

Alan Timberlake

The Nominative Object in Slavic, Baltic and West Finnic

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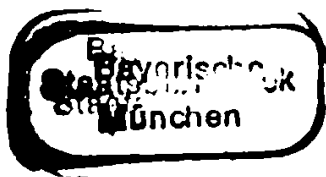
ALAN TIMBERLAKE

THE NOMINATIVE OBJECT
IN SLAVIC, BALTIC, AND WEST FINNIC



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER · MÜNCHEN
1974

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To the memory of my father John Timberlake
and the memory of my friend Pat Fogarty

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1. Introduction

The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

William Dwight Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar²
(Leipzig 1889), §267.

This work is the investigation of a single problem in syntax and grammatical categories.* Because of the nature of the particular problem, the work is necessarily synchronic and diachronic in approach.

The problem is exemplified by the following sentence type, a characteristic feature of North Russian dialects:

(1) zemlja paxat'
nom. inf.

'it is necessary to plow the land (nom.)'

(2) voda pit'
nom. inf.

'it is necessary to drink water (nom.)'

This sentence type is striking because the semantic object of the infinitive is in the nominative case instead of the accusative. This construction, traditionally referred to as the nominative with infinitive, is one of the basic problems of Russian historical and dialect syntax. Constructions which are at least superficially similar are found in dialects of Lithuanian and Latvian, and in Standard Finnish and other West Finnic languages.

This construction raises two questions: synchronically, what is the structural status of the construction in North Russian, and diachronically, what is the historical relationship of the constructions in North Russian, Lithuanian and Latvian dialects, and West Finnic.

The obvious interpretation of the nominative in (1) and (2) is that it must represent, at least historically, the grammatical subject of a sentence in which the infinitive is the predicate. Under this interpretation, which is universally adopted in the literature, the sentence type would be analogous to constructions like the English:¹

(3) John is easy to please

or (without adjective) to the idiomatic English:

(4) that's for me to know, and for you to find out

as well as to the German:

(5) er ist nicht zu betrügen

Under this interpretation, the nominative is motivated as the grammatical subject, and the problem is trivial.

In this study, I will examine eight structural properties of the nominative with infinitive construction. These properties show that the nominative in this construction is not the grammatical subject; it has none of the properties of a grammatical subject except case. It is rather a nominative object. I will argue that the nominative object appears only in environments which systematically lack a grammatical subject; in terms of formal rules, the nominative object

represents the failure to specify the object as accusative in these environments. The use of the nominative object is motivated in the sense that, in these environments which systematically lack a grammatical subject, there is no conflict between the use of the nominative for object and the more basic use of the nominative for grammatical subject. The use of the nominative for object in North Russian is then typologically distinct from the English and German constructions in (3-5).

Diachronically, this interpretation of the nominative with infinitive suggests that the construction originated as a borrowing from West Finnic, in which the nominative object is without doubt native; the nominative object was also borrowed into dialects of Lithuanian and Latvian which were contiguous with West Finnic.

Theoretically, this study focuses on the function as opposed to the form of the nominative object rule -- that is, on the relationship between grammatical categories (case, grammatical subject, and animacy), rather than on formal rule schemata.

The study is organized in the following way. The eight structural properties of the nominative with infinitive in Old Russian are discussed in §2 and §3; the hypothesis of the nominative object is presented in §4. In §5 the later history of the nominative object in contemporary North Russian dialects is examined. Subsequently, Lithuanian and Latvian

are discussed in §6, and Finnish in §7. The typological perspective is explored in §8, and some general conclusions are suggested in §9.

2. The syntactic environment

2.1 The nominative with infinitive is attested in contemporary North Russian (hereafter NR) dialects in the extreme north, at or above the 60th parallel, and also in some areas to the south, both in a large triangular region (contiguous with the northern region) from Pskov to Smolensk to Vologda, and in a pocket around Rjazan'.² The construction is now disappearing rapidly under the influence of the standard language, which does not have the construction.³

Historically, the nominative with infinitive is attested primarily in legal and official documents⁴ composed in the NR area⁵ from the twelfth century into the eighteenth century,⁶ when it disappeared from the literary language.⁷ It should be emphasized that these dates refer only to the use of the construction in the literary language, and do not necessarily reflect the structural status of the construction in the spoken language of the dialects to which it was native. After the construction disappeared from the literary language it is reflected in folk texts and recorded by dialectologists.

In the next three sections (§§2-4) I will examine only the early period of attestation of the nominative with infinitive; for the sake of simplicity, I will call this period, approximately until the end of the sixteenth century, the Old Russian (OR) period. I will limit my attention to OR texts composed in the North Russian area.

There are two reasons for this chronological limitation. First, with this limitation the construction can be studied in the context of a relatively complete linguistic system, as reflected in texts; citations from contemporary dialects are unfortunately always given in secondary sources as isolated sentences, with no context and minimal information about the other syntactic features of the dialect.

Second, and more importantly, it seems that the construction changed radically at the end of the sixteenth century, so that the structural properties of the construction in modern dialects are not all the same as those of the construction in Old Russian. The nature of this change has been poorly understood.⁸ Accordingly, I will devote a separate section (§5) to documenting the existence of this change and to specifying what kind of change it is.

2.2 The first detailed study of the nominative as object for Russian is by Bicilli (1933), although the problem was recognized earlier by numerous other scholars.⁹ In his article Bicilli formulates a synchronic rule for the occurrence of the nominative in Old Russian; his rule may be taken as the starting point for our investigation.

Bicilli recognizes two cardinal properties of the nominative with infinitive. First, the rule seems to be limited in its application to feminine a-stem nouns in the singular and to feminine i-stem nouns in the singular with a modifier.

This apparent limitation to feminine nouns may be significant; or it may be at least in part accidental, since nominative and accusative are not distinguished morphologically for all declension types and genders. In §3.1 I will discuss the true nature and the significance of this limitation, but until then citations will be restricted to feminine singular nouns, for which the rule can be seen to operate unambiguously. This limitation is one of the two cardinal properties of the nominative as object.

Second, the nominative occurs basically as the object of an infinitive which is not governed by a finite personal verb; this will be illustrated below. On the other hand, a finite personal verb or an infinitive governed by a finite personal verb always takes an accusative direct object. This syntactic environment is the other cardinal property of the nominative as object.

Let us now examine the syntactic environment for the nominative object in detail, using Bicilli's rule. Several subtypes of environments may be distinguished, according to the way in which the infinitive is not governed by a finite personal verb. Most important is (i) the independent infinitive, where the infinitive is not governed by any other part of speech.

- (6) aže buděte xolъpъ ubitъ, ѿ grivna serъbra
nom.

zaplatiti
inf.

'if a slave is killed, it is to pay one
grivna (nom.) in silver'
(Sm. gr., A, 1229)

Thus, in (6)¹⁰ the infinitive zaplatiti is used independently -- that is, it is not governed by any other part of speech. Its object grivna, feminine a-stem in the singular, is unambiguously nominative.

- (7) ino datъ na nego gramota sudnaja po tomu
inf. nom.

posluštvu

'for it is to issue a legal writ (nom.) for
him on the basis of that testimony'
(Akty arx. èks., no. 92, 1471)

Similarly, in (7) the object of the independent infinitive datъ is the nominative gramota.

On the other hand, the object of a finite personal verb is accusative, as the following contrast shows:

- (8) a tu gramotu knže otjalъ jesi a ta gramota knže
acc. 2 sg. nom.

dati ti nazadъ
inf.

'this writ (acc.), prince, you took away,
and this writ (nom.), prince, it is for
you to return'
(Šaxmatov 1896, no. 3, 1270)

Here the object of the 2nd sg. personal verb otjalъ jesi is accusative, while the object of the independent infinitive dati is nominative.

- (9) aže Nemčičъ krynety gr̃vnu zolota, platiti emu
 nom. 3 sg. acc. inf.

nogata věscju
 nom.

'if a German buys a grivna (acc.) of gold,
 it is for him to pay the weigher a nogata
 (nom.)'
 (Sm. gr., D, 1229)

Similarly, in (9) the finite verb krynety (3d sg.) has an accusative object gr̃vnu while the independent infinitive platiti has a nominative object nogata.

Further, when an infinitive is governed by a finite personal verb, its object is accusative.

- (10) velělъ by esi našemu i svoemu nedругu litovskomu
 2 sg.

nedružbu svoju činiti, čtoby kakъ namъ nedругu
 acc. inf.

svoemu litovskomu nedružba svoja gorazdo dovesti
 nom. inf.

'you should order to commit aggression
 (acc.) against our and your enemy the
 Lithuanians, so that it would be possible
 for us to carry out to completion our own
 aggression (nom.) against our enemy the
 Lithuanians'
 (PDSK II, p. 349, 1517)

Thus, in (10) the infinitive činiti, which is governed by the finite personal verb velělъ by esi, takes an accusative object nedružbu, while the independent infinitive dovesti in the second clause takes the nominative nedružba.

The independent infinitive construction imparts a modal sense to the event; it suggests the necessity, obligation, possibility, permission, ability, desirability, or

intention of the agent's performing the action.¹¹

- (11) i uprava davati vsjakimъ obidnymъ dělomъ na obe
nom. inf.

storony po krestnomu celovanьju

'and it is necessary to give justice (nom.)
in all matters of injury with a holy oath
on both sides'

(Nap'erskij 1868, no. 369, 1521)

So in (11), the action of rendering justice is construed as an obligation.

The independent infinitive is typically accompanied by a dative complement, representing simultaneously the logical subject of the action and the person for whom the action is necessary, possible, permissible or desirable.

- (12) i tobě emu isprava učiniti
dat. nom. inf.

'and it is for you to do justice (nom.) to
him'

(SGGrD, no. 33, 1388)

Thus, in (12) the action of administering justice is an obligation incumbent on the logical subject tobě, expressed in the dative.

- (13) a ta zemlja ocistiti matfěju i samuili
nom. inf. dat. dat.

'and it is for Matthew and Samuel to clear
this land (nom.)'

(Šaxmatov 1903, no. 17, XV cent.)

Similarly, in (13) the permission to perform the action extends to the logical subjects matfěju and samuili, expressed in the dative case. When no logical subject is explicitly mentioned, as in (1), (6), (7), and elsewhere, the logical

subject is understood as the generic or indefinite agent, or may be supplied from the context.

These two properties, semantically modal value and optional dative agent, are characteristic of all types of independent infinitive constructions, including both intransitives and transitives with accusative objects (when, for example, the object is masculine animate and could not be in the nominative).

- (14) Latine^Skomu ne jexati na vьjnu sь knjazemь
 dat. inf.

'it is not for the Latin to go to war with
 a prince'
 (Sm. gr., A, 1229)

Thus, in (14) the action expressed by the intransitive independent infinitive jexati is construed as not being an obligation for the dative agent Latine^Skomu. Compare further the transitive dependent infinitive iměti in the following:

- (15) Izjaslavu iměti o^tčmь Vjačeslava, a Vjačeslavu
 dat. inf. acc. dat.

iměti sⁿmь Izjaslava
 inf. acc.

'it was for Izjaslav to have Vjačeslav
 (acc.) as father, and for Vjačeslav to
 have Izjaslav (acc.) as son'
 (Ipat. let., l. 145, 1151)

Here the masculine animate objects are unambiguously in the accusative; the modal sense which is characteristic of the independent infinitive is directed towards the agents expressed in the dative. The independent infinitive construction in general -- regardless of transitivity or case

government -- expresses a modal sense of the action in terms of the agent. Since the modal quality is a property of all independent infinitives, and not just of those which have a nominative object, this modal quality cannot be used as an explanation for the nominative object.¹²

The following sentence illustrates a special kind of independent infinitive construction, in which the infinitive is introduced by an overt complementizer and is embedded as a sentential complement:

(16) i sama by znala kakъ muka sějati, kakъ kvašnja
pret. compl. nom. inf. compl. nom.

postaviti, i pritvoriti, i zaměsiti
inf. inf. inf.

'and she herself should know, how to sift
the flour (nom.), how to make the dough
(nom.), cover it over, and knead it'
(Domostroj Ja, p. 78, XVI cent.)

Here the infinitives sějati and postaviti are each embedded with the complementizer kakъ as sentential complements to the finite personal verb by znala; their objects muka and kvašnja are nominative.

It may seem contradictory to speak of an independent infinitive which is embedded, but it is not. By definition the independent infinitive is an infinitive which is not directly governed by another part of speech. As a mark of its independent status, an independent infinitive which is embedded as a sentential complement is usually introduced by a complementizer. On the other hand, a dependent infinitive

is directly governed by an overt higher predicate; it is never introduced by a complementizer.

Significantly, an embedded independent infinitive may have its logical subject expressed in the dative; this dative is then a constituent only of the embedded independent infinitive, but not of the higher predicate. Thus, in (17) the dative emu is the logical subject of the embedded independent infinitive paxatʹ:

- (17) poručilisʹ esmja po krestʹjanině po Efremě po
1 pl.

Ondronově syně v tomʹ čto emu zemlja paxatʹ
compl. dat. nom. inf.

'we have arranged it for the peasant Efrem,
son of Ondron, that it is for him (dat.)
to plow the land (nom.)'
(Akty Mosk. gos., 1591)

The dative agent may even be identical to the matrix subject without being deleted, as in:

- (18) Magmedʹ Aminʹ carʹ Kazanskij prisylalʹ k tobě
svoego čelověka o svatovstve, čtoby emu sobě
compl. dat.

dočерь tvoja vzjati
nom. inf.

'Magmed Amin, tsar of Kazan, sent his man
to you concerning marriage, so that it
might be possible for him [M.A.] to take
your daughter (nom.)'
(from Larin 1963: 98)

The embedded independent infinitive vzjati cannot be governed directly by the matrix verb; otherwise, the pronoun emu, which is coreferential to the matrix subject, would have been

deleted.

The fact that an independent infinitive need not occur in the matrix clause is also obvious from the following sentence, where it appears in a relative clause:

(19) da kotelъ vosmъ vedrъ, vъ čemъ pšenica varitъ
rel. nom. inf.

'and a cauldron with a capacity of eight buckets, in which it is possible to cook porridge (nom.)'

(Mat. ist. r. ikon., p. 6-7, 1643)

Returning to (16), we observe that the embedded independent infinitives sějati and postaviti are introduced by an overt complementizer, so that they are not governed directly by the matrix predicate. Further, the logical subject of the embedded infinitives is not the same as the subject of the matrix verb; it is rather the generic participant, which is not expressed as a constituent.

Thus the independent infinitive may be embedded; an exact parallel is found in Lithuanian (see (160)).

It may be noted parenthetically that the relative order of the infinitive and its nominative object in this construction is not grammatically significant. Although there is a stylistic preference for the order of object preceding infinitive -- Borkovskij (1949: 338-41) found 62 instances of object preceding the infinitive as against 41 of object following infinitive -- both orders are possible, as a comparison of the sentences (6, 8, 10, 11) with (7, 9) shows.

2.3 The second subtype of environment for the nominative is (ii) as object of an infinitive which is the subject of the matrix verb.

(20) *dostoitʹ li mužju žena pustiti*
 3 sg. nom. inf.

'is it fitting for a man to divorce his
 wife (nom.)'
 (Miljatino evangelie, 1215; from Sobolevskij
 1907: 197)

Thus, in (20) the infinitive pustiti with nominative object žena is the subject of the matrix verb dostoitʹ. Compare also:

(21) *ino dostoitʹ mužju žena svoja nakazyvati*
 3 sg. nom. inf.

'it is fitting for a man to punish his
 wife (nom.)'
 (Domostroj Ja, p. 99, XVI cent.)

In this subtype of environment the matrix verb has a modal semantic value.

(22) *ili gde lučitca imʹ ta solʹ prodatʹ*
 3 sg. nom. inf.

'or wherever it turns out best for them to
 sell that salt (nom.)'
 (Akty istor., no. 152, 1549)

In (22) the verb lučitca refers to the possibility of the action taking place in a certain way. The infinitive prodatʹ is the subject of this verb, and takes a nominative object (although solʹ, as an i-stem, does not distinguish nominative from accusative, its feminine demonstrative modifier ta does make the distinction).

2.4 The third subtype of environment is (iii) as object of an infinitive which is the subject of a nonverbal predicate.

(23) ino ta stroka volno vypisat' von' iz gramot
nom. mod. inf.

'then it is free for him to strike that
article (nom.) out of the laws'
(Pskov. sudn. gr., §108, 1397-1467)

Thus, in (23) the infinitive vypisat' is the subject of the nonverbal, modal predicative volno, and it takes its object stroka in the nominative.

This subtype of environment is especially common in modern NR dialects, with the modal predicative nado (and its variants) in particular;¹³ the overwhelming frequency of this subtype in modern dialects leaves no doubt that it was included in the original rule.

2.5 In Old Russian the nominative is attested (iv) as the object of an infinitive which is the subject of a past passive participle.

(24) u carja pereloženo na se lěto rat' svoja na
part. nom.

moskovskuju ukrajnu poslati
inf.

'by the tsar it was undertaken to send his
troops (nom.) to the Moscow region for the
summer'
(PDSK II, p. 368, 1517)

Here the infinitive poslati is the subject of the past passive participle pereloženo; because the infinitive is not a personal subject, the participle is in the neut. singular.

The object ratъ of the infinitive is nominative (although it is an i-stem noun, its pronominal modifier svoja shows the distinction of nominative and accusative).

(25) a veleno im služiti gorodavaja osadnaja služba
 part. inf. nom.

'and it was ordered to them to keep watch
 (nom.) on the ramparts'
 (Ulož., 1649; from Černyx 1962: §129)

Similarly, in (25) the infinitive služitъ is the subject of the past passive participle veleno, and its object služba is nominative.

2.6 Finally, the nominative even occurs (v) as the object of infinitives which are governed by other infinitives which are among the four subtypes listed above.

(26) i naša carskaja žalovalnaja gramota vĕleti imъ
 nom. inf.

dati
 inf.

'and our imperial writ (nom.) of request it
 is necessary to order them to serve'
 (Nap'erskij 1868, no. 399, 1601)

In (26) the infinitive dati is governed by the independent infinitive vĕleti, and has its object gramota in the nominative. Compare further:

(27) a promež sel i derevenъ votčinnikom i pomeščikom
 dat. dat.

velĕti gorodъba goroditi popolam
 inf. nom. inf.

'and between the settlements and villages
 it is to order the landholders and land-

lords to construct a wall (nom.) by halves'
(Ulož., ch. X, §230, 1649)

Here the independent infinitive velěti governs the infinitive goroditi, which has its object gorodьba in the nominative.

2.7 I would like now to attempt to characterize the syntactic environment in which the nominative is used for the object in Old Russian. In this characterization I will rely on several traditional notions. The grammatical subject of a sentence is the uniquely central participant of the event, the participant which stands at the center of the narrated event.¹⁴ Formally, the grammatical subject of a sentence produces agreement in the predicate, when the predicate is capable of showing agreement. The grammatical subject is usually, although not always, represented by an overt constituent; if it is represented by an overt constituent, the grammatical subject must be in the nominative. Other things being equal, the grammatical subject is a relatively active participant (an agent) and is the psychological focus of the event.¹⁵

I will define a personal verbal form as one which can have a grammatical subject. Thus, the finite second singular verb otjalь jesi in (8) is personal, because it can and does have a grammatical subject (although its grammatical subject is not actually expressed by an overt constituent in the nominative). On the other hand, a verbal form which systemati-

cally excludes the possibility of a grammatical subject may be termed impersonal.

Let us apply the distinction between personal and impersonal verb forms to the infinitive. As is well-known, the infinitive, as a nonfinite verbal form, cannot by itself constitute a complete predication; it requires a context to form a predication. As Kurylowicz states (1964: 158):

The infinitive presupposes the existence of two different predicative articulations, one put to the fore (subject: predicate), the other subordinate and compressed.

As a compressed and subordinate predication, the infinitive neutralizes distinctions of grammatical subject (person, number, and gender features) and of tense. It is not the case, however, that these categories are irrelevant; they are restricted by the context (from the encoder's point of view) or, equivalently, recoverable from the context (from the decoder's point of view). For example, the event described by an infinitive with the verb obešcat' 'promise' must be posterior to the event of promising.¹⁶ Thus, the infinitive does not represent simply the absence of the categories for which finite verbs are inflected; the infinitive represents rather the subordination of these categories to the syntactic context.¹⁷

With reference to the category of grammatical subject, it is true that the infinitive does not have a grammatical subject of its own. Nevertheless, the infinitive is neces-

sarily associated with some participant in the narrated event; this participant may be termed the logical subject of the infinitival predication, in the sense that it would be the grammatical subject if the infinitive were expressed as a finite verb. The logical subject of the infinitive always has some other role in the sentence, which is defined by its relation to the remainder of the predication. It may be the subject of the matrix sentence:

(28) ja xoču ujti
nom. 1 sg. inf.

'I want to go'

It may be a complement in the matrix sentence:

(29) on velel mne ujti
dat. inf.

'he ordered me to go'

In the independent infinitive sentences discussed above, and in the modern Russian sentence type (30), the dative represents not only the logical subject of the infinitival event, but also the participant to whom the modal quality of the event applies.

(30) mne nado ujti
dat. mod. inf.

'I have to go'

Even in sentences like (31) and (32), the existence of a logical subject to the infinitive is implied, although not expressed; it is the generic or indefinite agent, a potential dative complement.

(31) on velel ujti
inf.

'he gave the order to go'

(32) nado ujti
mod. inf.

'it is necessary to go'

The infinitive is discussed in similar terms in transformational grammar. In transformational terms, the infinitive necessarily loses its logical subject (or subject at that level of derivation) through equi-NP deletion under identity with a constituent of the higher sentence, or else through raising of its subject to constituency in the higher sentence (P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky 1971: 356-57). Either way, the subject of the infinitive is expressed by a constituent which has some other function in the predication.

The infinitive therefore implies the existence of an underlying or logical subject, which, if explicit, cannot be the grammatical subject of the infinitive as such, but must have a role determined by the matrix sentence. In its treatment of grammatical subject, then, the infinitive is not simply a subjectless verb form, but a form which subordinates information about the grammatical subject to the syntactic context. Because of this, the infinitive is not inherently personal or impersonal, but is personal or impersonal according to the context in which it is used.

Let us first consider the subtypes (ii-iv) above, in which the infinitive is the subject of the matrix sentence

(either of a verb, a nonverbal modal predicative, or a past passive participle). In these constructions there is no possibility that the sentence can have any other subject besides the infinitive. There can be no lexical noun or pronoun as grammatical subject; there is no free choice between first, second, and third persons. In these syntactic contexts, the infinitive is therefore impersonal.

The term *impersonal* is used traditionally in a slightly different sense, to mean lacking any grammatical subject whatsoever. This sense accurately describes sentences like:

(33) znobit menja
3 sg. acc.

'it freezes me'

(34) lodku uneslo vetrom
acc. neut.sg. instr.

'it carried away the boat by the wind'

This is the traditional sense of the term.

This sense is not appropriate here, for it is clear that the infinitive is the subject of the sentence in types (ii-iv). Therefore, to make the distinction between these two senses of the term clear, I will use the term strictly impersonal for the traditional sense of lacking any grammatical subject whatsoever, and the term systematically impersonal to mean lacking the possibility of a personal grammatical subject. The latter sense will be more important in this investigation.

Although these two terms may overlap in some instances,

their relationship is not one of inclusion. On the one hand, the construction with infinitival subject is systematically impersonal, but not strictly impersonal, since the infinitive itself is the subject. On the other hand, a sentence which is strictly impersonal may still retain the possibility of a personal grammatical subject; in this way (34) is merely a variant of:

(35) veter unes lodku
nom. masc.sg. acc.

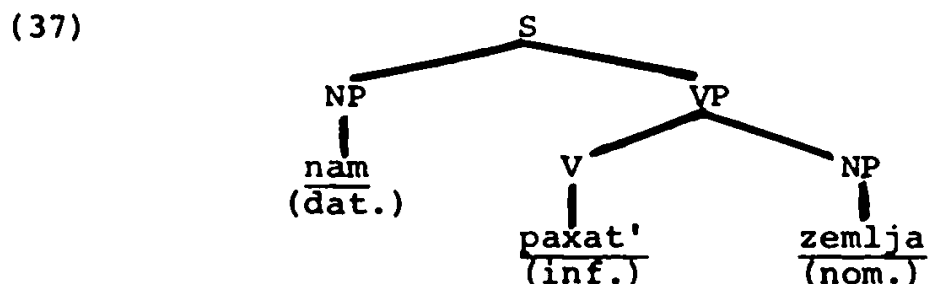
'the wind carried away the boat'

And although the verb znobit' in (33) is never actually used with a personal subject, this is merely a lexical property; it is not in any sense syntactically significant.

For the independent infinitive, subtype (i), there are two possible analyses. It may be thought of as the transformation of a simple sentence by which the verb is converted into an infinitive and the logical subject is expressed in the dative, if at all. This simplex analysis presupposes a structure of the type (37) for sentence (36):

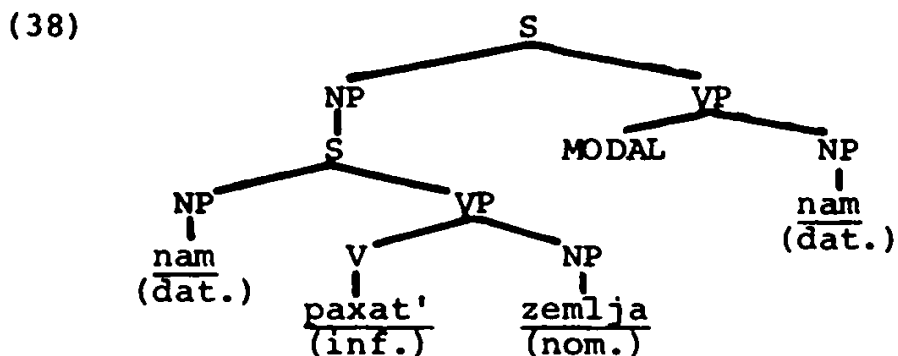
(36) nam zemlja paxat'
dat. nom. inf.

'it is necessary for us to plow the land'



The parentheses express the eventual surface structure categories of the constituents.

Alternatively, the independent infinitive may be thought of on the analogy of environment types (ii-iv), in which the infinitive is the sentential subject of the matrix sentence; in this case the matrix predicate would have to be a covert or dummy element. Under this analysis the deep structure is:



The independent infinitive construction is systematically impersonal under either analysis. Under the simplex analysis (37), the infinitive does not arise unless the logical subject is displaced to the dative case (or eliminated, if it is the generic agent); this follows from what has been said above about the infinitive, that the logical subject of an infinitive cannot be expressed directly as the grammatical subject of the infinitive. Therefore the independent infinitive lacks the possibility of a personal grammatical subject. Under the complex analysis the systematically impersonal character of the independent infinitive follows from what was said about subtypes (ii-iv).

The infinitive which is used in any of the above ways

(i-iv) is systematically impersonal and takes a nominative object. In contrast, the infinitive governed by a finite personal verb necessarily takes an accusative object. Since this is an infinitive, it cannot have its own grammatical subject; it counts as personal or impersonal depending on the context in which it is used. When the infinitive is governed by a finite personal verb, it counts as personal.

The fifth subtype of environment can be redefined as (v) an infinitive governed by a systematically impersonal infinitive. Just as an infinitive governed by a finite personal verb counts as personal, so an infinitive governed by a systematically impersonal infinitive is also systematically impersonal; by extension it lacks the possibility of having a personal grammatical subject. From this it is clear that the property of systematically impersonal is recursive: an infinitive embedded in a systematically impersonal environment will also be systematically impersonal.

The discussion of this section leads to the hypothesis that the nominative may be used to designate an object if and only if the syntactic context is systematically impersonal; that is, where there is no possibility of a personal grammatical subject. This is a preliminary statement of the rule of the nominative object.

2.8 The environment for the nominative object has been defined above in terms of the opposition personal vs.

systematically impersonal, and not in terms of the infinitive itself. This fact suggests that it might be possible for the nominative object to arise with another part of speech. In fact, I have found in Old Russian a number of sentences in which the nominative designates the object of a gerund;¹⁸ these sentences cannot be dismissed as mistakes or as other functions of the nominative.

- (39) ino soimja i rubaška pletiju věžlivenko biti, za
 ger. nom. inf.
 ruki derža
 ger.

'for, taking off his shirt (nom.), it is necessary to beat him carefully with a lash, holding onto his hands'
 (Domostroj Ja, p. 100, XVI cent.)

Thus, in (39) the (present) gerund soimja is subordinated to the independent infinitive biti, and the object rubaška of the gerund is nominative. The gerund derža also modifies the infinitive, but lacks a direct object here, so there is no question about its case government. The logical subject of the infinitive is not explicit, but may be supplied semantically as the generic agent; the logical subject of both gerunds is the same as the logical subject of the infinitive, the implicit generic participant.

The logical subject is an explicit dative in (40):

- (40) ino gosudarju pravda davši vzjaty svoe
 dat. nom. ger. inf.

'so it is for the lord (dat.) to take what is his, having taken an oath (nom.)'
 (Pskov. sudn. gr., §51, 1397-1467)

Here the basic sentence is again an independent infinitive vzjaty, to which gosudarju is the explicit logical subject in the dative. The (past) gerund davši, with the same logical subject, modifies the infinitive, and takes its object pravda in the nominative.

In syntactic properties the gerund is essentially the same as the infinitive (Kuryłowicz 1964: ch. 6). Like the infinitive, the gerund represents a compressed and subordinate event, and implies the existence of an explicit or at least implicit logical subject. If explicit, the logical subject of the gerund has a role determined by the matrix sentence. Typically this is as the grammatical subject of the matrix sentence, although it may be the dative complement of an independent infinitive, as in (40) above. But in any case, the logical subject of the gerund necessarily cannot be expressed as the grammatical subject of the gerund as such.

Since the gerund is a nonfinite verb form like the infinitive, it counts as personal or systematically impersonal according to the syntactic context in which it is used. In (39) and (40) the gerund is subordinate to an independent infinitive, which is systematically impersonal. The independent infinitive lacks the possibility of a personal grammatical subject, so that the subordinate gerund by extension is also systematically impersonal. A nominative object is therefore appropriate.

Although it is usually claimed that the nominative with

gerund is unmotivated,¹⁹ in all attestations of the nominative with gerund that I have found (approximately fifteen through the seventeenth century) it turns out that the gerund is subordinate to an independent infinitive, and is therefore systematically impersonal.

(41) a pervěe paguba isplativše, a vь procě knjazju
 nom. ger. dat.

potočiti i
 inf.

'and first having paid for the damage
 (nom.), it is for the prince in addition
 to banish him'
 (Russk. pr. po Ferap. sp., p. 257, XVI
 cent.)

So in (41), the (past) gerund isplativše is subordinate to the independent infinitive potočiti and has its object paguba in the nominative. On the other hand, when the gerund is subordinate to a finite personal verb, it is personal and takes an accusative object.

(42) a u kogo soveršennyj razumь: i onь gđě slyšavь
 nom. ger.

vraždu -- ljubovь skažetь
 acc. acc. 3 sg.

'and whoever has good sense: upon hearing
 hatred (acc.), he will speak of love
 (acc.)'
 (Domostroj Ja, p. 88, XVI cent.)

Here the gerund slyšavь has accusative object vraždu because it is subordinate to the finite personal verb skažetь.

(43) i novobračnuju po^dnjavь, položatь na neě lětnikь
 acc. ger. 3 pl.

bě¹

'having raised up the bride (acc.), they
place on her a white summer robe'
(Domostroj Z, p. 186, XVI cent.)

Also, in (43) the (past) gerund po^dnjavъ is governed by the finite personal verb položatъ; the gerund is therefore personal, and its object novobračnuju is accusative. Sentences (39), (42) and (43) are all from the same document; in (39) the gerund is governed by an independent infinitive, and takes a nominative object, while in (42) and (43) the gerund is governed by a finite personal verb, and takes an accusative object. The contrast of (39) vs. (42), (43) shows that the gerund is personal or systematically impersonal according to the context in which it is used.

Because the independent infinitive and the gerund which is subordinate to it are both systematically impersonal, the nominative object may occur in each clause.

(44) a se uroči gorodniku: zakladajuče gorodnja,
ger. nom.

kuna vzjati, a končavše nogata
nom. inf. ger. nom.

'and these are the conditions for the
mason: laying the foundation (nom.), it
is for him to take one kuna (nom.), and
having finished, a nogata (nom.)'
(Russk. pr. po Sin. sp., p. 132, 1282)

Thus, in (44) the infinitive vzjati is used independently, and has the nominative object kuna; similarly, nogata is the nominative object of an elliptical infinitive (the gerund končavše is intransitive). At the same time, the (present) gerund zakladajuče is subordinate to the independent infini-

tive vzjati;²⁰ it is therefore systematically impersonal, and so has its object gorodbnja in the nominative.²¹

Only Sprinčak (1960: 178-79) and Jacobsson (1964) do not see the nominative with gerund as necessarily unmotivated. Sprinčak suggests that the nominative as object of the gerund governed by independent infinitive arises by contamination from the nominative with independent infinitive and, although unmotivated, nevertheless serves as the locus of diffusion for the spread of unmotivated nominative to the gerund in general and to other parts of speech. Although he is correct in recognizing the special significance of the gerund governed by the independent infinitive, his comments do not constitute an explanation.

Jacobsson extends the subject interpretation of the nominative with infinitive to the gerund, so that the nominative here is supposedly the subject of an invariant predicate gerund. This hypothesis is incorrect, in part for the same reasons that the subjective interpretation of the nominative with infinitive is incorrect; for example, all nouns and pronouns should be in the nominative in this construction, but again the nominative with gerund, like the nominative with infinitive, is observed only for fem. sg. nouns (see §3.1 for discussion). Further, if the nominative with gerund were the grammatical subject of the gerund, then a noun in this construction should always be nominative; it should make no difference what kind of verb the gerund is governed by.

But the contrast of (39) vs. (42), (43) shows precisely this. Finally, the contemporary dialectal usage of a morphologically invariant gerund as predicative, which Jacobsson cites as a parallel for this interpretation, is structurally different from (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1971) and arose historically later than (Filin 1969) the nominative with gerund subordinate to the independent infinitive.

On the basis of such sentences, it must be concluded that the nominative object is not inherently limited to infinitives, but may occur with gerunds as well; an exact parallel for this is to be found in Lithuanian (§6.5.3). The environment for the nominative as object must be stated in terms of the syntactic property of systematically impersonal. In the appropriate syntactic contexts, both gerunds and infinitives may be systematically impersonal, and take nominative objects. With gerunds as well as with infinitives, this property is recursive. As a consequence, the operation of the nominative object rule is not necessarily unique within a given sentence.

Moreover, the creation of the gerund as a separate part of speech distinct from the participle, attested from 1219 (Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §258), occurred within the historical period. After the gerund became a distinct part of speech, the nominative object rule was extended to include the gerund; this extension is attested from 1282 (44). Inasmuch as the nominative object rule was extended to a new part

of speech, it was productive, and presumably must have been a motivated rule of grammar at that time in Old Russian.

2.9 Given the characterization of the environment for the nominative object rule, I would like now to consider the regularity of its usage, and to attempt to date its decline as a syntactic rule.

One kind of evidence which is usually considered relevant is the use of the accusative where, given the environment defined above, the nominative would be expected.

Borkovskij (1949: 341) cites five such examples, including:

(45) ože kupiti Nēmcičju grivnu zolota, dati emu
 inf. dat. acc. inf. dat.

nogata vĕscju
 nom.

'if it happens for a German to buy a
 grivna (acc.) of gold, it is necessary
 for him to give a nogata (nom.) to the
 weigher'

(Sm. gr., G, 1229)

Here the first of two parallel independent infinitives has accusative, and the second nominative.

Staniševa (1966a: 5) and others conclude that such sentences show that the nominative with infinitive construction had become unmotivated already in Old Russian.²² Such sentences with accusative for expected nominative are probably not structurally significant. These accusative objects are in general rare in OR documents from the NR area; Borkovskij (1949: 338-41) found only five sentences

with accusative as against 103 with nominative in the texts he investigated.

The nominative object was rare in ecclesiastical works and other documents written in high literary style, regardless of their geographical origin (fn. 4). 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.

2.10 For dating the loss of the nominative object as a motivated syntactic rule, there are other criteria which are more reliable than the use of the accusative for an expected nominative. These criteria are (1) a discrepancy in case form between a head noun and its modifier and (2) the use of the nominative in unmotivated syntactic environments, that is, in environments other than those defined above as systematically impersonal.

Concerning the first criterion, examples of a discrepancy in case form between noun and modifier are not found, as far as I know, until the writing of Posořkov from 1724.

- (46) vzjat' vsju ta skotina na Gosudarja
 inf. acc. nom. nom.

'it is necessary to take all (acc.)
 that (nom.) cattle (nom.) for the
 governor'
 (l. 219)

- (47) i s pokupnoj ceny vzjat' trgovaja pošlina
 inf. nom. nom.

grivennuju
 acc.

'it is necessary to take a trade (nom.)
 duty (nom.) of a grivna (acc.)'
 (l. 245)

Thus, in (46) the head noun skotina and the demonstrative ta have the nominative form, while the pronominal adjective vsju has the accusative form, and in (47) the noun pošlina and one adjective trgovaja have the nominative form, but another adjective grivennuju has the accusative form.²³ This discrepancy of case form in Posoškov marks a terminus ad quem for the use of the nominative object as a motivated syntactic rule (see §5 for discussion).

The second criterion -- the use of the nominative in unmotivated syntactic environments -- provides a more direct criterion for dating the change in status of the nominative object rule. If the nominative is used for the object outside of the environments defined above as systematically impersonal, then it may be concluded that the nominative object rule had become unmotivated.

Two difficulties arise in interpreting the historical attestations of the nominative as object for this purpose.

First, the document must be from an area for which it may be reasonably assumed on the basis of contemporary documentation that the nominative object rule was once productive. Otherwise, there would be no way of distinguishing a genuine unmotivated use of the nominative in a dialect which once had the rule from a hypercorrection in a dialect which never had the rule. For this reason, examples from South Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian documents will be considered separately in §6.4.

Second, the possibility always remains that some apparently unmotivated instances of the nominative should be explained as other functions of the nominative or, in some instances, simply as mistakes. The nominative, as the unmarked case, may be used to express a nominal element which is syntactically isolated, as for example in a list, or as a parenthetical addition.

(48) a se daju synu svoemu: ikonu svjatyj
 1 sg. acc.

Oleksandrъ, čepъ zolotu vranu ... čepъ zolotu
 acc. acc.

kolčatu, ikona zolotomъ kovana, ... šapka
 nom. nom.

zolota

'And this I have given to my son: an icon (acc.) of Saint Alexander, a chain (acc.) of burnished gold, a golden ringed chain (acc.), an icon (nom.) forged with gold, a gold helmet (nom.)'
 (from Staniševa 1966a: 5)

Thus, in the list of nouns in (48) the first three nouns

are in the accusative, but the last two are in the nominative. The following sentence is cited by Potebnja (1958: 406) as an example of a supposedly unmotivated use of the nominative for object:

(49) a da^1 $esmь$ $dvě^m$ $svomь$ $snmь$ $bolšimь$, Doronkě da
1 sg.

Fetku, kobyłka $gně^d$ lonskaja, a Doronkě koby¹
nom. nom.

$gněda$, da $koro^v$ $pestraja$ $bolšaja$, da $volь$
nom. nom.

buroi, da $drugoi$ $černoi$
nom.

'and I have given to my two grown sons,
D. and F., the yearling bay mare (nom.),
and to D. a bay mare (nom.), as well as
the brown ox (nom.), and another one (nom.)
which is black'
(Akty jur. b., no. 82, XIV-XV cent.)

In (49) all the nouns in the list following the finite verb da^1 $esmь$ are nominative. The last noun, the masc. sg. animate $volь$, could not be nominative because of the nominative object rule, inasmuch as the nominative object rule does not apply to masc. animate nouns at all (see §3.1). Thus, the use of the nominative in such lists has nothing to do with the nominative object rule; nouns in lists are simply syntactically isolated. Šaxmatov (1903: 130), Staniševa (1966a: 5), Havránek (1968), and Filin (1969) are all correct in insisting that the use of the nominative in lists and in other syntactically isolated contexts does not represent an arbitrary use of the nominative as object.

Before examining the supposedly improper uses of the nominative in detail, we can attempt to date the demise of the nominative object in cursory fashion by referring to the study of Sokolova (1957: 57-60). Sokolova finds that the nominative object is used 70 times in the *Domostroj* of the sixteenth century; of these two are not as objects of systematically impersonal infinitives. One of the two is clearly in a long list of nouns, and therefore cannot count as unmotivated, while the other is sentence (39), which shows the motivated use of the nominative as object of a gerund subordinate to an independent infinitive. Thus, it seems that the nominative object was used with perfect regularity in this particular work from the sixteenth century. It is not until the late seventeenth century that we find obviously irregular uses of the nominative (see Havránek 1968: 174 and below); and it is not until the work of Posořkov in 1724 that we find a confusion in case form between a noun and its modifier. Given this brief overview, we can allow the possibility that the nominative object was used in a motivated fashion through the sixteenth century.

Let us now examine the supposedly irregular uses of the nominative, following for the most part the interpretations of Havránek (1968). I will list and discuss all the sentences I have seen which might be construed as arbitrary uses of the nominative object. This is not a complete corpus, and there is no way of knowing whether some of these

sentences are not spelling errors, or grammatical mistakes, or errors in copying from another document. The sentences are broken down according to environment type.

First, it may be noted that a large percentage of the sentences cited in secondary sources as unmotivated uses of the nominative are sentences in which the nominative is the object of a gerund governed by an independent infinitive; these were examined in §2.8 above, and shown to be motivated uses of the nominative for object in a systematically impersonal environment.

A few sentences seem to show the nominative as the object of an imperative, either directly, as in:

(50) dai bogъ molitva ego svjataja vsěmъ krestъjanomъ
 impv. nom. nom. dat.

'may God grant his holy prayer (nom.)
 for all Christians'
 (I Novg. let., p. 70, 1230)

or indirectly, as the object of an infinitive subordinate to an imperative, as in:

(51) a mně, reče, dai bogъ ispraviti pravda
 dat. impv. nom. inf. nom.

novgorodъskaja, tože ot vas pojati syna svoego
 inf. acc.

'may God give to me, he said, to implement
 the law (nom.) of Novgorod, and to take
 back my son from you'
 (I Novg. let., p. 68, 1229)

As Unbegaun points out (1935: 131, fn. 1):

Les phrases avec daj Bogъ ... ne sont peut-
 être pas des phrases personnelles: la formule

daj Bogъ avait pu être conçue comme une apostrophe en dehors de la phrase.

In accordance with this, sentence (51) may be better rendered as:

'he said, it is for me -- God willing --
to implement the law (nom.) of Novgorod'

If the phrase daj Bogъ is in fact a syntactically isolated, parenthetical expression, then it cannot be said to govern the infinitive ispraviti in (51); the infinitive must be an independent infinitive, and a nominative object is justified.

This interpretation receives some confirmation from the following sentence:

(52) daj Bogъ emu zdorovъe i myzda spasenaja ot
impv. nom. dat. nom. prep.

Boga prijati
gen. inf.

'may God give him health, and may it be possible for him to receive his heavenly reward (nom.) from God'
(Prolog, 1383; from Staniševa 1966a: 6)

Here the prepositional phrase ot Boga in the second clause shows that Bogъ is the passive source of the reward, but not the active agent; therefore, the infinitive cannot be directly governed by the imperative, but must be construed as independent. The nominative object is then justified.

One imperative cannot be dismissed in this way:

(53) tvoja mlstъ čstaja posli
nom. impv.

'send your pure grace (nom.)!'

(Psk. šestodnev, 1374; from Sprinčak 1960: 180)

(53) may be a misinterpretation of the genitive in the ecclesiastical formula ml^sti tvoja posli 'send your grace (gen.)' (Služebnik Varlama, XII cent.; from Sreznevskij 1958: II.137).

Another possible unmotivated nominative with imperative is:

(54) passauy chelouza-chaya
impv. nom.

[pozavi služaššaja]

'appelez la chambrière'
(Slovar' moskovitov, p. 43, 1586)

In this dictionary, which is basically a list of phrases, (54) occurs immediately after another imperative with accusative object; given the form of this manuscript, there is no way to assess the significance of this example. It is possible that (54) represents one of the earliest unmotivated uses of the nominative for object.

Thus, there are no certain instances of the unmotivated use of the nominative as object of an imperative.

In several sentences the nominative seems to occur as the object of an infinitive governed by a finite personal verb, as in the following example cited by Potebnja (1958: 407):

(55) sljubuemь deržati cěluju pravdu i čista věra
1 pl. inf. acc. nom.

'we promise to keep the law (acc.)
intact, and the true faith (nom.)'

However, the nominative phrase čista věra with short form adjective does not seem to be parallel to the accusative object cěluju pravdu with long form adjective. This

nominative phrase has a clearly additive character, as Havránek (1968: 172) suggests, and may be construed as part of an ellipsis:

'we promise to keep the law (acc.)
intact, and (that our) faith (nom.)
will be true'

(56) xočety carь tebě dati šertnuju gramotu o družbě
3 sg. nom. dat. inf. acc.

i o bratstvě i pravda po toj gramotě učiniti
nom. inf.

'the tsar wants to give you a sworn writ
(acc.) about friendship and brotherhood,
and that it be possible to do justice
(nom.) according to this writ'
(PDSK II, p. 290, 1516)

In (56) Unbegaun (1935: 130) interprets the second infinitive učiniti as parallel to the first infinitive dati, and therefore dependent on the finite personal verb xočety; but it is also possible to interpret the second infinitive as an independent infinitive sentence which is paratactically joined to the preceding sentence consisting of finite verb with dependent infinitive. Under the latter interpretation the accusative object of the first (personal) infinitive and the nominative object of the second (independent) infinitive are both motivated.

This interpretation is supported by the following sentence, cited by Georgieva (1949) as an aberrant nominative:

(57) i nača u Pskova prositi i sudь deržati ne po
3 sg. inf. inf.

Pskovskoj starině, na ssylku vdvoe žzdy imati, i
inf.

po prigorodomь ego naměstnikomь knjažaja prodaža
dat. nom.

imati o[тъ] boja, takože i dengi naměstniči
inf.

'and in Pskov he began to plead and hold court not according to the tradition of Pskov, and to take double travel fees for testimony; and in the suburbs it was possible for his landlords (dat.) to take the crown's fine revenues (nom.) from quarrels, as well as the rental moneys' (I Pskov. let., 1475)

Georgieva interprets the last infinitive imati as parallel to the infinitives prostiti, deržati, and imati, which are dependent on the finite personal verb nača. However, the presence of the dative agent naměstnikomь precisely with the last infinitive contradicts this interpretation. In Old Russian as in modern Russian the logical subject of the infinitive governed by načat' 'begin' must be identical to the subject of načat' itself; this verb cannot form complements of the type:

(58) *ja načal emu ujtī
dat. inf.

(*'I began for him to leave')

Evidently naměstnikomь is the dative agent of the infinitive imati, which is used as an independent infinitive sentence, paratactically joined to the preceding sentence consisting of finite verb plus three parallel dependent infinitives. Under this interpretation, the nominative pravda in (56)

and the nominative prodaža in (57) are motivated as objects of independent infinitives.

The following sentence is similar:

(59) ustaviša tomu vzjati grivna kunъ za soromъ
3 pl. dat. inf. nom.

'they established, that it was for that person to take a grivna (nom.) in money for the shame'
(Russkaja pravda, 1282; from Černyx 1962: §129)

(59) contains the dative tomu as the logical subject to the infinitive vzjati. The presence of the dative logical subject shows that the infinitive is used independently here, in a kind of reported speech construction after ustaviša, so that the nominative object grivna is justified.

Thus, there are no certain examples of nominative object of infinitive governed by finite personal verb until the following:

(60) umiloserditlisja vladyka i dast li nam ta že
3 sg. nom. 3 sg. dat.

čaša pit'
nom. inf.

'whether our lord will soften his heart and let us drink this cup (nom.)'
(Avvak., XVII cent.)

Of the putative examples of unmotivated nominative as object of a finite personal verb, the most famous is clearly suspicious:

(61) založiša cerkovъ Rožestvo svjatoe, kamenaja,
3 pl. acc. nom.

za Stěnoju i mostъ postaviša novoj na Pskově
3 pl.

'and they built a church (acc.), the Holy Birth, the stone one (nom.) outside the wall; and they built a new bridge at Pskov'

(I Pskov. let., 1388)

The i-stem fem. sg. noun cerkovь and the neut. sg. Rožestvo do not distinguish nominative from accusative; given the syntactic context, cerkovь is presumably accusative. The adjective kamenaja which agrees in gender and number with cerkovь is unambiguously nominative. However, the punctuation of the text suggests that the adjective is a parenthetical addition. The adjective is syntactically isolated, perhaps as a kind of elliptical relative clause '(which is) stone', and the nominative is therefore appropriate.

Another possible sentence with unmotivated nominative as object of a finite personal verb is the following, cited by Filin (1972: 483):

(62) vina že vsej toi ^ondeli ni edinomu pričjastiti
gen. dat. inf.

sja ne dostoitь nь vь nego město črěpljutь
3 sg. 3 pl.

мьнихомь rivifinaja uxa
dat. nom.

'it is not fitting for a single one to partake of wine for the whole week, but in place of that they draw off for the monks pea soup (nom.)'
(Novgorodskij ustav studijskij, XII cent.)

This sentence is odd because the first clause clearly has a modal value, given by the impersonal modal verb dostoitь, while the second clause, with the finite personal verb

črěpljutь, appears to make a statement of fact; the sense of the passage demands that the second clause express modal value as well. Further, as it stands, the dative edinomu, as agent in the first clause, is not parallel to the dative mnixomь, as beneficiary in the second clause. It is conceivable that the finite verb in this sentence may represent an error for an original independent infinitive. The sentence would then be glossed more appropriately:

'it is not fitting for a single one to
partake of wine for the whole week,
but in place of that it is necessary for
the monks to draw off pea soup (nom.)'

If so, the two clauses would be parallel -- both would have modal value, and both datives would represent logical subjects -- and the nominative would be called for as the object of an independent infinitive.

Two further sentences, although they may represent instances of unmotivated nominative as object, may be outright grammatical mistakes, inasmuch as the nominative nouns occur in a position far removed from the finite personal verb. Or as Havránek suggests (1968: 173), they may represent specificatory nominatives.

(63) a vzjalь sobě Stepanь, protivь tuxь zemelь, vь
masc.sg. nom.

otměnu, na Rodvini gori, u svoego dvora nadь
ručьemь poljanka
nom.

'Stephen took for himself, against those

lands, in exchange, at R. hill, by his
house above the river a field (nom.)'
(Akty jur., no. 257.IV, XV cent.)

(64) i togo starikъ Terentej ... vъ Perevrě rěki
nom.

otdělili otъ Rožitecъskoj storony, igumenu
pl.

Tarasъju i starcom Snětogorskimъ, šestaja
dat.

častъ na proezdъ
nom.

'and of that, the elder T. at the River P.
expropriated from the Rositten quarter,
for the abbot T. and the elders of
Snetogora, a sixth part (nom.) for the
right-of-way'
(Akty jur., no. 2, 1483)

The nominative šestaja častъ is possibly a syntactically
isolated explanatory addition, not directly governed by the
finite personal verb otdělili.

Finally, two further sentences are often cited as
instances of the unmotivated use of nominative as object
of finite personal verb. In both, however, the nominative
is the subject of an embedded predicate sentence; it is the
sentence, not the nominative noun, which is the object of
the finite verb.

(65) a nyně esmъ uvedalъ ljubovъ vaša pravaja sъ
1 sg. nom. nom.

šnomъ moimъ s vitenemъ

'and now I have learned, that your love
(nom.) with my son V. is true (nom.)'
(Nap'erskij 1857, no. 6, circa 1300)

In (65) the phrase ljubovъ vaša is the subject of the

predicate adjective pravaja, and the whole predicate sentence is a complement of the finite personal verb esmb uvedalb. As Havránek suggests, this is an explanatory nominative sentence (1968: 173).

(66) ob utre ubo gedeoⁿ obre^t po vsej zemli rosa no
 nom. 3 sg. prep. dat. nom.

tokmo na runě suša
 prep. loc. nom.

'so in the morning Gideon finds, that there is dew (nom.) over all the land, but on the lambskin alone there is a dry spot (nom.)'
 (Paleja 1494; from Karinskij 1909)

Karinskij (1909: 37) interprets the nominative rosa as the direct object of the finite personal verb obre^t, on the basis of a related text (Paleja 1477) with accusative rosu (although likewise nominative suša). However, the sense of the passage requires that rosa and suša be parallel. As glossed above, they are both subjects of existential locative sentences. The sentences are embedded as parallel complements to the finite verb. This interpretation is confirmed by an earlier text, where the presence of the future auxiliary budetb shows that the combination of nominative noun and prepositional phrase is in fact a complete sentence:

(67) ašče budetb po vsej zemli rosa, a na runě
 fut. prep. dat. nom. prep. loc.
 3 sg.

suša; i bystb tako
 nom.

'there will be dew (nom.) over all the land, but on the lambskin a dry spot (nom.); and so it was'
(Pov. vr. let., 986)

Thus, there are no unassailable attestations of nominative as object of finite personal verb until:

(68) vyprosil ja u Xrista celaja kovriga mjagkova
masc.sg. nom. nom.

xleba

'I requested of Christ a whole loaf (nom.)
of soft bread'
(Avvak., XVII cent.)

For nominative as the complement of a preposition, there is only one supposed example, cited by Karinskij (1909: 37, 191):

(69) po ξ lako^t vь širena
prep. nom.

'six cubits in length (nom.)'
(Paleja, 1494)

From modern dialects it is known (Filin 1947: 22) that the nominative with preposition is attested much more sporadically than, for example, the nominative with finite personal verb, so it is a priori unlikely that this example is genuine. This manuscript has several errors in rendering Church Slavonic nasal vowel letters (Karinskij 1909: 6-7), as in:

(70) всею землѣ (Paleja, 1477: всею)

(71) восхома (Paleja, 1477: въсхомя)

The word širena is well attested in Old Russian as a soft stem noun, as širyňi, širyňja, and širinja (Sreznevskij

1958: III.1595, s.v. širyńi), so that this is the type of word which might be subject to confusion of nasal vowel letters, which were used to render the softness of the preceding consonant. On the model of the error in (71), it is possible to read (72) for a probable spelling error in (73):

(72) въ ширеню̣ = въ širenjụ (acc.)

(73) въ ширена̣ = въ širenạ (nom.)

Thus, there are no examples of nominative after preposition until the modern dialects.

I have by now examined the occurrence of the nominative as object in the following environments:

- (a) infinitive not governed by finite personal verb
- (b) infinitive governed by finite personal verb
- (c) gerund governed by systematically impersonal infinitive
- (d) gerund governed by personal verb
- (e) imperative
- (f) finite personal verb
- (g) preposition

A final environment is the object of a predicate non-agreeing past passive participle. Because this environment involves the category of voice, it has several special properties, and must be omitted from consideration here (see Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1971).

Until the seventeenth century there are very few certain examples of the nominative used as object outside of the environments defined above as systematically impersonal. According to the hypothesis that the nominative is motivated as the object in systematically impersonal environments, the nominative was therefore used correctly for a considerable portion of the historical period. Further, the usage must have been motivated, since it was productively extended to the gerund during the historical period. The traditional assumption that the use of the nominative has been arbitrary and unmotivated throughout the whole historical period is not supported by textual evidence.

2.11 In the preceding sections I have attempted to characterize the syntactic environment in which the nominative is used as object in Old Russian, and to show that the nominative was used regularly in that environment until the seventeenth century.

In so doing, I have passed over an obvious syntactic property which, by definition, would show whether the nominative is subject. If the nominative is subject, it would have to produce agreement in the predicate (when the predicate is capable of showing agreement); if there is no agreement, the nominative cannot be the grammatical subject.

Here two cases are to be distinguished: agreement with nonverbal modal predicatives and participles, and agreement with the copula or with modal verbs.

For the first case, it may be recalled that the nominative noun, always fem. sg. in the examples above, does not produce agreement in the neut. sg. past passive participle, as in (24) pereloženo or (25) veleno.

In environment type (iii), where the infinitive is the subject of a nonverbal modal predicative, the predicative is invariant and incapable of showing agreement. However, this fact is not without significance, since in some cases the predicatives are synchronically derived from adjectives which do show agreement; compare mod. vol'no vs. fem. sg. adj. vol'na. If the nominative were the subject, the adjective would be used and agreement would be possible. Instead, the invariant modal predicative vol'no is used, as in (23) above.

For the second case, a distinction must be drawn between the past and nonpast tenses. The present tense of verbs are inflected for person and number, so 3d sg. forms like (20) dostoitʹ and (22) lučitca are ambiguous, in that they could represent agreement with a fem. sg. subject, or could be simply the 3d sg. form which is appropriate for impersonal sentences.

On the other hand, the past tense is not ambiguous in this way, since it is inflected for gender and number.

(74) i korolju bylo ta ruxljadъ dati
 neut. nom. inf.
 sg. fem. sg.

'it was necessary for the king to give
 back that property (nom.)'
 (PDSK I, p. 112, 1491)

In (74) the infinitive is combined with the past tense auxiliary bylo. The form bylo is neut. sg., the form appropriate for impersonal sentences; it is not in agreement with the fem. sg. nom. noun (ta) ruxljadъ. This nominative noun cannot be the grammatical subject, since it does not produce agreement.

(75) a na ordyncexъ vzjati bylo Abdy Lě knjazju
 inf. neut.
 sg.

pošlina
 nom.
 fem. sg.

'and it was intended for Prince Abdulla
 to collect a duty (nom.) on the subjects'
 (PDSK II, p. 285, 1516)

Similarly, in (75) the neut. sg. form of the past tense auxiliary bylo is not in agreement with the fem. sg. nom. noun pošlina. The lack of agreement between the fem. sg. nominative noun and the neut. sg. past tense form of the copula shows unambiguously that the nominative is not the grammatical subject of the sentence; rather, the infinitive is the subject, and the nominative represents an object.

2.12 The Old Russian nominative with infinitive is therefore not comparable to the English or German personal

constructions formed with infinitives. In fact a personal construction of this type is also attested in Russian.

(76) voda že ego mutъna i sladъka piti velъmi
 nom. fem. fem. inf.
 fem.sg. sg. sg.

'its water is muddy and sweet to drink'
 (Xoždienie Danila; from Pigin 1954: 93)

In (76) the fem. sg. nom. noun voda is the subject of a predicate sentence consisting of conjoined predicate (short form) adjectives mutъna and sladъka, which are fem. sg. in agreement with the noun. The second adjective governs an infinitive piti, of which voda is the semantic object. (76) is then exactly parallel to the English and German constructions in (3), (4), and (5), as the English translation 'its water is sweet to drink' shows.

Compare further (77):

(77) a člѣvkъ bjašetъ ne viditi
 nom. 3 sg. inf.

'but a man was not to be seen'
 (Ipat. let., l. 153 ob., 1151)

Here the noun člѣvkъ must be the subject. This is clear because (1) the auxiliary agrees with it; (2) it is not put in the genitive under negation of the verb; and (3) as a masc. animate noun it could not be nominative from the nominative object rule in any case (see §3.1). This construction is preserved in CSR, in which there is no nominative object rule.

(78) on xoroš pogljadet'
 nom. masc. inf.
 masc. sg.
 sg.

'he is good to look at'

This construction is attested in South Russian dialects and in other dialect areas in East Slavic where the nominative object is not attested. Finally, this construction seems to be limited lexically to verbs of perception (see Potebnja 1958: 403-05; Lomtev 1949; Pigin 1954; and Sprinčak 1960: 179). The nominative object, on the other hand, occurs with all possible infinitives in the appropriate syntactic environment; in Old Russian, there are absolutely no lexical restrictions on the types of verbs which form this construction.

The personal construction in (76), (77), and (78) is therefore distinct from the nominative with infinitive.

2.13 In §2 I have established four properties of the syntactic environment of the nominative as object. First, the predicate does not agree in gender and number with the nominative noun. Second, the nominative occurs only in those sentence types where no personal grammatical subject is possible; these environments may be characterized as systematically impersonal, in the sense that they systematically lack the possibility of having a grammatical subject. The infinitive, as a nonfinite verbal form, is

not inherently personal or systematically impersonal; it is personal or systematically impersonal according to the syntactic context in which it is used. Third, the nominative occurs regularly as the object of another part of speech other than the infinitive, namely the gerund. The gerund, as a nonfinite form like the infinitive, is personal or systematically impersonal according to the syntactic context in which it is used. Fourth, the property of personal vs. systematically impersonal is recursive, so that a gerund or an infinitive which is governed by another infinitive will be personal or systematically impersonal depending on the governing infinitive. Because this property is recursive, the operation of the nominative object rule is not necessarily unique in a given sentence, as in (44).

These four properties -- in particular the second -- will be important in defining the nominative object rule later in §4.

3. The noun phrase

In this section four properties of the noun phrase itself, as opposed to the syntactic environment, will be discussed. These are: first, the restriction of the nominative object rule to certain nominals to the exclusion of others; second, the interaction of the nominative object with the genitive of negation; third, the application of the rule to accusatives which do not represent direct objects; and fourth, the behavior of the reflexive. Parenthetically, the question of case agreement between noun and modifier will be discussed.

3.1 It is observed by most investigators that the nominative object does not apply to all types of nominals.²⁴ Although it is usually claimed that the rule is limited by morphological class, namely to a-stem nouns in the singular, this is not necessarily true. In this section I will discuss how the class of nominals which undergoes the rule is to be characterized.

All declension types of nominals (noun, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals) in modern Russian or in Old Russian may be divided into three classes on the basis of distinctions made between nominative and accusative. This classification cuts across traditional definitions of declension types and genders.

| | <u>nom.</u> | <u>acc.</u> | <u>gen.</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| FIRST CLASS | | | |
| fem. <u>a</u> -stem sg. | -a | -u | -i (-ě) |
| SECOND CLASS | | | |
| neut. sg. | -o (-e) | -o (-e) | -a |
| neut. pl. | -a | -a | -∅ |
| masc. inan. sg. | -∅ | -∅ | -a |
| masc. inan. pl. | -i | -i | -∅/-ov |
| fem. <u>a</u> -stem pl. | -i (-ě) | -i (-ě) | -∅ |
| fem. <u>i</u> -stem sg. | -∅ | -∅ | -i |
| fem. <u>i</u> -stem pl. | -i | -i | - i ji |
| THIRD CLASS | | | |
| masc. an. sg. | -∅ | = gen. | -a |
| (masc. an. pl.) | -i | = gen. | -∅/-ov |
| (fem. an. pl.) | -i | = gen. | -∅ |
| pro., 1 sg. | ja | = gen. | mene/men'a |

Fig. 1

| | <u>nom.</u> | <u>acc.</u> | <u>gen.</u> |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| FIRST CLASS | | | |
| fem. sg. | -aja | -uju | -ojě |
| SECOND CLASS | | | |
| fem. pl. | -ijě | -ijě | -ix |
| neut. sg. | -oje | -oje | -ogo/-ovo |
| neut. pl. | -aja | -aja | -ix |
| masc. inan. sg. | -ij | -ij | -ogo/ovo |
| masc. inan. pl. | -ijě | -ijě | -ix |
| THIRD CLASS | | | |
| masc. an. sg. | -ij | = gen. | -ogo/-ovo |
| (masc. an. pl.) | -ijě | = gen. | -ix |

- Notes:
- (1) adapted from Kuznecov and Borkovskij (1965: §§136, 179)
 - (2) morphemes are given in a (low-level) phonemic, not orthographic, transcription
 - (3) forms in parentheses are distinct variants for soft stems
 - (4) declension classes in parentheses are historical innovations
 - (5) only long forms of adjectives are given

Fig. 2

The first class is the class of declension types which distinguish nominative from accusative in a straightforward morphological fashion: the nominative is distinct from the accusative, which is in turn distinct from the genitive. This characterization applies in modern Russian only to a-stem nouns in the singular (see Fig. 1). As shown repeatedly above, the nominative object rule applies to these nouns.

Although it is not usually mentioned in this context, it is true that Old Russian once distinguished nominative from accusative from genitive in another place in the system, namely for masc. pl. (an. and inan.) nouns; thus originally nom. /C'-i/ (orthographic -i) vs. acc. /C-i/ (orthographic -y) vs. gen. /C-∅/ or later /C-ov/. Since the acc. form had begun to oust the nom. form from a very early time (Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §153), the question of whether the nominative object rule applied here is moot.

Also, at the beginning of the historical period Russian still preserved distinct accusative enclitic forms of the personal pronouns, e.g. 1st sg. acc. mja vs. gen. mene, menja. Despite the fact that the personal pronouns distinguished nominative, accusative, and genitive at this point, they did not undergo the nominative object rule.

(79) ače ti mja ubiti šnu na semь městě
 dat. acc. inf. voc.

'even if it were for you to kill me
(acc.), my son, at this place'
(Ipat. let., l. 144 ob., 1150)

Thus, in (79) the object of the independent infinitive ubiti is the enclitic accusative pronoun mja. By the fifteenth century (Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §168), personal pronouns lose the special enclitic acc. forms, and consistently use the original genitive form for the accusative as well.

The second class is the class of declension types which show no distinction between nominative and accusative. This class includes, for Old Russian: neut. sg. and neut. pl., masc. inan. sg. and masc. inan. pl., a-stem (mostly fem.) pl., and i-stem (mostly fem.) sg. and pl. (see Fig. 1). It might appear that, for these nouns, it would be in principle impossible to determine whether the nominative object rule applies. In fact, it is often claimed that the rule could not have applied to this class, since there is no morphological distinction between nominative and accusative. This claim is based on an assumption which is apparently adopted by most investigators, although it is never stated explicitly. The assumption is that a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative is a prerequisite for the operation of the nominative object rule.

This assumption is an important one. It is, however, unjustified. First, the rule could be seen to apply to

singular i-stem nouns with a modifier. Almost all i-stem nouns are feminine, so that a modifier will typically be feminine. Since the fem. adjectival declension distinguishes nominative from accusative (see Fig. 2), a morphological distinction in case does appear, although the head noun itself does not show the distinction.

(80) i ta gibelʹ vzjati na tomʹ
 nom. inf.

'it is to take that fine (nom.) on that
 person'
 (Sudebn. §78, 1550)

In (80) the i-stem noun gibelʹ could be either nominative or accusative, but the pronominal adjective ta is unambiguously nominative. Compare also the i-stem nouns (18) dočerbʹ tvoja 'your daughter', (22) ta solʹ 'that salt', (24) ratʹ svoja 'his own troops', and (74) ta ruxljadʹ 'that property' given above, in which the modifiers show unambiguously that the noun phrases are nominative.

What happens when a modifier is not present, so that there is no morphological distinction at all between nominative and accusative for these i-stem nouns? According to the assumption stated above, the noun would have to be in the accusative. In other words, an i-stem noun would be in the nominative with a modifier, but in the accusative without a modifier, in the same syntactic environment. This is unlikely; a syntactic rule which assigns case presumably would not refer to the presence or absence of

a modifier. It is more reasonable to assume that the same case is assigned for i-stem nouns with or without a modifier in the same syntactic environment. Thus, it must be assumed that all i-stem nouns are specified as nominative in systematically impersonal environments (on the basis of (80)), even when there is no modifier, and no overt morphological distinction of nominative and accusative.

Second, the two nouns mati 'mother' and doči 'daughter' confirm this conclusion. These nouns, originally consonantal stem, have been assimilated to the i-stem declension in the oblique cases, but as an archaism still distinguish nom. mati, doči from acc. materь, dočerь. Because of this archaism, the nominative object rule can be seen to apply to them, as Unbegaun (1935: 129) noted:

(81) dati namь za ego syna za Mixaila Aleksěeva
inf. dat.

doči Orina
nom. nom.

'it is for us to give our daughter (nom.)
Orina (nom.) to his son Michael Alekseev'
(LSb., p. 104, 1529)

(82) i mně, brate, ostaviti svoja mati, i svoju
dat. inf. nom.

bratьju²⁵ molodšjuju
acc.

'and it is for me to leave my mother (nom.)
and my younger brothers'
(SGGrD, no. 35, 1389)

According to the assumption stated above, the rule for the

nominative object would have to be formulated with idiosyncratic lexical restrictions, so that it would apply specifically to the i-stem nouns mati and doči even without modifier, but not to other i-stem nouns without modifier. It is unlikely that a syntactic rule of case assignment would include specific lexical restrictions of this kind.

Thus, the nominative object can be formed from all i-stem nouns at all times in systematically impersonal environments. (There is no evidence to suggest that i-stem nouns became subject to the rule later than a-stem nouns, as Filin 1969 suggests.) A morphological distinction between nominative and accusative is not a precondition for the nominative object. By extension, the nominative object rule must also apply to other nouns which do not distinguish nominative from accusative, such as neuters, a-stem and i-stem nouns in the plural, and masc. inanimates. Otherwise, it would have to be claimed that the nominative object rule applies only when it is morphologically apparent; but as demonstrated above, this leads to unnatural conditions on the nominative object rule.

The third class of declension types does in fact distinguish nominative from accusative, but in a special way, by setting accusative equal to genitive. This class includes masc. sg. animates and (by the fifteenth century) personal pronouns. The rule which substitutes the genitive form for the accusative may be termed the animate accusative

rule, since its function is to give animate nouns an accusative form which is distinct from the nominative.²⁶

As an innovation during the historical period, this class comes to include animate nouns in the plural, as the animate accusative rule is extended first to masc. an. pl. nouns (from the fourteenth century) and subsequently to fem. an. pl. nouns (from the sixteenth century; see Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §158). Since the extension of the animate accusative rule to animate plurals is a gradual and ongoing innovation in Old Russian, it is not always possible to interpret the form of an animate plural noun with certainty; for example, the ending /-i/ (orthographic -y) for a masc. an. pl. noun may represent simply the old acc. form, or it might conceivably represent a nominative (distinct from the single acc.-gen. form) produced by the nominative object rule. For this reason, attention must be given primarily to personal pronouns and masc. an. nouns in the singular to determine whether the nominative object rule applies to the third class of nominals.

Pronouns and masculine animate nouns did not form nominative objects.

- (83) i syna bylo i knjažie děti dati a kazna vzjati
 acc.- inf. nom. inf.
 gen.

'and it was to give over the son (acc.-gen.) and the prince's children, and to take the money (nom.)'
 (PDSK II, p. 473, 1517)

Here in parallel independent infinitive sentences, the masc. an. sg. syna is accusative-genitive, but the fem. sg. a-stem noun kazna is nominative. In the following early example masc. animate and fem. nouns are conjoined as objects of a single independent infinitive:

(84) i tobě bylo vĕxavši v Kievъ bra^t moego jati,
 dat. ger. acc.-gen.

i šna moe^g i žena moja, i domъ moj vzjati
 acc.-gen. nom. inf.

'it was in mind for you, having entered
 Kiev, to seize my brother (acc.-gen.)
 and my son (acc.-gen.) and my wife (nom.),
 and to take my house'
 (Ipat. let., l. 136, 1149)

The masc. sg. an. nouns brat[a] and šna are in the accusative (morphologically identical to the genitive), while the fem. sg. žena is in the nominative. The masc. inan. domъ could be nominative or accusative by form, but according to the argument above must be nominative.

To illustrate the case with personal pronouns, I have chosen writ no. 33, 1388, in SGGrD. In this writ the nominative object is attested regularly in the appropriate environment for fem. a-stem nouns:

(85) i tobě emu isprava učiniti
 dat. nom. inf.

'it is for you to do justice (nom.) to
 him'

(86) tymъ znati svoja služba
 dat. inf. nom.

'it is for them to know their own duty
 (nom.)'

as well as for fem. i-stem nouns:

(87) a Ordinъskaja tjagostъ takъže i protorъ dati
 nom. inf.

ti mně bratu svoemu starěišemu
 dat.

'and it is for you to give me, your own
 elder brother, the levy (nom.) of the
 horde, and the fine'

So the nominative object is used regularly for fem. a-stem
 and fem. i-stem nouns in this writ.

For pronouns and masc. sg. an. nouns as objects we
 have:

(88) byti ny za odinъ, i iměti emu mene
 inf. dat. acc.-gen.

otcemъ, a syna moego Knjazja Vasilъja bratomъ
 acc.-gen. acc.-gen.

starějšímъ

'it is for us to be as one, and for him
 to have me (acc.-gen.) as father, and
 my son (acc.-gen.) Prince Vasiliј (acc.-
 gen.) as elder brother'

Here the 1st sg. pronoun mene and the masc. sg. an. syna
 (as well as its apposition) have acc.-gen. forms as objects
 of the independent infinitive iměti. For the animate plural
 pronouns, observe:

(89) bljusti ti ixъ kakъ i svoixъ
 inf. dat. acc.- acc.-
 gen. gen.

'it is for you to watch over them (acc.-
 gen.) as your own (acc.-gen.)'

In (89) the 3d pl. pronoun ixъ is accusative-genitive as the

object of bljusti, as is the pronominal adjective svoixь, referring here to animate beings.

These sentences are sufficient to show that the nominative object rule does not apply to nouns in the third class, namely to animate nouns and pronouns which distinguish nominative from accusative by setting the accusative equal to the genitive. Since pronouns and masculine animate nouns make a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative, the limitation on which nominals may form a nominative object cannot be defined by the presence or absence of a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative, or in general by declension class. The limitation is defined rather in terms of the grammatical category of animacy. In general, it is more reasonable to suppose that a syntactic rule of case would be constrained (if at all) by the grammatical category of animacy, rather than by purely morphological information.

This interpretation can be confirmed by examining the behavior of those masculine animate nouns which follow the a-stem declension. In documents which otherwise use the nominative object regularly for a-stem feminine nouns, masculine animate a-stem nouns remain in the accusative in systematically impersonal environments.

(90) a poslati sudiju na zemlju, vybravь odnogo
 inf. acc. ger. acc.-gen.

ne po ixь čelobitьju

'but rather it is necessary to send a judge (acc.) to the country, having picked one (acc.-gen.), not according to their request'
(Sudebn., §84, 1550)

Here the noun sudiju, masculine animate in the a-stem declension, is accusative as the object of the independent infinitive poslati; note that the adjectival odnogo which refers to sudiju is masculine animate, and undergoes the animate accusative rule.

(91) i mně poslatъ svoego voevodu sъ tvoimъ
dat. inf. acc.- acc.
gen.

voevodoju

'and it is for me to send my general (acc.) with your general'
(Akty arx. èks., no. 29, 1435)

Similarly, in (91) the masc. an. a-stem voevodu is accusative as the object of the independent infinitive poslatъ, although the fem. a-stem (100) Orda in the same document is nominative.

These sentences are significant. I argued above that the nominative object rule applies not only to fem. a-stem nouns, which distinguish nominative from accusative morphologically, but also to fem. i-stem nouns, which distinguish nominative from accusative only with a modifier, and by extension to other nouns like neuters which never distinguish nominative from accusative. Conversely, as (90) and (91) show, the nominative object rule does not apply to all a-stem nouns, specifically not to those which are masculine

animate. Thus, the constraint on which nouns may be in the nominative does not refer to morphological declension, but to the grammatical category of animacy. This constraint may be termed the animacy constraint. The animacy constraint includes all nominals which are grammatically animate, namely pronouns and masculine animate nouns. The animacy constraint does not include animate feminine sg. nouns, such as (20, 21) žena 'wife', (81) Orina, (18) dočerь, (81) doči 'daughter', or (82) mati 'mother'. Although these nouns are semantically animate, they are not grammatically animate, inasmuch as they are not subject to the animate accusative rule.

There are, however, a few sentences where it seems that the nominative of a noun from the third class does occur as the object. Such sentences fall into two groups, those with masc. an. sg. nouns, and those with an. pl. nouns.

For masc. an. nouns in the singular, observe:

- (92) znat' sova po per'ju, sokol po poletu lenivoj
 inf. nom. nom. nom.
 i po plat'ju znat'
 inf.

'the owl may be recognized by his
 feathers, the falcon by his flight,
 and the lazy man by his clothes'
 (from Buslaev 1881: §196, fn. 3)

This is not, however, an instance of the nominative object;²⁷
 this is simply an instance of the personal construction

with verbs of perception, as discussed in §2.12 above.

For animate plurals as nominative objects, there are more possible examples. These supposed examples all come from contemporary NR dialects; they are not attested in OR texts. A typical example is:

(93) stariki žalet' nado
acc. inf. mod.

'it is necessary to pity old people'
(d. Ligovo Volxovsk. r-na Len. obl.; from
Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1964: 167)

Here the animate plural noun stariki appears to be in the nominative as the object of the infinitive žalet', which is the subject of the modal predicative nado and therefore systematically impersonal; this appears to be an instance of the nominative object for an animate plural noun.

However, according to Kuz'mina and Nemčenko (1964: 167) some of the same NR dialects that have the nominative object rule have not extended the animate accusative rule to animate plurals with perfect regularity; these dialects use the old acc. form (identical to the nominative) where most Russian dialects use the syncretic acc.-gen. form. Significantly, this old acc. form is attested in syntactic environments which are not appropriate for the nominative object.

(94) ždala syny
fem. acc.
sg.

'she waited for her sons (acc.)'
(d. Sel'co-Zagor'e Počinkovsk. r-na Smol.
obl.)

- (95) baby-te navezli s roběnkami-to
acc. pl.

'they drove the women (acc.) up with
their children'
(d. Osinovka Tarnogsk. r-na Vologodsk.
obl.)

- (96) koni kudy-nibud' sgonim, što i ne najti
acc. 1 pl.

'the horses (acc.) we will drive away
somewhere, so that it won't be possible
to find them'
(d. Antipovskaja Konošsk. r-na Arx. obl.)

In these three examples the animate plural nouns are the objects of finite personal verbs, not possible environments for the nominative object. It is apparent that stariki in (93) and the animate plural nouns in these examples are old acc. forms (morphologically identical to the nominative), to which the animate accusative rule has not applied. Contrary to Comrie (1971: 211), these are not instances of nominatives from the nominative object rule.

The evidence of this section suggests several remarks in summary. First, the nominative object rule is in fact limited in its application to certain nominals. This limitation operates according to the grammatical category of animacy, not according to any morphological or declensional information. The nominative object rule applies to all nominals except masculine animates and pronouns.

Second, the exclusion of these nouns and pronouns is presumably not arbitrary, but is probably motivated by the fact that they are grammatically animate. This

relationship will be explored in §4.

Third, the direct contrast of nominative for some nouns and accusative for others in the same syntactic environment clarifies the status of the nominative with infinitive. It must be assumed that an accusative noun could not be the grammatical subject of a sentence in Russian; an accusative could never produce grammatical agreement in the predicate. The nominative (e.g. of fem. a-stems) and the accusative (e.g. of masc. sg. animates) fulfill the same function in the sentence; they differ only in case, and they are even conjoined in (84). Since an accusative cannot be the grammatical subject of a sentence, it follows that this nominative also cannot be the subject. This conclusion is in agreement with the evidence given above concerning agreement and the systematically impersonal environment, evidence which shows that the nominative is not the grammatical subject.

3.2 It was observed above in the preceding section that the only way to discern whether an i-stem noun undergoes the nominative object rule is by looking at the case of the modifier, which necessarily shows the distinction of nominative and accusative. Behind this reasoning lies the implicit assumption that the noun and its modifier should have the same case; a syntactic rule of case must affect all constituents of a noun phrase in the same way. In all

examples until the eighteenth century, the case form of the modifier is the same as that of the noun, as can be seen by inspection of the examples above.

In its original form, then, the nominative object was a syntactic rule of case. This means that the nominative object rule must apply before the rule of concord. In this way all constituents of the noun phrase will be specified to have the same case.

On the other hand, the animate accusative rule must apply after the rule of case agreement. This can be seen from examples like the following:

(97) ja vižu starogo Vanju
 acc.- acc.
 gen.

'I see old Vanja'

Here the masc. an. a-stem Vanju is unambiguously accusative. Since it is masc. animate, its modifier must also be masc. animate, and follow the declension of masc. an. adjectives; accordingly it has the accusative identical to the genitive. The order of events is the following: the head noun is first specified as accusative; then concord applies, specifying the modifier for gender and number and for accusative case. Subsequently, the animate accusative rule applies at the level of individual constituents, specifying that the accusative form of the adjective is identical to the genitive, while leaving the a-stem noun unaffected. Compare (91) above, as well as:

- (98) i udělnoj Knjazь dastь svoego sudьju
nom. 3 sg. acc.-gen. acc.

'the local prince should send his own judge'
(Sudebn., §99, 1550)

Therefore, the only possible ordering for the three rules is:

- (99) i. nominative object
ii. concord
iii. animate accusative

If concord is assumed to be a kind of watershed between syntactic and morphological rules, the nominative object rule may be characterized as a syntactic rule of case specification and the animate accusative as a morphological rule of desinence substitution.

Comrie (1971: 212) suggests that the nominative object rule excludes certain nouns and pronouns because the animate accusative rule applies before the nominative object rule; in this way the masc. an. noun is supposedly specified as genitive before it has a chance to undergo the nominative object rule, which is limited to accusatives.

Because of the ordering established above, it is clear that the exclusion of animate nouns and pronouns cannot be accomplished by the device of rule ordering, since the nominative object -- as a syntactic rule -- precedes the animate accusative rule; the masc. an. noun is only morphologically, not syntactically, identical to the genitive. Further, Comrie's hypothesis cannot account for the behavior of masc. an. a-stem nouns, which undergo neither the nominative object rule nor the animate accusative rule. The animacy constraint

must be written as a constraint on the nominative object rule.

3.3 As has been assumed in the previous discussion and in all the literature, the nominative object rule applies only to noun phrases which, if it were not for the systematically impersonal context, would be designated as accusative. The rule does not apply to datives, locatives, instrumentals, or genitives.

In particular, the rule does not apply to noun phrases which are genitive instead of accusative because of negation (or presumably, to those which are semantically partitive and therefore genitive). Thus, there are paradigmatic sentences like:

(100) a Ordy mi ne znati, a Orda znati tobě Velikomu
gen. neg. inf. nom. inf.

Knjazju

'it is not for me to know the horde (gen.),
but it is for you, being a Grand Prince,
to know the horde (nom.)'
(Akty arx. èks., no. 29, 1435)

In (100) the object of the second independent infinitive is nominative from the nominative object rule, but the object of the first infinitive is genitive, because of negation.

(101) xolopu i robě věry ne njati, a obadě isprava
gen. neg. inf. nom.

dati
inf.

'it is not to believe the word (gen.) of

the slave and the serf, but to render a just verdict (nom.) in case of slander' (from Potebnja 1951: 405)

Similarly, in (101) věry is genitive as the object of the negated independent infinitive njati, while isprava is nominative as the object of the positive independent infinitive dati.

As Bicilli (1933: 201-02), Sprinčak (1960: 175), and Staniševa (1966a: 5) have recognized, such sentences show that the nominative is an object, not the subject. The contrast of genitive vs. nominative with independent infinitives (as above) is the same as the contrast of genitive vs. accusative with finite personal verbs; the genitive expresses the object under negation.

Havránek apparently sees the genitive here as derived from a subjective nominative.²⁸ This is unlikely, however, since the conditions on the genitive of negation are different for subjects than for objects. For subjects the genitive appears only in sentences with an existential meaning. According to the traditional hypothesis, the nominative is the subject of a two-part predicate sentence, in which the infinitive is the predicate; this is not a type of existential sentence. The genitive never appears even under negation for the subject in a two-part predication. Thus, corresponding to the positive (102a), there is no (102b) or (102c); the negation of (102a) is rather (102d):

(102a) on xoroš
nom. adj.nom.

'he is good'

(102b) *ego ne xoroš
gen. neg. adj.nom.

(102c) *ego ne xorošego
gen. neg. adj.gen.

(102d) on ne xoroš
nom. neg. adj.nom.

'he is not good'

So, the genitives and (consequently) the nominatives in (100) and (101) represent objects, not grammatical subjects.

3.4 An interesting property of the nominative object is its occurrence with noun phrases that are not actually direct objects in the usual sense of the term, although they do represent potential accusatives. These include (i) cognate objects and (ii) specifications of temporal and spatial extension. This property has not been noted in the literature.

For cognate objects, there are sentences like:

(103) da i věra sь nimь edina věrovati
nom. inf.

'that it should be for him to believe one
belief (nom.) with him'
(Inoe skazanie; from Lomtev 1956: §32)

A true temporal specification is found in:

(104) po otcě mi po svoemь po carě godina praviti
nom. inf.

'after my father the tsar, it is for me

to govern a year (nom.)'
(PDSK II, p. 354, 1517)

To interpret these sentences, I follow Kurylowicz (1964: 181) in distinguishing the primary from the secondary functions of the accusative. The primary function of the accusative is the syntactic function of representing the direct object. The direct object is the participant which is affected or effected by the action; it is typically this participant which may become the grammatical subject of a passive. In transformational grammar this is the complement for which the verb is subclassified; it may be termed the classificatory accusative.

On the other hand, the accusative in Russian may be used secondarily for various strictly semantic or adverbial functions; here the accusative is not the direct object, and the verb is not subclassified for it. Above the cognate object and temporal specification were exemplified. Typically this complement cannot be the subject of the passive. Further, these adverbial complements are not made genitive under negation, and they are permitted for reflexive verbs, which do not allow accusative direct objects. Since the accusative in these sentences functions to specify some semantic (but not grammatical) relation, it may be termed the specificatory accusative.

In §3.3 it was established that the nominative object rule works only for accusatives, to the exclusion of other

cases. The examples of this section show the converse, that the rule works for all accusatives (except animates), regardless of their function. This property of indiscriminate application to all accusatives is consistent with my hypothesis that the nominative object is a rule of case which does not affect grammatical relations. This property is not consistent with the hypothesis that the nominative represents a subject; rules which affect grammatical relations -- like the rule of English or German -- typically have semantic restrictions on which objects may become subjects (see §4.3.7).

3.5 The rules of reflexivization intersect in an interesting way with the nominative object.

(105) totъ dati jemu na sьbě poruka
 inf. dat. refl. nom.

'then it is for him to give a guarantee
 (nom.) on himself'
 (Sm. gr., Gl, 1229)

From (105) it is apparent that reflexivization may work from the dative logical subject to another participant in the infinitival sentence; the similarity of reflexivization in such sentences to reflexivization in simple sentences like:

(106) ona ne uvažæet sebja
 nom. 3 sg. refl.

'she doesn't respect herself'

may be expressed by assuming that the dative acts as the

subject at the level of derivation when reflexivization applies.

The same conditions govern the reflexive possessive adjective svoj. It may appear with an oblique complement and refer back to the dative logical subject, as in:

- (107) dostoit' li popu svoej ženě molitva tvoriti
 dat. refl. dat. nom. inf.

vsjakaja

'for is it fitting for a priest to say
 any kind of prayer (nom.) for his own
 wife'

(Voprošanija Kirika; from Sprinčak 1960:
 §46)

If the dative is assumed to be the subject when reflexivization applies, then svoj in (107) above is derived in the same way as in:

- (108) on podpisal svoe imja
 nom. 3 sg. refl.

'he signed his own name'

Significantly, the reflexive svoj may modify a nominative object and refer back to the dative logical subject:

- (109) tobě znati svoja otčina, a mně znati svoja
 dat. inf. refl. nom. dat. inf. refl.

otčina
 nom.

'it is for you to know your own land
 (nom.), and for me to know my own land
 (nom.)'

(SGGrD, no. 27, 1362)

Compare svoj with nominative object in (21) žena svoja

'his own wife' and (82) svoja mati 'my own mother' as well

as numerous other examples in Borkovskij (1949: 339ff).

In order to keep the parallelism between reflexivization in infinitival sentences and reflexivization in finite sentences it is simplest to account for svoj in the above examples by assuming that the dative complement acts as the subject at the level of derivation when reflexivization applies. At this point of derivation, the nominative object cannot be the subject, but must be an object.

This argument does not prove with absolute certainty that the nominative is not the grammatical subject; it might conceivably become the subject after reflexivization has applied.

To this hypothesis two replies are possible. First, the claim is in the end vacuous, since the nominative has none of the syntactic properties of a subject except case. Note that the nominative object can never be the source for reflexivization:

(21) ino dostoit'ь mužu žena svoja nakazyvati
 dat. nom. refl. inf.

(21') *ino dostoit'ь svoemu mužu žena nakazyvati
 refl. dat. nom. inf.

'for it is fitting for a man to punish
his own wife (nom.)'

Second, in those cases where svoj does modify a grammatical subject, it imparts the sense of a generic participant, in the sense of 'one's own as opposed to others', appropriate or peculiar to one'. In the above

examples, svoj modifying the nominative object is strictly referential and lacks the generic sense which is characteristic of svoj modifying grammatical subjects. The strictly referential sense of svoj modifying a nominative object is obvious in:

(10) čtobъ kakъ namъ nedругu svoemu litovskomu
 dat. dat. refl.

nedružba svoja gorazdo dovesti
 nom. refl. inf.

'so that it would be possible for us to carry out to completion our own aggression (nom.) against our own enemy the Lithuanians'

The evidence of reflexivization, not discussed explicitly anywhere in the literature, shows that the nominative object does not represent a subject.

3.6 In this section I have examined four properties of the nominative object noun phrase. These four properties will help define what kind of rule the nominative object is: first, the rule does not apply to all classes of nominals, even among those that distinguish nominative from accusative; second, the rule is subordinate to other cases, and in particular to the genitive which substitutes for an accusative under negation; third, the rule applies to all types of accusatives, even specificatory accusatives, which are not objects in the strict sense of the term; and fourth, the nominative may be modified by the reflexive possessive svoj, but may not on its own cause reflexivization.

4. The nominative object rule

4.1 In traditional discussions of the nominative with infinitive, one typically finds references to two supposedly different explanations for the construction. The first of these is due to Potebnja (1958: 405-07), who sees the nominative as a holdover from a previous unattested stage of the language when the infinitive was still a verbal noun which was neutral with respect to voice; the nominative was the subject of a predicate consisting of the infinitive or verbal noun. This view is represented schematically in the reconstruction:²⁹

(110) *pravьda estь Rusinu vьzjatiju
 nom. cop. dat. inf. (dat.)

'the rights are for the Russian to take'

The variant with modal predicative (e.g. nado 'it is necessary') or impersonal verb (e.g. dostoit 'it is fitting') must have been derived later by extension from the basic type with independent infinitive, as represented by (110).

The other explanation is due in its most explicit form to Šaxmatov (1941: §138). This explanation is based on the use of the nominative with predicatives like nado 'it is necessary' in contemporary NR dialects, in constructions like:

(111) šapka nado
 nom. mod.

'a hat is necessary'

By analogy, the nominative came to function as the subject of the more complex construction of modal predicative with dependent infinitive, as in:

(112) šapka nado kupit'
nom. mod. inf.

'a hat is necessary to buy'

Because of the semantic value of the independent infinitive, which is like that of infinitive dependent on modal predicative, the nominative was in turn extended by another analogical change to the independent infinitive:

(113) šapka kupit'
nom. inf.

'a hat is (necessary) to buy'

For Potebnja, then, the nominative was originally the subject of the infinitive; for Šaxmatov, it was originally the subject of the modal adverb. But both views are similar in two respects: first, both see the justification for the nominative in the original function of the nominative as the grammatical subject, and second, both assume that one variant of the construction is more basic than the other attested variants.

Other investigators adhere to some or other variation on these theories; almost all believe that the nominative must have functioned originally as the subject. Obnorskij (1902: 201), Georgieva (1949), Borkovskij (1949: 347-50), and Staniševa (1966a: 2) essentially agree with Potebnja; Černyx (1962: 312) agrees with Šaxmatov. Bicilli (1933: 203)

and Sprinčak (1960: 176-78) seem to adopt both views simultaneously. In a recent treatment of the problem, Filin (1969) points out the difficulties with Šaxmatov's theory, but is nevertheless unwilling to abandon it completely; he seems then to prefer a compromise.

V. Kiparsky (1946; 1960; 1967) takes a position which is similar to Potebnja's from the structural point of view:

Man pflegt sie [the construction] als Überrest aus einer Zeit zu erklären, wo das Wort, das wir heute als Objekt empfinden, Subjekt war und darum im Nominativ stehen musste (1960: 333)

In the most explicit treatment of the nominative with infinitive from the point of view of transformational grammar, Comrie (1971: 209-21) makes the obvious transformational emendation to Potebnja's theory. He proposes that the surface structure nominative noun begins as the deep structure object of the infinitive, and is subsequently moved into surface structure subject position by a transformation. In this view the nominative with infinitive is thought to be exactly analogous to the English construction in (3) above John is easy to please.²⁰ A few years before Comrie, V. Kiparsky (1969a) proposed the same transformational solution and drew the same analogy to English, although in a briefer discussion.

These transformational revisions do not represent a major departure from Potebnja's view, inasmuch as Potebnja and others recognized that the nominative noun was semantically the object of the infinitive, at the same time

that (according to their hypothesis) it functioned as the grammatical subject. Both Potebnja's traditional hypothesis and the transformational revisions of it emphasize that the nominative could not be justified unless it originally functioned as the grammatical subject. Further, both the traditional and transformational theories insist that the nominative was the grammatical subject long ago in an unattested stage of the language.

Only Larin (1963) and Sprinčak in his earlier work³¹ do not assume that the nominative was ever a subject; but like the other investigators, they assume that the nominative with infinitive is unmotivated as it is attested in Old Russian. They propose that it is descended from a more primitive linguistic structure which was ergative. Larin asserts that the Russian construction was borrowed from an unattested ergative substratum; Sprinčak is apparently referring to an earlier, allegedly ergative stage of Indo-European.

4.2 Compared to the interpretation I offer, these views represent virtual unanimity. All investigators conclude that the nominative with infinitive as attested in Old Russian is unmotivated. This conclusion is based on an assumption about the relationship between case and grammatical function. This assumption may be stated in the following form: since the grammatical subject of a sentence

is necessarily nominative, every nominative must represent a grammatical subject (with certain obvious exceptions, such as a predicate nominative). As Whitney states for Sanskrit (1889: §267):

The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

As a consequence, it is not conceivable that the nominative could designate a participant which functions as an object. The nominative in the OR nominative with infinitive construction must have originally been a grammatical subject, and as Lomtev states (1956: 87):

Konstrukcii tipy "voda pit'" stali osoznavat'sja anomalijami s togo vremena, kogda oni priobreli bezličnyj karakter, a formy na -a stali vystupat' v funkcii prjamogo ob"ekta infinitivnogo dejstvija.

I will propose, on the contrary, that it is possible for the nominative to designate the object under certain conditions, namely when the verb is systematically impersonal.

4.3 Let me now review the eight properties of the nominative established above, to see whether they are consistent either with the traditional theory that the nominative represents an original grammatical subject or with the transformational hypothesis that the nominative arises through a rule of subjectivization which moves the object into subject position. I will do this by contrasting the

data of Old Russian with the data of English.

4.3.1 Agreement. Agreement is self-evident. The lack of agreement of the nominative in question with either the copula or the modal predicative or participle in Old Russian stands in contrast to the agreement in English:

(114) I am, you are, he is easy to please

4.3.2 Systematically impersonal environment. The systematically impersonal environment for the nominative is one of the two cardinal properties of the nominative object. Since either the infinitive is the subject or else the sentence lacks a grammatical subject altogether, the nominative cannot be the subject. But by the same token, since there cannot be a personal subject, the nominative object cannot conflict with any other nominative noun as subject. On the other hand, the concept of a systematically impersonal environment is not relevant to the English subjectivization rule, since obviously in English the noun behaves as the grammatical subject.

4.3.3 Recursiveness. The necessity for defining the environment for the nominative object recursively follows directly from the concept of systematically impersonal. Once the matrix sentence is systematically impersonal, every nonfinite verb form (gerund or infinitive) embedded in it will be

systematically impersonal. The recursive definition of the environment implies that the operation of the rule is not necessarily unique in a given sentence; (44) is an example of double application.

It seems that the environment for subjectivization in English is not recursive, in the sense that the object cannot be moved up from more than one level of embedding.

(115a) it is easy to persuade soldiers to kill the enemy

(115b) *the enemy is easy to persuade soldiers to kill

(116a) it is difficult to force large corporations to initiate policies to protect the environment

(116b) *the environment is difficult to force large corporations to initiate policies to protect

If English does allow subjectivization through two sentences, it certainly is constrained. In any case -- and this perhaps is more telling -- the operation of the subjectivization rule must be unique in a given sentence, since the grammatical subject is by definition a unique participant in the event. Double application of the subjectivization rule in English is not possible.

4.3.4 Gerund. English has no source for its subjectivization rule which is not an infinitive.

Old Russian, however, can have the nominative as object of a gerund, as well as of an infinitive. The grammatical category of subject is subordinated to the syntactic

context for the gerund as well as for the infinitive; like the infinitive, the gerund counts as personal or systematically impersonal according to the context in which it is used. When the gerund is embedded in an impersonal sentence, it defines a systematically impersonal environment, and takes a nominative object.

4.3.5 Animacy constraint. The nominative object rule in Old Russian does not apply to pronouns and masc. animate nouns; it is subject to an animacy constraint. The animacy constraint is the second cardinal property of the nominative object rule.

It is obvious from the pronouns in (114) that English has no animacy constraint. There is no reason for a subjectivization rule not to apply to animates or pronouns; a subjectivization rule need not be delicate about obscuring grammatical relations, since it is designed explicitly to change grammatical relations. This fact has been a source of embarrassment for the traditional explanation (Havránek 1968: 170):

Z hlediska syntaktického nemůže být u této konstrukce rozdíl mezi substantivy různého rodu a čísla.

Traditional attempts at explanation of this problem are not satisfactory; usually they rest on the notion that masculine animates distinguish nominative from accusative in a different way than feminine a-stem nouns. As Havránek

states (1968: 170):³²

Jde jen o to, že u substantiv neživotných (neosobních) je v sg. nominativ a akuzativ formálně rozlišen jen u substantiv tohoto typu (a u ostatních substantiv ženského rodu aspoň při shodném atributu).

While this is true, it is not clear how it could bear on a rule of subjectivization. Thus for example in English, pronouns distinguish case but nouns do not, yet there is no difference in behavior of nouns and pronouns in the John is easy to please construction, as (114) shows.

The existence of an animacy constraint is not consistent with the traditional hypothesis that the nominative noun represented a grammatical subject.

4.3.6 Oblique case constraint. As shown above (§3.3), the nominative in the nominative with infinitive construction appears only for noun phrases which would otherwise be accusative; it does not appear for oblique cases, in particular for the genitive. Thus, in (100) and (101) there are minimal contrasts of nominative vs. genitive in the same syntactic environment, the only difference being that the genitive appears with negated verbs.

The genitive in (100) and (101) could be interpreted either as replacing a potential nominative subject or nominative object. In the traditional hypothesis the nominative supposedly represents the subject of a predicational sentence. But the genitive which replaces nominative subjects appears

only in intransitive existential sentences, never in predicational sentences. The genitive in (100) and (101) therefore cannot be a subject genitive. On the other hand, the conditions for the appearance of the genitive in infinitival sentences like (100) and (101) are the same as the conditions for the use of the genitive for the object in finite personal sentences. Thus, the constraint on the genitive shows that the nominative in the nominative with infinitive construction represents an object, not a subject.

English of course has no direct analogue to the genitive of negation rule, but the lack of any comparable restriction can be shown by observing that English allows subjectivization of various prepositional complements, as in:

(117) my boss is easy to work for

(118) Mary is easy to relate to

(119) the Orioles are tough to make trades with

What determines (at least in part) whether an object may be subjectivized in English is whether or not it is possible to characterize the ability of the object to undergo the action; this is basically a semantic restriction, not a formal one, like the OR restriction on oblique cases.

4.3.7 Specificatory accusatives. As the converse to the oblique case restriction, Russian allows specificatory accusatives to undergo the nominative object rule; the rule applies to all accusatives. A subjectivization rule

presupposes that the subjectivized noun phrase must be semantically appropriate as the grammatical subject (so that it is the unique participant; it is typically definite, the topic or the focus, etc.); an adverbial specification is not semantically appropriate as a grammatical subject. Hence the application of the nominative object rule to specificatory complements is not consistent with the hypothesis of subjectivization.

English does not subjectivize specificatory complements:

(120) ?last summer was easy to stay in Marienbad

(121) ?the whole winter was difficult to work without gloves

Although English does not have productive cognate objects, it will suffice to compare fixed idioms to show that English does not subjectivize complements which are not semantically independent:

(122) *tabs were difficult to keep on John

(123) *a blank is not hard to draw in a math exam

Just as English subjectivizes prepositional complements which are not direct objects but are nevertheless semantically amenable, Russian nominativizes specificatory accusatives which are only formally appropriate; just as English does not subjectivize complements which are semantically inappropriate, Russian does not nominativize complements which are in oblique cases, and therefore formally inappropriate.

Nominativization of specificatory complements must be

an old property of the rule, dating back before the modern stage; this is clear from the fact that some dialects have the use of the nominative for temporal specification as their sole or primary reflex of the old rule (Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1961: 207; 1962: 17-18; Vysotskij 1949: 67). Thus, the nominativization of specificatory accusatives is another property of the rule which must be reconstructed for the original rule and which is not consistent with subjectivization.

4.3.8 Reflexivization. The fact that the nominative noun may be modified by the reflexive possessive adjective svoj shows that the nominative noun phrase is an object, and some other participant (the dative agent) is the subject, at the time of reflexivization. This fact is consistent with the hypothesis of the nominative object, but not with subjectivization.

English apparently has diametrically opposed behavior, as the subject cannot be reflexively possessed, as in:

(124a) it is not easy for a judge to sentence his
own son to prison

(124b) *his own son is not easy for a judge to sentence
to prison

On the other hand, the subject may induce reflexivization, as in:

(125) John is not easy for even his own mother to
love

4.4 These eight properties show that the nominative in the nominative with infinitive construction did not function as the grammatical subject in Old Russian, and that the rule governing its usage was not a rule of subjectivization, like the rule governing the English sentence type (3) John is easy to please. Rather, the nominative designated an object. The nominative was used regularly as object for a long period in Old Russian (through the sixteenth century), if regular usage is defined according to the eight properties described above. The nominative object rule was productive in this period, in that it was extended to include the gerund as a possible environment. It must be concluded that the use of the nominative for object was a motivated rule in Old Russian.

In what sense is the nominative object rule motivated in Old Russian? The answer to this question lies in the relationship between case and the environment in which the nominative object was used.

Let us first consider case. The nominal category of case specifies the relationship of the participant to the event.³³ The cases and the relationships which they specify have been described by Jakobson (1936) in terms of the binary oppositions exemplified in Figure 3 (omitting the second genitive and second locative).

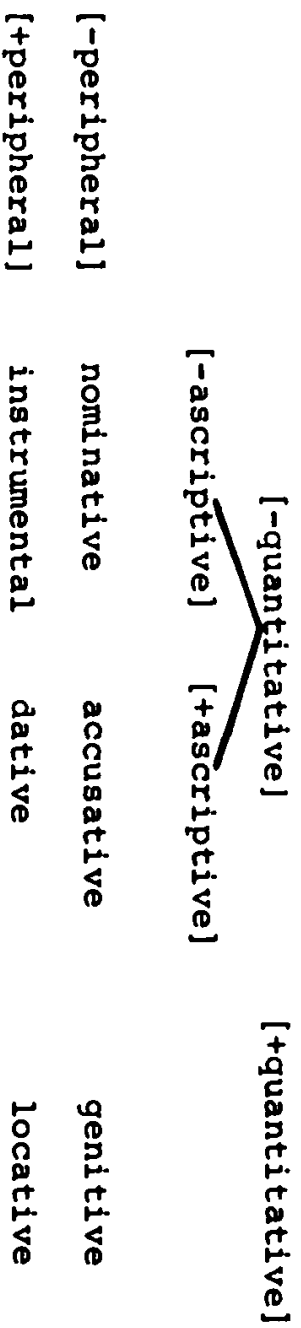


Fig. 3

The various cases (or case features) are ranked hierarchically according to their relative markedness or, equivalently, according to the relative explicitness and complexity of the relationships which they specify; in general, there is a correlation between the markedness of a case and the syntactic and/or semantic contexts in which it is used. It appears that the feature of peripherality is ranked over quantitivity, which is clearly ranked over ascriptivity. Thus, the locative is marked for both peripherality and quantitivity and it signals the most explicit kind of relationship of participant to event; it is necessarily further specified with a preposition in Russian. Among the nonperipheral cases, the genitive is more marked than the accusative or the nominative, and it signals that the relationship of participant to event is quantified:

Der G[enitiv] stets die Grenze der Teilnahme des bezeichneten Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage ankündigt (Jakobson 1936: 38).

The accusative is the least marked case, next to the nominative; it signals only that the action is directed towards the participant.

The nominative, as the completely unmarked case, signals no explicit relationship of the participant to the event. The primary function of the nominative is therefore to specify the grammatical subject, the uniquely central participant of the event. Thus, if the grammatical subject is represented by an overt constituent, it must be in the nominative.

In a systematically impersonal environment, there is no possibility that the sentence will contain a grammatical subject, and hence no possibility that the nominative will be used to specify a grammatical subject. In Old Russian the nominative is used to specify the object if and only if the syntactic environment is systematically impersonal. In such an environment the object is by default the most central participant of the event, given that there can be no subject. 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 use of the nominative for the subject of a personal verb and the use of the accusative for the object of a personal verb.

Participants which are specified by the genitive are not put in the nominative in systematically impersonal sentences because their relationship to the event is not measured in terms of centrality, but in terms of a separate parameter, quantification; quantification does not change in a systematically impersonal sentence.

This discussion suggests a way of describing the difference between languages which use the nominative for object (e.g. the northern dialects of Old Russian) and those which do not (e.g. the southern dialects of Old Russian). It seems that languages with the nominative object assign case

for at least the primary participants according to relative centrality -- the nominative is used to designate the most central participant, and the accusative to designate a less central participant. In languages without the nominative object the case of primary participants is assigned according to syntactic function -- the nominative designates the absolutely central participant, and the accusative a participant to whom the action is directed (ascribed).

It is not clear what consequences this typological difference in case systems has. It may have implications for the verbal category of voice. This seems to be the case for NR and SR dialects. NR dialects, which had the nominative object, have an impersonal passive, where the patient does not necessarily function as the grammatical subject. On the other hand, SR dialects and CSR do not have the nominative object, and have a personal passive, where the patient necessarily acts as the grammatical subject. This is perhaps because in languages without the nominative object there is no way of indicating that the patient is the most central participant without also specifying that it is the grammatical subject.

It remains to consider the animacy constraint. Pronouns and nouns which are grammatically animate remain in the accusative even in systematically impersonal environments. The reason for this is to be found in the relationship of animacy to case. In general, animates act as agents

and inanimates as patients in events. In a nominative-accusative case system, this means that animates are marked in object function, as accusatives. Thus, animate objects typically must be more explicitly specified than inanimate objects. For example, it became necessary in the history of Slavic to innovate a new desinence for the accusative of animates when the nominative and accusative fell together.

Because animates are marked as objects, 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. Or, put another way, an animate object has a syntactic relationship which is as marked or complex as that of any object in a personal sentence. Both types of object relationships represent marked or complex syntactic relationships; they count as equivalent, and both types require an explicit specification as accusative.³⁴

4.5 I have not yet discussed the question of how the nominative object is to be generated in a formal grammar. There are two possibilities. One possible hypothesis, suggested briefly by Ross (1967: 331) for Finnish, is that all objects are first specified as accusative, and objects in systematically impersonal environments are subsequently respecified as nominative. Similarly, genitive (or partitive) objects arise through the respecification of accusative objects as

genitive under certain conditions, including sentence negation. This hypothesis may be termed the case switching hypothesis.

The other possibility may be termed the case specification hypothesis. Under this hypothesis there are no case switching rules.³⁵ All noun phrases begin in the unmarked nominative case, and are specified for various cases (or case features) in descending order of markedness (as in Fig. 3). Thus, the peripheral cases are specified first; within nonperipheral cases, the genitive is assigned before the accusative. Noun phrases which have no explicit relationship to the event remain in the unmarked nominative case. For Old Russian, the object is specified as accusative only in personal environments or when it is animate; the object in a systematically impersonal environment remains in the nominative, as does the subject of a personal verb.³⁶ In the discussion above I have implicitly adopted this approach.

The choice between these hypotheses depends for the most part on various assumptions.³⁷ I feel the case specification hypothesis is preferable, in that it allows a more consistent view of the relationship between the markedness values of cases and the environments in which they are used. Under this approach, the accusative, which is marked with respect to the nominative, is specified in a positively defined environment (as the object of a personal verb), while the nominative arises by default in a negatively defined or

'elsewhere' environment (as the object of a systematically impersonal verb or the subject of a personal verb). Further, this approach allows a more natural statement of the animacy constraint. Pronouns and animates, which are marked in object function, are subject to the special condition that they are always specified accusative as objects. Under the case switching hypothesis, on the other hand, pronouns and animates have to be marked as exceptions to the rule which switches accusatives back to nominatives in systematically impersonal sentences; it is odd to have a special rule apply specifically to ordinary nouns.

Obviously, these two arguments for the case specification hypothesis depend on the assumption that rules should be formulated so as to perform special operations in special environments. This assumption is adopted in most work on phonology; for example, rules of allophonic variation are typically written so that special or marked allophones appear in specially defined environments, while the basic or unmarked allophone appears in the 'elsewhere' environment.

Another kind of evidence which is relevant for the choice between these hypotheses is historical change; an understanding of a given historical change sheds some light on both the initial and the resulting systems. In the following section (§5) I will examine the change of the nominative object from Old Russian into contemporary NR dialects. Among other things, this change suggests that the nominative object

rule was originally the nonapplication of the accusative specification rule, not a case switching rule.

5. The reanalysis of the nominative object in North Russian

5.1 In some properties contemporary NR dialects seem to continue directly the nominative object rule of Old Russian. In certain crucial properties, however, it is clear that the modern reflex of the nominative object is radically different from the old rule.³⁸ In this section I will argue that 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.

5.2 Modern dialects continue to use the nominative for the object of systematically impersonal infinitives. In particular, the nominative is still commonly used for the object of an independent infinitive.

(126) s kem mne-ka budět sveža ryba kušat'
nom. inf.

'with whom will it be possible for me to
eat fresh fish (nom.)?'
(from Mansikka 1912: 132)

In (126) the object ryba of the independent infinitive kušat' (with future auxiliary) is in the nominative.

(127) ne tebé na étovo konjá uzdá naděvát'
nom. inf.

'it is not for you to put a bridle (nom.)

on that horse'
(der. Musora Čerepoveckogo r-na Vologodsk. obl.; from Georgieva 1949)

Similarly, in (127) the object uzdá of the infinitive naděvát' is in the nominative. Cases of parallel usage, with nominative as object of an independent infinitive and accusative as object of infinitive dependent on finite personal verb, are also attested for modern dialects (Bicilli 1933: 202).

Even more commonly, the nominative is used for the object of an infinitive which is governed by an explicit modal predicative.

(128) mne nado sobaka s soboj vzjat'
mod. nom. inf.

'it is necessary for me to take a dog
(nom.) with me'

Thus, in (128) (from Šaxmatov 1941: §138) the infinitive vzjat' is governed by the modal predicative nado and takes its object sobaka in the nominative. Compare also:

(129) nado stel'ka klast'
mod. nom. inf.

'it is necessary to put down bedding
(nom.)'
(d. Šotkusa Lodejnpol'skogo r-na Len. obl.; from Georgieva 1949)

The list of modal predicatives includes nado 'necessary', možno 'possible', nužno 'necessary', vol'no 'free', and ljubo 'agreeable'. The increase of the use of the nominative object with infinitive governed by modal predicative at the expense of the independent infinitive presumably

does not represent a change in the nominative object rule; in modern Russian in general the independent infinitive is in the process of being replaced by the construction with infinitive governed by modal predicative.

The nominative is also used recursively for the object of an infinitive which is governed by an infinitive which is systematically impersonal.

(130) nadot' exat' paxat' pašnja
 mod. inf. inf. nom.

'it is necessary to go to plow the
 field (nom.)'
 (from Mansikka 1912: 131)

In (130) the infinitive exat' is systematically impersonal because it is subordinate to the modal predicative nado; as a consequence, the infinitive paxat', which is governed by exat', is also systematically impersonal and takes a nominative object.

Despite these similarities, the relationship between the use of the nominative object and systematically impersonal environments is not the same in modern NR dialects as in Old Russian. There are two differences. First, the use of the nominative for object in systematically impersonal environments has become optional in modern NR dialects; it is no longer obligatory (see Bicilli 1933 for examples). Its optional usage is probably correlated with stylistic parameters. The use of the nominative may have become stylistically coded as 'local' or 'rural' or 'old-fashioned', while the failure to use the nominative may have become

stylistically coded as 'urban' or 'contemporary'. Unfortunately, there is no reliable information about the stylistic value of the nominative object in contemporary NR dialects (see, however, fn. 3); it is also not clear whether the optional usage of the nominative object is the result of internal disintegration in NR dialects or the result of influence from the standard language.

Second, and more importantly, the nominative has come to be used in environments which are not systematically impersonal. Thus, the nominative form is found for the object of an infinitive governed by a finite personal verb, as in (131):

(131) xoču pit' xolodnaja voda
1 sg. inf. nom.

'I want to drink cold water (nom.)'
(d. Byldyžkino Vjal'e Čagodošč. r-na
Vologodsk. obl.; from Filin 1947: 19)

The nominative may be used for the object of a finite personal verb, as in (132):

(132) da vot voda nesu doma
nom. 1 sg.

'so there I carry water (nom.) home'
(d. Solza Primorskogo r-na Arx. obl.;
from Filin 1947: 19)

Rarely, the nominative is even used for the accusative complement of a preposition, as in (133):

(133) on idet na mogila
prep. nom.

'he is going to the grave (nom.)'
(d. Jalgansel'ga Pudožsk. r-na KF SSR;
from Filin 1947: 22)

Thus, the nominative form is no longer used only for the object of systematically impersonal verbs; it may be used for any accusative.

There are in addition other kinds of differences. So third, in modern dialects the nominative form can even substitute for cases other than accusative, as in the following examples, cited by Georgieva (1949).

- (134) u nás topér' síla-to málo
nom. quant.

'we have little strength (nom.) now'
(d. Jaščerovo Valdajsk. r-na Novg. obl.)

In (134) the quantifier málo requires the genitive but is used here with the nominative form.

- (135) T'ámka nedávno byl v bájna
prep. nom.

'T'amka was in the bath (nom.) not long ago'
(der. Avdeevo Pudožskogo r-na KF SSR)

In (135) the preposition v requires the locative case, but is used here with the nominative form.

As the examples above are intended to illustrate, there is a hierarchy of environments where the nominative form may substitute for other case forms. First, the substitution occurs for accusative before it occurs for other cases. Second, within accusative, it occurs for the object of verbs before it occurs for the object of prepositions. Third, within accusative objects of verbs, it occurs for nonfinite verbs (infinitives) before it occurs

for finite verbs. Fourth, within objects of infinitives, it occurs for systematically impersonal infinitives before it occurs for personal infinitives, that is, for infinitives governed by finite personal verbs. See Filin (1947) and Georgieva (1949) for documentation. These hierarchies are reflected at least in the statistical occurrence of the nominative substitution; thus, the substitution of nominative for the object of an infinitive is statistically much more common in dialect records than the substitution of nominative for the complement of a preposition. We would also expect these hierarchies to be reflected in (1) stylistic differences between different substitutions and (2) differences in relative geographical distribution of different substitutions. In general, there is poor documentation of these parameters, although Filin (1947) does mention that the substitution of the nominative form for objects of prepositions is geographically very restricted.

5.3 A fourth difference is that it became possible for the head noun and its modifier to disagree in case form. The lack of agreement in case form is first attested in Posoškov from 1724 (46-47), and it is attested in contemporary dialects:

(136) soloma-ta vsju rasfatajut
 nom. acc. 3 pl.

'they grab up all (acc.) the straw (nom.)'
 (d. Uxta Kargopol'sk. r-na Arx. obl.;
 from Filin 1947: 20)

In (136) the head noun soloma has a nominative form, while its modifier vsju has an accusative form.

(137) snjasí vot majú kasá
 impv. acc. nom.

'take down my (acc.) scythe (nom.) there'
 (d. Lekovskoe Os'minsk. r-na Len. obl.;
 from Georgieva 1949: 43)

Similarly, in (137) the head noun kasá has the nominative form and its modifier majú has the accusative form. From (136-37), and the examples cited in Filin (1947) and Georgieva (1949), it seems that if there is a discrepancy in case form, the head noun is usually nominative and the modifier accusative.

The fifth difference concerns the types of nominals which are subject to the revised rule. The rule became limited in its application among nouns to a-stem nouns in the singular and among modifiers to feminine modifiers in the singular. In other words, the rule became limited to those constituents which make a straightforward morphological distinction between nominative and accusative; it is on the basis of this limitation in the modern dialects that it is usually assumed that the rule was always limited to a-stem nouns. As I argued above (§3.1), however, this was not true for Old Russian; the rule formerly applied to all nouns except masculine animates and pronouns, even those which make no morphological distinction between nominative and accusative. It is only in modern form that the rule is limited morphologically.

Proof that the modern rule is constrained morphologically can be found in two ways. First, it was argued above (§3.1) that i-stem nouns (and other nouns which do not make a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative) were subject to the nominative object rule in Old Russian, although there was no morphological distinction between nominative and accusative. If these nouns were still subject to the new rule of nominative substitution, it could be expected that the nominative of such nouns would be substituted for oblique cases. However, the nominative form of i-stem nouns is never substituted for an oblique case; it is only a-stem nouns which are subject to this substitution (134-35). Thus, i-stem nouns do not participate in the nominative substitution rule.

(138) pridetsja vsja rož perevešivat'
 3 sg. nom. acc. inf.

'it is necessary to weigh all (nom.) the
 rye (acc.)'
 (from Saxmatov 1941: §138)

Accordingly, in (138) the i-stem noun must be interpreted as an accusative form; it is only the feminine modifier which has substituted nominative for accusative. This is possible because the modern rule operates at the level of individual constituents; it may apply to one constituent and not to another in a given noun phrase.

Conversely, the rule came to apply even to masc. an. nouns in the a-stem declension, as in:

- (139) pozovi sjuda Genka³⁹
 impv. nom.
 masc. an.

'call Genka (nom.) here'
 (from Kuz'mina and Nemčenko 1964: 152)

Formerly the rule did not apply to such nouns, as the accusatives (90) sudiju 'judge' and (91) svoego voevodu '(my) own general' show.

Therefore, as is usually assumed, the rule in the modern dialects is limited specifically to a-stem nouns and feminine adjectives in the singular.

5.4 Leaving aside the stylistic property of optional application, the four substantive properties of the modern rule which differ from the OR nominative object rule may be summarized as in (140):

- (140) i. not limited to systematically impersonal environments
 ii. not limited to accusative
 iii. operates at the level of individual constituents
 iv. limited to a-stem nouns and feminine modifiers in the singular

The first two properties suggest that the modern rule does not operate in a clearly defined syntactic environment; it does not appear to be a syntactic rule of case specification. The third property -- the fact that the rule may apply separately and differently to individual constituents of a noun phrase -- shows that the rule applies after the rule of concord, which provides for agreement in case between the constituents of a noun phrase. The modern rule must therefore

be a morphological rule. In the same way, the animate accusative was shown to be a morphological rule (§3.2). Finally, the fact that the modern rule applies to a class of nominals which is defined in purely morphological terms also shows that the rule is now morphological.

The rule may be defined as a rule of nominative syncretism; it allows for the substitution or syncretism of the nominative desinence with other case desinences of feminine a-stem nouns and feminine modifiers in the singular. The OR nominative object rule, on the other hand, was a syntactic rule of case specification. The change from the OR nominative object rule to the modern nominative syncretism rule may be described as the reanalysis of a syntactic rule of case specification as a morphological rule of syncretism.

5.5 Before discussing the motivation for the reanalysis, I would like to return to the distinction between syntactic rules of case specification and morphological rules. In principle, these two types of rules are distinct; syntactic rules of case specification do not refer to morphological information, and morphological rules do not refer to syntactic or semantic conditions (aside from grammatical categories). Violation of these principles can occur only during historical change, during the innovation or loss of a rule. When a given rule is fully developed (or lost), the reference to conditions outside of the appropriate component of grammar is lost.

The history of Russian furnishes examples of both types. On the one hand, consider the genitive of negation in CSR. It appears that the genitive of negation is subject to a morphological condition, in that it is less frequent for nouns in the a-stem declension than for other nouns. However, it is clear from a comparison of CSR with late nineteenth century or early twentieth century Russian that the genitive of negation has been considerably curtailed in its domain and is in the process of being lost; when it is lost, the morphological condition will be lost.

On the other hand, consider the animate accusative rule in Russian. The animate accusative now applies equally regularly to accusatives in all environments, but during the initial stages of its development it applied first and more regularly to animate direct objects than to animate prepositional objects.⁴⁰ As the rule developed, this syntactic condition was eliminated, because syntactic conditions on a morphological rule are in principle unmotivated.

These correlative principles governing the separation of morphological and syntactic rules of case will be important in the next two sections.

5.6 The motivation for the reanalysis of the nominative object rule as a morphological rule may lie in the extension of the animate accusative rule to feminine animate plurals. This extension implied that feminine animate nouns (e.g. žena

'wife') would not undergo the nominative object rule as plurals, since they became grammatically animate, although at the same time they should undergo the rule as singulars. There arose an inconsistency in the syntactic behavior of these nouns between singular and plural. This inconsistency implied that the restrictions on which nouns could undergo the rule had to be reformulated in terms of number and morphological class. This meant that the nominative object rule, as a syntactic rule of case specification, came to include morphological conditions on its operation; these conditions were in violation of the principles governing the separation of syntactic and morphological rules. The nominative object rule was therefore reanalyzed as a morphological rule.

When the reanalysis occurred, the new rule of nominative syncretism was formulated so as to account for the appearance of the nominative form of certain nominals in place of the accusative form. The rule was naturally restricted to a-stem nouns and feminine adjectives in the singular, since they were the only nominals which made a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative. They were therefore the only nominals which, from the morphological point of view, could be interpreted as having performed a morphological substitution of the nominative desinence for the accusative. When the reanalysis occurred, i-stem nouns and other nominals lacking a distinction between

nominative and accusative were naturally interpreted as being accusative forms, since there was no evidence that -- from the morphological point of view -- they were substituting the nominative desinence for the accusative. A rule of morphological substitution must be overt in order to be a rule.

The extension of the animate accusative rule to feminine animate plurals is attested from the sixteenth century (Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §158); the reanalysis of the nominative object rule could have occurred at any time subsequent to that. The extension of the animate accusative to feminine plurals is therefore plausible as an explanation for the reanalysis of the nominative object from the chronological as well as structural point of view.

5.7 When the reanalysis occurred, the new rule was not immediately actualized to its full extent. It was subject to a number of highly specific constraints which, at the outset, guaranteed that the output of the new nominative syncretism rule would not differ radically from the output of the old nominative object rule. Over time, these constraints were gradually eliminated from the rule. Different dialects show different stages in the elimination of these constraints.

The elimination of these constraints took place according to well-defined hierarchies. These are listed in (141):

- (141) (i) substitute for the head noun before

the modifier

- (ii) substitute for accusative before an oblique case
- (iii) within substitution for accusative,
 - (a) substitute for an accusative governed by a verb before a preposition
 - (b) within this, substitute for accusative object of infinitive before finite verb
 - (c) within this, for systematically impersonal infinitive before infinitive governed by a personal verb

The original constraints placed on the reanalyzed nominative syncretism rule, and the gradual way in which they were eliminated, insured that the change took place in a maximally gradual fashion, so there would be as little discontinuity as possible in surface output between successive generations of speakers.

The hierarchies in (141) indirectly reflect constraints on the nominative object rule which were formerly motivated as syntactic conditions on a syntactic rule of case specification. In general, however, syntactic conditions like those in (141.iii) are unmotivated for a morphological rule, as argued in §5.5; these conditions have been gradually eliminated from the modern nominative syncretism rule.

The gradual elimination of these syntactic restrictions on the new morphological rule is a clear instance of rule simplification, in the sense intended by generative grammar (P. Kiparsky 1968). It might be suggested that the whole

change of the nominative object rule to the nominative syncretism rule should be understood as a single change, simplification. This hypothesis would be misguided, however, since the newly formulated nominative syncretism was at its outset much more complex than the original nominative object rule, as the eventual elimination of the unnatural conditions demonstrates. Since the rule for a time became more complex rather than less complex, the change cannot be described only in terms of simplification.

In the change of the nominative object rule to the nominative syncretism rule, then, there are actually two kinds of historical change operating: a reanalysis and the actualization of the reanalysis through the elimination of unmotivated restrictions on the reanalyzed rule. These two changes represent instances of the two basic kinds of historical change defined by Andersen (1973). The reanalysis is an instance of abduction and the actualization is an instance of deduction. The history of the nominative object rule shows that the distinction between abductive and deductive changes is relevant for syntactic change as well as for phonological change. As Andersen argued (1973: 788), the reanalysis must have preceded and in a sense caused the actualization.

5.8 The reflex of the old nominative object rule as the nominative syncretism rule in modern NR dialects provides

support for two arguments made above.

First, the modern reflex shows that the original rule could not have been a rule of subjectivization; that is, the nominative could not have represented an original grammatical subject. If the rule were originally a subjectivization rule and it became unmotivated, it would probably have been eliminated outright, and the nominative would have been simply replaced with the accusative. There would have been no reason for the rule to have become morphological. The new morphological restrictions can be explained only as the reanalysis of some other sort of motivated restrictions, like gender; but presumably any rule with gender restrictions could not have been a subjectivization rule.

Second, this change also gives some evidence about whether the original nominative object rule represented a case switching rule or the nonapplication of the accusative specification rule in the theory of case specification. In the following I will present two arguments in favor of the theory of case specification based on the change of the nominative object. One argument concerns how the reanalysis took place and the other concerns the extension of the nominative syncretism rule. Both arguments are theoretical in nature.

Any reanalysis of this sort (any abductive change) involves a mistake on the part of the innovating generation about the set of rules which derive a given set of surface

data (Andersen 1973). In order for a wrong analysis to occur, the surface data from which the innovating generation is formulating its grammar must be ambiguous, in the sense that it must be possible to derive the data from two potentially different grammars, the grammar of the older generation and the reanalyzed grammar of the innovating generation. In this problem, the ambiguity occurs in sentences consisting of a nominative noun with an infinitive, where the nominative could be derived as a syntactic nominative object or as a syntactic accusative for which the nominative desinence has been substituted.

It is not clear that the reanalysis of the nominative object can be motivated in the case switching hypothesis. Under this theory the old rule and the new rule do essentially the same thing, although at different levels of grammar: both switch accusative (whether as syntactic case or as desinence) to nominative. In this theory, the ambiguity in surface data which would allow for the reanalysis is simply an ambiguity between syntactic case and morphological desinence substitution. But this ambiguity would exist for all instances of case switching rules. For example, the syntactic alternation of accusative and genitive in negative sentences would be stated in this theory as a rule switching accusative to genitive; this alternation would be ambiguous between a syntactic switching rule and a morphological rule substituting the genitive desinence for the accusative. Yet

the reanalysis of the genitive switching rule does not occur. If in fact case were specified through numerous case switches, changes of this kind should be common.

Under the theory of case specification, however, this change is natural because of the special status of the nominative. The unmarked nominative is not specified by any rule, but appears residually. The ambiguity in surface data through which the nominative object of the infinitive was reanalyzed as a morphological rule is then an ambiguity which is peculiar to the nominative and which would not arise for other cases.

The second argument concerns the extension of the nominative syncretism rule after the reanalysis had occurred. From the available data it appears that the reanalyzed rule is extended in the following way:

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| acc. des. | → | nom. des. | /_ systematically impersonal infinitive |
| | | | /_ personal infinitive |
| | | | /_ finite verb |
| | | | /_ preposition |
| gen. des. | → | nom. des. | |
| loc. des. | → | nom. des. | |

Fig. 4

There are two hierarchies here, one governing the extension of the rule to environments for the accusative and the other

governing the extension to other cases. The extension to other cases may occur before the extension to all environments for the accusative, but must follow at least the partial extension to other environments.

What is remarkable about these hierarchies is that they mirror (in an inverse fashion) exactly the hierarchies which may be supposed to be at work in the theory of case specification. Thus, the fact that the rule is extended first to the genitive and then to the locative is correlated with the fact that, in the case specification theory, the locative is specified before the genitive and the genitive before the accusative, while the nominative is residual. Furthermore, in the case specification theory the accusative is assigned only for objects of personal verbs and prepositions, and these are the last environments in which the nominative syncretism rule comes to operate for accusatives. The fact that these hierarchies govern the extension of the nominative syncretism rule suggests that they constitute a meta-system which governs both case specification and morphological substitution rules. The theory of case specification directly reflects these hierarchies, whereas the theory of case switching obscures them.

If these arguments are correct, it may be suggested as a general principle that case specification takes place hierarchically without case switching rules; further, switching rules are limited to morphological rules of desinence substitution.

6. Genetic perspective: Indo-European

6.1 The traditional explanation for the structural status of the nominative with infinitive implies a hypothesis about its genetic origin. Since it is not implausible that Slavic languages could have grammatical subjects in infinitival sentences, the construction could presumably be native. Either it was inherited from Indo-European through Common Slavic,⁴¹ or it was innovated within the East Slavic language area.⁴²

According to the traditional hypothesis, specifically North Russian dialects have preserved the construction best because of the conservative influence of contiguous Finnic languages, which have a similar construction. Yet the origin of the construction for North Russian should not be sought in Finnish, because the usage there is supposedly substantively different, although it was paradoxically similar enough to have exerted a conservative influence (V. Kiparsky 1960: 341; 1969a: 148; Filin 1969: 80).

To resolve this paradox let us examine the data of other Slavic, Baltic, and Finnic languages.

6.2 V. Kiparsky has suggested that the construction is of Common Slavic or even IE origin, on the basis of Vedic as well as Baltic and Slavic evidence.

The nominative object is not attested in Old Church

Slavonic; a relevant sentence is (142):

(142) viděti jestь silq xristosovq
 inf. cop. acc. adj.

'it is possible to see the power (acc.) of
 Christ; the power of Christ is visible'
 (Supr. 413, 16)

Here the object of the infinitive is accusative. Kiparsky asserts (1960; following Vondrák 1928: 228, 409) that this sentence would have a nominative if it were not for the accusative in the Greek original:

(143) ἔστι θεάσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ χριστοῦ

This assertion is not justified (Havráněk 1968: fn. 7). A thorough study of case usage with the infinitive in OCS by Haderka (1964) has shown that the nominative never occurs with the infinitive in a usage comparable to the NR nominative with infinitive.

The nominative with infinitive is not attested elsewhere in South Slavic.⁴³

The construction is not attested in Old Polish or any modern Polish dialect, nor in any other West Slavic language, with the possible exception of Old Czech.

The usage in Old Czech is structurally quite different from that in North Russian, and cannot be genetically related. The relevant sentences, from Gebauer (1929: §358) and Trávníček (1956: §§128A, 131.2), include:

(144) práce jest krásna hlédati
 nom. cop. adj. inf.
 3 sg. fem.sg.

'the work is beautiful to look at'

- (145) čistota jest všem líba slyšeti
 nom. cop. adj. inf.
 3 sg. fem.sg.

'cleanliness (clean things) is pleasing
 for all to hear'

In these sentences, consisting of copula plus predicate adjective governing an infinitive, the semantic object of the infinitive is in the nominative; the predicate adjective in each sentence is fem. singular, in agreement with the fem. sg. nominative noun.

Further, the copula agrees with the nominative noun, as in:

- (146) tyto věci sau potřebné znáti každému
 nom. cop. adj. inf.
 3 pl. fem. pl.

skladateli písní
 dat.

'these things are necessary for every
 composer of songs to know'

Here the copula sau is 3d pl. in agreement with the plural nominative (compare 3d sg. jest above); the predicate adjective is fem. plural. The existence of agreement is confirmed by (147):

- (147) těžek s' mi nésti, můj pane
 adj. cop. inf. voc.
 masc.sg. 2 sg.

'you are heavy for me to carry, my lord'

The copula s' agrees with an unexpressed second person singular participant. Evidently, these sentences have grammatical

subjects, and the nominative represents the grammatical subject.

There is no animacy restriction, for in (147) above the subject is 2nd sg. and necessarily animate.

(148) ktož jest snadný rozhněvati
pro. cop. adj. inf.

'whoever is easy to anger'

In (148) kto is the interrogative-relative pronoun for persons.

(149) člověk jest nejsnadnější přemoci
nom. cop. adj. inf.

'a man is easiest to overcome'

Further, in (149) člověk is masc. sg. animate. Both kto and člověk are subject to the animate accusative rule (acc.-gen. koho, acc.-gen. člověka).

It is apparent that the Old Czech construction is structurally different from the NR. The Old Czech construction is not a nominative object, but rather a canonical example of subjectivization: the semantic object of the infinitive functions as the grammatical subject of a sentence consisting of copula and predicate adjective governing an infinitive. Accordingly, (1) the copula agrees with the noun; (2) the predicate adjective agrees with the noun; and (3) there is no restriction on pronouns or animate nouns.

Because of these differences, the Old Czech construction cannot be genetically related to the NR nominative with infinitive. Under the circumstances, it is reasonable to

suppose that it is a borrowing from German, as Reiter (1953) and Filin (1969) suggest.⁴⁴

6.3 In the same way it is clear that the infinitive construction in Vedic is an instance of subjectivization, not the nominative object. The copula agrees with the nominative in person and number:

(150) svā́dman bhavantu pītáye mádhūni
 3 pl. inf. nom.
 pres.impv. pl.

'nach deinem Geschmack sollen die
 Süsstränke zum Trinken sein'
 (X, 29, 6; from Sgall 1958: 221)

Thus, in (150) the pres. impv. bhavantu agrees with the nominative plural mádhūni.

(151) syā́ma te dāváne vásūnām
 1 pl. inf.
 pres.opt.

'wir möchten dir zum Schenken der Güter
 (ausersehen) sein'
 (II, 11, 1; from Sgall 1958: 221)

Further, in (151) the pres. opt. syā́ma agrees with the unexpressed 1 pl. subject. The latter example shows further that there is no animacy constraint in the Vedic construction.

The Vedic infinitive construction is therefore subjective and may be identified typologically with the subjective constructions of English, German, or Old Czech; it cannot be identified typologically or genetically with the nominative object of North Russian.

6.4 Thus, there is no evidence for the nominative object in Indo-European outside of East Slavic (see §6.5 for Baltic).

Within East Slavic, the construction is attested to some degree in documents from South Russian (Kotkov 1959), from Belorussian (Potebnja 1958: 406; Karskij 1965: 163), and to a lesser degree, from Ukrainian (Tymčenko 1925: 15). Although it is sometimes assumed that these attestations reflect the original distribution of the construction, three facts argue against this assumption.

First and foremost, the construction is not attested in contemporary dialects in these regions. As stated above (§2.1), the construction is attested primarily in the NR dialect region at and above the 60th parallel, and more sporadically further to the west and to the south, especially in the western part of the central dialects as well as in a pocket around Rjazan'. It is not attested regularly anywhere in the BR or Ukr. language area. The lack of contemporary dialect support for the historical textual attestations suggests strongly that these attestations in SR, BR, and Ukr. documents were a product of the influence of the prestigious West Russian chancellery language during a certain historical period and do not reflect the spoken language.

Second, the construction is attested less regularly and over a much shorter period of time in documents from these regions. Thus, the nominative is not attested until

the sixteenth century in South Russian (Filin 1969: 76), and most of Kotkov's examples are from the seventeenth century; the construction was prominent in Belorussian in the thirteenth century, and declined in usage from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries (Filin 1969: 76). In contrast, the construction is attested regularly and continuously in documents from the NR area, where contemporary dialects prove that the construction was native.

Third, the construction is occasionally misused in documents from outside the NR area, during the period when it was used correctly in NR documents.

(152) *ma zaplatit' kopa grošej zemjaninovi*
 3 sg. inf. nom. dat.

'[the peasant] has to pay sixty (nom.)
 groš to the landholder'
 (AZR I, p. 225, 1501)

Thus, in BR (152) the nominative is used as the object of an infinitive governed by the personal verb *ma*.

(153) *i že o^t ty^x měst' s našimi dětmi čistaja*
věrnost' i polna budem' derža^t
 nom. 1 pl. inf.

'and from these places we with our
 children will keep our fidelity (nom.)
 pure and whole'
 (Gr. Dm. Kor., 1388)

Similarly, in Ukr. (153) the nominative is used as the object of an infinitive governed by the future auxiliary 1st pl. *budem'*. Although nothing certain can be said about the speech of the scribes who composed these texts, it is possible

that these irregularities represent hypercorrections on the part of scribes who did not have the nominative object usage in their speech;⁴⁵ the NR usage may have been interpreted as a stylistic option to be employed in certain formulae in official documents.

(154) privěsiti naša pečatъ
inf. nom.

'it is necessary to affix our seal (nom.)'

In this way the nominative in a standard formula like (154) could be interpreted as a property of this collocation of noun and verb in official style, and thereby be extended to a personal construction like (155):

(155) a na krěpo^s to^g lista privě^sli jesmo naša pečat^t
pl. l pl. nom.

'and in affirmation of this document we
have affixed our seal (nom.)'
(Gr. Dm. Ol'g., 1388)

The view that the construction once had a much wider distribution over the whole Russian or East Slavic language area is based on the traditional conception of the structural status of the construction. According to this view, the construction has been unmotivated throughout its entire attested history, so that it has been receding continuously in geographical distribution, and any textual attestation may be considered an archaism.

This approach confuses structural with sociolinguistic considerations. As demonstrated above (§5), the change in motivation of the rule led to its reanalysis as a different

kind of rule; it was not banished outright from the grammar. The changes in geographical distribution are caused by sociolinguistic influence. Thus, during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century the construction was apparently used in documents from regions outside of its original distribution in the spoken language, under the influence of the prestigious West Russian chancellery language, which was based on dialects which had the construction. More recently, the construction has been receding under the influence of the standard language, which does not have this usage.

The contemporary geographical distribution probably reflects to a large (although reduced) extent the original distribution of the construction. Certainly there is no basis for concluding that the construction was native to the whole East Slavic language area.

6.5 Within Baltic, the nominative object is not found in Old Prussian. In dialects of Lithuanian and Latvian, however, the nominative is used for direct objects in certain syntactic environments.⁴⁶ Although there are differences between Lithuanian and Latvian, and between either of them and Russian, it can be demonstrated that the use of the nominative in these languages is an instance of the nominative object rule and essentially similar to the NR usage. To emphasize the similarity of the two languages with each other

and of both with Russian, I will examine the data of both languages simultaneously, according to the eight-point format devised for Russian.

6.5.1 Agreement. Verbs in Baltic do not distinguish gender at all and do not distinguish number for third person subjects, so the form of the auxiliary or of the impersonal matrix verb reveals nothing about the agreement properties of the nominative noun.

However, when the predicative of which the infinitive is the subject is an adjective, there is no agreement. Thus for Lithuanian:

(156) šūlinio vanduo sveika gerti
 nom. adj. inf.
 n.sg.

'it is healthy to drink well water (nom.)'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 161)

In (156) the predicate adjective is neut. singular, the form appropriate for impersonal sentences, and is not in agreement with the masc. sg. nominative noun.

(157) tokie darbai lengva dirbti
 nom. adj. inf.
 m.pl. n.sg.

'it is easy to do such things (nom.)'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 162)

And in Lithuanian (157), the nominative noun is masc. pl., while the predicate adjective is again neut. sg.

In Latvian the sentence type with an infinitive as the subject of a predicate adjective seems to be rare.

- (158) nùosûnuojis akmins grûti kustinât
 nom. adj. inf.

'it is difficult to move a mossy stone
 (nom.)'
 (from Endzelin 1923: §392)

But in (158) the impersonal predicative is the adverb grûti, derived from an adjective; if the predicate agreed with the nominative, the adjective would be used.

Thus, the predicative does not agree with the nominative in the Baltic construction, so that the nominative cannot be the grammatical subject; the infinitive is the subject.

6.5.2 Systematically impersonal environment. The nominative for object in Baltic is used only in systematically impersonal environments, when the infinitive is either used independently or is the subject of an impersonal predicative. As in Old Russian, several subtypes may be distinguished.

For the independent infinitive in Lithuanian, compare:

- (159) s s s
 nams pastatit -- ne kepure pakélt'
 nom. inf. nom. inf.

'to build a house (nom.) is not to take
 off your cap (nom.)'
 (from Larin 1963: 101)

- (160) visi nusigañdo, nežlno ne kàs pradėti
 3 nom. inf.

'all frightened, she did not know even
 what (nom.) to begin'
 (from Senn 1957: 26.14)

In (160) the independent infinitive is an embedded indirect question, a sentential complement to the finite verb nežlno;

this sentence is then parallel to OR (16) sama by znala kakъ muka sējati. An explicit agent may be expressed in the dative, as in:

(161) mañ gyvuliaĩ^s sutvarkit'
dat. nom. inf.

'it is for me (dat.) to take care of the
cows (nom.)'
(from Larin 1963: 101)

The independent infinitive construction is rare in Latvian, not because it is structurally unmotivated, but because it is replaced by a semantically equivalent construction, the debitive; nevertheless we find:

(162) kungam ēst tei maizīte
dat. inf. nom.

'it is for the master to eat this bread
(nom.)'
(from Endzelin 1923: §392)

The nominative occurs as the object of an infinitive which is the subject of impersonal predicatives, both verbal and nonverbal. For nonverbal predicatives, the case with adjectives was illustrated above in (156-58). The nominative can occur with an infinitive which is the subject of a predicate noun:

(163) jau metas ir avižos sėti
nom. nom. inf.

'it is already time to sow the rye (nom.)'
(from Jablonskis 1957: 162)

Here the predicative is the nominative noun metas. I have found one Lith. sentence with a past passive participle as the predicate:

- (164) dárbas jō nemokėta dirbti
 nom. part. inf.
 neut.sg.

'it is not understood by him how to do
 the work (nom.)'
 (from NSS s.v. mokėti)

Here the infinitive is the (derived) subject of the past passive participle, in the neut. sg. form of impersonal sentences.⁴⁷

The infinitive as subject of a verbal impersonal predicate is particularly common in Baltic. For Lithuanian compare:

- (165) ką bedarys, reikia duoti žodis
 imp. inf. nom.

'what can you do, it is necessary to
 give your word (nom.)'
 (from Senn 1957: 26.11)

- (166) nutiko prieš liety šiėnas pasigauti
 imp. nom. inf.

'it turned out for them to gather the
 hay (nom.) before the rain'
 (from Larin 1963: 101)

A dative agent may of course be expressed:

- (167) reikty tau pasiriñkti narsūs kunigáikštis
 imp. dat. inf. nom.

'it will be necessary for you (dat.) to
 choose a brave prince (nom.)'
 (from Senn 1957: 119.17)

Similarly in Latvian, the verb vajadzēt takes an infinitival subject with nominative object, as in:

- (168) ziņgs vajadzēs mazgāt
 nom. imp. inf.

'it will be necessary to bathe the

horse (nom.)'
(from Endzelin 1923: §392)

The dative agent with this construction is illustrated for Latvian by:

(169) man tīkas siens plāut
dat. imp. nom. inf.

'it is agreeable to me (dat.) to mow
hay (nom.)'
(from Endzelin 1923: §789b)

The environments illustrated here, where the infinitive is used independently or as the subject of an impersonal predicate, are all systematically impersonal, in exactly the same way as the corresponding environments in Old Russian; there is no possibility of a personal grammatical subject in the nominative.

6.5.3 Noninfinitive form. In both Lithuanian and Latvian dialects the nominative may be used as the object of a verb form which is not an infinitive. Here the languages diverge: Lithuanian uses the nominative for the object of the gerund and Latvian uses the nominative for the object of the debitive.⁴⁸

For the gerund in Lithuanian, two cases may be distinguished: environments where the gerund competes with or replaces the infinitive in certain dialects (Senn 1966: §1116.6) and environments where it does not. For the first case, when the gerund replaces the infinitive in function, compare:

(170) bu.t g^seraĩ tãks aĩk^sli.s go.vus
 aux. adv. nom. ger.

'it would be good to find (having found)
 such a horse (nom.)'
 (from Larin 1963: 102)

In (170) the past gerund g^so.vus is the subject of the matrix sentence, in an environment where in other dialects we would expect an infinitive. Like an infinitive in this environment, the gerund in (170) has a nominative object.

(171) ar nežinai, Jonai, kur čia piningas žmogus
 nom.

apėjus?
 ger.

'do you know, Jonas, where it is possible
 to find a rich man (nom.) here?'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 560)

Further, in (171) the gerund is used in place of an independent infinitive, as an embedded question comparable to Lith. (160) or OR (16). The gerund may resemble the infinitive to the extent that it even takes a dative agent:

(172) taĩ kãs če mán padãr^sus
 nom. dat. ger.

'what (nom.) is there for me to do?'
 (from Larin 1963: 102)

For the second case, where the gerund does not replace the infinitive, compare:

(173) kožnas dãrbas đĩrbunt mõksla raĩka
 nom. ger. acc. imp.

'doing any job (nom.), it is necessary
 to have knowledge'
 (from Larin 1963: 102)

In (173) the matrix sentence is the impersonal verb raĩka with an accusative complement moksla^s; the present gerund dĩrbunt is an adverbial modifier to the impersonal matrix sentence, and therefore has its object dárbas in the nominative.

(174) linaĩ rá.ununt reĩk´a šĩ.ltai apsiviĩkte
 nom. ger. imp. adv. inf.

'gathering flax (nom.) it is necessary
 to dress warmly'
 (from Larin 1963: 102)

Also, in (174) the matrix verb reĩk´a is impersonal, since it has the intransitive infinitive apsiviĩkte as subject; the present gerund rá.ununt is an adverbial modifier and takes nominative object linaĩ. The logical subject of the gerund is the unexpressed logical subject of the infinitive. (174) is especially interesting, for it is exactly parallel to the OR type with gerund subordinated to independent infinitive, illustrated above by (39-41, 44); Lith. (174) establishes the validity of these OR sentences beyond question.

The same argument applies to the gerund in Lithuanian as in Russian: like the infinitive, the gerund implies the existence of a logical subject, which cannot function as the grammatical subject of the gerund as such; it must fulfill some other function, defined by the matrix sentence. When the gerund is used in impersonal environments,⁴⁹ it is systematically impersonal, and is therefore an environment for

the nominative object rule. The fact that the gerund can compete in function with the infinitive in some Lithuanian dialects demonstrates the functional similarity of the gerund and the infinitive as nonfinite verbal forms.

In the standard language and the dialects, Latvian uses the nominative for the object of the debitive mood. The debitive is an invariant verbal form which is formed by the addition of a prefix (jā for most dialects) to the third person present tense of the verb (with one exception). Syntactically, the logical subject is expressed in the dative (if at all), and if the verb is transitive, the object is expressed in the nominative.⁵⁰ Compare these examples (Lazdiņa 1966: §314):

- (175a) viņš lasa grāmatu
nom. indic. acc.
'he is reading a book (acc.)'
- (175b) viņam jālasa grāmata
dat. deb. nom.
'he must read a book (nom.)'
- (176a) es lasu grāmatu
nom. indic. acc.
'I am reading a book (acc.)'
- (176b) man jālasa grāmata
dat. deb. nom.
'I must read a book (nom.)'

The logical subject may remain unexpressed, as in:

- (177) lini jānovāc ātri
nom. deb.

'it is necessary to gather up the
flax (nom.) quickly'
(from Mllvg I. §763)

(178) plāns jāveic laikā
nom. deb.

'it is necessary to fulfill the
plan (nom.) on time'
(from Mllvg I. §452)

In both (177) and (178) the logical subject is the generic or indefinite participant, and is not represented by an overt constituent; in both cases the object of the debitive is nominative.

The debitive is an innovation which is peculiar to Latvian (see Stang 1960: 436-37; Endzelin 1901; 1923: §§759, 690, 312), and as such it cannot be compared directly to the infinitive or gerund in Old Russian or Lithuanian. Nevertheless, the debitive is a motivated environment for the nominative object, because it is systematically impersonal.

This point may be established in two stages. First, the derived nominative participant is not the subject, so that the debitive is strictly impersonal. This is not immediately obvious, since the debitive is an invariant form, and even in compound tenses the auxiliary reveals nothing about agreement (since there is no distinction of number in third person verbs in Baltic). But it will be demonstrated throughout this section that the nominative with the debitive has all of the properties of a nominative object, and none of a grammatical subject. In particular,

the debitive obeys the Baltic version of the animacy constraint (§6.5.5), whereby certain pronouns are in the accusative as the object of the debitive. By virtue of this constraint, the nominative noun illustrated above is in alternation with an accusative in exactly the same syntactic environment, with only a difference in pronominal features determining a difference in case. Since the accusative pronoun could not be the grammatical subject, the nominative noun also cannot be a subject, and the debitive is strictly impersonal.⁵¹

Moreover, the debitive is systematically impersonal. It implies the existence of a logical subject, to whom the modal character of the debitive is directed; but the logical subject cannot be expressed as the grammatical subject in the nominative. Either it remains unexpressed, as the generic participant, or it is expressed in the dative case.

Because the debitive is a finite form, it is inherently systematically impersonal, without reference to its syntactic context. In this respect the debitive contrasts with the infinitive and the gerund which, because they are nonfinite forms expressing syntactic subordination, are necessarily personal or systematically impersonal depending on the syntactic context. Finnish offers a parallel to Latvian, in that it has finite verbal forms which are inherently systematically impersonal (the passive and the imperative).

Thus, both Lithuanian and Latvian use the nominative for the object of at least one verbal form other than the infinitive: the gerund in Lithuanian and the debitive in Latvian. In addition, both languages may use the nominative for the object of a passive participle without agreement between the nominative noun and the participle (Senn 1966: §796; Larin 1963: 102). I hope to discuss this phenomenon at another time, in conjunction with the comparable problem in NR dialects (see §2.10).

6.5.4 Recursiveness. The environment for the nominative object in both Lithuanian and Latvian must be defined recursively. Thus, an infinitive which is governed by a systematically impersonal verb will also be systematically impersonal and take a nominative object.

Consider the following Lithuanian sentence:

(179) reiks pradėti šienas piauti
 imp. inf. nom. inf.

'it will be necessary to begin to mow
 the hay (nom.)'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 162)

In (179) the matrix verb is the impersonal verb reikėti. It governs the infinitive pradėti, which is therefore systematically impersonal; in turn, pradėti governs a further infinitive piauti, which is also systematically impersonal and takes a nominative object.

(180) tik nereiks stengtis rašant pažodžiui versti
 imp. inf. ger. adv. inf.

kitos kalbos žodžiai
 gen. nom.

'it will not be necessary to attempt to
 translate the words (nom.) of the other
 language literally when writing'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 562)

Similarly, in (180) the infinitive versti is doubly embedded under the matrix verb reikėti; it is therefore systematically impersonal and takes a nominative object.

(181) jau seniai metas būty pradėti kaip reikiant
 nom. aux. inf. ger.

tirti mūsų kraštas
 inf. gen. nom.

'it is already high time to begin to
 investigate our land (nom.) as is
 fitting'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 564)

Finally, in (181) the infinitive tirti is doubly embedded and takes a nominative object.

In Latvian, sentences which illustrate the recursive character of the environment fall into two classes: first, the infinitive governed by a debitive and second, the infinitive governed by another infinitive which is a subject infinitive. The first class is illustrated by (182):

(182) zēnam jābrauc mežā žagari lasīt
 dat. deb. nom. inf.

'the youth must go into the forest to
 gather brushwood (nom.)'
 (from Endzelin 1923: §759)

In (182) the infinitive lasīt is systematically impersonal

because it is governed by the debitive jābrauc; accordingly it has its object in the nominative.⁵²

(183) pļaujus laiks, drīz būs jāśāk kult labība
cop. deb. inf. nom.

'it is the time of harvest, soon it will
be necessary to start to thresh the
wheat (nom.)'
(from Mllvg. I. §763)

Similarly, in (183) the infinitive kult has a nominative object because it is governed by the debitive jāśāk.

The second class of recursive sentences in Latvian is illustrated by the following:

(184) vaidzēja celtīs gails kaut
imp. inf. nom. inf.

'it was necessary to get up to kill the
rooster (nom.)'
(from Endzelin 1951: §392)

Here the first infinitive celtīs is the subject of a matrix impersonal verb; it is therefore systematically impersonal, as is the infinitive kaut which it governs, and which takes a nominative object. Compare also:

(185) vajag nākt piens dzert
imp. inf. nom. inf.

'it is necessary to go to drink milk (nom.)'
(from Larin 1963: 104)

These sentences confirm that the debitive is a systematically impersonal verb form and that the nominative is not the subject. Because the infinitive governed by the debitive takes a nominative object in the same way that the infinitive governed by a systematically impersonal infinitive does, the

debitive must be systematically impersonal.

In both Lithuanian and Latvian, then, the appropriate environment for the nominative must be defined recursively. When the nonfinite verb form (infinitive or gerund) is governed by a verb form which is itself systematically impersonal (infinitive or debitive), that nonfinite form will be systematically impersonal and take a nominative object.

6.5.5 Animacy constraint. It is obvious that there are no restrictions in Baltic on the nominative object rule which refer to noun classes or animate gender; note Lithuanian (161) gyvuliai 'cows', (167) kunigaikštis 'prince', (170) aĩklis 'horse', (171) žmogus 'man', and Latvian (168) ziĩgs 'horse', (184) gails 'rooster'.

Nevertheless, Baltic languages do have a constraint on which nominals may become nominative. In Latvian, according to Endzelin (1923: §759), the first and second person pronouns remain in the accusative after the debitive:⁵³

(186) maĩ t'ėvi tagad juopamat
 dat. acc. deb.
 2 sg.

'I must now leave you (acc.)'

Lazdiņa (1966: §315) formulates the same rule, and cites:

(187) man tevi jālũdz
 dat. acc. deb.

'I must beg you (acc.)'

(188) tev mani jālũdz
 dat. acc. deb.

'you must beg me (acc.)'

In Mllvg. (I. §763; II. §428.1.10) the authors note further that the reflexive pronoun (for all persons) likewise remains in the accusative:

(189) ar masu sevi jāceļ
 dat. acc. deb.
 refl.

'it is necessary for us to uplift
 ourselves (acc.)'

(190) ak sirds, tev pašai sevi jāstāp
 dat. acc. deb.
 refl.

'oh heart, it is necessary for you to
 confront yourself (acc.)'

(191) jācienī arī sevi
 deb. acc.
 refl.

'it is necessary to respect oneself (acc.)'

Evidently, the antecedent of the reflexive is not relevant to the constraint (first, second, and implicit third person antecedents, respectively, in the three examples).

Although no examples are cited in the literature, the explicit formulation of the pronoun restriction implies that third person pronouns are not subject to the restriction, and become nominative like ordinary nouns. This may be illustrated from Lithuanian:

(192) dar reiké jiē užpūlti ir išvyti iš
 imp. nom. inf. inf. prep.
 3 pl.

kunigaikštijos
 gen.

'it was still necessary to attack them
(nom.) and expel them from the kingdom'
(from Senn 1957: 120.12)

In (192) the 3d pl. pronoun jiẽ is the nominative object of a systematically impersonal infinitive. Compare also:

(193) ãnt pẽczaus reĩks jẽ pasodĩt
 imp. nom. inf.
 3 pl.

'it will be necessary to put them (nom.)
on the oven'
(from Brugmann 1916: §818)

Unfortunately, I do not have unambiguous data for first and second person pronouns in Lithuanian;⁵⁴ but in view of the structural similarity of Latvian and Lithuanian, it is likely that the constraint on pronouns is the same for both languages. We may tentatively accept a composite view of the pronoun constraint in Baltic as follows: first person, second person, and reflexive pronouns remain in the accusative in environments appropriate for the nominative object.

The constraint on pronouns is, I claim, an instance of the same type of restriction as the animacy constraint in Old Russian, although the specific content of the restriction is different. The first, second, and reflexive pronouns are inherently or at least typically animate; they are marked in object function relative to third person pronouns and nouns in the same way that animate nouns are marked in object function relative to inanimates, as discussed above in §4.4.

The difference in content of the constraints in Baltic and Old Russian must in some way be a reflection of other

structural differences between the languages. The explanation of this difference is best delayed until the discussion of the animacy constraint in Finnish, which has yet another -- in fact intermediate -- version of the constraint. Still, it may be noted that in Old Russian the constraint did not apply to all semantic animates, but only to masculine animates. These nouns obey the animate accusative rule and in this way are formally and grammatically defined as animate. Since an animate gender is not grammatically defined in the same way for nouns in Baltic, the animacy constraint cannot be implemented for nouns. Rather, it can be implemented only for personal pronouns (first, second, and reflexive), which are inherently animate.

Generically, then, the pronoun constraint in Baltic is a type of animacy constraint.

6.5.6 Oblique case constraint. To illustrate the oblique case constraint in Lithuanian, (194) is a minimal contrast:

(194) kaip čia parsinėšus vandens be kiblo ir
 ger. gen.

įsimaĩšius ragaĩšis be rĩky
 ger. nom.

'[Eglė wonders], how it is possible to bring herself here some water (gen.) without a bucket and mix herself the bread (nom.) without containers'
 (from Senn 1957: 28.05)

In (194) the two gerunds parsinėšus and įsimaĩšius are used as parallel independent gerunds, where other dialects would

have infinitives. The object of the first gerund is genitive because semantically it is partitive, while the object of the second is nominative.

Jablonskis (1957: 162) recognized this constraint and exemplified it with the following contrast, in which the genitive object is motivated by negation:

(195) jaũ namaĩ matýti
nom. inf.

'already it is possible to see the house
(nom.)'

(196) namũ nematýti
gen. inf.

'it is not possible to see the house
(gen.)'

For Latvian, Endzelin (1923: §789b) points out that the object will be genitive instead of nominative, "wenn das regierende Verbum einen Genitiv verlangt."

(197) Juŗģa dienā vajaga miežu sēt
loc. imp. gen. inf.

'on George's day, it is necessary to sow
barley (gen.)'

Thus, in (197) the object miežu is partitive and therefore in the genitive case, not the nominative.⁵⁵

6.5.7 Specificatory accusatives. As in Old Russian, specificatory accusatives are put into the nominative. In Baltic, three subtypes may be discerned. For cognate objects, compare the Lith. sentence:

(198) tal łabal gẽra miegót miegẽlyš
adj. inf. nom.

'it is very good to sleep a little
sleep (nom.)'
(from Specht 1920: 420.24)

The infinitive miegót is normally intransitive, but here governs a cognate object miegēl̃ys, which is in the nominative because of the syntactic context.

For accusatives of temporal specification, there is the Latvian sentence:

(199) nedēļa vaidzēja iztikt
nom. imp. inf.

'it is necessary to get by for a week
(nom.)'
(from Endzelin 1951: §392)

(200) ta mūžiņš jādžīvū
nom. deb.

'this life (nom.) [I] must live'
(from Endzelin 1901: 74)

In (199) and (200) the verbs are inherently intransitive, as are the verbs in the following Lithuanian examples (Jablonskis 1957: 561-62):

(201) jam teks dabar vaikščioti kelios dienas su
dat. imp. inf. nom.
ramentu

'it will be necessary for him to walk with
a crutch for a few days (nom.)'

(202) netrukus ir tau teks kelios dienas pasitraukti
dat. imp. nom. inf.
iš tarnybos

'it will be necessary for you to take off
from work for a few days (nom.) imme-
diately'

In (201-02), the temporal specification kelios dienas is in

the nominative, since the infinitive in each case is the subject of the impersonal verb teks.⁵⁶

For the accusative goal of motion, compare the Lith. example:

- (203) bep̃lgu kiaũlei: neĩ d̃arbas d̃irbti, neĩ
 adj. dat. nom. inf.
 m̃okslas eĩti
 nom. inf.

'it is good for the pig: it is not necessary to do work (nom.), nor to go to school (nom.)'
 (from Jablonskis 1957: 561)

The verb eĩti is a normally intransitive verb of motion, but takes a goal of motion in this idiom.

Thus, both Lithuanian and Latvian use the nominative for specificatory complements.

6.5.8 Reflexivization. The data of reflexivization show two cases of interest: reflexivization of the direct object itself and reflexivization of the possessor of the direct object.

The first case was illustrated above for Latvian by (189-91), for which the direct object in a systematically impersonal environment is the accusative reflexive pronoun sevi.

The second case is illustrated for Lithuanian by the following:

- (204) teĩp pasĩs'ake zabõlui ... atgaut' s̃awo skõrbas
 imp. dat. inf. refl. nom.
 gen.

'thus it happened to the blind man to
get back his own treasure (nom.)'
(from Specht 1920: 9.24)

In (204) the object skórbas of the subject infinitive atgáut¹ is nominative, and is modified by the genitive of the reflexive pronoun, referring back to the dative agent žabōlui.

(205) kaip reikia savo gimtoji šnekta tirti
imp. refl. nom. inf.
gen.

'how it is necessary for them to investi-
gate their own native speech (nom.)'
(from Jablonskis 1957: 562)

In (205) the nominative object is modified by the genitive of the reflexive pronoun, referring to the implicit generic agent.

It is clear that, as in Old Russian, reflexivization operates from the implicit or explicit dative agent to other participants, including a potential nominative object or its possessor. The nominative object is therefore not the subject from the point of view of reflexivization.

6.6 Despite minor lacunae (principally the lack of Lith. sentences with first and second person pronouns), the data above are sufficient to show that dialects of Lithuanian and Latvian possess a nominative object rule: a participant which would otherwise be designated as accusative is designated as nominative in systematically impersonal environments, when there is no possibility of a grammatical subject in the nominative.

The explanations for the nominative as object which are offered in the grammatical tradition are familiar. Thus for Latvian, Endzelin states (1923: §392):

Als der Infinitiv noch eine lebendige Kasusform war, konnte das Objekt der durch den Infinitiv ausgedrückten Handlung als grammatisches Subjekt im Nominativ erscheinen, und auch nachdem der Infinitiv zu einer rein verbalen Form geworden ist, kann sein Objekt noch immer als grammatisches Subjekt im Nominativ erscheinen, wenn der Infinitiv durch ein modales Adverb bestimmt ist.

Similarly for Lithuanian, Jablonskis (1957: 458-59) and V. Kiparsky (1960) argue that the nominative represents an original subject.

For the same reasons that the nominative object cannot be a grammatical subject in Old Russian, it cannot be a grammatical subject in Lithuanian or Latvian. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the nominative was historically once a subject. Contrary to the traditional explanation, the nominative object rule is synchronically motivated; it is used regularly according to the conditions established above. Further, the rule was extended at some point in time to include the debitive innovated in Latvian and to include the gerund which functionally replaced the infinitive in some Lithuanian dialects. These extensions show that the rule is productive and not a moribund or degenerate inheritance.

Thus, the use of the nominative in Lithuanian and Latvian dialects is an instance of a motivated nominative object rule, and could conceivably be genetically related to

the nominative object rule in Old Russian. The rule is found only dialectally in these languages, and is not found in Old Prussian, suggesting that it would be unwise to reconstruct the rule for Common Baltic.

7. Genetic perspective: West Finnic

7.1 The use of the nominative as object in certain syntactic environments is found in the West Finnic languages, and in Standard Finnish in particular.⁵⁷ In the following investigation my purpose is twofold: first, to determine the structural status of the rule in Finnish, and second, to demonstrate that the rule is the same type of rule as that of Baltic and Old Russian, and so could have served as the historical source for the nominative object in these languages.

The discussion here will be limited to Standard Finnish, for reasons of scope and accessibility. In this way some distortion of the genetic perspective may be introduced, in that Finnish may have changed from the time of contact with Baltic and Russian, Finnish or its direct ancestor was not necessarily the source language for this construction, and the source language may have been different for Baltic than for Russian. Nevertheless, this limitation is justified because we are concerned with the nominative object in West Finnic primarily as a rule type. It can be demonstrated that the rule is identical in its essential structural features throughout West Finnic.⁵⁸

7.2 The syntactic investigation presupposes some knowledge of the morphological system. The nominal declensional system

includes the following desinences for the grammatical cases (adapted from Lehtinen 1963: app. 1):

| | <u>sg.</u> | <u>pl.</u> |
|-------|------------|------------------------------|
| nom. | -Ø | -t |
| acc. | -n | -t |
| gen. | -n | -i/jen~ -ten~ -iden (-itten) |
| part. | -a~-ta | -i/ja~-ia~-ita |

Fig. 5

The analysis of the case system used here follows Eliot (1890) and Wickman (1955: 13). It differs from two other analyses found in descriptions of Finnish. The most widely accepted of these states that Finnish has two accusatives for nouns in the singular, one syncretic with the genitive and the other syncretic with (but not syntactically equal to) the nominative.⁵⁹ Under this analysis it is impossible to explain why the nominative form is used for the object in environments which can only be characterized syntactically.

The other analysis states that Finnish has no accusative at all for nouns; the object is in either the genitive or the nominative in the singular, and in the nominative in the plural.⁶⁰ Under this analysis it is impossible to reconcile the nominal declension with the pronominal declension (which has an accusative distinct from both the nominative

and the genitive). Further, it implies a rather large difference in the syntactic behavior of nouns between the singular and the plural.

If it can be shown that the use of the nominative for object in Finnish is syntactically motivated, these two analyses of the case system may be disregarded.

It may be observed that the accusative is syncretic with the nominative in the plural. Because of the syncretism in the plural, it is not possible to tell if the plural object is nominative or accusative in environments where the singular noun is unambiguously nominative. However, if it can be shown that the use of the nominative for object in the singular is motivated, then it may be assumed that the nominative is used for the plural object as well.

7.3 The nominative is used for the object in Finnish basically in three environments: (1) for the object of certain infinitives, (2) for the object of the passive, and (3) for the object of the imperative.

A familiar environment for the nominative is as the object of an infinitive which is the subject of an impersonal matrix predicate. This type includes impersonal verbs with modal semantic value (Setälä 1952: §26.IId; Penttilä 1957: §401.4d; Hakulinen 1960: 260-261):

(206) se täytyy tehdä⁶¹
 nom. imp. inf. I

'it is necessary to do it (nom.)'

Here täytyy is an impersonal modal verb, with Infinitive I tehdä as its subject; the object se of the infinitive is nominative.

In (206) the logical subject is an indefinite or generalized agent; an agent may be specified explicitly in the genitive:

(207) minun täytyy kirjoittaa kirje
gen. imp. inf.I nom.

'it is necessary for me to write a letter (nom.)'

'I must write a letter (nom.)'

(208) minun täytyy hakea kuusi
gen. imp. inf.I nom.

'it is necessary for me to get the spruce (nom.)'

Evidently, the nominative noun is not the subject of the sentence, since the verb remains in the singular when the object is plural:

(209) minun täytyy kirjoittaa kirjeet
gen. imp. inf.I nom.pl.
3 sg.

'it is necessary for me to write the letters (nom.)'

(210) Liisan pitäisi tuoda sukset
gen. imp. inf.I nom.pl.
3 sg.

'Lisa should bring the skis (nom.)'

The nominative occurs as the object of an infinitive which is the subject of a predicate adjective or noun.

(211) on hyvä tehdä se
 cop. adj. inf. nom.
 I

'it is good to do that (nom.)'

In (211) the predicate is the adjective hyvä with infinitival subject tehdä and nominative object se.

(212) on sääli ostaa uusi auto
 cop. nom. inf.I nom.

'it is a pity to buy a new car (nom.)'

In (212) the predicate is the nominative noun sääli. The infinitive ostaa with nominative object auto is the subject of the predicate. When the object is plural, neither the copula nor the adjective agrees in number. Thus:

(213) minun on hyvä lukea ne kirjat
 cop. adj.sg. inf.I nom.pl.
 3 sg.

'it is good for me to read those books
 (nom.)'

The nominative is therefore not the subject.

As in Old Russian and Baltic, the infinitive which is the subject of the sentence is systematically impersonal; since the infinitive itself is the subject of the matrix sentence, the sentence cannot have a further personal subject. Therefore the object of the infinitive must be nominative, under the nominative object rule.

7.4 The nominative occurs as the object of an infinitive which is subordinate to a noun. Here three types are to be distinguished, depending on the function of the head noun

in the sentence.

The first type is the infinitive governed by a noun which is the subject of an (intransitive) verb.

(214) isännässä heräsi halu ostaa auto
iness. 3 sg. nom. inf. I nom.

'in the farmer arose the desire to buy
an auto (nom.)'
(from Collinder 1957: 41)

In (214) the object auto of the infinitive ostaa governed by a subject noun halu is nominative. In such sentences the governing noun is semantically restricted; the noun has a modal meaning of time, opportunity, occasion, possibility, ability, etc. The infinitive expresses the potential or projected action. Lithuanian offers an exact parallel:

(215) prėja mėtas pajimt kriaučius velniám
verb nom. inf. nom. dat.

'the time came for the devil to take the
tailor (nom.)'
(from Fraenkel 1926: §11)

Note that in (215) the embedded infinitive takes its own dative agent, which the word order shows not to be a constituent of the matrix sentence; the embedded sentence is a complete independent infinitive, albeit embedded as a complement to a noun.

(214) suggests that, ordinarily, an infinitive governed by a noun is systematically impersonal. This interpretation is confirmed by the second type of infinitive governed by noun, where the head noun has an adverbial function in the matrix sentence.

(216) hallitus epäonnistui yrityksissään saada laki
 nom. 3 sg. iness. inf.I nom.

hyväksytyksi
 pass. part.
 I. transl.

'the government failed in its attempt to
 get the law (nom.) approved'
 (from Setälä 1952: §28.IIe)

Thus, in (216) the head noun is the inessive yrityksissä,
 and the object of the infinitive which it governs is in the
 nominative.

The third type, where the infinitive is governed by a
 noun which is the direct object, is more complicated. Some
 variation is possible:

(217a) olemme maininneet Snellmanin pyrkimyksen
 cop. part. gen. acc.

saada kysymyksen rahareformista lopullisesti
 inf.I acc. elat. adv.

ratkaistuksi
 pass.part.II
 transl.

'we have mentioned Snellman's attempt
 (acc.) to get the question (acc.) of
 financial reform finally resolved'

(217b) olemme maininneet Snellmanin pyrkimyksen saada

kysymys rahareformista lopullisesti
 nom.

ratkaistuksi

According to my informant, the nominative is now preferred.

To account for this variation, Ikola (1950), whose
 data and analysis I follow, invokes the notion of a close
unit:⁶² when the head noun and the matrix verb do not form

a close unit, then the embedded infinitive is syntactically isolated, and the object of the infinitive will be nominative. When the head noun and the verb form a close unit, then the infinitive counts as a constituent of the matrix sentence; whether or not the nominative object rule applies depends on the matrix environment.

(218) minä annoin heille käskyn ottaa varkaan kiinni
 nom. 1 sg. all. acc. inf.I acc.

'I gave him the order (acc.) to catch
 the thief (acc.)'

In (218) the head noun käskyn and the embedded object varkaan are accusative because the matrix verb is personal.

(219) nimismiehelle annettiin käsky ottaa varas kiinni
 all. pass. nom. inf.I nom.

'the order (nom.) was given to the
 gendarme to catch the thief (nom.)'

But in (219) the head noun käsky is nominative as the object of a passive, and the embedded object varkas is nominative. In both (218) and (219) the head noun and the matrix verb form a close unit, so that the infinitive counts as a constituent of the matrix sentence, and is personal or systematically impersonal by extension from the matrix verb.

The evidence of this section suggests that, other things being equal, an infinitive embedded under a modal noun is systematically impersonal and takes a nominative object; only when the head noun is a direct object and forms a close unit with the matrix verb does the infinitive depend on the matrix context for its case government.⁶³ This fact

provides indirect evidence in favor of the case specification theory as opposed to the case switching theory, in that the object of the infinitive is nominative unless the infinitive is forced to count as part of a syntactic context which is personal.

7.5 The nominative occurs further as the object of a special morphologically invariant voice form. This form is called variously the indefinite person form (Lehtinen 1963), passive (Eliot 1890, Rosenqvist 1934, Sauvageot 1946, Mey 1960), impersonal passive (Hakulinen 1960, Fromm and Sadeniemi 1956), and passive or mediopassive (Collinder 1957). Its important structural properties are that (1) semantically it represents the action of an indefinite or generalized animate agent; (2) it applies to intransitives as well as to transitives; (3) unlike a canonical passive, the semantic object of the transitive verb is not the subject, but remains an object; and (4) unlike a canonical passive, an explicit or specific agent cannot be expressed in a peripheral case. I shall use the traditional term passive in order to emphasize that this is a voice category; this term is appropriate only if its structural properties are kept in mind, especially where they differ from those of a canonical passive.

The use of the passive for transitives is exemplified by:

(220) se nähdään aina
nom. pass.

'it (nom.) is always seen'

(221) sinne viedään lahja
pass. nom.

'a present (nom.) will be taken there'

It is invariant:

(222) sinne viedään lahjat
pass. nom.pl.

'the presents (nom.) will be taken there'

Since the verb does not agree with the semantic object, the semantic object cannot be the grammatical subject; the nominative must be produced by the nominative object rule. This will be confirmed by the existence of a pronoun constraint on objects of the passive (§7.9).

In anticipation of this evidence, we can argue that the passive is systematically impersonal. It arises through a transformation which deletes an indefinite pronominal marker from the deep structure subject position; it arises only when there is an implied logical subject, which cannot be specified explicitly as the grammatical subject of the sentence.

The nominative also occurs as the object of the present passive participle in an impersonal construction with the copula (Penttilä 1957: §469). This construction imparts a modal sense to the action; the agent who is subject to the obligation may be expressed in the genitive. Consider:

(223) hänen on lähetettävä kirje tänään
gen. cop. pass.part. nom.

I

'he must send the letter (nom.) today'
(lit. 'for him is sending the letter
today')

(224) minun on kutsuttava mies
gen. cop. pass.part. nom.
I

'I must invite the man (nom.)'

When the object is plural, neither the copula nor the participle agrees with the nominative noun:

(225) hänen on lähetettävä kirjeet tänään
gen. cop. pass. nom.pl.
3sg. part.I sg.

'he must send the letters (nom.) today'

(226) miehet on kutsuttava
nom. cop. pass.
pl. 3 sg. part.I sg.

'the men (nom.) must be invited'

This construction has the other properties of a systematically impersonal environment.⁶⁴

The past passive participle is also used to form an impersonal predicate; this construction forms the periphrastic tenses of the passive.⁶⁵

7.6 The nominative occurs as the object of the imperative. This usage may be illustrated by the contrast between a finite personal verb with accusative object (227) and the imperatives with nominative objects (228-30):

(227) saatan tytön kotiin
1 sg. acc.

'I will accompany the girl (acc.) home'

- (228) saata tyttö kotiin!
 impv. nom.
 2 sg.

'(you sg.) accompany the girl (nom.)
 home!'

- (229) saattakaa tyttö kotiin!
 impv.2 pl. nom.

'(you pl.) accompany the girl (nom.)
 home!'

- (230) saattakaamme tyttö kotiin!
 impv. 1 pl. nom.

'let us accompany the girl (nom.) home!'

It should be noted that the imperative occurs only in the second person sg. and plural and the first plural. Finnish also has an optative mood, distinct from the imperative although partly overlapping in function, which occurs in the third person singular and plural and (archaically) in the second singular. This form is not an imperative, so the object of the optative is the expected accusative. Compare:

- (231) anna hänelle kirja!
 impv. nom.

'give him the book (nom.)!'

- (232) hän antakoon hänelle kirjan
 nom. opt. 3 sg. acc.

'may he give the book (acc.) to him'

It is obvious that the nominative with imperative is not the subject, if only because the imperative does not agree with it. I will argue further in §7.8 that the imperative in Finnish is a systematically impersonal verb form, after examining another piece of evidence in the next section.

7.7 The appropriate environment for the nominative object in Finnish must be defined recursively. The recursive nature of the rule has long been recognized in the handbooks (Setälä 1952: §26.II; Rosenqvist 1934: 80; Penttilä 1957: §401.4; Ikola 1968: 278), where the following rule is given:

- (233) The nominative occurs as the object of:
- (a) infinitive as the subject of an impersonal predicate
 - (b) passive
 - (c) imperative
 - (d) infinitive governed directly or indirectly by one of the above.

To avoid possible confusion about the notion of direct and indirect government, I would prefer to emend the rule to read:

- (234) An infinitive which is governed by a systematically impersonal verb will also be systematically impersonal.

If we recall that (a-c) are all systematically impersonal, then it is enough to say that the nominative occurs as the object of a systematically impersonal verb.

Several subtypes may be distinguished. The first is the infinitive governed by an infinitive which is the subject of an impersonal predicate.

- (235) *kävin noutamassa vakuutetun kirjeen postista*
 1 sg. inf.III.iness. acc. elat.

'I went to get an insured letter (acc.)
 from the post office'

In (235) Infinitive III noutamassa (inessive case) is governed by the personal verb kävin and therefore takes an

accusative object.

(236) minun täytyy käydä noutamassa vakuutettu kirje
 gen. imp. inf.I inf.III nom.
 iness.

'it is necessary for me to go to get an insured letter (nom.)'
 (from Rosenqvist 1934: 80-81)

On the other hand, in (236) Infinitive III noutamassa (inessive case) is governed by Infinitive I käydä which is the subject of the impersonal verb täytyy, and therefore has its object in the nominative. It is irrelevant whether the matrix predicate is verb, adjective, or noun:

(237) on hyvä mennä tekemään se
 cop. adj. inf. inf.III nom.
 I ill.

'it is good to go to do it (nom.)'

The second subtype, infinitive governed by passive, is shown by the following contrast (from Rosenqvist 1934: 80-81):

(238) Herra B. pyysi minua jättämään tämän paketin
 nom. 3 sg. part. inf.III acc.
 ill.

teille
 all.

'Mr. B. asked me to deliver this package (acc.) to you'

(239) minua pyydettiin jättämään tämä paketti teille
 part. pass. inf. III nom. all.
 ill.

'I was asked to deliver this package (nom.) to you'

Infinitive III jättämään has an accusative object when governed by the personal verb pyysi but a nominative object when governed by the passive pyydettiin.

A further embedded infinitive is also systematically impersonal. Consider (from Hakulinen 1960: 244):

(240) se käskettiin tehdä
nom. pass. inf.I

'they ordered to do it (nom.)'

(241) se käskettiin mennä tekemään
nom. pass. inf.I inf.III
ill.

'they ordered to go to do it (nom.)'

The third subtype, infinitive governed by imperative, may be illustrated by the following contrast (from Rosenqvist 1934: 80-81):

(242) hän antoi pojan viedä matkalaukun asemalle
nom. 3 sg. gen. inf.I acc. all.

'he let the boy bring the trunk (acc.) to the station'

(243) antakaa pojan viedä matkalaukku asemalle!
impv. gen. inf.I nom. all.

'have the boy bring the trunk (nom.) to the station!'

The object of Infinitive I viedä is accusative in (242) when governed by a personal verb but nominative in (243) when governed by an imperative.

A further embedded infinitive is also systematically impersonal. Consider (from Hakulinen 1960: 244):

(244) tee se!
impv.nom.

'do that (nom.)!'

(245) káske hänen tehdä se!
impv. gen. inf.I nom.'

'order him to do that (nom.)!'

(246) käske hänen tulla tekemään se!
 impv. gen. inf.I inf.II nom.
 ill.

'order him to go to do that (nom.)!'

Because the environment for the nominative object must be defined recursively, it is possible for the environment to arise, and the rule to operate, more than once in a given sentence.

(247) nimismiehelle annettiin käsky ottaa varas kiinni
 all. pass. nom. inf.I nom.

'the sheriff was given the order (nom.)
 to catch the thief (nom.)'

Thus, in (247) the noun käsky is nominative as the object of the passive annettiin, while varas is nominative as the object of an infinitive governed by the noun käsky. Compare also:

(248) anna minulle lupa kirjoittaa hänelle kirje
 impv. all. nom. inf.I all. nom.
 sinun puolestasi
 gen.

'give me permission (nom.) to write him
 the letter (nom.) on your behalf'

Here lupa is nominative as the object of an imperative, and kirje is nominative as object of an infinitive governed by the noun lupa.

Thus, the environment for the nominative object rule in Finnish must be defined recursively.

7.8 The imperative is problematic as an environment for the

nominative object, for we are used to thinking of the imperative as a personal form. The evidence of the preceding section, however, demonstrates that the imperative is systematically impersonal. When an imperative governs an infinitive, this infinitive is systematically impersonal; it behaves exactly like an infinitive which is either governed by a passive or is the subject of an impersonal predicate. In particular, (1) the object is nominative; (2) the pronoun restriction is the same (§7.9); (3) the restriction on oblique cases (§7.10) and the lack of restriction on specificatory accusatives (§7.11) are the same; and (4) the recursive property is the same, so that an embedded infinitive is in turn systematically impersonal, as in (248). Because the infinitive which is governed by an imperative is systematically impersonal, the imperative itself must be systematically impersonal.

If the imperative is systematically impersonal, then the reference to participants in the imperative must be qualitatively different from the reference to participants in finite verbs; it cannot be what we know as grammatical agreement of verb with subject. On typological grounds this conclusion is hardly surprising, for we know from various languages that the imperative may make different kinds of participant reference from finite indicative (nonimperative) verb forms. For example, in Biloxi (Dorsey and Swanton 1912: 3) there are distinct forms of the imperative for address to

children (tahi 'run'), to females (ta^hitki), and within address to males, for female speaker (tahi^tate) and male speaker (tahi^takta). The characterization of the participants of the speech event for sex and maturation is not found in finite indicative verb forms.

To discuss the sense in which the imperative is systematically impersonal, I would like to return to the definition of grammatical subject given above in §2.7 and make it more precise. As the uniquely central participant of the event, the grammatical subject is a potentially overt constituent (1) which has no other syntactic role in the sentence than to produce agreement, and (2) whose identity is not predictable from the verbal category. Let us consider a simple illustration.

(249) laulan
1 sg.

'I sing'

The grammatical subject is the first person singular. Although it is not expressed as a constituent in (249), it is potentially overt, as in:

(250) minä laulan
nom. 1 sg.

In (250) the nominative pronoun has no other role than to produce agreement (so that once agreement is given, it may be omitted); and its identity is not predictable from the verbal category of finite indicative active, since it is always possible to have different subjects, as in:

(251) laulat
2 sg.

'you sing'

(252) hän laulaa
nom. 3 sg.

'she sings'

Let us consider the imperative. The logical subject of an imperative cannot be expressed as a grammatical constituent in the same way as the grammatical subject of a finite personal verb. Thus in the imperative the logical subject can never appear in normal subject position before the verb; it can appear (under emphasis) only immediately after the verb:

(253a) *sinä mene!
nom. impv.

(253b) mene sinä!
impv. nom.
2 sg.

'you go!'

(254a) *sinä ota kahvi kaapista!
nom. impv. nom. elat.

(254b) *sinä ota kahvin kaapista!
nom. impv. acc. elat.

(254c) ota sinä kahvi kaapista!
impv. nom. nom. elat.

'you take the coffee (nom.) from the cupboard!'

It is not entirely clear why the logical subject of the imperative should not act as the grammatical subject, but the reason presumably lies in the special function of the

imperative as an appeal form. The logical subject of the imperative is necessarily second person, or includes second person, so that the logical subject of the imperative is predictable from the speech event. It does not arise through a free choice of possible subjects in the way that the subject of a finite active nonimperative verb does. For this reason, apparently, it is not treated as a grammatical constituent of the sentence. Or, to put it another way, for finite indicative verbs the grammatical subject determines the person of the verb, but for the imperative the category of imperative determines the person of the subject participant.

This claim cannot be considered universal for in many languages where the reference is similarly restricted the imperative may be a personal form. Nevertheless, the restriction of the imperative to addressee explains why it is at least possible for Finnish to distinguish between grammatical agreement in finite forms and participant reference in the imperative.⁶⁶

In the lack of grammatical agreement the imperative is similar to the passive. Like the imperative, the passive refers to a logical subject (an indefinite or generalized animate participant) which cannot be specified as a grammatical constituent. A recent innovation of Finnish confirms the similarity of the passive and imperative as impersonal verb forms. The passive, which does not form an imperative,

may be used with certain stylistic restrictions as a substitute for the inclusive (1st pl.) imperative.⁶⁷

(255) menkäämme nyt!
impv.1 pl.

'let's go now!'

(256) viekäämme lahja sinne!
impv.1 pl. nom.

'let's take a present (nom.) there!'

Instead of (255) and (256), it is possible to say:

(257) mennään nyt!
pass.

'let's go now!'

(258) viedään lahja sinne!
pass. nom.

'let's take a present (nom.) there!'

In both (256) and (258) the object lahja is nominative. The motivation for this substitution is not clear,⁶⁸ but it is clear that it is possible because the imperative and the passive have the same kind of participant reference: both refer to a logical subject, but cannot register it as an explicit grammatical constituent.

In contrast to Finnish, the imperative in Old Russian and Baltic is a personal form. This is suggested by a number of specific differences, which I list below. Although I cannot explain what the basic difference is in the imperative between Finnish and the IE languages,⁶⁹ these individual differences taken together are sufficient to show that the imperative has a rather different status in the two language

types. These differences include:

(1) Personal pronouns. Personal pronouns may be used in either order with the imperative in the IE languages. Thus in Russian:

(259a) ty emu ne ver'!
 nom. impv.
 2 sg. 2 sg.

(259b) ne ver' ty emu!
 impv. nom.
 2 sg. 2 sg.

'you don't believe him!'

Often the use of the pronoun suggests the interpretation of the generic addressee; this is especially clear in Lithuanian, where the generic sense may be emphasized by the nominative noun žmogùs 'man, person' in apposition to the pronoun:

(260) tai tù žmogùs tikėk kám kltą sýkį
 nom. impv.
 2 sg. 2 sg.

'you have to trust (impv.) someone
 another time'

In Finnish subject pronouns are not used with the imperative in normal subject position, and cannot co-occur with an appositive noun.

(2) Extended use. The imperative may be used in Russian and Lithuanian to express a range of modal meanings, not limited to command and prohibition. In Lithuanian (Senn 1966: §§1046-53) this extended use includes real conditions:

(261) tekinaĩ pabėk, greičiaũ nubėgsi
 impv. fut.

'run (impv.), and you'll arrive faster'

or hypothetical concessions:

(262) nórs visàs bačkàs išlaižýk, negáusi niẽko
 impv. fut.

'even lick out (impv.) all the barrels,
 you'll still get nothing'

The imperative may even be embedded, as in:

(263) víen tíek pasakýsiu, kàd nenusimiñkit
 compl. impv.

'I will only say this to you, that don't
 despair (impv.)'

In Russian (Isačenko 1968: §§185-87), the extended use covers
 an involuntary condition:

(264) provalis' ja na meste, esli èto nepravda
 impv. nom.
 1 sg.

'may I collapse (impv.) on the spot, if
 that isn't the truth'

to obligation or unavoidable action:

(265) vse ušli na progulku, a ja sidi doma
 nom. impv.
 1 sg.

'everyone went out on a walk, but I sit
 (impv.) at home'

to an unexpected, uncontrollable action:

(266) ja s nim šuču, a on voz'mi da udar' menja
 nom. impv. impv.
 3 sg.

po golove

'I am joking with him, and he takes (impv.)
 and hits (impv.) me on the head'

The imperative is used in Finnish only as an appeal form, to
 express prohibitions, commands, exhortations, and requests

with varying force (Setälä 1952: §106, Penttilä 1957: §321, Collinder 1957: §118); it is not used in extended function to express a conditional or involuntative mood.

The use of the imperative strictly as an appeal form in Finnish is consistent with the limitation on its logical subject to participants in the speech event; and it is in part because of this lack of choice that the imperative may be characterized as systematically impersonal.

(3) Reference to nonaddressee. Especially in extended use, the imperative in Russian or Lithuanian may refer to the generic addressee (260), or even to a participant who is in no sense the addressee (264-66). The imperative in Finnish refers to the real addressee of the speech event.

(4) Substitution for inclusive. When it is replaced, the inclusive (1st pl.) imperative is replaced by the 1st pl. form of the present indicative active. Thus in some dialects of Lithuanian (Zinkevičius 1966: §685; Senn 1966: §368) the 1st pl. indicative present (minus final -e) may be used without pronoun in place of the inclusive imperative form in -kim(e):

(267) eĩnam!

'let's go!' (lit. 'we go!')

(268) važiuojam!

'let's drive!' (lit. 'we drive!')

In Russian (Isačenko 1968: §181) forms derived from the

1st pl. present indicative have entirely replaced the historically older inclusive (1st pl.) imperative form:

(269) pojdem!

'let's you (sg.) and me go!'

A pluralized inclusive has even been created:

(270) pojdemte!

'let's you (pl.) and me go!'

In Lithuanian and Russian, the inclusive imperative is renewed by a personal form, the 1st pl. present indicative, while in Finnish it is renewed by an impersonal form, the passive.

Although there are no doubt significant differences between the Russian and Lithuanian imperatives, it is nevertheless clear that both languages use personal imperatives, in contrast to the systematically impersonal imperative in Finnish. Thus, the imperative is not an environment for the nominative object in the IE languages, while it is in Finnish.

7.9 When the object is a first, second, or third person personal pronoun or the personal interrogative relative pronoun, it is expressed in the accusative regardless of the syntactic environment (Setälä 1952: §26.II). This constraint on the nominative object rule may be termed the pronoun constraint.⁷⁰

The pronoun constraint is effective in all systemati-

cally impersonal environments. For the passive, observe the following (Collinder 1957: 33-34):

- (271) varas otettiin kiinni
nom. pass.
'they caught the thief (nom.)'
- (272) meidät otettiin kiinni
acc. pass.
'they caught us (acc.)'
- (273) hänet otettiin kiinni
acc. pass.
'they caught him (acc.)'
- (274) sinut otettiin kiinni
acc. pass.
'they caught you (acc.)'

For the passive used as inclusive imperative, compare:

- (275) kutsutaan mies!
pass. nom.
'let's invite the man (nom.)!'
- (276) kutsutaan heidät!
pass. acc.
'let's invite them (acc.)!'

For the impersonal predicate use of the present passive participle, we have:

- (277) minun on kutsuttava hänet
pres. pass. acc.
part.
'I must invite him (acc.)'

A personal pronominal object of the imperative is also necessarily accusative, as in:

- (278) kutsu mies!
impv. nom.

'invite the man (nom.)!'

(279) kutsu heidät!
impv. acc.

'invite them (acc.)!'

(280) vie hänet kotiin!
impv. acc. ill.

'take him (acc.) home!'

The constraint applies as well to infinitives:

(281) minun piti viedä hänet kouluun
gen. imp. inf.I acc. ill.

'I had to take him (acc.) to school!'

(282) käske isän panna hänet kouluun!
impv. gen. inf.I acc. ill.

'tell father to put him (acc.) in school!'

Among third person pronouns, the constraint applies only to the personal pronoun (sg. hän, pl. he), which is used exclusively for persons and animate beings; the constraint does not apply to other third person pronouns, which are in origin demonstratives, and which are used primarily to refer to inanimate objects (principally sg. se, pl. ne). Thus numerous examples with se in the nominative were given above (237, 240-41, 244-46).

It should be noted that the pronoun se may be in the nominative as object, even when in colloquial usage it refers to animates.

(283) kutsu se meille!
impv. nom. all.

'invite him (nom.) to us!'

(284) se pitäis panna putkaan
 nom. imp. inf.I ill.

'he (nom.) should be put in jail'

Here se refers to animates and is a nominative object. This usage shows that this constraint is not based on the reference of the pronoun in any given event; it is rather based on the grammatical category of animacy in pronouns.

The constraint also applies to the int.-rel. pronoun kuka, used strictly for animates:

(285) kenet kutsutaan?
 acc. pass.

'who (acc.) will be invited?'

(286) kenet minun täytyy kutsua?
 acc. gen. imp. inf.I

'who (acc.) do I have to invite?'

It does not include the relative joka, which refers to animates and inanimates:

(287) en tunne miestä joka kutsutaan
 1 sg. part. nom. pass.
 neg.

'I don't know the man who (nom.) will be invited'

This constraint in Finnish may be compared to the animacy constraint in Old Russian and the pronoun constraint in Baltic in the manner of Fig. 6. Despite superficial differences, these three constraints may be identified as variations of a single generic type of constraint; this constraint may be termed the animacy constraint, because its motivation lies in the markedness value of animates as object. As

| | functionally animate: constraint | functionally inanimate: no constraint |
|---------|--|--|
| Baltic | personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, refl.) | nonpersonal pronouns (3d, int.) nouns |
| Finnish | personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, pers. 3d, pers. int.- rel.) | nonpersonal pronouns (nonpers. 3d, nonpers. rel.) nouns |
| NR | personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, refl., 3d, pers. int.) adjectival pronouns, masc. an. nouns, masc. an. | nonpersonal pronouns (nonpers. int.) adjectival pronouns, masc. inan. & nonmasc. nouns, masc. inan. & nonmasc. |

Fig. 6

argued above (§4.4), animate nouns are marked relative to inanimate nouns, and personal pronouns are marked relative to nonpersonal pronouns and nouns, in object function. They are specified accusative even in systematically impersonal environments.

The differences in the constraint are consequences of a structural difference between the languages, namely, a difference in how the languages define the category of grammatically animate.

In Russian, as is obvious from the animate accusative rule, the personal pronouns and masc. an. nouns (as well as masc. an. adjectival pronouns) count as grammatically animate; further, the third person pronouns, although they may refer to inanimates, count as functionally animate, and undergo the animate accusative rule (masc. nom. on, acc.-gen. ego; fem. nom. ona, acc.-gen. ee; neut. nom. ono, acc.-gen. ego). The explanation for this lies properly in a study of the animate accusative, but it may be noted that there is an implicational relationship holding between animate gender in nouns and pronouns. When there is an animate gender in nouns, and (third person) pronouns do not distinguish animacy, then all pronouns count as animate, by virtue of their typical reference to animates. Thus, in Spanish the (personal) preposition a is used with object nouns according to a semantic definition of animacy, but it is obligatorily used with pronouns, whether or not they refer to animates (Real

Academia Española 1962: §219; Bello 1951: §§901, 903a)

In Finnish, nouns do not distinguish an animate gender. The first, second, personal third (hän), and personal interrogative (kuka) pronouns by definition refer to animates; the demonstrative or nonpersonal third pronouns (se) and the ordinary relative pronoun (joka) normally refer to inanimates, although they may refer to animates. These pronouns are not regarded as grammatically animate; only first, second, personal third, and personal int.-rel. count as animate, while nouns and other pronouns do not (the reflexive in Finnish is not relevant; see §7.12).

In Baltic, first, second, and reflexive pronouns are grammatically animate for obvious reasons. Third person or demonstrative pronouns as a matter of course refer to animates and inanimates, so they do not count as grammatically animate. Baltic does not even distinguish grammatical animacy for the int.-rel. pronoun (Lith. kàs, Latv. kas 'who, what'). Because there is no animate gender in nouns, and no animacy distinction in pronouns, Baltic has the minimal animacy constraint.

The difference in the formulation of the animacy constraint in the three languages thus turns out to be a superficial consequence of other structural differences; the constraints are typologically the same.

7.10 In Finnish the partitive case alternates with the

accusative under a wide range of syntactic and semantic conditions, including (1) lexically specified government of the verb; (2) semantically partitive sense; (3) aspectual sense of progressing, continuing, or iterative action; and (4) negation.⁷¹

The nominative object rule can never affect a noun in any other case than accusative; in particular, it is constrained not to apply to the partitive which alternates with the accusative for any of the above reasons.

In the imperative, we observe the following paradigm:

(288) juo viini! .
 impv. nom.
 'drink the wine (nom.)!'

(289) juo viiniä!
 impv. part.
 'drink some wine (part.)!'

(290) älä juo viiniä!
 neg. impv. part.
 'don't drink the wine (part.)!'
 'don't drink any wine (part.)!'

The same is observed for the passive:

(291) kahvi tarjotaan parvekkeella
 nom. pass. adess.
 'the coffee (nom.) is served on the
 balcony'

(292) parvekkeella tarjotaan kahvia
 adess. pass. part.
 'coffee (part.) is served on the balcony'

(293) parvekkeella ei tarjota kahvia
 adess. neg. pass. part.

'coffee (part.) is not served on the balcony'

In (290) and (293), the partitive is obligatorily introduced under negation, and the nominative object rule cannot apply; in (289) and (292) the partitive is introduced for semantic reasons, and the nominative object rule cannot apply.

For the infinitive, compare:

(294) minun täytyy hakea kuusi
gen. imp. inf.I nom.

'I have to get the spruce (nom.)'

(295) minun ei tarvitse hakea kuusta
gen. neg. imp. inf.I part.

'I don't need to get the spruce (part.)'

In (295) the object is partitive because of negation, and is not subject to the nominative object rule.

These examples show that a noun which is in the partitive case for any reason -- and by extension, in any other case but accusative -- is not subject to the nominative object rule.

7.11 In environments which are in general appropriate for the nominative object rule, accusatives with purely adverbial or specificatory function are made nominative, just as accusatives of direct objects are.

I have observed three types of specificatory accusatives in Finnish: temporal extent, spatial extent, and iteration.

The last type may be observed in the following contrast:

(296) kysyin häneltä kolmannen kerran
1 sg. elat. acc.

'I asked him a third time (acc.)'

(297) kysy häneltä vielä kolmas kerta!
impv. elat. nom.

'ask him again for the third time (nom.)!'
(Whitney 1971: 258)

In these sentences the adverbial phrase specifies the extent of iteration, and is accusative or nominative depending on the syntactic environment.

The specification of spatial extension is illustrated by the following:

(298) olimme kulkeneet kilometrin
cop. part. acc.
1 pl.

'we had walked a kilometer (acc.)'

(299) pian oli kilometri kuljettu
cop. nom. pass.part.
3 sg. II

'soon a kilometer (nom.) was walked'

In the personal sentence (298) the specification is accusative, while in the systematically impersonal (passive) (299) it is nominative.

The specification of temporal extension as accusative in a personal sentence is exemplified by:

(300) olen koko päivän ollut liikkeellä
cop. acc. part. adess.
1 sg.

'I have been on the move all day (acc.)'

In all systematically impersonal environments the nominative is used. Thus, in the passive:

(301) siellä viivytettiin koko päivä
iness. pass. nom.

'they stayed there all day (nom.)'

and the imperative:

(302) odottakaapas hetkinen!
impv. nom.

'wait just a moment (nom.)!'

and the infinitive:

(303) hänen piti työskennellä koko päivä
gen. imp. inf.I nom.

'he had to work all day (nom.)'

the specification is nominative.

These examples show that the nominative object rule applies to all accusatives regardless of function, including accusatives of spatial, temporal, and iteration specification.

7.12 The reflexive pronoun itse is actually a nominal stem, which may function either as emphatic or reflexive. As reflexive, it is obligatorily used with possessive affixes. Since possessive affixes in Finnish neutralize the distinction between nominative and accusative, reflexivization provides no data of interest to the nominative object rule.

7.13 It is appropriate at this point to discuss some differences in the syntactic environment of the nominative object between Finnish and the IE languages.

A striking difference is the existence in Finnish of four distinct infinitives, each of which has different syntactic and semantic properties. They are traditionally identified simply by numerals, and are characterized by these morphological markers: I -ta, II -te, III -ma, and IV -minen.

It should be noted that a particular infinitive does not by itself imply or preclude a nominative object; the application of the nominative object rule is determined by the syntactic environment in which the infinitive is used. Above the nominative object was illustrated for Infinitive I as the subject of an impersonal predicate; further, examples of Infinitive III in the inessive case (236) and the illative case (237, 239, 241) were given. Infinitive II does not seem to be used in environments where it could be systematically impersonal (Fromm and Sadeniemi 1956: §250a).

Infinitive IV, on the other hand, can be used in the nominative as the subject of an existential predicate, in a construction which is stylistically marked as obsolete (Fromm and Sadeniemi 1956: §256; Penttilä 1957: §467; Whitney 1971: 171). Since the infinitive could not have a further subject in the sentence, it is systematically impersonal, and takes a nominative object. A real agent may be expressed in the

genitive.

- (304) kyllä minun on se tekeminen
 gen. cop. nom. inf.IV
 nom.

'I certainly have to do it (nom.)'

- (305) teidän on paneminen poika kouluun
 gen. cop. inf.IV nom. ill.
 nom.

'you must put the boy (nom.) in school'

This type of sentence is analogous to the independent infinitive of Russian and Lithuanian.

Two further properties of the infinitives should be mentioned. First, the infinitive may be inflected for case. Although all the examples above of Infinitive I involved the suffixless form (which is unspecified for case), we have seen examples of the nominative object with Infinitive III in the inessive and illative cases and Infinitive IV in the nominative. These examples show that the inflection of the infinitive for case does not affect the definition of systematically impersonal.

Second, infinitives may further be inflected with pronominal possessive markers, representing the logical subject of the infinitival action. In this case the object of the infinitive cannot be nominative (Setälä 1952: §26.II):

- (306) minun täytyi mennä kaupunkiin hoitaakseni asian
 gen. imp. inf.I ill. inf.I acc.
 transl.1 sg.

'it was necessary for me to go to town
 to get a matter (acc.) settled' (lit.
 'for my getting')

Here Infinitive I hoitaakseni (translative case) is governed by Infinitive I mennä, which is the subject of the impersonal matrix verb täytyi, and would ordinarily be systematically impersonal; because it is modified by a possessive suffix, however, its object is accusative.

(307) tule likemmäksi nähdäkseni sormuksen
 impv. inf.I acc.
 transl.1 sg.

sormessasi!
 iness.

'come closer for me to see the ring (acc.)
 on your finger!' (lit. 'for my seeing')

In (307) the matrix verb is the imperative tule, so that a dependent infinitive like nähdäkseni would ordinarily be systematically impersonal; here it takes an accusative object.

Normally in Finnish, as in Russian or Baltic, the logical subject of an infinitive is deleted; it may be represented, if at all, only by a constituent which has some other function in the sentence.

On the other hand, the infinitive hoitaakseni in (306) does not arise by equi-NP deletion. It is simply a nominalization, in which the logical subject is specified in surface structure as the possessor of the nominalization. The possessive marker has no other function than to specify the logical subject as a grammatical constituent. Since the logical subject is a grammatical constituent, the possessed infinitive cannot be systematically impersonal, regardless of the matrix environment; its object cannot be nominative.

7.14 In Finnish there is a special sentence type which asserts the existence of a participant; this construction is formed with (1) the copula and certain intransitive verbs, (2) a locative phrase, and (3) the single primary participant whose existence is being asserted. The locatives are typically adessive and inessive; with the adessive in particular, the existential sentence expresses possession, in a characteristic Finnish construction. For example:

(308) ukolla oli pitkä parta
adess. cop. nom.

'the old man (adess.) had a long beard
(nom.); by the old man was a long beard'

(309) meille tuli vieras
all. intrans. nom.

'to us (all.) there came a guest (nom.)'

It might appear that the nominative noun here is the grammatical subject of the sentence, as Ikola (1968: 264, 270) and Fromm and Sadeniemi (1956: §216) in fact claim. Actually, however, it is a complement which undergoes the nominative object rule. This can be verified in the first place by agreement: the verb does not agree with a plural noun (Hakulinen 1960: 264-65; Lehtinen 1963: 266):

(310) pojalla on siniset silmät
adess. cop. nom.
3 sg. pl.

'the boy (adess.) has blue eyes (nom.)'

(311) meille tulee kesällä häät
all. intrans. nom.
3 sg. pl.

'to us (all.) there comes nuptials (nom)
in the summer'

Second, the existential construction obeys the pronoun constraint:

(312) sinulla on minut
adess. cop. acc.

'you (adess.) have me (acc.); by you there
is me'

(313) olisipa meillä täällä hänet
cond. adess. acc.

'would that we (adess.) had him (acc.)
here'

(from Hakulinen 1960: 265)

The existential construction with copula or intransitive verb is therefore impersonal in Finnish, and takes its sole primary participant as object, which is subject to the nominative object rule.

A contrast can arise between the personal (nonexistential) and the impersonal (existential) use of the copula or intransitive verb:

(314a) pojalta putosivat käsineet
abl. 3 pl. nom.pl.

'the boy dropped his pair of gloves'
(lit. 'the gloves dropped')

(314b) pojalta putosi käsineet
abl. 3 sg. nom.pl.

'the boy dropped a pair of gloves'
(lit. 'there dropped gloves')

The personal (nonexistential) sentence is normal predication, with a locative predicate; it is parallel to any two-place predication with noun or adjective, as for example:

(315) ne miehet ovat hyviä
 nom.pl. cop. adj.
 3 pl.

'those men are good'

The personal (predicational) sentence typically presupposes that the subject exists, and that it is definite; the impersonal (existential) sentence simply asserts the existence of the participant.⁷²

The existential sentence is superficially different from other environments for the nominative object in Finnish, since in this construction there is no question of deleting the underlying subject, as there is in the passive, imperative, or infinitive. The verbs which form the existential sentence are lexically classified as having only one primary participant; when that participant is assigned object function, there is no underlying subject to be deleted. But by the same token, the object participant whose existence is asserted is the only primary participant, so that there necessarily cannot be another participant in the sentence which might be the grammatical subject. Therefore, the existential sentence is systematically impersonal; given that the only possible primary participant is an object, there can be no grammatical subject.

7.15 In the Finnish grammatical tradition two theories have been proposed to explain the nominative object. These we may call the primitivity theory and the subject function

theory.

The primitivity theory comes in two versions. The simpler (attributed to Setälä by Wickman 1955: 14) claims that the use of the nominative as object goes back to that very early unformed stage of the language when the nominative was still the stem form of the noun, and the imperative the stem form of the verb. By some kind of attraction, the stem form of the object noun was used with the stem form of the verb (recall that the object is the only noun in the sentence, since the subject is deleted in the imperative).

A more sophisticated version of this theory is due to Schlachter (1968) (also Grünthal 1941), who does not restrict his hypothesis to the imperative. At this time when case was poorly developed, the nominative or stem form could be used for various functions, including subject, adverbial relations, compounding, and object. At some point this state of affairs changed, leaving behind certain uses of the nominative as unmotivated residue (p. 286):

Betrachten wir die Frage historisch, liegt der Einwand nahe, dass von einem Zustand völliger kasueller Indifferenz auszugehen ist und nach Abspaltung immer neuer Beziehungsausdrücke die Stammform einfach "übrig blieb", ein zufälliges Konglomerat von noch nicht ausgedrückten Beziehungen.

The second type of explanation claims, like its counterpart for IE, that the nominative object was originally justified because it functioned as the subject. Thus, Hakulinen (1960: 246) and Fromm and Sadeniemi (1956: §153b,

Anm. 124) explain the nominative with the passive and infinitive as original subject function, although they cannot explain the nominative with imperative. However, the nominative object of an infinitive governed by an imperative is not explained by this theory; nor is it explained why the objects of further embedded infinitives are also nominative, and why two nominatives (evidently not both grammatical subjects) are possible in the same sentence. Presumably, this is because the rule has been extended analogically at some point. But if the rule could be extended analogically, then it must be productive. This sort of reasoning begs the question of what the function of the rule is in the structure of contemporary Finnish.

Neither the primitivity theory nor the subject function theory can explain why the nominative was preserved at all as object and why it is still used productively in precisely those environments where it is used;⁷³ neither theory can explain the constraints on its operation.

7.16 From the discussion above, it is clear that the nominative object rule of Finnish is the same type of rule as the nominative object rule of Old Russian and Baltic. In all these languages, the nominative is used for the object when the verb is systematically impersonal, that is, when it necessarily lacks a grammatical subject. In these environments there is no possible conflict between the use of the

nominative for object and the more basic use of the nominative for the grammatical subject. In personal sentences the object is specified accusative. The usage is distributed only dialectally in Russian, Lithuanian, and Latvian, and it is not found elsewhere in Slavic or Baltic, either as a cognate construction or as an independent development. On the other hand, the usage is distributed throughout West Finnic; it is found as well in other more distantly related Finno-Ugric languages, although only in a considerably modified form, and perhaps only as an independent innovation (see §8).

In view of the structural similarity of the nominative object usage in these languages, and in view of the tight areal distribution of this usage, it must come from a single source through language contact. As Larin says (1963: 105):

Neverojatnym bylo by predpolozhenie o nezavisimom parallel'nom razvitii oborotov s imenitel'nym prjamogo dopolnenija v kazdom iz etix jazykov, nastol'ko vse rassmotrennye konstrukcii blizki i sxodny.

The direction of borrowing was from Finnish, or some West Finnic language, into North Russian and dialects of Lithuanian and Latvian.

We know from other linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence that there was considerable contact in prehistoric times between the West Finnic peoples and the northeasternmost Slavs and between the Finns and the Eastern Balts,⁷⁴ so that this conclusion is hardly surprising. The hypothesis of

a common origin for the nominative object through language contact with Finnish has been advanced several times in the literature, although only in cursory form, and without examination of the structural and historical evidence.⁷⁵

Of the scholars who have examined the data, Filin and V. Kiparsky arrive at a rather different assessment of the historical relationships from mine. In their view the nominative in the IE languages is a native development (within common IE according to Kiparsky, and separately within Baltic and East Slavic according to Filin).

Thus Kiparsky states that the source of the usage in the IE languages cannot be Finnish (1969: 148):

Dagegen spricht folgendes: 1) analoge Erscheinungen im Altindischen, 2) analoge Erscheinungen im Alttschechischen, Altukrainischen und Südrussischen, wo ostseefinnsches Substrat ausgeschlossen ist, 3) die nicht völlige Übereinstimmung der ostseefinnischen "Objektregel" mit dem nordrussische Usus, was gegen eine "Lehnübersetzungsherkunft" des letzteren zeugt.

Yet (1960: 341):

Jedenfalls sind die Übereinstimmungen zwischen der finnischen und der russischen Syntax in Bezug auf das Nominativobjekt grösser, als dass man mit blossem Zufall operieren könnte.

Concerning the southerly distribution of the construction, Kiparsky (1967: 266) states:

Es ist dies eine weitere Bestätigung der Richtigkeit meiner Theorie, weil gerade bei Vologda und Novgorod sich die ostseefinnische Bevölkerung verhältnismässig lange gehalten hat.

In the same vein he compares (1969: 147) the remarkable similarity in the pronoun constraint on the Latvian dative and

on the Finnish object rules. These geographical and structural congruences are merely stronger proof of his theory: once it is decided that the nominative object must have been a native development in the IE languages, then all evidence which would suggest Finnish influence can be interpreted as purely conservative influence.

Filin contrasts the usage in Finnish and Russian, on syntactic but primarily morphological grounds (1972: 489):

Soveršenno inoj javljaetsja sistema oboznačenija ob"ekta v drevnerusskom jazyke (esli rassmatrivat' ee vo vsej sovokupnosti, ne izoliruja iskusstveno ot vsech ostal'nyx èlementov oborot voda pit'). V drevnerusskom jazyke i sovremennyx govorex forma akkuzativa sovpadaet s formoj nominativa tol'ko v opredelennoj uzkoj morfologičeskoj kategorii: v slovox ženskogo roda na -a (-ja) pri nezavisimom infinitive, pričem i èta forma javljaetsja v konstrukcii liš' variantom osnovnoj formy akkuzativa -u(-ju).

Yet paradoxically there is enough structural similarity so that Finnish may have helped preserve the construction precisely in the dialects of Russian contiguous to Finnish (1972: 490-91).

It has been shown above (§6) that the nominative with infinitive construction cannot be reconstructed for Common Slavic, since the Old Czech examples are structurally different from the OR usage, and the Ukrainian and South Russian examples are not convincing without contemporary dialect support; the Vedic usage is subjective.

The objections of Filin and Kiparsky to an explanation of syntactic borrowing must rest on structural grounds.

Although these objections are not made explicit (as can be seen from the quotations), the suggestion of structural difference presumably rests on (1) apparently different syntactic environments and (2) apparently different restrictions on nominals.

The first suggestion would perhaps be based on the use of the nominative after different morphological categories: passive and imperative in Finnish, gerund in Lithuanian and Russian, debitive in Latvian. What is crucial, however, is not the inventory of morphological categories, but the syntactic property of being systematically impersonal; all the environments in Finnish, Baltic, and Old Russian share this property. The fact that there is more than one morphological environment in each language shows that in fact it is this syntactic property which is structurally significant.

The second suggestion would be that there is a difference in nominals which undergo the nominative object rule; this seems to be Filin's principal objection. This objection is based on the misconception that the rule is limited to the morphological class of a-stem feminines in Russian. Although the reflex of the rule in modern dialects is morphologically limited, the original rule in Old Russian was not. It was constrained rather by animate gender. Viewed in this way, the constraint in Russian is seen to be essentially the same type of constraint as the pronoun constraints of Baltic and Finnish.

It is true that Finnish or Baltic do not have animate gender in nouns, and Russian does; Finnish has a different pattern of syncretism between nominative and accusative than Russian; Russian and Lithuanian use the gerund in systematically impersonal environments, while Finnish does not have a comparable part of speech; and the imperative is impersonal in Finnish, but not in Baltic or Russian. However, these facts cannot be seen as substantive differences in the nominative object rule, but as differences in the structures of the languages which use the rule. We cannot demand identity of language structure as a precondition for the borrowing of a rule; we must rather turn the question around, and ask what would happen to a rule when it is borrowed into a language of a different structure.

When the nominative object rule was borrowed into Russian and Baltic, it was adapted as well as possible into the structure of the borrowing language as it was integrated into the linguistic system. As Jakobson (1929: 107) states:

Toutefois, quelque variées que soient les formes d'hybridation, lorsque le système de l'idiome A "imite" le système de l'idiome B, la sélection et la révision des valeurs fonctionnelles des éléments adoptés a toujours lieu du point de vue du système A, en correspondance avec les possibilités d'évolution et les penchants de ce dernier ... L'hybridation est un processus de synthèse et non une soudure mécanique.

Thus, the specific content of the pronoun or animacy constraint is different in the Baltic languages because third person pronouns do not distinguish animate from inanimate, so that only first person, second person, and reflexive pronouns

are grammatically animate; and it is different in Russian because there is an animate gender defined for nouns in Russian. Similarly, the imperative was not adopted as an environment for the rule in Baltic or Russian because the imperative is personal in these languages.

Once the borrowed construction was integrated as a rule in the grammar of the borrowing language, it could be affected by structural changes in other parts of the grammar. Thus in all three borrowing languages, the domain of possible environments was extended at points in the history of these languages to include other verbal categories: the gerund in Lithuanian and Russian, and the debitive in Latvian. On the other hand, the nominative object rule in Russian suffered a radical change in status -- from syntactic case rule to morphological rule of desinence substitution -- probably because of a structural change elsewhere in the grammar (see §5).

Finally, a rather different historical hypothesis has been advanced by Larin (1963). Larin suggests that the construction is borrowed into Finnish, Russian, and Baltic from an as yet unknown linguistic substratum with a primitive ergative sentence structure; in this way the use of the nominative as object in the modern languages is a reflex of the absolutive case in this ergative language (the absolutive would by definition be used for intransitive subjects and objects of transitives). Clearly this theory cannot explain

the actual distribution of the nominative as it is found, and it cannot explain the actual constraints on the rule. Like the primitivity theory and the subject function theory, this hypothesis makes the unfortunate and unjustified assumption that the use of the nominative as object in all these languages is an anomaly. This is not so.

There is no need for, nor any possibility of, any other explanation for the structural similarity and the areal distribution of this usage than the explanation of syntactic borrowing.

8. Typological perspective

Instead of the accusative with the usual suffixes -yi and -i a suffixless form coinciding with the nominative is used in certain cases, but this, of course, is not a nominative.

Nicholas Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian² (Wiesbaden 1964), §518.

8.1 If the nominative object rule of Finnish, North Russian, Lithuanian, and Latvian is a natural and motivated rule, we can expect to find a similar rule in another language of different structure. A parallel would therefore be instructive.

For a parallel we can turn to the Uto-Aztecan languages. In Southern Paiute, for example, nouns may be either subjective (nominative) or objective (accusative) in case. The subjective case, which lacks suffix, is used primarily to specify the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and secondarily with postpositions; the objective case, with overt suffix, is used to specify the object of transitive verbs and the possessor (Sapir 1930: §49). Pronouns may be either enclitic or independent. Independent pronouns, which are used for emphasis, show the same case distinction of subjective and objective as nouns (§39); however, (almost) all enclitic pronouns neutralize the distinction between subjective and objective cases, and they may be used to express both subject and object participants (§40).

The use of the objective case of a noun as direct object may be illustrated by:

- (316) nĕmWI qa'tc'U qu'na'i' wari'χwait'·im'
'we' 'not' 'fire' 'being (pl.) in
(obj.) need of (neg.)'

'we are not in need of fire (obj.)'
(384.6)

- (317) ʏnĕŋuts 'o'ʏV maŋa'c' tcɔ'i'ŋk aŋA
'then' 'so' 'that' 'bluejay' 'he'
(subj.)
one'

qu'na'i' yaŋwĕ'm'mtaq'Upĕyaiyaq'
'fire' 'took and carried it
(obj.) along'

'so then bluejay took the fire (obj.) and
carried it along'
(386.2)

The direct object of the imperative, however, is put in the subjective case (§52), as in the following sentences:

- (318) ĩvʷĕ'aq' i'mI yaŋwĕ'mMI'quaq' i'tc' qu'n' aRĭ
'go ahead, 'you' 'take and car- 'this' 'fire' 'it'
it' ry it along' (subj.)

'go ahead, you, take and carry this fire
(subj.) along!'
(387.3)

- (319) ĩvʷĕ'aq' i'tc' qu'n' ar a'yanwantc'ka'
'go ahead, 'this' 'fire' 'it' 'hide'
it' (subj.)

'go ahead, hide this fire (subj.)!'
(389.1)

In (316-17) the direct object of the finite indicative verb is the objective qu'na'i' with suffix, while in (318-19) the direct object of the imperative is the suffixless subjective qu'n'.

Concerning the imperative, Sapir states (§52):

The imperative is only negatively determined as regards form, i.e. by the absence of tense elements, further by the frequent absence of the second person singular in forms that have a pronominal or nominal object.

Imperatives with a dual or plural subject do not seem to occur with enclitic pronominal subject, but are characterized instead by an enclitic -ya, appended either to the verb form or a preceding word.

It is clear that the imperative is structurally different from other verb forms in the way the logical subject is expressed. As an appeal form, the imperative is necessarily directed to the addressee, and the addressee is necessarily the logical subject of the event. Because of this, the logical subject of an imperative is not expressed as a grammatical constituent of the sentence in the same way that the subject of a finite indicative verb is. It seems that the logical subject of the imperative counts as grammatically absent, as the characterization of Sapir suggests. Typologically, this is the same type of rule as the nominative object rule of Finnish.⁷⁶

Unlike Finnish, Southern Paiute does not have a pronoun or animacy constraint. Personal pronouns are put in the subjective case as the direct objects of imperatives (although the case is evident only when the independent form of the pronoun is used for emphasis). Reading through the texts in Sapir (1930), I have found five examples (349.3, 346.6, 370.12, 414.16, 472.26), including:

(320) $\dot{i}v^w \dot{a}n$ $\dot{u}n\dot{t}\dot{u}ts$ $n\dot{i}$ $na\dot{u}p\dot{a}n$
 'go ahead 'then' 'I' 'like self, me'
 (pl.), me' (subj.)

$ma\dot{m}\dot{a}\dot{n}I$
 'make (pl.) me!'

'go ahead, then, make me (subj.) into
 one of yourselves!'
 (370.12)

In (320) the independent pronoun $n\dot{i}$ 'I' is in the subjective case as the object of an imperative; the same pronominal category is also referenced in three places in the sentence by enclitic pronouns, which do not distinguish case. Concerning this sentence, Sapir states (p. 516, fn. 54) that the pronoun is "subjective in form, as regularly, because object of imperative."

The lack of a pronoun or animacy constraint in Southern Paiute, although it may represent a significant difference from Finnish, is probably predictable from another structural difference between Southern Paiute and Finnish. Finnish always distinguishes nominative from accusative for personal pronouns, while Southern Paiute does not.

This suggestion can be confirmed by examining Tübatulabal, another northern Uto-Aztecan language. In Tübatulabal, the subjective (nominative) is used for a substantival object of an imperative, while the objective (accusative) is used for a pronominal object (Voegelin 1935: §§16.1.iii, 24.2.iv):

(321) $pa\dot{a}g\dot{i}na\dot{h}$ $ta\dot{t}wa\dot{l}$
 impv. subj.

'hit the man (subj.)!'

(322) pa^ˈagina^ˈani
 impv. 1 sg. obj.

'hit me (obj.)!'

In (322) the 1st sg. object is represented by the objective form of the enclitic -ni (cf. subj. -gi).

The motivation for the pronoun (animacy) constraint is to guarantee that pronouns (animates) are unambiguously specified as accusative even in systematically impersonal environments (see §4.4). Since enclitic pronouns do not distinguish case in Southern Paiute, a pronominal object is not necessarily unambiguously specified as an object, even in finite indicative (nonimperative) sentences. There is no reason to have an animacy constraint in imperative sentences in Southern Paiute, given that case is not necessarily distinguished for pronouns in other environments. This interpretation is supported by Hopi (also Uto-Aztecan), which does distinguish case for all pronouns and therefore has an animacy constraint (Whorf 1946: §6.4).

8.2 From this suggestive parallel it would be desirable to pass to a complete typology of nominative object rules. A complete typology would consist first of a list of possible types or variants of the nominative object rule, and second, a set of implicational rules relating the variation in the nominative object rule to the variation in language structure; the implicational rules would state that a certain

variation in the nominative object rule is consistent or inconsistent with other structural properties.

The Finno-Ugric (FU) languages exhibit several types of the nominative object rule. Given their basic structural similarity, the FU languages offer a suitable opportunity to establish a typology with implicational rules. Although it is too early to achieve this goal, I would like now to list the four different interpretations of the nominative object rule found in FU, and draw some conclusions about the rule from this variation.

The first interpretation of the nominative object rule in FU is the null type. Thus, some FU languages, notably Standard Hungarian, have no form of the rule.

8.3 Other FU languages have a nominative object rule which is in essence identical to the rule in Finnish, in that the nominative is used instead of the accusative in an environment which is syntactically determined. Thus Yurak (Samoyed) uses the nominative of the noun in all numbers after the second person of the imperative and the precative (Wickman 1955: 93; Collinder 1957: 427-28):⁷⁷

(323) xaljam xadadm; xaljar pire'!
 acc. 1 sg. nom. impv.

'I have caught the fish (acc.); cook the
 fish (nom.)!'
 (from Tereščenko and Pyrerka 1948: 397)

(324) jehenār matort, pēleda najebādane
 nom. 2sg. impv. nom.

sērtād, pēlemta nābakōr piremta!
 impv. acc. nom. 3 sg.
 2 sg.

'cut your sturgeon (nom.), prepare half
 (nom.) for eating raw, your sister may
 cook the other half (acc.)'
 (from Wickman 1955: 97)

Note especially the minimal contrast in (324) between nom. pēleda and acc. pēlemta as objects of an imperative and a personal verb, respectively.

When the direct object is a personal pronoun, it remains in the accusative, according to the rule stated by Wickman (1955: 100) and Collinder (1957: 427-28). They give no examples, but in reading through the dictionary of Tereščenko and Pyrerka (1948), I have found seven transitive imperatives; four of these have a noun in the nominative as object, and the other three have a pronoun in the accusative.

(325) si'mi ngate'
 acc. impv.

'wait for me (acc.)!'
 (p. 77)

(326) xu' mer' si'mi sideda'
 adv. acc. impv.

'awaken me (acc.) early in the morning!'
 (p. 233)

(325) and (326) show the operation of the animacy constraint for the first person sg. pronoun.

The nominative object rule is the same type of rule as the rule in Finnish: the use of the nominative is determined by syntactic environment, where the environment is systema-

tically impersonal.

8.4 A superficially rather different type of nominative object rule is found in other FU languages, in which the nominative is used instead of the accusative in an environment which is semantically determined. In Mordvinian (Erza dialect), for example, the accusative (syncretic with the genitive) designates a definite direct object, and the nominative an indefinite object. With a definite object in the accusative, the verb usually takes the objective conjugation, in which it is specified for both subject and object participants. Observe the definite accusative objects with objective conjugation of the verb in the following:

(327) rivezes' targize kekšez' suskomnent'
 nom.sg. 3 sg./3 acc.sg.
 def. sg. def.
 'fox' obj. 'piece'

'the fox took out the hidden piece (acc.)'

(328) ovtos' kapodize ver'gizènt'
 nom.sg. 3sg./3sg. acc.sg.
 def. obj. def.
 'bear' 'wolf'

'the bear grabbed the wolf (acc.)'

With an indefinite object in the nominative, the verb necessarily takes the subjective conjugation, in which the verb is characterized for the subject participant only; the subjective conjugation is used for intransitives as well (see Jakubinskaja-Lemberg 1962). Thus, in (329) and (330) the indefinite object is in the nominative and the verb has the

subjective (intransitive) conjugation:

(329) targan tantej prjakine
 1 sg. nom. sg.
 subj. indef.

'I take out a sweet pirožok (nom.)'

(330) kandy poza kukšin
 3 sg. nom.sg.
 subj. indef.

'she [the girl] is carrying a pitcher
 (nom.) of kvas'

Above I defined the nominative object rule as a rule through which the nominative is used instead of the normal case of the direct object where there is no change in grammatical relations. According to this broad definition, the use of the nominative for indefinite object as opposed to the accusative for definite object qualifies as an instance of the nominative object rule. But clearly this rule differs significantly from the nominative object rules of the other languages discussed above. It defines a distinct subtype of nominative object rule: whereas the rule in the other languages is defined syntactically, the rule in Mordvinian is defined semantically. Yet it must be recognized as a type of nominative object; we know the semantic rule of Mordvinian cannot be entirely dissimilar to the syntactic rule of West Finnic and Yurak Samoyed, since these rules are genetically related; either one type must be descended from the other, or both from a common ancestor.

Within Finno-Ugric, the semantic nominative object

rule is found as well in Votyak, Ziryene, and Vogul (see Collinder 1957: 277, 300, 323; Wickman 1955; Vértes 1960). Outside of Finno-Ugric, the rule is well known from Altaic languages; see Poppe (1964: §519) on Mongolian.

8.5 The similarity of the syntactic and semantic definitions of the nominative object is established by Kamassian (Samoyed), which has both versions of the rule simultaneously. This is then the fourth interpretation of the rule in Finno-Ugric. According to Donner (1944: 132):

Oft sieht es aus, als ob die endungslose Form [nominative] dann verwendet würde, wenn man von etwas Neuem, Unbekanntem und Unbestimmtem spricht.

Thus, in Donner's examples, one sentence in a text has the nominative for the indefinite object:

(331) d'alaš šuškw ibi
adj. nom. verb

'[er kam heraus], nahm einen kahlen
Schulterknochen (nom.)'

while the immediately following sentence has the accusative designating the definite object:

(332) də k'əmze' šuškum bār d'o^btəbi
dem. instr. acc. adv. verb

'[er schlug sich auch die Nase, sein Blut
floss], mit diesem Blut bestrich er
gänzlich den Schulterknochen (acc.)'

In the same way, "wenn das Objekt ein Stoffname oder ein Kollektiv ist, wird es gewöhnlich in der endungslosen Form [nominative] gebraucht (p. 133)."

In addition to designating the indefinite object, "der endungslose Akkusativ [nominative] kommt gewöhnlich im Zusammenhang mit der 2. Person des Imperativs vor (p. 133)."

(333) *aspa' ēd^ə, uļa pada'*
 nom. impv. nom. impv.

'hänge den Kessel (nom.) [über das Feuer],
 Fleisch (nom.) stecke hinein'

Thus, in (333) the nominative designates definite and indefinite objects, respectively. Since there is no formal distinction of definiteness after the imperative, definiteness can of course be determined only from the context. In Kamassian personal pronouns remain in the accusative, as in:

(334) *māna iit hēlāst^ə!*
 acc. impv.

'nimm mich (acc.) zum Gefährten!'
 (89.1)

This, then, is the fourth interpretation of the nominative object rule in Finno-Ugric: Kamassian has both the syntactically defined and the semantically defined nominative object rules in the same system. Since the output of the two rules is identical, they cannot be unrelated; furthermore, neither the syntactic nor the semantic condition is ranked over the other. The occurrence of both rule types in one language shows that they are comparable in function, and should both be identified as types of the nominative object rule. I know of no parallel outside FU to the combined rule of Kamassian. It may be that the mixed type of nominative object in Kamassian represents a transitional stage in a

historical change from one type of nominative object to the other.

8.6 From this typology two conclusions may be drawn.

First, the nominative object rule comes basically in two forms, one syntactic and one semantic; by implication, other syntactic rules may be defined by syntactic or semantic environment.

As a parallel, we may cite the adverbial partitive in Finnish. Under certain conditions, the partitive is used for an accusative object and (with more restrictions) for a nominative subject of an intransitive verb. In positive sentences, this substitution is correlated with a range of semantic facts, including verbal aspect, the partitive *sensu stricto*, and definiteness; the rule is semantically conditioned. On the other hand, the partitive is obligatory in negative sentences; it is syntactically conditioned. Since in these two rules the overall environment is the same, and the change itself is the same, these two partially distinct rules must be closely related, and must be considered subrules of a single partitive rule. This one rule has both syntactically defined and semantically defined parts.⁷⁸

Second, this typology suggests that the number of possible types of nominative object rules is limited. Not only is it true that there are only syntactically and semantically defined nominative object rules, but further, the number

of possible types of either seems to be limited.

For the syntactically defined nominative object rule, the environment is similar in all the languages examined. It is systematically impersonal: the logical subject, if there is one, does not count as the grammatical subject. Specifically in the imperative, the logical subject is characterized as the addressee of an appeal form, and not as a grammatical constituent. This seems to be the only kind of syntactically defined nominative object rule.

Similarly, there seems to be only one type of semantically defined nominative object; only the semantic parameter of definiteness defines a nominative object rule. When the noun phrase is indefinite or nonspecific, its existence cannot be presupposed for the narrated event; it may be nonexistent, or at least its existence cannot be assumed independent of the event. Such an object does not count as a grammatical constituent in the sentence. It is for this reason that the conjugation of the verb with indefinite nominative object in Mordvinian is necessarily subjective (intransitive); the verb registers only the subject participant, because the object is not a grammatical constituent. It is for this reason that the indefinite nominative object in some Altaic languages is placed next to the verb, and forms a single stress unit with it (Kiekbayev 1965). Since the indefinite object does not count as a grammatical constituent, it may be placed in the nominative without affecting the basic

distribution of cases for primary participants.

In a curious way, then, the syntactic and semantic definitions of the nominative object are analogous. Both rule types are subject to the overriding constraint that, in order to have a case distinction of nominative and accusative, the subject of the sentence must be designated as nominative and the object as accusative when both subject and object are grammatical constituents. Both types can avoid designating the object as accusative when one of the two primary participants does not count as a constituent. On the one hand, the subject participant may be absent, in a systematically impersonal environment (or specifically in the imperative); the syntactic nominative object rule makes use of this possibility. On the other hand, the object participant may be indefinite or nonspecific, and thereby not count as a constituent; the semantic nominative object makes use of this possibility.

9. Conclusions

9.1 In this section I will summarize the arguments presented above and offer more general remarks.

9.2 I have divided the study of the nominative with infinitive in North Russian dialects into two chronological periods. During the early period, until approximately the end of the sixteenth century, the nominative was used to designate an object which was not grammatically animate in systematically impersonal environments in NR dialects, as reflected in OR texts from the NR area. It is clear from numerous properties (agreement, the impersonal environment, the animacy constraint, the oblique case constraint, reflexivization) that the nominative did not designate the grammatical subject during this period. Further, this usage was regular, in the sense that there are very few attested sentences in which the nominative was used for the object outside of systematically impersonal environments; there are no violations of the animacy constraint and no instances of lack of concord between nominative noun and modifier during this period.

During the second period, from the end of the sixteenth century until the present, the nominative object rule became a morphological rule. In its modern form, the nominative desinence of a-stem nouns may be substituted for the accusa-

tive (or other) desinence. This usage differs from the earlier usage in several significant properties: the lack of a principled syntactic environment; the restriction to feminine a-stem nouns and fem. modifiers in the singular; the lack of obligatory concord between head noun and modifier; the lack of the oblique case constraint. These properties show that the modern rule is morphological.

9.3 The comparable use of the nominative in Lith. and Latv. dialects is an instance of the nominative object; it clearly does not represent the grammatical subject. The use of nominative object in these Baltic dialects is defined by the same properties which define the early NR rule, principally the systematically impersonal environment and the animacy (pronoun) constraint. Similarly, in Finnish, where there is no question that the nominative designates an object, the nominative object is used in the same type of environment and is governed by the same constraints.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the nominative object in early North Russian dialects and in Lith. and Latv. dialects arose as a syntactic borrowing from some West Finnic language(s). Both the geography and the structural similarity of the usage speak in favor of this hypothesis.

The arguments against attributing the origin of the construction in early NR, Lith., and Latv. dialects entirely to Finnic influence presumably rest on structural differences,

the difference in environment for the nominative object and the difference in the inventory of nominals which may appear in the nominative. These differences are illusory. In Finnish, early North Russian, and Lith. and Latv. dialects the syntactic environment for the nominative object may be defined as systematically impersonal; the inventory of verbal categories and syntactic contexts which are systematically impersonal depends on the structure of the given language.

Similarly, the set of nominals which appear in the nominative may be defined as those which are not grammatically animate; the interpretation of grammatically animate depends on the structure of the language. These differences arose through a process of internalization of the syntactic usage into the structure of the borrowing language, so that the particular content of the constraints was determined according to the structure of the borrowing language.

9.4 Traditional discussions of the nominative with infinitive (notably V. Kiparsky and Filin) differ considerably from the theory presented here. These discussions favor a theory which may be stated as follows. It is impossible for a nominative to designate an object. Therefore, the use of the nominative for object in OR must be considered anomalous and unmotivated. Since the modern reflex of the construction is syntactically unmotivated, it may be assumed (in this theory) that the use of the nominative for object has been unmotivated

throughout its long attested history in Russian. The traditional theory therefore makes no chronological distinction between the early and modern periods.

Further, given that the nominative could not designate an object, the attested usage must be descended from the motivated use of the nominative to designate the grammatical subject. It may be assumed, then, that the origin of the nominative with infinitive in early and contemporary North Russian dialects is to be found in a construction in which the nominative originally was the subject and the infinitive the predicate.

Let us consider this theory point by point. First, it is possible for the nominative to designate an object in a language with a nominative-accusative case system; this is clear from Finnish, which is at least a typological parallel on this point. Second, a chronological distinction must be drawn between the early NR rule and the modern NR rule, since the early rule was syntactic and the modern rule is morphological.

Third, it is unlikely that the modern morphological rule could be directly descended from a syntactic use of the nominative as subject. Thus, the modern limitation to fem. sg. a-stem nouns and fem. sg. modifiers arose in part because these nominals make a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative. Given that masc. an. nouns and pronouns also make such a distinction, their exclusion from the

modern rule must be a result of their having been excluded from the original rule, presumably because they were grammatically animate. But a subjectivization rule cannot have any grammatical or morphological restrictions on what kinds of nominals may be the subject; the existence of the animacy constraint therefore shows that the modern rule could not be descended from a subjectivization rule.

9.5 In spite of the structural and historical arguments presented above, it is still conceivable that the nominative with infinitive originally did represent a subject at some prehistoric time. It is conceivable that the original nominative subject was reinterpreted as an object because of Finnic influence; perhaps this is what V. Kiparsky and Filin have in mind.

To this possible hypothesis two comments are appropriate. First, this hypothesis is unnecessary. The real problem is to explain how the syntactic usage came to appear as it did in early NR and modern NR dialects. This is explained entirely by Finnic influence (with the subsequent change of syntactic nominative object rule to morphological nominative desinence substitution rule).

Second, this hypothesis is vacuous, in the sense that there is no evidence which could either verify or disprove it. Because the stage when the nominative was supposedly a grammatical subject is prehistoric, this hypothesis cannot

be tested. There is no positive evidence that the nominative ever represented a subject in this construction.

The only relevant evidence is comparative, and the comparative evidence argues against this hypothesis. A construction in which the nominative is the subject of an infinitival predicate is not attested anywhere in Slavic except in Old Czech, where it is due to German influence. Outside Slavic, the Baltic construction cannot be cognate to the hypothesized subject nominative, because the nominative in Baltic (as in early NR dialects) does not represent a grammatical subject. The Vedic usage is geographically and chronologically far removed from North Russian.

9.6 The history of the nominative object is complex and provides examples of several different kinds of historical change. These changes will be discussed here in terms of the dichotomy of abductive change and deductive change (Andersen 1973). An abductive change is a change which arises through the formulation of a novel set of rules to produce a given set of output data; a deductive change is a change in output which arises through the actualization of an abductive change (a change in grammar).

At some point the use of the nominative for object must have been introduced into the speech of the ancestors of the North Russians by the introduction of an adaptive rule, which stated that in certain stylistic contexts and certain speci-

fically named environments the nominative case could substitute for the accusative. The decision to introduce this rule was abductive; its application in speech was deductive.

Subsequently, it was realized that it would be possible to produce the same results that the adaptive rule produced by adopting a different method of case assignment, one which was based on relative centrality: the object would be specified as accusative only in personal contexts. This is an abductive innovation without any direct deductive consequences.

In Old Russian (of the thirteenth century) the gerund became a part of speech independent of the participle. When this occurred, the gerund became a nonfinite verb which, like the infinitive, could be personal or systematically impersonal according to the context in which it was used. Abductively it was decided to include this part of speech as an environment for the nominative object; deductively this innovation was actualized by allowing the gerund to occur with the nominative object.

In approximately the sixteenth century the animate accusative was extended to feminine plural nouns. This meant that the same noun could be in the nominative in the singular and in the accusative (morphologically identical to the genitive) in the plural. This contradiction was resolved through an abductive innovation by which the nominative object rule was reanalyzed as a morphological rule. This abductive

innovation was subsequently actualized deductively through the elimination of syntactic restrictions on the new morphological rule and the introduction of lack of concord between head noun and modifier. This deductive innovation was still in progress when the usage was attested by modern dialectologists.

Finally, the nominative object (in its modern form) has been virtually eliminated, probably through the same type of process by which it began. In contact with the norm of standard Russian, speakers of North Russian dialects abductively introduced an adaptive rule which allowed their speech to approximate the approved norm through the elimination of the nominative object usage. This abductive innovation has been actualized deductively; it has proceeded in part along the lexical parameter. Recently, only the most folksy and rural collocations, such as zemplja paxat', remained.

9.7 The use of the nominative object in early North Russian, Lith. and Latv. dialects, and Finnish is motivated in the following sense. In a systematically impersonal environment there is necessarily no grammatical subject. Such an environment is less complex than a personal environment, so that the object, which is by default the most central participant, requires a less explicit syntactic specification and therefore appears in the nominative.

This theory contrasts with another theory of the

nominative object. This theory, suggested at least for Finnish by several scholars,⁷⁹ states that the nominative is used for the object when the subject has been deleted or, in another formulation, when there is no other nominative in the sentence. This theory is proposed primarily as a description of the distribution of the nominative; the motivation for this distribution is not discussed. If anything, the motivation in this theory rests on an assumption about ambiguity: the use of the nominative for object is permitted so long as it does not lead to ambiguity.

In many cases these two theories appear to make identical predictions. There are some cases, however, when there is a difference. Let us consider two such cases, using Finnish data.

One such case is the imperative in Finnish. It will be recalled that the logical subject of the imperative (the addressee) may be expressed in the nominative, but only in position after the verb. In the alternative theory outlined above, this is an anomaly, since here the logical subject is not deleted and there is another nominative in the sentence besides the object. While imperative sentences are not ambiguous in their grammatical relations, they are not any less ambiguous than any sentence with a second person subject, where the form of the verb indicates what is the object and what is the subject. The point about imperative sentences is that the nominative of the second person does not behave as

a grammatical subject, because its identity is predictable.

A second problem is the animacy constraint. Within the alternative theory that the object automatically appears in the nominative when the subject is missing, there is no reason for a pronominal object not to be specified nominative. An appeal to ambiguity will not help, since in these sentences the verbal form signals unambiguously that there is no subject (e.g. passive, imperative), so a pronominal object will not be more or less ambiguous than a nonpronominal object.

There is of course no difficulty in formulating a rule that will take into account these problems; the rule which states that the object is nominative when the subject has been deleted can easily be modified to take care of imperative sentences and the animacy constraint. However, the statement of the distribution of the nominative is not an explanation of its motivation; apparently ambiguity does not provide an explanation.

An explanation is possible only if it is recognized that syntactic rules have the function of making explicit the relationships of grammatical categories. In this case, the rule which specifies objects as accusative has the function of making explicit the fact that these participants stand in a relatively complex relationship to the event. Either they are objects of personal verbs, which have or could have grammatical subjects, or else they are pronominal

objects, which have an inherently complex relationship to the event. The accusative fails to apply to participants when they lack this relatively complex relationship to the event, that is, when they are objects of systematically impersonal verbs. As an explanation for the phenomenon of the nominative object, the theory proposed here, which invokes the function of syntactic rules, is not equivalent to the alternative theory, which simply predicts the appearance of the nominative.

NOTES

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¹For a description of the rule in English, see Chomsky (1964: 66-67). V. Kiparsky (1969a: 147) and Comrie (1971: 217) refer to a transformational interpretation of this sort.

²See the maps in Kuz'mina and Nemčenko (1964: 153) and Avanesov and Orlova (1965: no. 4, 245), as well as the discussion in Georgieva and a list of villages where the construction has been attested in Borkovskij (1949: 344-45).

³Compare the evidence of Leskien (1870: 169-70), who reports that school children had to be taught not to use the nominative with infinitive construction; with the evidence of Georgieva (1949: 42), who states that the construction is now

used only by old people, and then only in conversation among themselves.

⁴That is, in documents written in a style close to the spoken language, but rarely in documents written in high literary style, such as chronicles and ecclesiastical works. See the discussion in Sprinčak (1960: 173-74).

⁵The suggestion of Kotkov (1959) that the construction is native to South Russian as well will be examined in §6.4.

⁶The earliest example from a dated text seems to be (84), from the Ipat'evskaja letopis' of 1149. Accordingly, most scholars date the attestation of the construction from the twelfth century, although Filin (1969: 75) even uses the eleventh century. Whatever the correct absolute date for the earliest attestation, it should be noted that the construction is attested in the earliest distinctly NR documents. The eighteenth century is the date given by Bicilli (1933: 207), and repeated elsewhere. Larin (1963: 94) uses the nineteenth century as the upper limit.

⁷According to Šaxmatov (1941: §138), the only relic in CSR is the idiom šutka skazat' 'it is to tell a joke, to treat as a laughing matter'. For a discussion of the stylistic value of this idiom, see Pigin (1954: 84).

⁸The change is the reanalysis of the nominative object rule as a morphological rule. Often this change is mistakenly thought to be part of the gradual disappearance of the construction through the influence of the standard language; see

Bicilli (1933: 207), Sprinčak (1960: 180), Staniševa (1966a: 1), and Larin (1963: 95). See also fn. 38.

⁹Before Bicilli, the phenomenon is mentioned by Leskien (1870: 169-70), Miller (1874: 167-69), Buslaev (1881: §196, fn. 3), Miklosich (1883: 346), Potebnja (1958: 409), Delbrück (1897: §152), Osvjaniko-Kulikovskij (1902: 201-07), Šaxmatov (1903: 130-31; 1941: §138), Sobolevskij (1907: 197-98), Karinskij (1909: 190-91), Brugmann (1916: §818), Obnorskij (1927: 266, fn. 1), and Vondrák (1928: 228, 409). After Bicilli, the important studies are V. Kiparsky (1946; 1960; 1969a), Filin (1947; 1969), Georgieva (1949), Lomtev (1949), Borkovskij (1949: 338-51), Sprinčak (1960), Larin (1963), Staniševa (1966a), and Havránek (1968).

¹⁰When possible, sentences are cited from primary sources (see the separate appendix for a list of primary sources and abbreviations). When sentences are not cited directly from the primary source, the citation includes a reference to the primary source (when it is given in the secondary source) and to the secondary source from which the citation is taken.

¹¹See Timofeev (1959), Sprinčak (1960: 174), Larin (1963: 97-99), Borkovskij (1968), and Filin (1969: 73).

¹²As Filin (1969: 74) tries to do.

¹³Sprinčak (1960: 178), Černyx (1962: 312), Avanesov and Orlova (1965: 181), and Filin (1969: 73).

¹⁴In this work I will use the distinctions formulated

by Jakobson (1957: 133) between the speech event (E^S) and the participants of the speech event (P^S) and between the narrated event (E^n) and the participants of the narrated event (P^n).

¹⁵As in Lyons (1969: 376-78) and Halliday (1970: 159-61).

¹⁶See Brecht (1972) on the relationship of tense to the infinitive.

¹⁷Usually it is assumed that the infinitive is the totally unmarked verb form:

Der 'Infinitiv' wird von Karcevskij in Bezug auf den 'syntaktischen' Wert als eine Nullform des Verbuns charakterisiert, es handelt sich um 'l'expression d'un procès en dehors de tout rapport syntagmatique.' Die übrigen verbalen Formen kündigen das Vorhandensein der syntagmatischen Beziehungen an und fungieren somit im Gegensatz zum Infinitiv als merkmalthaltiges Glied der Korrelation (Jakobson 1932: 7).

I assume on the contrary that the infinitive, as a nonfinite verbal form, is marked with respect to finite indicative forms; far from lacking any syntactic relationships, it signals the obligatory contextualization of person and tense.

¹⁸A gerund is an adverbial nonfinite form of the verb; a participle is an adjectival nonfinite form. By definition, the gerund does not agree with any participant, while the participle must agree with its subject (and is therefore inherently personal).

Historically, gerunds in Russian are invariant nom. forms of participles. The discussion here refers to forms which have been reinterpreted as gerunds, and which are functionally no longer nominative forms of participles.

The reinterpretation of participles as gerunds can be seen in the lack of agreement between the gerund and its logical subject. Thus, the gerunds in all these examples refer to datives, but preserve the old nominative form; the form of the gerund (usually fem. sg. or masc. sg.) bears no relationship to the gender/number features of the logical subject.

¹⁹Potebnja (1958: 407), Sobolevskij (1907: 198). See Larin (1963: 96-97) and Jacobsson (1964) for other examples.

²⁰The form is masc. plural.

²¹Another sentence with two nominatives is:

| | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------------|---|-----------|---------|
| svarja | kaša | otrubejnaja, | i | gorjačaja | privit' |
| ger. | nom. | | | nom. | inf. |

'having brewed a porridge (nom.) of chaff,
apply it hot (nom.) [to the sore foot]'
(Lečebnik, XVII cent.; from Larin 1963: 97)

²²Upotreblenie form na -a pri infinitive bez vidimoj raznicy s čisto ob"ektnymi formami (vinitel'nogo padeža) svidetel'stvuet v pol'zu rannego pereosmyslenija formy imenitel'nogo padeža v drevnerusskom jazyke.

²³(46) and (47) are cited by Bicilli (1933: 205) and Sprinčak (1960: 181). In the only edition available to me, I. T. Posoškov, *Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve i drugie sočinenija*, ed. by B. B. Kafengauz (Moscow 1951), these instances of disagreement in case form have apparently been corrected (see the commentary on p. 316 of this edition).

²⁴Observed first by Leskien (1870), doubted only by V. Kiparsky (1969a: 141), Miller (1874: 168), and perhaps Comrie (1971: 212).

²⁵The form svoju bratъju is puzzling because it does not undergo the nominative object rule, although the pronominal adjective svoju shows that it is treated as a feminine noun, not as masc. animate (because it is a collective). In other syntactic properties the noun bratъja is peculiar; as the grammatical subject, it counts as plural:

a budutъ moja bratъja molodšaja poimali kaznu
 3 pl. nom.sg. fem.sg. pl.

otca vašego

'and if my brothers will have taken your
 father's fine'
 (Akty arx. èks., no. 29, 1435)

²⁶The term is adapted from Lunt (1965: §18.21); the motivation of the rule is discussed by Meillet (1897), Thomson (1909), and Kurylowicz (1964: 222).

²⁷Avanesov and Orlova give (1965: 182):

(i) rebenok nado kačat'
 mod. inf.

'it is necessary to rock the child'

Here it appears that the object rebenok may be a nominative object. However, they also give:

(ii) zagonjala kon'
 fem.sg.

'she drove the horse'

Here the environment is not appropriate for the nominative object. This suggests that the problem is the same for masc. singular animates as for animate plurals; that is, some dialects have not acquired the animate accusative rule for at

least some lexical items (notably kon' 'horse').

²⁸Změna osobní konstrukce v typ neosobní obvyklá a skoro obecně slovanská.

²⁹Osvjaniko-Kulikovskij (1902: 201), Staniševa (1966a: 2), Havránek (1968: 170), Filin (1969: 77). Compare also this statement by V. Kiparsky (1969a: 142):

Meistens legte man hier mit Recht den Nominativ als altes Subjekt und den Infinitiv (ursprünglich Dativ eines Verbalnomen) als Prädikat aus, das mit dem Subjekt durch eine Kopula verbunden werden müsste.

³⁰Despite Comrie's claim to originality (1971: 217), the specious analogy of constructions in Western European languages for the NR construction was suggested earlier in several places: by A. V. Popov (Sintaksičeskie issledovanija. Imenitel'nyj, zvatel'nyj i vinitel'nyj padeži, Voronež 1881, as reported by Sprinčak 1960: 176-77), by Osvjaniko-Kulikovskij (1902: 201), and by V. Kiparsky (1969a).

³¹Sintaksičeskie konstrukcii Sudebnika Ivana Groznogo. Uč. zap. Len-ogo pedinstituta im. A. I. Gercena, 20 (1939): 133-43; Konstrukcija "infinitiv s imenitel'nym padežom sušč. ženskogo roda" v istorii ruskogo jazyka. Sb. rabot fil. fak. Dnepropetrovskogo gos. un-ta, 29 (1941): 3-47. These works are unavailable to me, but they are summarized and renounced by Sprinčak himself (1960: 178-79).

³²Also Filin (1969: 74) and Comrie (1971: 212).

³³In the notation devised by Jakobson (1957) for verbal categories, case as a nominal category would be P^nE^n ; it is then the nominal correlate of voice.

³⁴I allude here to a concept which may be termed markedness equivalence; a markedness equivalence is a class of elements which function as equivalent with respect to a given rule by virtue of having identical markedness values for intrinsically related features or properties.

³⁵For a similar statement, see Nichols (1973: 79-80).

³⁶For a similar treatment of Finnish, see Wiik (1972).

³⁷One assumption which is involved is the cyclicity of case specification. If case specification in general is cyclic, then the object of an embedded infinitive would be specified as accusative on the lower cycle; in order to end up as nominative, it would have to be respecified as nominative by a case switching rule.

Alternatively, if case specification is not cyclic, there would be no need for case switching rules. The objects of finite personal verbs and the objects of infinitives governed by finite personal verbs would be specified as accusative by a single rule, operating after the cycle.

³⁸It is usually assumed that these differences are due to the reanalysis of the nominative from grammatical subject to object. I will show that this assumption is misguided (see p. 119).

³⁹The hypocoristic Genka may apply to males and females, but in this sentence it is interpreted as referring to a male by Kuz'mina and Nemčenko.

⁴⁰This point requires some documentation. For Old Russian, Borkovskij (1949: 363-64) notes that in the thirteenth century the old accusative form of the 3d sg. masc. pronoun was usual. The new genitive form, derived from the animate accusative rule, appeared occasionally, but only for direct objects; prepositional objects had only the old accusative form. By the fourteenth century, the new genitive form was usual; the old accusative form appeared occasionally, but only for prepositional objects. Thus, the animate accusative came to apply to direct objects earlier than to prepositional objects. This hierarchical difference is confirmed by the existence of archaisms like zamuž 'for a man' and vyjti v ljudi 'go out among the people' (Kuznecov and Borkovskij 1965: §158).

The same hierarchy of syntactic environments is observed in the development of the animate accusative in other Slavic languages. For Old Czech, Vážný states (1964: 25):

...se drží starý tvar ak. skoro výhradně jen ve spojení s předložkami, ojedinele i v akuzativu bezpředložkovém.

Thus, na sv. Ondřej 'on (the day of) St. Andrew', já budu jemu za otec 'I will be as father to him', před bůh 'before God', pro bůh and modern Czech probůh 'for God's sake'.

See Thomson (1909) for data on OCS.

There is therefore no doubt that in the historical development of the animate accusative the substitution of genitive desinence for accusative took place first for direct

objects and later for prepositional objects. Since, however, the animate accusative is a morphological rule, these syntactic restrictions were eventually eliminated.

⁴¹The view represented by V. Kiparsky (1949; 1960; 1967; 1969a) and by Havránek (1968); the comparison to Lithuanian and Sanskrit was first suggested by Miller (1874), and is found also in Potebnja (1958: 406), Sobolevskij (1907: 198), and Brugmann (1916: §818).

⁴²The view of a general East Slavic provenience is held by Miklosich (1883: 346), Staniševa (1966a: 1), and Sprinčak (1960: 173). The view of a specifically NR origin is held by Obnorskij (1927: 226) and Borkovskij (1949: 345).

⁴³In a dispute with V. Kiparsky (1967), Kostov shows that, although Bulgarian did not preserve nominal case, it could not have had a subjective nominative with infinitive construction, since pronouns continue to distinguish case. Thus, běše že zrěti ego 'it was possible to see him' from middle Bulgarian has the old acc.-gen. form of the pronoun.

⁴⁴V. Kiparsky's review (1955) of Reiter only restates his position.

⁴⁵Kotkov (1959: 48) recognizes this problem, but his position contradicts our knowledge of sociolinguistics:

Esli by èta konstrukcija v privedennyx vyše slučajax vznikla v silu podražanija moskovskim obrazcam, verojatno, nevozmožnym okazalos' by analogičeskoe perenesenie iz nee imenitel'nogo na -a v sočetanii s drugimi formami glagola, tak kak moskovskoe pravopisanie obrazcov dlja ètogo ne davalo.

On the contrary, this is exactly what we would expect by way of hypercorrection.

⁴⁶The actual dialectal distribution is difficult to determine. For Lithuanian, the nominative object with infinitive is represented with perfect regularity in Specht's edition of Baranowski's texts in dialects R3, R4, and R5; that is, in the eastern Aukštaičian dialects; Senn (1966: §1088) says simply the eastern dialects.

For Latvian, the distribution is different for different constructions. The nominative with debitive is the most widely distributed; it is found in most Latvian dialects except the Livonian, according to Rudzīte (1964: 138, 240, 372) and Larin (1963: 103-04).

⁴⁷The verb mokēti governs an infinitival complement, not an embedded question, so that (164) is not comparable to (160), which has an embedded question.

⁴⁸Lithuanian does not have the debitive. It is not clear whether the nominative may be used for the object of a gerund in any Latv. dialects; in general, the Latv. gerund is syntactically more restricted than the Lith. gerund (see Bense 1963), so that it is conceivably never used to form systematically impersonal environments.

⁴⁹Jablonskis (1957: 564) gives several sentences where it seems that the nominative is used as the object of a gerund which is not governed by an impersonal verb. But these sentences are always syntactically isolated, parenthetical

expressions like tiesa pasakius 'to tell the truth (nom.)'.

⁵⁰ Although the debitive historically represents the reduction of a complex sentence, it must be derived synchronically from a simplex structure, if Endzelin (1901) is correct in his interpretation.

⁵¹ For another argument, see §6.5.4. Also, the fact that some dialects have the accusative for the object of the debitive without any apparent structural difference suggests that the nominative is not the subject.

⁵² The construction with a nominative object of an infinitive governed by a debitive is dialectally more restricted than the construction with a nominative object of a debitive; see Larin (1963: 103) for the only available data. The standard language requires the nominative for the object of the debitive, but allows either the nominative or accusative for the object of an infinitive governed by the debitive (Lazdiņa 1966: §316), with the accusative preferred (Mllvg. I. §763). The significance of this variation is not clear; presumably it means there is a hierarchy of environments which are appropriate for the nominative object, with the infinitive subordinate to the debitive lower on the hierarchy than the debitive.

⁵³ Endzelin (1951: §792) cites two sentences with the nominative of the 2nd sg. pronoun, including:

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----|-----|-------|---------|
| tad | tu | man | arī | būsi | jākuopj |
| | nom. | | | aux. | deb. |
| | 2 sg. | | | 2 sg. | |

'will you then also be necessary for me to care for?'

Here the nominative pronoun cannot be an object, since the auxiliary agrees with it in person and number. This suggests that the pronoun constraint cannot be lost without the construction becoming personal.

⁵⁴The data I do have are contradictory. Fraenkel (1926: 138) cites two sentences with the nominative of the 2nd sg. pronoun, including:

- (i) raĩkia tũjenai múm pajĩmt
 imp. nom. dat. inf.
 2 sg.

'it is necessary for us to seize you (nom.)'

On the other hand, we find the following in Specht (1920: 9.2), with the accusative of the 1st sg. pronoun:

- (ii) bapĩga jũm būwa sugáut' manĩ kłáty
 adj. dat. aux. inf. acc. loc.
 1 sg.

'it was good for them to catch me (acc.)
 in the barn'

This sentence occurs in a text recorded from a speaker from dialect R5, which in general has the nominative object rule; in another story the same narrator uses (204).

⁵⁵Further, the nominative object does not affect a genitive which is derived by government by a supine. With verbs denoting motion Baltic languages historically used a special nonfinite verb form, the supine; the normal accusative object would appear in the genitive with the supine. Dialects of Lithuanian (Senn 1966: §§407, 832) and Latvian (Larin 1963:

104) preserve the genitive government of the supine. In such dialects the genitive object cannot be affected by the nominative object rule, as the following Latv. sentence shows:

jāiet pļaut siena
deb. inf. gen.

'it is necessary to go mow hay (gen.)'
(from Larin 1963)

⁵⁶These may be simply nominative specifications of temporal extent, of the type illustrated by Fraenkel (1926) and Senn (1966: §825), but they are cited by Jablonskis as examples of the nominative object.

⁵⁷See in general the monographs of Grünthal (1941) and Kont (1963). In particular, see Kettunen (1936: §§45, 126), Oinas (1966: 237-38), and Valgma and Rimmel (1968: §210) on Estonian, and Szabó (1965: 63-64) on Votian. An exception is Livonian, which has neither the nominative object nor the partitive object rule (Kettunen 1938: §56). Both were presumably lost under the later influence of Latvian.

⁵⁸As in Grünthal (1941) and Kont (1963).

⁵⁹Setälä (1952), Rosenqvist (1934: 80-81), Hakulinen (1961: II. §31), Mey (1960: 68), Siro (1964: 23), Karlsson (1966), and Ikola (1968: 277).

⁶⁰Runeberg (1951: 44-45), Penttilä (1957: §401), Eliseev (1959: 62), and Lehtinen (1963).

⁶¹Finnish sentences were checked with Kaarina (Nikkila) Yli-Renko, whom I wish to thank.

⁶²Ikola points out that a close unit depends on several factors. First, a close unit is usually equivalent to a single lexical verb, so for example tuntea tarvetta 'to feel a desire' is more or less the same as halutta 'to desire'. Second, the case of the head noun is important; an accusative head noun is more likely to form a close unit than a partitive. Third, the more the noun is individuated, the less it is likely to form a close unit with the verb.

hän tuntee kiihkeätä halua tarttua oveen ja
 nom. 3 sg. adj. part. inf.I ill. conj.

temmata se pihtipielineen kadulle
 inf.I nom. com. all.

'he feels a burning desire (part.) to grab
 hold of the door and pull it (nom.) with
 doorjamb into the street'

Here, the head noun is individuated with an adjective and so does not form a close unit with the verb, and the object se of the dependent infinitive temmata is therefore nominative.

In addition, the operation of the partitive object rule depends in part on the concept of the close unit (Ikola 1950: 473). When the matrix verb is negated, the embedded object need not become partitive unless the head noun and the matrix verb form a close unit.

⁶³In Ross' terminology (1967), the embedded infinitive may behave as an island when subordinated to a head noun which does not form a close unit with the matrix verb. The problem here is similar in many respects to the problems of movement

transformations which led Ross to formulate the complex NP constraint.

⁶⁴There is a distinct personal construction formed with a predicate passive participle (present), in which the semantic object is the grammatical subject of a predicate formed with the copula and the participle:

- (i) ikkunat ovat avattavat
 nom. cop. pass.part.I
 pl. 3 pl. pl.

'the windows are openable'

This personal construction differs in its treatment of the various constraints, and further in the fact that it cannot take a genitive agent:

- (ii) *minun ovat ikkunat avattavat
 gen.

⁶⁵In some styles the periphrastic past tense of the passive is formed as a personal construction; see the discussion in Hakulinen (1960: 258-60), who insists that the personal construction is due to foreign influence. In any case, the impersonal construction forms a distinct paradigm from the personal construction in terms of syntactic properties (see Ikola 1968: 159).

⁶⁶It is interesting to compare Estonian on this point, which is otherwise identical to Finnish in its use of the nominative object. In Estonian the third person optative has been incorporated into the imperative paradigm, so that it takes a nominative object (Oinas 1966: 196):

- (i) saatku ta see pakk Soome!
 impv. nom. nom. ill.
 3 sg.

'let him send this package (nom.) to
 Finland'

Note, however, that the cost of incorporating the third person into the imperative paradigm is that the third person nominative noun or pronoun ceases to behave as the grammatical subject (Grünthal 1941: 27, fn. 2). It occurs in position after the verb and it no longer causes agreement for number in the verb:

- (ii) saatku nad see pakk Soome!
 impv. nom. nom. ill.
 3 pl.

'let them send this package (nom.) to
 Finland'

Thus, the logical subject is singular in (i) and plural in (ii) but the verb remains invariant.

⁶⁷Lehtinen (1963: 238) states that the substitution is "not permissible in written material, but is common practice even in fairly formal conversation."

⁶⁸It must be connected to the change whereby the passive form may be used with the 1st pl. pronoun in the nominative (but without agreement) as a substitute for the normal inflected 1st pl. indicative. Thus, instead of (i), it is possible to say (ii) in colloquial Finnish:

- (i) me näemme lehmän ja hevosen
 nom. 1 acc. acc.
 pl. pl.

'we see the cow (acc.) and the horse (acc.)'

- (ii) me nähdään lehmä ja hevonen
 nom. pass. nom. nom.

See Eliot (1890: 183, fn.), Lehtinen (1963: 238), and Collinder (1957: 34).

⁶⁹The difference is perhaps to be expressed as a difference in the hierarchy of mood and subject relative to each other. It seems that in Finnish the selection of the semantic subject is ranked over the category of mood, so that the choice of the imperative mood is possible only subsequent to the choice of a second person subject. In Russian, on the other hand, it seems that mood is ranked over subject selection, so that once the imperative is selected as the mood (and the extended use as involuntative is chosen), any subject is then possible.

⁷⁰Some exceptions to the pronoun constraint with the imperative are mentioned by Grünthal (1941: 3), and with the passive exceptions are well-known in the writing of Agricola. Concerning the latter, v. Farkas (1956b: 261, fn.) suggests that they may be due to an attempt to imitate the personal passive of Latin.

⁷¹See Vahros (1959), Setälä (1952: §28), Hakulinen (1960: §30), Penttilä (1957: §398), Fromm and Sadeniemi (1956: §148-52), and Ikola (1968: 276-77).

⁷²Existential sentences can also express a change of state or the cessation of existence, where the existence of the participant is presupposed (Karlsson 1962). The term

existential sentence is nevertheless appropriate. The existential sentences in general characterize the status of existence in a certain condition; typically, but not exclusively, they assert the existence of the participant. Predicate sentences do not qualify the status of existence.

⁷³This argument was made already by Wickman (1955: 15):

Grünthal's theory, even if it is correct, therefore does not really tell us anything of how this form came to be preserved precisely in those syntactical connections where it is actually found.

Also (p. 18):

Grünthal gives no explanation why the aboriginal uninflected form was kept in these special expressions and not in others.

⁷⁴For the linguistic evidence of contact between West Finnic and Baltic in the prehistoric period, see Kalima (1936) and Thomsen (1931). For the linguistic evidence of contact between West Finnic and Russian, see Kalima (1919), Kalima (1956), Toporov and Trubačev (1962), Kiparsky (1958; 1969b), and Veenker (1967). For nonlinguistic evidence, see Tret'jakov (1966).

⁷⁵First apparently by Mikkola (1937: 139):

In den Ausdrücken des Müssens steht das Objekt des Infinitivs in den meisten Dialekten des Finnischen im Nominativ und nicht im Akkusativ. Dieselbe Erscheinung begegnet uns in den baltischen Sprachen und in den nordrussischen, alten novgorodischen Dialekten.

⁷⁶The comparison of Uto-Aztecan (Hopi) to Finnish was first made by Whorf (1946: §6.4).

⁷⁷There is no recognition of this rule in most descrip-

tions (Castrén 1854; Tereščenko and Pyrerka 1948; Déscy 1966). In fact, the rule does not appear to be absolute. Thus, Tereščenko (1956: 131) and Déscy (1966: 46) give examples of an accusative object with the imperative; in the texts appended to Tereščenko (1956), three examples have nominative and four accusative. There is insufficient evidence to decide if this variation means the rule is optional (and presumably is correlated with some semantic or stylistic parameter), if it is due to contact with Russian, or if it represents an ongoing spontaneous historical change.

⁷⁸The choice of the partitive rule as a parallel to the nominative object on this point is not arbitrary, for there is a basic similarity between the rules: both affect the usual distribution of case for the primary participants. There may be a diachronic and a synchronic connection between these two rules in West Finnic; it is noteworthy that Livonian, which is the only West Finnic language which has lost the nominative object, has also lost the partitive object rule.

⁷⁹Runeberg (1951: 45), Siro (1964: 85), Ross (1967: 331-32), Moreau (1972), Wiik (1972).

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