6; Ch.4, p.I66; Ch.5, p.201.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.33, 34; see also Ch.4, p.I63.

³B. B. Kafengauz (1951), p.75.

⁴Notably P. Bicilli (1933), pp.205, 206; Y. A. Sprinchak (1960), p.181; D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), pp.8-11.

⁵D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.8.

examples of the nominative used with an infinitive there occur only 15 examples of the accusative in sentences of this type. Unfortunately, it is not clear from Stanisheva's article whether these statistics refer to examples in independent infinitive sentences only, or whether they include examples in all types of infinitive sentences. For, although in the above quotation she appears to be referring to independent infinitive sentences only, she later goes on to write: "Употребление формы на -а, -я в функции объекта связано с одним непременным условием - наличием инфинитива, который или... является независимым или может зависеть от безлично-предикативных наречий надо, надобно, подобает, чаще всего надлежит."¹

It will none the less be seen that in Pososhkov's work the usage of the Nominative and Infinitive construction differs markedly from that observed in IYuA: the nominative is not only far more frequent than it is in the latter source, but it is also proportionally more frequent than it is in the seventeenth century texts examined in Chapter 4. A partial explanation for this discrepancy may well lie in the fact that Pososhkov, as far as is known, was born in 1652;² his language might therefore be expected to reflect usages more typical of the second half of the seventeenth century than of the early years of the eighteenth century. Even, however, allowing for this, he seems to make surprisingly frequent use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

¹D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.9.

²B. B. Kafengauz (1951), pp.13, 14.

The influence of geographical factors on the language of Pososhkov is not clear. He was born on the outskirts of Moscow, and, although he later lived in Novgorod, he did not move there until quite late in his life, in 1710.¹ It thus seems unlikely that the dialect of Novgorod, where the Nominative and Infinitive construction probably survived longer than it did in Moscow,² can have had much effect on Pososhkov's language. What the material in Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve³ does suggest is that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there may have been considerable variation between individuals in their handling of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. At a time when the nominative and accusative cases appear for the most part to be used without distinction in independent infinitive sentences, this would seem only to be expected.

Stanisheva's observations on Pososhkov's use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction contain other points worthy of note. The first is her comment, quoted on p.328, that the nominative-object is found with dependent infinitive verbs. Unfortunately she does not state what proportion of the total number of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurs in sentences of this type, but it is significant that all the forms that she specifically mentions as being used with dependent infinitive verbs taking an object in the nominative are impersonal verbs or impersonal predicate forms expressing obligation.

¹B. B. Kafengauz (1951), pp.7,59.

²The map in I. B. Kuz'mina, E. V. Nemchenko (1964), p.153, shows Novgorod to be just outside the area where the Nominative and Infinitive occurs in Modern Russian dialects. See Ch.1, Section 3.

³This seems, pace Stanisheva, to be a more accurate version of the title (see, for example, the edition of the work published in Moscow by the Akademiya Nauk in 1951, passim).

An interesting example from Pososhkov which is quoted by Stanisheva is the following, where the nominative is found with a negated independent infinitive:

(xliii) понеже еще пашня ему не пахать то голодну быть¹

Such a usage is exceedingly rare: no instances were found in any of the texts examined for this thesis. The only example that is in any sense comparable is one of the nominative used with a negated dependent infinitive. This passage, which seems to possess certain special features, is quoted and discussed in Chapter 3 (p.117).

A feature of Pososhkov's language discussed by A. Timberlake² is the appearance of lack of agreement between noun and qualifier in independent infinitive sentences. In the two examples quoted by Timberlake this phenomenon manifests itself in the form of the noun and one qualifier being placed in the nominative, with another qualifier in the accusative.

It would seem probable that both the above phenomena are to be considered as reflecting the разложение of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The use of the nominative for the object of a finite verb has also been held to be part of the process of разложение;³ this usage seems, however, to be completely absent from Pososhkov's work: "Показательно, например, что в языке И. Посошкова (Книга о скудности и богатстве) формы на -а, -я не при инфинитиве не зафиксированы."⁴

An isolated example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction which is worthy of note at this point is the passage quoted below;

¹D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), p.11.

²A. Timberlake (1974/1), p.34, where he quotes two examples.

³See Ch.1, pp.41-44.

⁴D. S. Stanisheva (1966/2), pp.10, 11.

this appears in the following text, which dates from 1724: Генераль-ного регламента глава пятьдесятая за добрые поступки о награжденіи, противу же того, ежели кто противъ должности погрѣшѣть о штрафѣ. The passage is quoted in P. Pekarskiy (1862) (pp.617, 618), and it is presumably Pekarskiy who provides the editorial interjection, as well as the first half of the sentence:

(xliv) напротивъ, всѣхъ, кто похититъ изъ коллегіи письма или документы, кто неправильно составить докладъ, задержитъ и не исполнить указъ, кто переправитъ фальшиво документы, разгласитъ коллегіальную тайну или, наконецъ, будетъ брать взятки – тѣмъ "какъ вышнимъ такъ и нижнимъ подлежитъ чинить смертная казнь (sic) или вѣчная на галеру ссылка съ вырѣзаніемъ ноздрей и отнятіемъ всего имѣнія"

It will be noted that this passage provides an example of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive.

Brief reference must now be made to a slightly later text, that was examined in the hope that it would provide material for this thesis. This is TDK, a treaty between Russia and Great Britain, which was signed on December 2nd 1734 and published (in Russian and French) under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1735.

This text contains no example of either the nominative or the accusative used with an independent infinitive verb, a fact which in itself has a certain significance. Many of the texts that have been used for this thesis have been treaties, among them being the 1229 treaty between Smolensk and Riga and the various treaties contained in DDG. Much material has been obtained from these sources, since independent infinitive sentences are the principal means used to express the terms laid down in the various articles of the treaties (this can be

illustrated by the examples quoted in Appendix 2). In TDK, however, the terms are expressed using a variety of syntactical constructions, of which independent infinitive sentences are but one. The following passage, where independent infinitives, dependent infinitives and a clause dependent on позволяется are used, illustrates this:

(xlv) Великобританскимъ подданнымъ такожъ позволяется что они въ Россію всякіе вещи и товары привозить, и чрезъ Россійскіе области ближайшимъ и удобнѣйшимъ путемъ въ Персію провозить могутъ, платя проѣзжей пошлины по три процента ефимками съ оцѣнки тѣхъ товаровъ, а кромѣ того съ нихъ ни чего ни подъ какимъ Претекстомъ не брать, но тѣмъ Англійскимъ купцамъ о провозѣ водою и сухимъ путемъ тѣхъ своихъ товаровъ, съ Россійскими подданными договариватца, и настоящую цѣну имъ за то платить надлежитъ, но да бы имъ въ своемъ пути доброе учрежденіе вездѣ изобрѣсти, и о томъ посланы будутъ въ тѣ мѣста надлежащіе указы (p.10)

If the second quarter of the eighteenth century does indeed see the development of new syntactic norms for the expression of obligation in official texts (as TDK¹ seems to indicate), the question then arises as to whether the final disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in texts of this nature is not in some way connected with the decline in the role of independent infinitive sentences. Unfortunately, further examination of this problem is at present impossible because of the unavailability of suitable sources

¹The only such official text accessible in its original edition.

dating from the relevant period.¹

3. Early Russian Grammars.

In the last years of the seventeenth century and in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century a number of grammars of Russian appeared; many, especially the earlier ones, were compiled by foreigners, but in this period also appeared the first grammars of Russian, as opposed to Church Slavonic, to be compiled by Russians. These grammars must now be examined to see whether they contain any material relevant to the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The grammars consulted were: Grammatica Russica, compiled by the Dutchman H. W. Ludolf and published in Oxford in 1696; the three grammars contained in DRG, namely those by Elias Kopijewitz, V. E. Adodurov and M. Groening, first published in 1706, 1731 and 1750 respectively; an anonymous grammar, compiled in Russian in the 1730s and attributed to V. E. Adodurov;² finally M. V. Lomonosov's Rossiyskaya Grammatika, first published in 1755.

None of the grammars consulted makes any direct reference to the Nominative and Infinitive construction. In certain instances, however, relevant material is adduced. Thus, in the conversations appended to Ludolf's grammar the following sentences are recorded:

(xlvi) Спаситель скажетъ: аще кто хочетъ по мнѣ ити да
ѿвержетъ сѧ себе.

Что то, ѿвержетъ сѧ себе?

Ѽложить плотские похоти и мірскѣю любовь и толко попечи
сѧ ѡ богоугодномъ житіи (pp.72, 73);

¹One example of the accusative used with an independent infinitive in a Muscovite source dating from 1743 and reproduced in Mat. Vor. is quoted in Ch.7 (p.304).

²For the grounds for this attribution see B.A.Uspenskiy (1975), pp.27-50

(xlvi) Совѣтъ имъ, читать первѣю главѣ пророка Есаіа где Богъ скажетъ: на празно молатъ сѧ мнѣ потомѣ что сердце ихъ не чисто (p.76)

The first passage contains an example of the accusative used with what would seem to be an independent infinitive verb (xlvi has an unambiguous example of an infinitive ending in - ѣ), while in the second the infinitive "читать" could either be independent or dependent on "Совѣтъ". The punctuation might suggest the former interpretation, but it is doubtful whether the punctuation adopted by an English publisher can be regarded as being an accurate reflection of the original Russian sentence structure.

The Grammar of M. Groening (a Swede from Finland)¹ contains the following phrases and sentences, again in the appended conversations:

(xlviii) А я чаю напротивъ того, что войну продолжать (p.246)

(xlix) Поди къ лекарю и скажи ему чтобъ он пришолъ рану мою перевязать (p.266)

(l) фузѣю ложить (p.269)

(li) Пушку снять съ станка (p.269)

(lii) я незнаю какъ заслужить такое благодѣяніе или такую благосклонность (pp.271, 272)

(liii) надлежитъ терпѣливо снести волю божію (p.272)

(liv) Правду сказать (p.273)

(lv) Какъ радость свою и удовольствіе предъявить (p.278)

It will be seen that the above passages contain, in addition to apparent independent infinitive sentences, one example of an infinitive dependent

¹DRG, p.XII.

on an impersonal verb expressing obligation (liii), one example of an infinitive in a purpose clause dependent on a verb of motion (xlix), one example of an infinitive in a clause introduced by "что" (xlvi) and three examples where there is no syntactic context by which to judge the infinitive (l, li, liv). In all these various instances the accusative is used for the direct object.

M. V. Lomonosov, in the section in his Grammar on the infinitive, includes the following comment: "Неокончательного наклонения глаголы с теми же падежами сочиняются, с которыми сами ихъ глаголы: писать похвалу героевъ; служить общей пользѣ; жалѣть пріятеля; пѣть о поляхъ полтавскихъ." There is, unfortunately, no way of knowing whether this comment is provoked by the existence of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The lack of any specific mention of the construction, both in the text of the Grammar and in Lomonosov's own notes,² is, however, in itself significant; it was perhaps too unimportant to be singled out even for condemnation and may have been unknown to Lomonosov.

4. Later examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Notwithstanding the lack of attention accorded to the Nominative and Infinitive construction by eighteenth century grammarians, isolated examples of the construction are found in later eighteenth and nineteenth century sources. The following instance of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive appears in N. I. Novikov's satirical Journal Zhivopisets:

¹M. V. Lomonosov (1952), p.565.

²Reproduced in M. V. Lomonosov (1952), pp.595-761.

(lvi) Как отпоешь молебен, так можно ему поднести чарка
вина (1772, pt.1, No.15)¹

This example, which appears to belong to the pen of D. I. Fonvizin,² would seem to be a deliberate stylistic device, representing either an archaism or a dialect feature. The passage occurs in what purports to be a letter to his son from an elderly provincial nobleman, who clearly disapproves of what he sees as a new order. The "letter" contains a number of archaic and dialect features: the former include the participle form "писавый" (p.337), and the opening formula containing the words "низкий поклон и великое челобитье" (p.334), while among the latter are the use of the postposited article ("хлеб-ат", p.335) and spellings reflecting akan'ye ("полтара", p.336).

Another later example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction which is worthy of note is to be found in V. I. Dal' (1914), in the entry under the verb ети.³ Included in a list of oaths involving various forms of this verb is the expression "мать твоя ети", given alongside the equivalent expression with the object in the accusative. This example is of interest for three reasons: first, it provides an unusually late example of the Nominative and Infinitive construction, and, it would seem, the only one to be recorded in a dictionary. Second, the example is provided without any comment (other than the words "пошлая брань" applied to a whole series of

¹Satiricheskiye Zhurnaly N. I. Novikova, (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), p.334. The passage is quoted, although without detailed comment, by B. A. Larin (1963), p.91.

²Satiricheskiye Zhurnaly, p.570.

³V. I. Dal' (1914), 1, col.1304.

expressions under this entry), there being no indication, therefore, as to whether the expression concerned was restricted to any particular dialect or that, given the stylistic restriction, it was not in current use. Finally, the object in the expression quoted is a feminine noun referring to a person, although, as was shown earlier (Chapter 4, p.185), such nouns tend from an early date to be used but rarely in Nominative and Infinitive sentences. It would seem reasonable to infer that the survival of the construction in this particular example is due to its imprecatory nature, the sentence presumably being passed down as a set expression from generation to generation. No evidence has been found to suggest that this oath has survived in this form to the present day.

5. Conclusion.

As was stated at the end of Chapter 4, the disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction from the language of Moscow was a gradual process lasting possibly for several centuries. The evidence of this chapter indicates that this process reached its conclusion some time after the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, although the scarcity of available material makes it impossible to produce a more exact date. No trace of the construction is to be found in grammars dating from the middle of that century, and it seems reasonable to conclude that by then the construction was no longer part of the language of Moscow. The handful of examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction that are encountered after the early years of the eighteenth century can be accounted for by special explanations.

The date of the disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction from the spoken language of Moscow is even harder to determine precisely. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that in the early years of the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth century, the nominative is used in Prikaznyy Yazyk for the object of an independent infinitive verb side by side with the accusative; in the vast majority of instances there is no discernible pattern in the distribution of the two cases. This circumstance suggests that it is unlikely that the Nominative and Infinitive construction survived in Prikaznyy Yazyk merely as a standard formula or as an artificial rule of official style (see Ch.4, pp.191,192). The alternation found in the Prikaznyy Yazyk of the eighteenth century probably therefore continues to reflect the spoken language of the time, and it is likely that the Nominative and Infinitive construction disappeared from the spoken language of Moscow at the same time as, or only shortly earlier than, it did from the written language.¹ Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the Nominative and Infinitive construction might have survived longer in the written language (presumably as an artificial rule), were it not for the development of a new style for official documents, involving inter alia fewer independent infinitive sentences. It seems, however, unlikely that the growing influence of classical and West European languages on the syntax of Russian² can have played more than a marginal role in the disappearance of the Nominative and Infinitive construction from the language of Moscow (cf. Ch.1, p.52).

¹The Nominative and Infinitive construction seems to be used more regularly in Belgorod Otkazy dating from the late seventeenth century than it is in contemporary Moscow sources. This may be precisely because for speakers of a South Russian dialect the construction was a rule of official style, one which did not have a basis in the local spoken language (see Ch.7, pp.292, 293).

²Cf. V. V. Vinogradov (1934), p.111.

The eighteenth century material provides in addition evidence on how the Nominative and Infinitive construction was used in the final stages of its development in the written language of Moscow. . It will be seen that the use of the nominative-object with dependent infinitives becomes more frequent than it was in earlier sources. Almost without exception, the examples noted occur in impersonal sentences expressing obligation, sentences syntactically and semantically closest to independent infinitive sentences. Examples of the nominative-object in any other type of sentence remain, however, extremely rare; in particular, only one example of the nominative-object with a finite verb (No.xvii, p.318) was noted. It will therefore be seen that even in the eighteenth century there is only a very limited expansion of the sphere of usage of the Nominative and Infinitive construction and that the phenomenon of разложение, in so far as it affects the written language, can be said to exist only in an extremely restricted sense.

CHAPTER 9

In this chapter it is proposed to summarise the conclusions made in the previous chapters. Attention will be devoted in the first place to those conclusions which follow directly from the adduced material and which concern the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the recorded history of the Russian language. The questions examined here comprise the development of the construction, and later its decline and disappearance; the status of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the Russian language; the morphological and syntactic limitations of the construction, and also its geographical and stylistic distribution. Consideration will then be given to the problem of the extent to which a reconstruction of the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian is possible on the basis of the available material.

1. The evolution of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in the written language of Central and North Russia can be divided into two periods. The usage of the construction in the earliest relevant texts, dating almost entirely from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, does not form any clear pattern. Only in one group of texts, the Novgorod Gramoty, is the nominative used exclusively for the object of independent infinitive verbs. In most of the sources examined both nominative and accusative are found in this function, while in a small number of texts only the accusative is used. Especially striking in

this respect is the Long Redaction of Russkaya Pravda, where both nominative and accusative are widespread in independent infinitive sentences, in proportions which vary considerably from copy to copy; in many copies, including the oldest, the accusative is significantly more frequent than the nominative. The evidence of these sources suggests that in this period the use of the nominative in independent infinitive sentences is still growing.

In Muscovite texts dating from the end of the fourteenth century to the early years of the eighteenth century a pattern is to be found, this being one of a gradual decline in the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. This decline manifests itself in two ways: first, in certain types of sentences, namely those where the object is a feminine noun referring to a person, and those where the infinitive appears in a clause introduced by чтобы, the nominative ceases to be used regularly at an early date, so that by the seventeenth century it is found very infrequently. In the remaining types of independent infinitive sentences the accusative gradually becomes more and more frequent; it apparently starts to appear more often than the nominative in the late seventeenth century and finally replaces the latter case some time between the middle of the third decade of the eighteenth century and the middle of that century. After that time the Nominative and Infinitive construction, having disappeared from the written language, becomes a phenomenon restricted to certain peripheral dialects.

2. Throughout the entire period covered by this thesis the Novgorod Gramoty of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries remain the only

group of texts examined where the nominative is used exclusively for the object of an independent infinitive verb. In almost all the remaining texts the nominative is used side by side with the accusative; moreover, with the exceptions mentioned in the previous paragraph, which seem to apply only from the seventeenth century, there are no clear lexical or syntactic criteria for the use of one or the other case. This suggests that the use of the nominative with independent infinitive verbs never becomes a rule of the language (or does so only in extremely limited circumstances), but instead starts out as, and remains, only a tendency. While the nominative is the preferred variant in most of the texts surveyed, the two cases co-exist throughout as freely interchangeable alternatives. This in turn indicates that throughout the recorded history of the language the nominative used with an independent infinitive verb is to be regarded as an object.

3. The use of the nominative-object is determined by both syntactic and morphological factors. Thus the nominative is used only for a direct object which would otherwise be in the accusative case; it is not normally used with negative verbs,¹ and it is used with any regularity only in independent infinitive sentences. A small number of examples is found of the nominative-object used with a dependent infinitive. Such examples are always far outnumbered, however, by examples of the accusative, although there is a slight increase in the proportion of examples with the nominative in the early years of the eighteenth century. The nominative-object occurs in sentences

¹The one exception that was encountered is noted in Ch.8, p.330.

where there is either a close syntactic or a close semantic similarity (and most frequently where both conditions apply) to independent infinitive sentences; this usage arises most probably out of a contamination between independent infinitive and dependent infinitive constructions. Likewise, the appearance of the nominative-object with the gerund, although recorded throughout the period under consideration, is a rare and irregular phenomenon, which would also seem to be the result of a process of contamination.

Rather more complicated are those examples of the nominative-object which occur with a finite verb. The vast majority of such examples occur in a list where at least one of the objects is in the accusative. Instances of this type can be shown to have nothing to do with the Nominative and Infinitive construction. The remaining examples are few in number, although they are found as early as the twelfth century and as late as the seventeenth century. It is possible that these instances represent a secondary development of the Nominative and Infinitive construction. There is, however, evidence which seems to indicate the absence of a close connection between the two uses of the nominative: there is no syntactic and semantic link between independent infinitive sentences and those sentences where the nominative-object is used with a finite verb; moreover, the nominative-object used with a finite verb, unlike that used with a dependent infinitive, does not become more frequent in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Nominative and Infinitive construction is also limited morphologically, in that only feminine-a type nouns, feminine-i type nouns and feminine substantivised adjectives are affected by it.

The evidence as to whether the use of the nominative-object develops in all these nominal forms simultaneously, or whether it develops originally only in the first mentioned and spreads later to the others is contradictory. The nominative-object does not occur with other nominal forms that distinguish nominative and accusative cases, namely masculine singular *-a* type nouns, the feminine singular anaphoric pronoun and the plural forms of the same pronoun, as well as all the nominal forms that develop the genitive-accusative. With masculine plural *-o* type, *-i* type and consonant type nouns the early fusion of the nominative and accusative cases means that there is almost no reliable evidence available on this question. It would seem that no one factor can account for these various morphological limitations; possible explanations were given in Chapter 3 (pp.141-143).

4. On the question of the geographical limitations of the Nominative and Infinitive construction the material available does not allow any firm conclusions to be drawn. While it is clear that the construction survives in at least some North Russian dialects, its existence at the present time in Central and South Russian dialects is much more doubtful. A very small number of examples has been recorded in these areas, but some of these (those which merely repeat the wording of the programme of questions) are open to suspicion. The remaining instances reveal a pattern of usage which differs so markedly both from that of modern North Russian dialects and from that of Old Russian written sources that it cannot be said with certainty that they are directly connected with the Nominative and Infinitive construction.

Isolated examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction were also found in the Old Ukrainian sources that were examined. They occur, however, to a large extent in set expressions; the nominative-object is also found more widely with dependent infinitive and even finite verbs than it is in contemporary sources from other parts of the East Slavonic area. It is unclear in these circumstances whether such instances indicate that the Nominative and Infinitive construction was once a living feature of the relevant East Slavonic dialects, or whether it is "imported" into the language of the Old Ukrainian sources under the influence of those East Slavonic dialects where the Nominative and Infinitive construction was originally found.

The Nominative and Infinitive construction is found regularly in South Russian sources (mainly of a Prikaznyy character) dating from the seventeenth century. Indeed, it seems that the construction is more generally used in these sources than it is in Moscow sources dating from the same period. It seems improbable that a construction could disappear from the standard written language early in the eighteenth century, if at the end of the seventeenth century it was apparently flourishing in Southern, Central and Northern dialects; it is more likely that the construction is used more regularly in the South Russian sources because for the scribes concerned it is an artificial rule of official language.¹ The evidence of the Old Ukrainian and the modern dialect sources does, however, show that it is at least possible that the Nominative and Infinitive construction

¹It is interesting that in the official language of Moscow the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction was not an obligatory rule, but merely an optional feature (see p.192).

was at one time found throughout the East Slavonic area, although the nature of the material is such that this is not the only conclusion that can be drawn.

5. The evidence of Domostroi and Stoglav indicates that in the language of Moscow the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction was acceptable not only in the Prikaznyy yazyk, but also in the levels of language that can be considered Church Slavonic. Its relative infrequency in the latter levels would seem to be due to the relative infrequency therein of independent infinitive sentences in general.

6. It remains to consider the question of the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian. Unfortunately the surviving material, which in the oldest available texts is both sparse and contradictory, does not permit any definite reconstruction to be made; only certain tentative conclusions may be drawn.

Most theories of the origin of the construction have postulated that the use of the nominative-object with independent infinitive verbs was a syntactic rule deriving from properties of the Common Slavonic or Old Russian infinitive. In such theories it is assumed that the nominative case was originally used regularly with independent infinitive verbs, with the accusative gradually replacing the nominative under the influence of the remaining types of sentence, where the accusative was the case used for the direct object of the verb. This assumption is not, however, supported by the material, which shows the accusative to be used widely for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb even in the earliest texts, and, indeed,

to be more widespread in certain sources of the earliest period than in later texts. A further argument against these theories is the absence from the earliest texts of sentences containing an independent infinitive, a noun in the nominative and a past tense auxiliary agreeing with the noun, while there occurs at least one example of a sentence which contains an independent infinitive, a noun in the accusative and a past tense auxiliary in the neuter singular form. It may also be noted that certain of these theories, including the most widely accepted, that of Potebnya, cannot satisfactorily explain the use, even in the oldest texts, of independent infinitives with indirect objects in oblique cases.

In these circumstances it seems more probable that the accusative was originally used for the direct object of an independent infinitive verb, just as it was for the direct object of any other verb. Then, some time between the breaking up of Common Slavonic and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the nominative started to appear alongside the accusative in this one type of sentence, without, however, the latter case ever being completely superseded. The reason for this development remains obscure: It has been suggested that the Nominative and Infinitive construction could have developed out of sentences where the nominative is used with надо(ѣѣ) via an intermediate stage where надо(ѣѣ) is used with a dependent infinitive taking a direct object. There is, however, no evidence to support this theory, since sentences representing the intermediate stage, though common in modern Russian dialects, are exceedingly rare in Old Russian sources. Another possible explanation is that of contamination between independent infinitive sentences and the Nominative and Dative construction, which

has certain structural affinities with sentences of the former type and is often used in parallel contexts. Evidence seems to show that some contamination did indeed take place, although such contamination does not seem in itself to provide a sufficient explanation to account for a construction as widespread as the Nominative and Infinitive.

There remains the possibility that the construction may have first appeared in Russian under the influence of other languages, with which Russian may at one time have come into contact, most probably a Finnic language. Although, for reasons stated elsewhere (Ch.1, pp. 55, 56), it has not been possible to examine this aspect of the construction, there are two observations that can be made here.

Those scholars who have accepted the influence of other languages either on the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian (A. Timberlake, B. Larin) or on its retention in certain Russian dialects (V. Kiparsky) have assumed that the nominative-object is in Russian found regularly in certain types of sentences where its appearance has been shown to be sporadic and almost certainly of a secondary nature. Thus, Timberlake claims that the use of the nominative-object was the norm in certain types of dependent infinitive and gerund sentences; Larin notes that the use of the nominative-object with gerunds and imperative verbs is one of the common factors between constructions in Russian and Finnish; Kiparsky, while more cautious, does not exclude the possibility of the nominative-object having once been used regularly with imperative verbs in Russian, as it apparently is in Finnish.¹ It would therefore seem that the similarities between

¹A. Timberlake (1974/1), pp.15-18, 26-32; B. Larin (1963), p.95; V. Kiparsky (1960), pp.339, 340.

the nominative-object constructions in Russian and in Finnish are not as great as has sometimes been supposed, and that, in particular, the construction is used more widely in the latter language than it has been in the recorded history of Russian.¹

The second point is that, as has generally been observed, any influence of Finnic languages on the use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian can only have been felt in certain, mainly northern, areas, where contact between the languages can have taken place. In spite of these two points, it is none the less possible that the existence of a nominative-object in those Finnic languages with which Russian came into contact may have had some part either in the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian or in its retention in certain North Russian dialects.

The surviving Old Russian material fails to provide any single satisfactory explanation to account for the origin of the Nominative and Infinitive construction in Russian. It may well be that there exists no single explanation, and that the construction arose as the result of a combination of several factors. Some of these can perhaps be isolated: such factors may include contamination between independent infinitive and Nominative and Dative constructions and the existence of a nominative-object construction in Finnic languages. There may well have been other factors: the syntactic qualities of the independent infinitive, which mean that it can never be used with a nominative-subject, and perhaps also a certain "neutral" quality attached to the nominative case (which is perhaps is what manifests itself in the use of the "list" nominative described in Chapter 6, Section 3) may have

¹See also F. P. Filin (1972), pp.488-490.

provided favourable circumstances for the factors mentioned earlier to operate in. Direct evidence on this question is not, however, provided by the available texts.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE

	Sinodal'no-Troitskaya Gruppya							Pushkinsk. Gruppya		Karamzinskaya Gruppya			
	Sinodal'nyy Vid	Troitskiy	Novgorodsko-Sofiyskiy	Rogozhskiy	Myasnikovskiy	Rozenkampfovskiy	Ferapontovskiy	Pushkinskiy	Arkeografi-cheskii	Troitskiy	Obolensko-Karamzinskiy	Muzeyskiy	
1	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1)
2	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
3	N	N	N	N	c	c	c/N ²	N+ ³	N	N	N	N	
4	N,N	A,N	A,N	A,N	A,N	A,N	A,N	N,N	N,N	N,N	N,N	N,N	4)
5	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N+	N	N	N	N	
6	A	A	A	A	A	c/N	N/A	A	A	A	A	c	
7	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
8	A	A	A	A	G	N	N/A	N	N	N	G	G	
9	A	A	A	A	N	A	A	N	G	G	G	G	
10	A	A	N	N	A	A/N	A	N	A/c	A	A	A	
11	A	A	A	A	A/N	A/N	N/A	A	N	N	N	N	
12	A	A/G	A	A	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	
13	A	N	A	c	A	N	N	N+	N	N	N	N/A	
14	c	c	c	c	c	N	N	c	c	c	c	c	
15	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	N	G	G	G	
16	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	A	A	A	
17	A	A	A	A	A	A	c/A	N	c	A	A	A/N	
18	c	c/A	A	A	A	A	A	c	c	N	N	N	
19	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	
20	A	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	A	N	A	
21	A	A	A	A	c	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
22	c	A	A	A	A	A	A	A,N+	A	A	A	A	5)
23	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	A	A	A	
24	c	A	A	A	A	N	N	A	A	A	A	A	
Tot. Nom.	6	7	5	7	6	10-12	12-10	9?+	13	13	13	12	6)
Tot. Acc.	13	14	15	12	11	10-8	9-11	7	5	7	6	6	

Notes to Table

- 1) N = Nominative; A = Accusative; G = Genitive; c = a construction irrelevant for present purposes.
- 2) A square containing two symbols divided by an oblique stroke indicates that the individual copies of the vid vary in their treatment of the example concerned. The symbol on the left of the square indicates the form found in the majority of manuscripts of the vid.
- 3) N+ = an abbreviated form expanded by the editors to form a nominative. This device is only used for the Pushkinskiy vid, represented by one surviving manuscript. In the remaining instances an expanded form in the main text of any particular vid is assumed to be based on other manuscripts of the same vid.
- 4) There are two direct objects of the infinitive in No.4. In the copies belonging to six vidy the first of these is in the accusative, the second in the nominative; both objects are counted separately in the totals.
- 5) Although in the remaining versions the object here consists of a substantivised adjective, in the copies of the Pushkinskaya Gruppa the adjective qualifies an-a type noun. In the Pushkinskiy Spisok the form "гри^В" is expanded by the editors to "гриВ(на)"; in the copies of the Arkheograficheskiy vid both noun and adjective are in the accusative.
- 6) These totals do not include Nos.23 and 24, which are examples of the nominative used for the object of a gerund. (See Ch.6, p.243 foll.)

APPENDIX 1 (cont.)

Key to the examples mentioned in the accompanying table:

1. вирьникоу взати 7 вѣдѣрь солодоу на недѣлю оже
ωвънъ любо полоть или 2 ногатѣ а въ средѣу коуна оже сырѣ
 а въ патничью тако же (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)¹

2. то которыи дѣчкыи дѣти и ихъ дѣлѣть то томоу взати
гривна коунъ (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)

3. нъ сынове ѿего оуставиша по ωтци на коуны любо и бити
 розвѣзавше или взати гривна коунъ за соромъ (Sinodal'nyy
I Spisok)

4. закладаюче городьнѣ кѣна взати а кончавше ногата
 (Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)

5. аже кто переиметь чужь холопъ и дастъ вѣсть господину
 ѿего то имати ѿему переѿемъ гривна коунъ (Sinodal'nyy I
Spisok)

6. а то самомѣ головникоу а въ 40 гривень емоу заплатити
 из дрѣжины своѣ часть (Kiyevo-Sofiyskiy II Spisok)

7. а кто и клепаль а томѣ дати дрѣгаѣ гривна (Rozenkamp-
fovskiy Spisok)

8. то видока емоу не искати но поплатити емѣ продажа за
 бещестіе (Rozenkampfovskiy Spisok)

9. а кдѣ снидеть[ъ] на конечнѣ[ѣ] то тому всѣ платить
продажа (Myasnikovskiy Spisok)²

10. а семоу платити что ѿ него бѣдетъ погыбло а князю
продажа (Spisok Tsarskogo II)²

11. то про то не работать ихъ но дати емѣ исправа (Solovet-
skiy II Spisok)

12. то по врѣви искати в себѣ тата или платити продажа
(Rozenkampfovskiy Spisok)

13. не обвинить ли его то платити емоу гривна за моюку
(Rozenkampfovskiy Spisok)

14. помостив'ше мостъ ѿ пати локоть в'зати ногата (Rozen-
kampfovskiy Spisok)

15. и проторю томоу же платити а князю продажа 12 гривнѣ
въ челѣдинѣ или оукрадено или оуведъше (Arkheograficheskij
II Spisok)³

16. аще лодию оукрадоутъ то 60 коунъ продажи а лодиѣ
лицемъ воротити (Arkheograficheskij II Spisok)

17. то творити ей всака вола (Pushkinskiy Spisok)

18. искав же ли послоуха и не налѣзеть а истьца начнетъ
головою клепати томоу дати правда желѣзо (Troitskiy IV Spisok)

19. аже боудетъ слѣдъ или к селоу или к товароу а не
ѡтсочать ѡт соба слѣдъ ни идоутъ на слѣдъ или ѡто-
бьютъ то тѣмъ платити и татба и продажа (Troitskiy IV
Spisok)

20. а кто пакощами конь зарѣжетъ или скотинѣ то продажи
12 гривень а за пагоубоу господину гривна оуроку
платити (Spisok Obolenskogo II)

21. а головника не ищють то вирьвноу платити (Sinodal'nyy
I Spisok)

22. по~~н~~ати же ~~н~~ему отрѣкъ ѿ него и шедше оува~~з~~ати и
дати ~~н~~ему в~~а~~зебную 10 кунъ (Troitskiy I Spisok)

23. закладающе городъ к на вз ти а кончавше ногата
(Sinodal'nyy I Spisok)

24. а переди пагѣба исплатив'ше а въ процѣ князю поточити и
(Rozenkampfovskiy Spisok)

The following passages may also be noted here:

25. аще боудеть баба не была в' золотѣ а по матере емоу
не в'з~~а~~ти золота в'з~~а~~ти емоу гривна серебра

This article occurs only in the Arkheograficheskiy vid;

26. ѿже не боудеть ли истца тогда дати емоу исправа
желѣзо из неволи да полоугривнѣ злата

This passage occurs in this form in the Obolensko-Karamzinskiy and
Muzeyskiy vidy only; all other copies of the text omit "исправа".

27. оже выбьють зѣбъ а кровь оувидать оу него въ ртѣ
а люди влѣзѣть то 12 гривень продажи а за зѣбъ вз~~а~~ти
емоу гривна

This passage is found in the form reproduced in the Obolensko-Karamzin-
skiy vid only; all other copies of the text omit the infinitive "вз~~а~~ти".

Notes to examples

1. Except for Nos. 21, 22 examples are quoted from copies which contain the Nominative-object, where possible from Sinodal'nyy I Spisok, the oldest extant copy. Elsewhere in the interests of uniformity preference is given to the Sinodal'no-Troitskaya gruppa, and in particular to Rozenkampfovskiy I Spisok, as being the oldest representative of the 2 vidy that make widest use of the Nominative and Infinitive construction.
2. The form платить, which occurs in the Myasnikovskiy vid (Example No. 9) and in the Pushkinskiy Spisok (Example No. 10), is presumably to be regarded as a very early instance of the short infinitive.
3. Since every other vid has a clear genitive form in this passage, it would seem possible that the form found here is to be interpreted as a genitive singular with the Church Slavonic ending. In the Arkheograficheskiy II Spisok itself the Church Slavonic genitive singular ending occurs on only one occasion:

ТО ТОИ ЗАДНИЦА **Ѧ** НЕ ИМАТИ

Elsewhere, however, the genitive singular of -ja type nouns ends in **и** (less frequently in **ѣ**); the form продажи occurs regularly, an instance being found in Example No. 16.

APPENDIX 2

Below are reproduced the examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction occurring in Tr. 1229:

1. аже боудѣте хольпѣ оубитѣ .ā. гривна сѣрѣбра заплатити
оу Смольнѣскѣ (A;BC)

1a. оже бѣуть волного члѣка платити за голову .ī. гривень
сѣрѣбра а за гривноу сѣрѣбра по .д. гривны коунами или
пенѣзи а за холопа гривна сѣрѣбра (D;EF)

2. аще оударитѣ по лицу или за волосы иметѣ или батогомъ
шибетѣ платити безѣ четвѣрти грѣвна сѣрѣбра (D;EF)

3. такова правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ
березѣ (A;BC)

4. таа правд^а дати русину оу Ризе и на готьскомъ березе
платити (C)

5. тая правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на готескомъ березе
(A;BC)

6. аже боудѣте пѣрвѣе на нѣи сѣрѣмъ былѣ взати нѣи гривна
сѣрѣбра за насиленѣ (A;BC)

7. аже насилоуѣть робѣ а боудоутѣ на на(sic) него по-
слоуси дати нѣмоу гривна сѣрѣбра (A;BC)

8. такова правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ
березѣ (A;B)

9. аже дасть на~~н~~емъ дѣтскомуу а не исправить за .й.
дѣнии товара оу роусина то тѣ дати ~~н~~емоу на събѣ пороука
(A;BC)

10. тая правда оузати роусиноу оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ
березе (A;BC)

11. тая правда оузати Роуси оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ березѣ
(A;BC)

12. тая правда Роуси оузати оу Ризѣ и на гочкомъ березѣ
(A;BC)

13,14. аже боудеть роусиноу товаръ имати на немчичи ли въ
Ризѣ ли на готскомъ березе ли въ которомъ городѣ
въ немецкомъ нѣ ити истѣцю к ыстѣцю и взати емоу та
правда которая то в томъ городѣ а руближа не дѣяти а
немчичю та же правда взати в Роуси (D;EF)

15. латинескомуу дати ѿ двою капию въс^ку вѣсцю коуна
смоленская (A;BC)

15a. а немчичю платити вѣсцю ѿ двою капью коуна смоленская
(D;EF)

16. коупить латинескыи гривноу золѣта дасть вѣсити дати
~~н~~емоу вѣсцѣ (sic) ногата смоленская (A;BCF)

16a. аже немчичъ крѣнеть грѣвноу золота платити емоу ногата
вѣсцю (D;E)

17. или которыи немчичъ коупить съсудъ серебряныи дати
~~н~~емоу ѿ грѣвны кѣна вѣсцю (E;F)

18. аже латинескыи дасть серебро пожигати дати ~~н~~емоу **Ѣ**
 гривны серебра коуна смольнеская (A;BCDEF)

19. тая правда латинескомуу въз~~а~~ти оу руской земли оу
 вѣльсти кн~~а~~з~~а~~ смольнеского и оу полотьского кн~~а~~з~~а~~
 вѣльсти и оу витьбеского кн~~а~~з~~а~~ вѣльсти (A;BC)

NOTE

The first letter in brackets indicates the copy from which the quotation is taken; the letters after the semi-colon indicate the copies in which the passage is, for the purposes of this study, essentially the same.

APPENDIX 3

Use of nominative- and accusative-objects in the 15th, 16th and 17th century texts surveyed in Chapters 4, 5, 6.

TEXTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Nom. + Indep. Infin.	Acc. + Indep. Infin.	Nom. (-i type) + Indep. Infin. 2)	Acc. (-i type) + Indep. Infin. 2)	Nom. (fem. personal noun) + Indep. Infin. 2)	Acc. (fem. personal noun) + Indep. Infin. 2)	Nom.- object follows Infin. 2)	Nom. object precedes Infin. 2)	Nom. + Infin. + чтобы	Acc. + Infin. + чтобы	Nom. + Dep. Infin.	Nom. + finite verb 3)	Unclear examples (Nom. + Infin.)	Unclear examples (Acc. + Infin.)
DDG	42 ⁴	14 ⁴	3	2	2	7	14	28	0	0	2	2	2	2
Sud. 1497	6	1	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	1	1
Ulozh. 1649	83	51	9	6 ⁵	2	9	53	30	2	1	8	0	0	2
Mor.	83	62	22	12	0	6	38	45	8	2	44	4	4	6
Bezobr.	6	11	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	8	2	1	0	5
MDBP	10	5	0	1	0	0	9	1	2	5	1	1(?)	0	4
Stoglav	21	16	5	7	2	1	12	9	1	0	7	5	10	9
Domostroi	74	17	1	2	4	2	15 ⁶	56 ⁶	0	0	6	2	23	3

NOTES

1. Because of the large number of examples involved it is impossible to quote them individually in this appendix. The most significant are quoted and discussed at the relevant points in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.
2. The totals in columns 3, 5, 7 and 8 are included in the corresponding totals in column 1; the totals in columns 4 and 6 are included in the corresponding totals in column 2.
3. The totals in this column do not include examples of the type discussed in Chapter 6, Section 3. All examples of the nominative-object used with a finite verb are to a greater or lesser extent unclear; they are listed in full and discussed in the relevant sections of Chapters 4 and 5.
4. Examples occurring in identical form in two copies of one and the same treaty are counted only once.
5. This figure includes one example where the noun concerned is дочь, but excludes an example where the object is матерь, since the latter is not an -i type accusative singular form.
6. Excluded from these totals are three instances where part of the object precedes the infinitive and part follows.

APPENDIX 4

Chronological division of the material from OKB (see p.292)

YEAR ¹	Examples with nominative and independent infin.	Examples with accusative and independent infin.
7159		1
7160	1	
7162	1	
7165	1	
7168	2	
7171	4 ²	
7173	1	
7178	1	
7179	5 ²	3
7180	1	
7181	6 ²	
7182	2 ²	
7184	1	
7185	6	
7186	3 ³	
7188		1
7189	1	
7191	1	
7192	5	1
7193	1	
7195	1	
7196	1	
7197	1	
7198		1
7200		1
7205		1
7207		2
1700	1	2

¹The year is indicated in the form used in the otkaz.

²In each case the total includes one example, the exact date for which could not be ascertained; an approximation is possible, since for the most part the otkazy are bound chronologically.

³This includes one example of the nominative used with a dependent infinitive.

APPENDIX 5

Examples of the Nominative and Infinitive construction found in the documents relating to the Ostrogozhsk Cossacks (see pp.296-301)

1. ѿ о томъ вели Государь своѿ Великого Государя милостивоѿ указъ дать в Острогожскоѿ ѿ Острогожского полку в города и к воеводамъ ѿ к таможеннымъ Головамъ чтобъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ было чѣмъ Твоя Великого Государя служба полнить (CLII, 1700)

2. ѿ кормитца намъ холопомъ Твоимъ ѿ полнить Твоя Великого Государя полковая казачая служба в тогость (CLXIII, after 1653)

3. милосердыѿ Великиѿ Государь пожалуѿ насъ холопеѿ своихъ за наши холопеѿ Твоихъ прежние на Кази-Керменскую службишки по тѣхъ нашихъ угодьяхъ по Крымскоѿ стороне рѣки Тихие Сосни по тѣмъ вышеписаннымъ любянкамъ по Ржавцу ѿ по рѣчке Кринице ѿ по Марку ѿ по рекѣ Черноѿ Калитвету дикою порозжую землю отвести ѿ отдать намъ холопомъ Твоимъ подъ пашню в придачу к прежней нашеѿ пашенноѿ земли чтобъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ впредь была с чево Твоя Великого Государя полковая казачая служба служить ѿ было бѣ чѣмъ полнить (CLXIII)

4. вели Государь о томъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ дать Свою Великого Государя милостивую грамоту с прочетомъ чтоб

впредь они Иванъ Евсѣевъ сынъ Бехтѣевъ і Прокоѣі Глинкинъ і иние присылные начальные люди намъ холопомъ Твоимъ в тѣ наши холопеі Твоихъ лѣса і в угода въезжать дрова сѣчь і владѣть не возбраняли і в томъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ взятками своими разорения никакова не чинили чтобъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ отъ такихъ присилныхъ людеі напрасныхъ ихъ и частыхъ взятковъ вѣчно в конецъ не разоритца і была б с чего Твоя Великого Государя полковая казачая служба служить і чѣмъ было полнить і безъ дровъ голодною і студеною смертию не помереть (CLXIV, after 1700)

5. пожалуіте меня сироту своего велите Государи в Остро-гожскомъ столнику і полковнику Ивану Семеновичю челобитьною в Приказе Полковыхъ дѣлъ принять і по неі Вашъ Великихъ Государеі указъ учинить в полковую казачью службу и в Острогожские кликовые списки написать і дворовое помѣстье и пахатную землю и сенные покосы мнѣ сиротѣ Вашеі отвести чтоб мнѣ сироте Вашему была с чево Ваша Великихъ Государеі полковая служба служить (CLXVII, 1691)

6. велено мнѣ холопу Твоему в томъ полку быть полковникомъ і полковые знамена і клеіноты і всякие припасы принять і ихъ Острогожскихъ і иныхъ городовъ черкасъ всего Острогожского полку старшину і казаковъ судомъ и расправою во всякихъ дѣлахъ вѣдать і меж ими расправа чинить по Твоему Великого Государя указу и по нашему черкаскому обыкновению противъ иныхъ черкасскихъ полковъ (CLXIX, after 1700)

7. вели Государь противъ сего моего холопа Твоего челобитя

дать Свою Великаго Государя милостивою грамоту с прочетомъ во всѣ Острогожскаго полку города к воеводамъ и приказнымъ людямъ и бурмистрамъ и Таможенныхъ и Кружечныхъ дворовъ Головамъ чтобъ полку моего казаковъ напрасно в тюрьмахъ не теснили и судомъ и расправою ихъ не вѣдали так же и Земскихъ Дѣлъ бурмистры ꙗже Таможные и Кружечныхъ дворовъ головы ꙗже целовалники ихъ полку моего казаковъ в Земскихъ Избахъ ꙗже в Таможняхъ ꙗже на Кружечныхъ дворахъ не теснили ꙗже не мучили ꙗже явочныхъ денегъ ꙗже взятковъ за продажу с нихъ черкасъ напрасно не имали ꙗже не разоряли чтобъ впредь Твоя Великаго Государя полковая казачая служба ꙗже полку моего казакомъ чѣмъ было полнить (CLXIX)

8. вели Государь противъ прежнихъ Отца Твоего Государева блаженные памяти Великаго Государя и Твоего Великаго Государя указовъ ꙗже жалованныхъ грамотъ каковы даны намъ холопомъ Твоимъ в прошлыхъ 187-мъ ꙗже 188-мъ годѣхъ винокурень ꙗже шинки держать виномъ ꙗже пивомъ ꙗже медомъ шинковать безоброчно ꙗже безявочно ꙗже безпошлинно ꙗже о томъ дать намъ холопомъ Твоимъ Свою Великаго Государя с прочетомъ милостивую Грамоту чтобъ намъ холопомъ Твоимъ от ево Ивановыхъ напрасныхъ взятковъ в конецъ не разоритца и Твоеꙗ Великаго Государя полковоꙗ казачеꙗ службы не отбыть и было б чѣмъ впредь Твоя Великаго Государя служба намъ холопомъ Твоимъ полнить (CLXXIII, 1701)

9. не вели Государь тоꙗ десятоꙗ денги с насъ холопеꙗ Твоихъ ему бурмыстру имать ꙗже в Земскоꙗ Избѣ насъ холопеꙗ

Твоихъ не теснить ꙗко не мучить ꙗко на цепь сажать ꙗко тѣмъ
 насъ холопей Твоихъ не разорять ꙗко о томъ дать намъ холопомъ
 Твоимъ Свою Великого Государя милостивою грамоту чтобъ
 намъ холопомъ Твоимъ отъ тѣхъ ихъ налогъ в конецъ не
 разоритца ꙗко Твоеѣ Великого Государя службы не отбыть и
было б чѣмъ впредь Твоя Великого Государя полковая козачья
 служба полнить (CLXXV, 1701)

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