

John Dingley

# The Peripheral Plural Endings of Nouns in Petrine Sermons

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# SLAVISTISCHE BEITRÄGE

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THE PERIPHERAL PLURAL ENDINGS OF NOUNS  
IN PETRINE SERMONS



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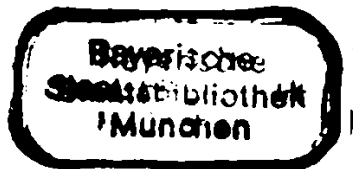
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Table of Contents .....	v
Orthographic Conventions .....	vi
Preface .....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
Chapter 2: A Survey of A-penetration in the Slavic Languages .....	15
Chapter 3: A Review of A-penetration Literature .....	45
Chapter 4: The Presentation of the Data .....	105
Chapter 5: Data Analysis .....	137
Chapter 6: Conclusion .....	201
Appendix .....	206
Bibliography .....	374

## ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

Cyrillic is (for the most part) given in transliteration, which is that of the American scholarly tradition. The following points should be noted in addition:

- 1) Old Church Slavonic/Russian Church Slavonic/  
pre-1917 Russian **ѣ** is rendered as i.
- 2) Russian Church Slavonic/pre-1917 Russian **ѣ**  
is rendered as e.
- 3) Old Church Slavonic **ѣ** is rendered as ě.
- 4) Russian Church Slavonic/pre-1917 Russian  
final ѣ is omitted.
- 5) Old Church Slavonic **ѣ** and **ѣ** are rendered as  
ǔ and ǐ respectively.



## PREFACE

With slight modifications, this book is in fact my UCLA doctoral dissertation, entitled "The Extension of the Oblique Endings -am, -ami, -ax in the Sermons of Petrinic Preachers". The dissertation was written in the years 1980-83 at UCLA under the guidance of Professor Dean S. Worth, to whom I should like to express my sincere thanks. My gratitude is also due to Professor Henrik Birnbaum of UCLA, who has suffered my idiosyncrasies with fortitude, and to Professor Michael Samilov of the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who encouraged me in my early years.

This work could never have been completed without the help of the librarians in the Research Library at UCLA. Their professionalism and unflagging generosity deserve the highest praise. In particular, I should like to thank Dr. Leon Ferder, the Slavic Bibliographer.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my wife, Vanessa. Her encouragement and support are in large measure responsible for bringing this project to a satisfactory conclusion.

UCLA, July 1983

John Dingley





## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Linguists frequently study linguistic change, but an equally interesting phenomenon is linguistic stability or resistance to change.

R.K.S. Macaulay<sup>1</sup>

This dissertation deals with the phenomenon of the apparent expansion of the Dative, Instrumental, and Locative plural (henceforth: D, I, L respectively) endings, viz. -am, -ami, -ax<sup>2</sup> in the history of Russian morphology. To set the scene I shall give the DIL norms for Old Russian (henceforth: OR) and Contemporary Standard Russian (henceforth: CSR).

Table 1 represents the norms of the DIL forms of OR noun declensions. These are the norms established by Markov [1974:25-36], who claims that texts of the 11th and 12th centuries support such paradigms [ibid.:24-25]. They are also the norms usually quoted in the standard reference works dealing with the history of the Russian language, e.g. Bulaxovskij [1958:447-454], Černyx [1962:161-163], Borkovskij/Kuznecov [1965:191-194].

Table 2 represents the norms of CSR. These norms are universally accepted.

Two points come immediately to mind when comparing these two tables. Firstly, we note that CSR has far fewer declensional types than OR, and, secondly, that while there is considerable variety with

Table 1

DIL Norms of OR

	<u>F</u> -a-	<u>F</u> -ja-
D	ЖЕНАМЪ	ЗЕМЛ РАМЪ
I	ЖЕНАМИ	ЗЕМЛ РАМИ
L	ЖЕНАХЪ	ЗЕМЛ РАХЪ

<u>M</u> -o-	<u>M</u> -jo-	<u>N</u> -o-	<u>N</u> -jo-	<u>M/F</u> -i-	<u>M</u> -u-	<u>M/F/N</u> -c-	<u>F</u> -ü-
СТОЛОМЪ	МОУЖЕМЪ	СЕЛОМЪ	ПОЛЕМЪ	КОСТЪМЪ	СЪІНЪМЪ	КАМЕНЪМЪ	ЦЪРКЪВАМЪ
СТОЛЪІ	МОУЖИ	СЕЛЪІ	ПОЛИ	КОСТЪМИ	СЪІНЪМИ	КАМЕНЪМИ	ЦЪРКЪВАМИ
СТОЛЪХЪ	МОУЖИХЪ	СЕЛЪХЪ	ПОЛИХЪ	КОСТЪХЪ	СЪІНЪХЪ	КАМЕНЪХЪ	ЦЪРКЪВАХЪ

Table 2DIL Norms of CSR

	<u>F</u>	<u>F</u>
	<u>-a-</u>	<u>-ja-</u>
D	женам	землям
I	женами	землями
L	женах	землях

<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
мужам	селам	полям	костям
мужами	селами	полями	костями
мужах	селах	полях	костях

ω

M

-O-

D столам

I столами

L столах

respect to the DIL in OR, in CSR there is total uniformity.<sup>3</sup> It is the second of these points that this study is concerned with, but I start by briefly explaining how the declensional types of OR found their way into CSR. The following changes took place:

1. Mas. -i- stems went over to mas. -jo- stems.
2. -u- stems went over to mas. -o- stems.
3. Mas. C stems went over to mas. -jo- stems (via mas. -i- stems).
4. Fem. C stems went over to fem. -i- stems.
5. Neut. C (-s- type) went over to neut. -o- stems.
6. Neut. C stems (мѣна type) developed a unique declension.
7. -ū- stems went over to -a- stems, e.g. ѡУНѢ + буква, or to fem. -i- stems, e.g. ЛЮБѢ + любовь. Only цѣрковѣ (+ цѣркѣ) retains -am, -ami, -ax in the DIL, elsewhere having an -i- stem declension.

I return now to the question of the DIL. In OR the endings -am, -ami, -ax were found only in the -a- and -ja- stems, plus the -ū- stems. It is generally agreed that the -a- stem DIL endings encroached into the -ū- stems. (See the section on OCS in Chapter 2 for discussion of this point.) In order to account for the DIL endings of CSR, it is assumed that the -a- stem DIL endings penetrated into all the other declensional types. (Henceforth this phenomenon will be labelled: A-penetration.) To my knowledge, no scholar of the history of Russian morphology has doubted the validity of this assump-

tion (with the possible exception of Andersen [1969a] -- see Chapter 3 for details). Be there unanimity in the scholarly world on this point, there is anything but unanimity with respect to its corollary, i.e. why should the -a- stem DIL endings have been generalized, and not those of some other declensional type?

The dominant role now enjoyed by the -a- stem DIL endings has attracted the attention of many Slavists. Indeed, today we have an extensive literature on the phenomenon of A-penetration. (See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of this literature.) Yet the problems concerning the motivation for and the implementation of A-penetration still cannot be said to have been explained to universal satisfaction.

The usual path along which scholars have trodden in researching A-penetration has been the inductive one of textual investigation. The continual desire has been to examine material which most accurately reflects the spoken language. The rationale behind such a desire is reasonable, since the spoken language is where change takes place first. Yet this obsession with vernacular material seems to me too restrictive. Of paramount importance to my mind, and in the opinion of a number of other scholars, e.g. Molčanova [1964], Birnbaum [1976], Worth [forthcoming], is the need to investigate textual material of every genre, including the sorely neglected area of Russian Church Slavonic (henceforth: RCS).

The position of RCS in the formation of the Russian literary language (leading eventually to CSR) was both extensive and crucial.

However, it is not my task here to discuss in detail the exact role played by RCS in this formation, but it behoves me to point out the veritable dearth of linguistic research carried out on RCS material, and on A-penetration in RCS in particular. In the 17th century RCS, in many ways, constituted a separate language from vernacular Russian. Indeed, some have likened this duality of language to the diglossic situation which reigns in certain parts of the world today.<sup>4</sup>

Yet with the advent of the Petrinic era in Russia this diglossia would rapidly begin to break down. Peter the Great's 'Drang nach Westen' would occasion change in all parts and aspects of Russian society, and the situation with regard to language was no exception. Issatschenko [1974:251] has labelled these years a time of Sprachlosigkeit in Russia. RCS no longer seemed adequate for the needs and demands of Peter's modern state, but the new standard language was yet to emerge. Here are Issatschenko's sentiments [ibid.:251]:

Man kann die erste Hälfte des XVIII Jh. in Russland als literarisches und sprachliches Niemandsland bezeichnen. Die Zäsur in der sprachlichen Entwicklung ist klar, das Vakuum, welches die Beseitigung der Diglossie hinterlassen hatte, wurde zunächst nicht ausgefüllt.

A century after the death of Peter the Great, Puškin would have set the seal on the new standard language, fashioned after models other than RCS. Issatschenko [ibid.:251] puts it thus:

Die hochtrabende Rhetorik eines Feofan Prokopovič sowie seine lexikographischen Versuche, so gut

sie gemeint waren, bleiben für die Sprachentwicklung völlig bedeutungslose Episoden: die Generationen nach 1750 knüpfen nicht an Prokopovič an. Prokopovič exzerpierte nicht zeitgenössische Texte, er erfand Wörter. Seine lexikographischen Arbeiten werden als Quelle zur russischen Sprachgeschichte vielfach überschätzt.

So the importance of RCS in Russia was clearly on the wane at the end of the 17th century, and thus the RCS writings of this era mark, if not the zenith of RCS writing, then the closing chapter of RCS linguistic dominance in Russia.

Being in essence an artificial, conservative mode of expression, RCS did not welcome change and adaptation. Yet it would be naive to imagine that RCS underwent no modification in the course of its history. Just as the vernacular was affected by RCS, so in its turn was RCS influenced by the vernacular. Kjellberg [1957:12] writes:

Sans doute, la langue des textes liturgiques ne pouvait être modifiée (sinon sur des détails secondaires d'orthographe et de grammaire): elle était en principe sacrée et immuable, élevée au-dessus des contingences temporelles. Mais, dans les sermons et les catéchèses, dans les écrits apologétiques et polémiques, où il s'agit de se faire immédiatement comprendre du public, la langue se modifie.

Nevertheless, the inherent conservatism of RCS meant that it could ward off all but the most firmly embedded forms of the vernacular. Consequently the presence (or lack) of vernacular forms in RCS texts



can be of great significance in pinpointing chronological change in the history of the vernacular itself. Molčanova [1964:81] (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion) puts forward a similar opinion:

... единичные новообразования в церковнокнижном контексте, по-видимому, свидетельствуют о том, что в живой народной речи процесс уже получил более или менее значительное развитие.

It may be instructive at this juncture to examine a typical piece of homiletic RCS writing of the Petrinic era. Below is an extract from Prokopović's sermon entitled На погребение всепресветлейшаго державнейшаго Петра великаго ... of 1725, followed by an English translation:

Но о многоименитаго мужа! Кратким ли словом обьемем безчисленныя его славы, а простирать речи не допускает настоящая печаль и жалость, слезить токмо и стенать понуждающая. Негли со временем нечто притупится терн сей, сердца наша бодущий, и тогда пространнее о делах и добродетелех его побеседуем. Хотя и никогда довольно и по достоинству его возглаголати не можем; а и ныне, кратко воспоминающе и аки бы токмо воскрилий риз его касающесе, видим, слышателие, видим, беднии мы и несчастливи, кто нас оставил и кого мы лишился.<sup>5</sup>

Most distinguished man! Can a short oration encompass his immeasurable glory? Yet our present sad pitiful state -- moving us to tears and sighs -- does not permit us to extend the discourse. Probably, in course of time, the thorns that butt

our heart will dull, and then we shall speak of his deeds and virtues in fuller detail, even though we shall never be able to praise him adequately enough. But at this time, even remembering him but briefly, as if only touching the edges of his mantle, we see, my poor and unfortunate hearers, we see who has left us and whom we have lost.<sup>6</sup>

The language of this extract is, at one and the same time, clearly RCS, yet just as clearly far removed from canonical OCS. Here we find no aorists or imperfects, yet Slavonisms<sup>7</sup> abound. For instance, we have the retention of the mas. pl. adjectival ending -ии in беднии, несчастливи; then we find the Slavonic form обѣимъ for the corresponding vernacular обнимем. We also encounter Slavonic lexical items, e.g. токмо for the vernacular только, and the archaic негли. The Slavonic participles in -щ- are in evidence, and all TORT<sup>8</sup> groups are represented by their metathetic reflex, i.e. кратким, временем, пространнее, возглаголати. Also we have two instances of a specific RCS stamp, viz. 1. the vocative expressed by a genitive -- о многоименитаго мужа,<sup>9</sup> and 2. the vocative-nominative pl. of слышатель -- слышателие.<sup>10</sup> Overall the syntax is that of normal RCS, but the passage would still have been readily comprehensible to the masses. We might then call this a 'neutral' form of RCS. However, concessions to the vernacular do not stand out, except perhaps for the one example of A-penetration, i.e. о делах for Slavonic о делех.

## The scope of the present work

The aim of this study is a modest one. Put briefly, it is to examine the phenomenon of A-penetration in a RCS corpus taken from the sermons of four eminent preachers in the Petrinic era, viz. Javorskij, Prokopovič, Bužinskij, and Tuptalo. It is not necessary or apposite to give here biographical details about these four gentlemen, since in this work we are solely concerned with the language they wrote. Full information on the works excerpted will be found in the Bibliography under 'Primary Sources'. Yet a little must be said about the preachers' background, inasmuch as this does have a bearing on their language.

The four preachers were all Ukrainians (as indeed were most of the top clergy in Petrinic Russia). They were educated at the Mogila Academy in Kiev, and travelled in Poland and Western Europe. One might therefore expect to detect a Ukrainian influence in their writing of RCS, and, to a limited extent, this is the case. However, any 'Ukrainianisms' were usually expunged before the sermons were sent to the printers.<sup>11</sup> In any case, as far as A-penetration is concerned, Ukrainian and Russian appear to have gone along the same road of development,<sup>12</sup> so the Ukrainian background of the four preachers is irrelevant to the present study.

The lack of linguistic research on RCS material has been alluded to above, and, to my knowledge, the present study represents the first time that A-penetration has been examined in RCS texts. It is my intention to take the findings from my corpus and contrast them with

those of scholars who have researched A-penetration in the vernacular. To effect such a contrast I shall conduct an extensive review of A-penetration literature with regard to Russian (see Chapter 3), which will conclude with a summary of the main theories about, observations on, and motivations for A-penetration. These theories will then form part of the analysis chapter (Chapter 5), where they will be pitted against my data findings.

For purposes of comparison I shall also look at A-penetration in the other Slavic languages, including OCS (see Chapter 2). This is another neglected area in the study of A-penetration; the more surprising when one realizes that the advance of -am, -ami, -ax was attested in canonical OCS, and has affected all the Slavic languages to some degree. The position with regard to Polish will be accorded more attention than the others. This is because of: 1. the important role played by Polish in the history of Russian, and 2. the fact that all four preachers were well acquainted with this language.

Chapter 4 will comprise a presentation of my data in tabular form, preceded by an explanation of the organization of the material. (A complete presentation of the data will be given in the Appendix.)

Chapter 5 will cover the analyses of the data. Details of just what analyses will be made will be given at the beginning of this chapter. Included here will be a comparison of the data-amenable theories from Chapter 3 with my own data findings. After this, I shall draw up the course by which A-penetration was implemented as suggested by

my data findings.

In Chapter 6 I shall formulate the conclusions that my study has suggested in regard of A-penetration in RCS texts, and offer the possible implications that have arisen with respect to the vernacular vs. Church Slavonic diglossic situation obtaining in the Petrinic era in Russia.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay [1977:2].

<sup>2</sup> There are still a few Is in -mi in CSR, viz. детьми, людьми, and marginally лошадьми, дверьми, плетьми.

<sup>3</sup> I shall use -am, -ami, -ax to designate the DIL of both 'hard' and 'soft' stems. Should the need arise to distinguish the two stem-types, then -jam, -jami, -jax will be used for the DIL of 'soft' stems.

<sup>4</sup> 'Diglossia' is the term used by Ferguson [1959] to describe how in many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions. The term has subsequently found favour with sociolinguists, e.g. Bell [1976]. With respect to Medieval Russia, 'diglossia' has been discussed by Issatschenko [1975a], Hüttl-Folter [1978], and Worth [1978].

<sup>5</sup> Eremin [1961:128].

<sup>6</sup> Raeff [1972:41-42].

<sup>7</sup> 'Slavonism' is used in this study in the sense determined by Worth [1974:228]:

A Slavonism is a morpheme, or a word containing a morpheme, which existed or could have existed in Old Ch(urch) Sl(avonic) but not in preliterate Old E(ast) Sl(avic).

<sup>8</sup> TORT = a reconstructed Common Slavic liquid diphthong between consonants.

<sup>9</sup> The RCS vocative-genitive is discussed at length in Kjellberg [1959], where the phenomenon is explained as a calque from Greek.

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the vocative-nominative plurals such as слышателие, see Kjellberg [1957].

<sup>11</sup> Eremin [1961].

<sup>12</sup> Andersen [1969a:29-31] does not agree that Russian and Ukrainian had the same DIL development.

## CHAPTER 2

A SURVEY OF A-PENETRATION IN THE  
SLAVIC LANGUAGES

This chapter contains a synopsis of the current state of A-penetration in the Slavic languages other than Russian. It must be pointed out that whereas Tables 3 thru 14 account for the vast majority of DIL forms in the languages concerned, they are not intended to be comprehensive. In these Tables all DIL forms of languages written in Cyrillic are rendered in transliteration.<sup>1</sup>

In this survey Old Church Slavonic (henceforth: OCS) and Polish are accorded special attention, since these two languages both exerted considerable influence on the formation of the Russian language.

## A. OCS

From Table 3 we detect two clear points of interest with regard to the DIL in OCS. Firstly, it is striking, and perhaps a portent of future developments, that the -ū- stems have in these cases -amŭ, -ami, -axŭ. One would have expected -imŭ, -imi, -ixŭ, since the -ū- stem endings are everywhere else identical with the consonantal stems. To my knowledge, all scholars who have concerned themselves with this phenomenon assume that these endings were 'borrowed' from the -a- stems. Thus Leskien [1969:75] says: "... der Plural hat im Dat., Instr., Loc. einen Stamm auf -ŭva-, also Anschluss an die femin. ā-Stämme." Van Wijk [1931:182] asserts: "Die Endungen -amŭ, -ami



Table 3

DIL Norms of OCS								
	<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>					
	<u>-a-</u>		<u>-ja-</u>					
D	amǔ		amǔ					
I	ami		ami					
L	axǔ		axǔ					
	<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>M/F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>M/F/N</u>	<u>F</u>
	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>	<u>-u-</u>	<u>-C-</u>	<u>-ū-</u>
D	omǔ	emǔ	omǔ	emǔ	imǔ	umǔ	imǔ	<u>amǔ</u>
I	y	i	y	i	imi	umi	imi	<u>ami</u>
L	ěxǔ	ixǔ	ěxǔ	ixǔ	ixǔ	uxǔ	ixǔ	<u>axǔ</u>

(Table 3 is based on the universally accepted norms for canonical OCS.)

(erst in jüngerem HSS. belegt), -axǔ nach den a-Stämmen." Few have tried to account for or motivate A-penetration into the -ū- stems. Vondrák [1928:44] sees the shared (by -a- and -ū- stems, J.D.) G pl. in -ǔ as the link: "Der nach der kons. Dekl. gebildete G.Pl. svekrǔvǔ brachte eine Verbindung mit den a-St. zustande und so kamen im D.L.I. P. frühzeitig die Suffixe -amǔ, -achǔ, -ami auf." Vondrák goes on to note that the very early Old Czech monuments have r stems adopting -a- stem endings in the DIL: "In den ab. Denkm. haben wir materám, materách, materami, weil der G. hier ebenfalls mater, dcer lautet."

Bielfeldt [1961:145] argues along similar lines: "Der D., I., L. Pl. haben die Deklinationendungen der a-Deklination ... Ausgangspunkt auch für diese Beeinflussung war die Gemeinsamkeit des femininen Genus." This investigator has, however, overlooked the fact that most -i- stems were also of feminine gender, and here there was a marked tendency to retain the original -i- stem endings. Kempf [1957] sees the intrusion of -am, -ami, -ax into the -ū- stems as perhaps the first instance of the spread of the more distinct endings at the expense of the less. Following the notions of Lehr-Spławiński [1926], Kempf uses an acoustic feature description of the various endings (pełnia głósowa in his terminology) to rank the endings on a ladder of distinctness. On this ladder -am, -ami, -ax emerge as distinct endings par excellence. Thus, Kempf accounts for the early expansion of these endings. I shall have occasion to return to Kempf's article later when discussing the development of the DIL in Polish.

In OCS there was considerable confusion between -o- stems and -u- stems. This confusion was not totally random, but rather followed the pattern of the limited number of -u- stems adopting -o- stem flexion. Leskien [1969:77] says this: "Die lautliche Gleichheit des Nom. sg. und Acc. sg. beider Stämme (-o- and -u-, J.D.) hat herbeigeführt, dass die u-Stämme auch nach der Weise der o-Stämme flektiert werden können." Diels [1963:157] argues in similar vein: "Da die Endungen oft bei einem und demselben Worte wechseln, ist es schon im Aksl. ganz unmöglich, die beiden Stammklassen in der Flexionslehre voneinander zu trennen; die Vermischung ist so weit gegangen, dass es nur mit Mühe und nur teilweise gelingt, dem ursprünglichen, gewiss

kleinen Wortbestand der u-Stammklasse zu ermitteln." In the light of the subsequent important role to be played by the -u- stem endings in the emerging individual Slavic languages, it is surprising that in canonical OCS it was clearly the case that the -u- stems almost everywhere were on the wane. It is, however, beyond the range of this present study to pursue this interesting contradiction further. Yet, in one instance a -u- stem ending seemed, not only to withstand the onslaught of the -o- stems, but even managed to penetrate into these same -o- stems. This is the I ending -ŭmi. Vondrák [1928:25] has this to say on the subject: "Vereinzelt macht sich schon in den aksl. Denkm. der Einfluss der u-St. geltend: grěchŭmi, apostolŭmi, darŭmi; bei den jo-St. entsprechend: vŭplŭmi, zŭloděmi (= zŭlodějŭmi, J.D.), wo übrigens auch der Reflex der i-St. vorliegen kann." Vaillant [1958:127] expresses himself in similar terms: "A l'instrumental, l'extension de -ŭmi pour -y, et de même au datif-instrumental duel de -ŭma pour -oma, ne se sépare pas non plus de celles de -ŭmi, -ŭma de la flexion en -i. La désinence, qui était réduite à -mi, a pu s'ajouter indifféremment à un thème dur ..." Vaillant goes on to cite the same examples as those given by Vondrák. In his book on the morphology of spoken Czech, Vey [1946:15], in reviewing the historical background, makes the statement that Slavic from earliest times displayed the desire to abandon the I endings -y and -i. He puts it thus: "Dès le début de l'époque historique, le slave tend à éliminer le type de Instrumental en -y, -i. Déjà le vieux-slave présente ..." (Vey quotes substantially the same examples as those given by Vondrák and Vaillant.)

In sum, it can be said that in OCS there was already evidence of instability with regard to the DIL endings. The fact that the -ū- stems adopted in toto the -a- stem DIL endings is significant in the light of future developments. The spread of the I -mī ending into -o- and -jo- stem types is perhaps an indication that, in general, the I was the least stable of the three endings and most readily adopted alien endings.

## B. Polish

From Table 4 we see clearly that Polish has suffered almost total A-penetration in the I and L, but not in the D. In the D Modern Polish has, without exception, the -o- stem ending -om.

The first to write in some detail on A-penetration in Polish was the famed Polish linguist Baudouin de Courtenay [1904].<sup>2</sup> In discussing the D, Baudouin found that the earliest texts (13th century) regularly had the ending -óm for the mas. and neut., and -ám for the fem. A few mas. and neut. nouns in a stem-final palatal have -em. Pochylone<sup>3</sup> o, i.e. graphically ó, tends to disappear before the nasals m and n, so the ending -om is recorded fairly early. Even in the 13th century Baudouin discovers forms such as synum (= synóm, J.D.) and synom, and both panum (= panóm, J.D.) and panom.

From the 16th century on -om is found quite regularly for -a- and -i- stems, first with stem-final palatals, e.g. kościom, skroniom, sędziom. In the 14th century there is more A-penetration in neut. than mas. nouns, once again with stems ending in a palatal, e.g.

Table 4

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Polish</u>						
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>		
		-a-		-ja-		
	D	<u>om</u>		<u>om</u>		
	I	ami		ami		
	L	ax		ax		
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		-o-	-jo-	-o-	-jo-	-i-
D	om	<u>om</u>	om	<u>om</u>	om	<u>om</u>
I	<u>ami</u> y( $\alpha$ )	<u>ami</u> mi( $\beta$ )	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u> mi( $\gamma$ )	<u>ami</u> mi( $\gamma$ )
L	<u>ax</u> ex( $\delta$ )	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u> ex( $\epsilon$ )	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>

Notes to Table 4:

- ( $\alpha$ ) Only in a few fixed phrases, e.g. dawnymi czasy, przed laty.
- ( $\beta$ ) Extremely limited. The most common are: gośćmi, ludźmi (original mas. -i- stems, now -jo- stems), kośćmi, przyjaciółmi, księżmi, pieniędzmi (-jo- stems), dziećmi (-i- stem). Probably the old collective braćmi should now be considered as belonging here. Also the back-formation liśćmi, with N sg. liść. (Originally liście was a sg. collective.)
- ( $\gamma$ ) Extremely limited. Most common are nićmi and kośćmi.
- ( $\delta$ ) Limited to the names of three countries, viz. w Niemczech, we Włoszech, na Węgrzech.

(ε) Only in w niebiesiech (an old -s- stem), which is limited to prayers.

(Table 4 is based on the universally accepted norms for Modern Polish.)

dziejám, uciążaniám. Yet, even in the 16th century Baudouin still finds the norm as being -om for mas. and neut., and -ám for fem.

From the 16th century on, -ám starts to disappear with ever increasing speed, soon yielding completely to -om. Baudouin gives two reasons for the disappearance of -ám. Firstly, pochylone a would have been close phonetically to [o]; and secondly, analogical support from -om of mas. and neut. nouns.

With regard to the I, the earliest texts (13th century) show frequent examples of -mi penetration, but very little A-penetration, i.e. -ami. Baudouin cites a number of examples, e.g. woźmi, chlebmi, wołmi, żydmi. The original -o- stem ending -y is still met with in large numbers. From the 14th century on -mi gains ground, coming to dominate the -jo- stems, e.g. mężmi, królmi, końmi. Still, Baudouin finds very few examples of A-penetration.

It is only in the 18th century that A-penetration gains ground, and then very rapidly becomes dominant. In the end, only a handful of -mi forms are left (see Note (β)).

In his remarks on the I, Baudouin [ibid.:208] made the following important observation:

Zasługuje tylko na uwagę, że instr. pl. na -y od rzeczowników używa się jedynie w połączeniu z przymiotnikami lub też przymkami, t.j. mianowicie wtedy, kiedy względ instrumentalny (narzędnikowy) zostaje dostatecznie wyrażony przez przymiotnikowe, -emi (Modern Polish -ymi, J.D.) lub też przez przymimek; np. z policzki płomieniejącymi, z długimi włosy, z sokoły, z psy.

This is, to my knowledge, the first time that a Slavist has linked the retention of the I -y/-i ending with an accompanying modifier with a -mi marker. In handling my own RCS material I shall be considering this possibility.

In examining the L, Baudouin found that the texts of the 13th and 14th centuries show five endings, viz. -'ech, -och, -ach, -ech, and -ich. The -a- stems regularly keep -ach. At this time 'ech was the norm for mas. and neut. -o- stems, e.g. obraziech, dzielech. For the mas. and neut. -jo- stems -och was the norm, e.g. konioch, sercoch. For the -i- stems -ech was regular, e.g. postaciech, rozkoszecch. The ending -ich is recorded by Baudouin only in geślich.

From the 14th century on Baudouin documents A-penetration of -i- stems, e.g. powieściach, which soon becomes dominant. The ending -ochn spreads to mas. -o- stems ending in a velar. Baudouin speculates here that this could be due to the influence of the old -u- stems. This could not, however, be the case, since the original -ŭxŭ of the -u- stems would have yielded -ex in Polish. Another theory advanced by Baudouin is that -ach also occurred as -áčh (not specified where, J.D.), which would have been close to -och phonetically.

From the 16th century on Baudouin finds -ach spreading rapidly to mas. and neut. nouns, being especially common with velars, e.g. uczynkach. The newly found popularity of -ach is attributed by Baudouin, in part, to the fact that there were quite a number of mas. nouns with the -a- declension pattern, e.g. poborca, sędzia, mężczyzna. As far as I am aware, Baudouin is the first to make this point in discussing A-penetration, albeit here only for Polish. Later investigators of A-penetration in Russian seemingly claim this observation as original.<sup>4</sup> By the 18th century -ach is supreme, with -ech being retained in just a few words (see Notes (δ) and (ε)).

Baudouin's work is somewhat rambling in nature and he does not always give the source of his data. Yet, one should bear in mind that this was an early study by the famous Polish linguist, and, in my opinion, affords the logical starting point for research into A-penetration in the Slavic languages.

Szomek [1884] investigated the Apocalypsis (1565) of Mikołaj Rej, specifically looking at the I and L. (The D was not included in this study.) Below in Table 5 I reproduce his findings, with somewhat different notation.

A very remarkable statistic in Table 5 is that for the fem. -i- stems, where A-penetration is complete. Baudouin had not arrived at a similar result, nor had Małecki [1879], with whom Szomek takes issue: "Prof. Małecki ... wypowiedział zdanie, że w XVI wieku powszechniej niżeli teraz używano form z końcówką -mi u tematów żeńskich pierw. -i. Że twierdzenie to mylne, dowodzi tego przynajmniej stan rzeczy w



Table 5

		<u>Instrumental</u>		
		<u>-y/-i</u>	<u>-mi</u>	<u>-ami/-jami</u>
mas.	<u>-o-</u>	226	16	13
mas.	<u>-jo-</u>	8	63	1
neut.	<u>-o-</u>	100	0	0
neut.	<u>-jo-</u>	4	0	0
fem.	<u>-i-</u>	0	0	84
mas.	<u>-i-</u>	0	12	0

poprzedzającym p. uwidoczniomy." Yet, whereas A-penetration is complete in the fem. -i- stems, it is extremely limited or non-existent elsewhere.

A second point of interest in Szomek's results is the -mi penetration in the mas. -jo- stems, and the firmness of this ending in the mas. -i- stems. As in Russian, so in Polish, the mas. -i- stems were to be swallowed up by the -jo- stems, but in so doing, they seem to have taken their original I ending with them. This point will be of interest when I come to consider Kulikov's -mi bridge-theory for Russian in Chapter 3.

From Table 6 below we see that in the I A-penetration is total in fem. -i- stems. It should be remembered that a number of scholars working with Russian material have concluded that the fem. -i- stems

Table 6

	<u>Locative</u>		
	<u>-ech</u>	<u>-och</u>	<u>-ach</u>
mas. <u>-o-</u>	60	39	15
mas. <u>-jo-</u>	2	21	0
neut. <u>-o-</u>	37	0	9
neut. <u>-jo-</u>	0	0	26
fem. <u>-i-</u>	0	0	114
mas. <u>-i-</u>	0	0	1

were the first to succumb to A-penetration (see Chapter 3 for details). Szomek's work also shows total A-penetration in the neut. -jo- stems. The original ending here was -ixŭ, but this is not recorded in this study. The total A-penetration in the neut. -jo- stems is to be contrasted with its total absence in the mas. -jo- stems. This state of affairs lends support to Kiparsky's theory for Russian, whereby A-penetration of the neut. -jo- stem L was an early phenomenon, and then proceeded rapidly (see Chapter 3 for details).

The Polish philologist Gaertner made a number of contributions with regard to A-penetration in Polish.<sup>5</sup> Of particular interest is Gaertner [1927] where he examined specifically the L. Here Gaertner disputes Baudouin's contention that A-penetration had occurred in the mas. and neut. owing to the phonetic proximity of pochylone a, i.e. [ã] and [o], pointing out that in the 16th century there are few

examples of A-penetration anyway. Gaertner also doubts the validity of Baudouin's hypothesis that mas. nouns of the -a- declension (e.g. poborca) played a significant role. As far as the L is concerned, such nouns, being agent-nouns, would occur but sporadically. Gaertner now proposes his own solution, making the point that neut. non-virile mas. nouns have A-penetration to a far greater extent than virile mas. Accordingly, at this time (16th and 17th centuries) Polish was attempting to separate off, by means of distinct declensional endings, the virile mas. from all other noun types. Gaertner also makes the observation that neut. nouns ending in -stwo and -nie have dominant A-penetration.

Koschmieder [1937] found that the motivating force towards uniformity for all nouns in the DIL was the desire to be rid of formal gender differences in these particular cases, following the pattern of the adjectives and pronouns. He goes on to try and justify the choice of the generalized endings. With respect to -ami and -ach he feels that since the I and L endings in the -a- stems had the same thematic vowel (not so for the -o- stems), this would have helped in the making of the choice. Unfortunately, Koschmieder ignores the fact that originally the same thematic vowel appeared in the D, but here the final choice was for -om, not -am. The choice of -om he interprets as a result of the phonetic similarity between [ã] and [o], following Baudouin and Gaertner.

Kempf [1957] amounts to an ambitious attempt to motivate the changes that have occurred in Polish declensional endings. The

inspiration for Kempf's approach (freely admitted) was drawn from Jespersen [1913] and Lehr-Splawinski [1926]. In this scheme of things all sounds appearing in noun endings (starting in Common Slavic) are marked on a scale from weak to strong. Thus, ī is considered the weakest vowel, and a the strongest. Although not actually stated as such, the framework used by Kempf is that of acoustic phonetics. Two contradictory tendencies are observed with regard to endings and their development. Firstly, the drive to eliminate the diverse endings, eventually leading to the complete demise of endings in favour of prepositions; and secondly, the reinforcement in the difference of the endings remaining. Kempf notes that whereas ī is totally eliminated, and i severely restricted, a suffers no loss whatsoever, even enjoying an increase. This fits his theory of the 'stronger' sounds being used for the remaining endings. Kempf refers, as others have done (see the section on OCS in this chapter), to the fact that in OCS the -ū- stems had undergone A-penetration in the DIL. Furthermore, the expansion of the G -ów is interpreted in the light of the 'pełnia głosowa' theory. It is unfortunate for this theory that the 'strongest' ending, i.e. -ama is not used in Polish, but, of course, it is elsewhere in the Slavic world.<sup>6</sup>

Jankowska/Zawadzki [1960] made a very thorough and extensive study of the I in the history of Polish morphology. Their own work confirmed the findings of other scholars in respect of the early expansion of -mi into the -jo- stems, and the relatively late appearance of A-penetration. They find all three I endings, viz. -y, -mi, and -ami current in the 17th century, but with -ami gaining ground. By

the 18th century -ami is dominant.

This concludes my brief survey of A-penetration in Polish. Many of the points raised in this survey will reappear in subsequent chapters.

### C. Czech (spisovná')

As can be seen from Table 7 below, A-penetration is of limited scope in Czech. In mas. -o- stems the D displays no A-penetration, and the I very scant. In the L there is limited encroachment of -ách. Trávníček [1951:464] comments thus on the expansion of -ách: "Koncovka -ách se někdy vyskytá vedle -ích u jmen na -ček: obláčkách/-čcích. Také vedle po kouscích bývá po kouskách." The mas. -jo- stems show no instances of A-penetration.

The neut. DIL are, in essence, the same as the mas. For the neut. -o- stems, only the L admits a degree of A-penetration. Trávníček [ibid.:516] states it in these terms: "... je koncovka -ách spravidla u jmen na -ko, -ho, -cho, -go: jablkách, kolečkách, městečkách, ..., jhách, ..., roukách, suchách, ..., tágách, ..."

The neut. -jo- stems, likewise, do not have A-penetration. However, in the I of -íje type nouns, e.g. znamení, the ending -mi has gained favour, i.e. znameními. The expected form from Common Slavic znameníji would be Czech znamení. Perhaps it is not surprising that -mi was added in this case, since, owing to the workings of Czech řeznláska (=vowel mutation), the form znamení dominates the paradigm.

Table 7

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Czech (spisovná)</u>						
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>		
		<u>-a-</u>		<u>-ja-</u>		
	D	ám		ím		
	I	ami		emi		
	L	ách		ích		
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
	D	úm	úm	úm	ím	em ím
	I	y (ami)	i	y	i mi	emi mi
	L	ech ách	ích	ech ách	ích	ech ích

(Table 7 is based on the norms established for Modern Czech (spisovná) by Trávníček [1951].)

The fem. -i- stems do have some A-penetration, once one has first allowed for the results of přehláska. Considerable intermixing took place in Czech between fem. -ja- stems and fem. -i- stems, resulting in many -i- stems having -ja- stem DIL forms, e.g. daň - daním, daněmi, daních; cf. kost - kostem, kostmi, kostech. Modern Czech presents a confused and confusing picture with respect to original -ja- and -i- stems. It is often impossible to predict which endings will occur.<sup>8</sup>

It should be noted also that pluralia tantum place names, in origin all mas., have A-penetration in the DIL, e.g. Čechy - Čechám, Čechami, Čechách.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, we see that the fem. -a- and -ja- stems have retained their Common Slavic forms (when one takes into consideration the workings of přehláska).

To sum up then, one can say that A-penetration in spisovná Czech is of very limited extent. The language is extremely conservative in its retention of original Common Slavic DIL endings, albeit modified in accordance with the historical development of Czech phonology.

#### D. Czech (hovorová<sup>10</sup>)

Table 8 below shows clearly that the situation with respect to the DIL in hovorová Czech is different from that obtaining in spisovná Czech.

The most striking difference between the hovorová and spisovná is in the I. Here we find the original Common Slavic -a- stem dual I form -ama generalized just about everywhere. (Naturally, -ama appears as -ema in soft paradigms.) This use of the old dual ending is reminiscent of Modern Serbocroatian (see later in this chapter).

The L in hovorová also shows a greater degree of A-penetration than that found in spisovná. Vey [1946:31] says this on this particular subject: "Il y a donc une tendance à généraliser la terminaison -ách des féminins dans tous les types, mais la tradition s'y oppose."

Table 8

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Czech (hovorová)</u>						
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>		
		<u>-a-</u>		<u>-ja-</u>		
	D	ám		ím		
	I	ama		ama		
	L	ách		ích		
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D		um	um	um	ím	em
I		<u>ama</u>	<u>ema</u>	<u>ama</u>	<u>ema</u>	<u>ema</u> <u>íma</u>
L		<u>ách</u>	ích <u>ách</u>	<u>ách</u>	ích	ech ích

(Table 8 is based on the norms established for Modern Czech (hovorová) by Vey [1946].)

Certainly hovorová employs -ách in all stems ending in a velar, and, as Vey notes, really almost anywhere, e.g. chapách for chapech. At least this gives a clear indication of the trend towards more A-penetration.

In neut. paradigms there is an even greater advance of -ách than in mas. paradigms. Vey [ibid.:33] suggests the following by way of motivation: "... cette avance est due à l'influence du Nominatif-Accusatif pluriel dans la formation des cas obliques du pluriel. Cette



avance apparaît dans la langue ancienne. ... dans les neutres, nous avons des exemples de -ách après toutes les consonnes." It is strange that Vey regards this as fact, since the controversy over this particular topic still reigns today.

Hovorová shows no inclination to generalize the fem. D ending -am, although -am is known in the dialects.<sup>11</sup> The spisovná endings hold full sway here, except that -um is shortened to -um.

In conclusion, we see in hovorová significant A-penetration, whereas the artificial spisovná clings to the original endings. Penetration occurs in the I and L, but not in the D, which is a state of affairs reminiscent of Polish.

#### E. Slovak

We see from Table 9 that in mas. -o- stems A-penetration is limited to the I. The ending -mi is more widely used than -ami. Bartoš/Gagnaire [1972:47] list only the following instances where -ami is the standard form:

1. substantifs qui se terminent par la consonne -m, p. ex. strom - stromami, dom - domami.
2. substantifs dont le radical comporte une voyelle mobile (e, o, i, á), p. ex. gombíček - gombíčkami.
3. substantifs terminés en -o, p. ex. zajko - zajkami.

Bartoš/Gagnaire [ibid.:47] also say that mas. pluralia tantum nouns tend to have -ami, e.g. schody - schodami, parochy - parochami.

Table 9

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Slovak</u>					
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>	
		<u>-a-</u>		<u>-ja-</u>	
	D	ám		am	
	I	ami		ami	
	L	ách		ach	
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>
		<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>
	D	om	om	ám	am
	I	mi	mi	ami	ami
		<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>		
	L	och	och	ách	ach
				<u>ach</u>	<u>ach</u>

(Table 9 is based on the norms established for Modern Slovak by Bartoš/Gagnaire [1972].)

In mas. -jo- stems we again find A-penetration only in the I. Here -ami enjoys somewhat more application than in mas. -o- stems, but -mi is still the dominant ending. Bartoš/Gagnaire [ibid.:48-49] designate their distribution thus: "A l'I. pl., la désinence -mi est celle des noms dont le radical se termine par une consonne, p. ex. kraj - krajmi ... La désinence -ami est celle des mots dont le radical se termine par un groupe de consonnes, ne comportant pas de sonante, p. ex. plášť' - plášť'ami ... et celle des mots à voyelle mobile, p. ex. orchester - orchestrami, rubel' - rubl'ami."

In general then the mas. paradigms have but limited A-penetration. None at all is observed in the D and L, and it is severely restricted in the I. This situation is somewhat reminiscent of hovorová Czech. In both the neut. -o- and -jo- stems A-penetration is complete. Even the D, which successfully resists A-penetration in both neighbouring Czech and Polish, has succumbed.

A-penetration is also complete in the fem. -i- stems. Since there has been a considerable degree of confusion between the fem. -ja- and fem. -i- stems in Slovak, it is perhaps not so surprising that A-penetration has taken place. What is somewhat surprising is that the I -a- stem ending -ami has completely ousted the original -i- stem ending -mi, for this ending has been retained, albeit in restricted fashion, in most Slavic languages.

When compared with its close neighbour Czech, Slovak shows a greater degree of A-penetration. Only the mas. -o- and -jo- stems have been able to ward off the onslaught, and then not entirely. The fact that the mas. and neut. paradigms diverge, with the neut. ones succumbing in toto to A-penetration, is of particular interest in the light of some of the stages in (and possible motivations for) A-penetration proposed by various scholars, and I shall have occasion to return to this point in subsequent chapters.

#### F. Sorbian<sup>12</sup>

From Table 10 below it is plain that Sorbian has undergone almost total A-penetration. Indeed, when one takes into consideration the

Table 10

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Sorbian</u>					
	<u>F</u>	<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>	
	<u>-a-</u>	<u>-ja-</u>			
D	am	am			
I	ami	ami			
L	ax	ax			
	<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>
I	<u>ami</u>	emi	<u>ami</u>	emi	emi
				<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>
L	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>

(Table 10 is based on the norms established for Modern Sorbian by de Bray [1969].)

vowel mutation [a] to [e] after soft consonants (still partially preserved in the I), we see that Sorbian has in fact suffered total A-penetration.

Rather surprisingly the DIL in Modern Sorbian resemble the modern East Slavic languages more than either of its close neighbours, Czech and Polish.

Table 11

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Slovene</u>						
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>		
		-a-		-ja-		
	D	am		am		
	I	ami		ami		
	L	ah		ah		
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		-o-	-jo-	-o-	-jo-	-i-
D	om	em	om	em	im em	
I	i mi	i mi	i mi	i mi	mi	
L	ih eh	ih eh	ih eh	ih	ih eh	

(Table 11 is based on the norms established for Modern Slovene by Svane [1958].)

### G. Slovene

We can see from Table 11 that Slovene is extremely conservative in respect of the DIL. The Common Slavic state of affairs is retained virtually intact. Consequently, A-penetration is nowhere to be seen. The I ending -mi of the -u- and -i- stems has enjoyed a measure of expansion, but only dominates in the fem. -i- stems (where it was original). This fact should, perhaps, be deemed important, since it

Table 12

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Serbocroatian</u>					
	<u>F</u>	<u>F</u>			
	<u>-a-</u>	<u>-ja-</u>			
D	ama	ama			
I	"	"			
L	"	"			
	<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D	ima	ima	ima	ima	ima
I	"	"	"	"	"
L	"	"	"	"	"

(Table 12 is based on the universally accepted norms for Modern Serbocroatian.)

adds weight to Kulikov's 'bridge-theory' for Russian, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

#### H. Serbocroatian

Table 12 demonstrates that Serbocroatian has but two possibilities for the DIL, viz. -ima and -ama. Everywhere the ending is -ima, except for the fem. -a- and -ja- stems, which have -ama for all three cases. Both -ima and -ama are in origin from the no longer extant dual number. It is not possible to detect A-penetration, since the

quasi-ubiquitous ending -ima has the thematic vowel -i-, and the desinence -ma was common to all Common Slavic substantive paradigms for the D and I dual.

#### I. Bulgarian and Macedonian

These two South Slavic languages have abandoned the Common Slavic declensional system. In so doing they have thus moved away from their original synthetic character to an analytic one. The primary reason for this change is usually ascribed to the Balkan Sprachbund, i.e. Greek, Romanian, Albanian, and Bulgarian/Macedonian, where the entire group has shared (to a greater or lesser extent) a number of developments, prominent among which is the virtually complete abandonment of the Indo-European declensional system.<sup>13</sup>

#### J. Ukrainian

Table 13 below clearly demonstrates that A-penetration is just about complete in Ukrainian. A few -i- stems retain their original I ending, viz. -mi,<sup>14</sup> which also occurs spasmodically in the mas. -jo- stems.<sup>15</sup>

Janów [1926] investigated the history of the DIL in Ukrainian and formed the opinion that A-penetration was well-embedded as early as the 13th century. Janów proceeded to examine the DIL in the various dialects, and discovered that the closer the dialect to the Russian border, the greater the degree of A-penetration; yet the the greater the proximity to West Slavic territory, the more frequent are the instances of typically West Slavic endings, e.g. D -om, L -och.

Table 13

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Ukrainian</u>					
	<u>F</u>	<u>F</u>			
	<u>-a-</u>	<u>-ja-</u>			
D	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>			
I	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>			
L	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>			
	<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>
I	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u> <u>mi</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u> <u>mi</u>
L	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>

(Table 13 is based on the norms established for Modern Ukrainian by Volox et al. [1976].)

In conclusion it can be stated that the situation with respect to the DIL in Modern Ukrainian is, to all intents and purposes, identical with that of CSR.

#### K. Belorussian

As we see from Table 14 below, Belorussian offers the same picture for the DIL as Ukrainian and CSR, i.e. total A-penetration. The only resistance is supplied by the mere handful of -i- and -jo- stems which show a preference in the I for -mi over -ami.<sup>16</sup> Mayo



Table 14

<u>DIL Norms of Modern Belorussian</u>						
		<u>F</u>		<u>F</u>		
		<u>-a-</u>		<u>-ja-</u>		
	D	am		am		
	I	ami		ami		
	L	ax		ax		
		<u>M</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-o-</u>	<u>-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D		<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>	<u>am</u>
I		<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u> <u>mi</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>ami</u> <u>mi</u>
L		<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>	<u>ax</u>

(Table 14 is based on the norms established for Modern Belorussian by Jurgelevič [1974].)

[1976:25] states that -mi was once more widespread in the literary language, but with few exceptions it is now confined to dialectal usage. Kuraszkievicz [1962:44], in investigating Belorussian dialects, finds that in the southern and western dialects the D ending -om and the L ending -ox occur for the mas. and neut. However, these endings must be under stress. The fact that these particular dialects border on Polish would probably explain the presence of these endings.

## L. Conclusion

This brief survey of A-penetration in the Slavic languages has demonstrated the widespread nature of the phenomenon. We have noted (Section A) that A-penetration preceded the earliest canonical OCS texts, since here the DIL of the -ǫ- stems have A-penetration, and we have also seen that it often gains full DIL acceptance. Our findings can be summarized in the following way:

1. DIL disappearance/DIL syncretism: Bulgarian./Macedonian  
Serbocroatian
2. DIL total A-penetration (or near): CSR  
Ukrainian  
Belorussian  
Sorbian
3. DIL substantial A-penetration: Slovak  
Czech (hovorová)  
Polish
4. DIL moderate A-penetration: Czech (spisovná)
5. DIL little/zero A-penetration: OCS  
Slovene

In Section F of this chapter I alluded to the surprising DIL forms in Sorbian, especially when compared to its West Slavic neighbours. However, it has been pointed out that Sorbian is perhaps not as 'West Slavic' as might be expected. Trubačev [1966:391-392] has suggested that both Upper and Lower Sorbian might well be 'secondarily occidentalized' non-West Slavic languages. He has formulated this view in light of a number of lexical items in these languages which connect the two Sorbian languages more with East or South Slavic than with West Slavic.

It is tempting to view A-penetration in the Slavic world in terms of an instantiation of the 'centre vs. periphery' phenomenon.<sup>17</sup> It does seem that those languages on the periphery have not preserved the original DIL endings well. They have either succumbed totally to A-penetration, viz. CSR, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Sorbian, or moved to LIL syncretism, viz. Serbocroatian, or, even more drastic, dispensed with the declension system altogether, viz. Bulgarian/Macedonian.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

<sup>1</sup> See p.vi for the transliteration system used in this study.

<sup>2</sup> Baudouin originally wrote this treatise in 1868 for his teacher, August Schleicher, in Jena. Its original German title was: "Einige Fälle der Wirkung der Analogie in der polnischen Declination". This was published in 1870, without Baudouin's consent, in volume six of Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der arischen, celtischen und slavischen Sprachen. Only in 1904 was the Polish version published, under the title of "Kilka wypadków działania analogji". It is to the Polish version that I make reference.

<sup>3</sup> Pochylone o usually has the phonetic representation [õ]. This was a tense vowel which developed from an original long o, i.e. [õ] in the 16th century. It was articulated midway between [o] and [u]. For full details of the rise of the Polish pochylone vowels, see Stieber [1973:78-96].

<sup>4</sup> Especially Unbegaun [1935].

<sup>5</sup> For contributions other than Gaertner [1927], see Bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. hovorová Czech, and Serbocroatian.

<sup>7</sup> Heim [1976:Preface] characterizes spisovná Czech as 'written literary Czech'.

<sup>8</sup> A good account of this problem is to be found in Širokova [1961:141-145].

<sup>9</sup> For details, see Trávníček [1951:466].

<sup>10</sup> Heim [1976:Preface] characterizes hovorová Czech as 'spoken literary Czech'.

<sup>11</sup> For details, see Bělič [1972:162].

<sup>12</sup> According to de Bray [1969], Upper and Lower Sorbian have identical DIL forms. Consequently, I shall use 'Sorbian' as a cover term for both languages.

<sup>13</sup> See Haarmann [1976:77-96] for an excellent overview of the Balkan Sprachbund. For the position of the Balkan Sprachtund vis-à-vis the Slavic language group, see Birnbaum [1982].

<sup>14</sup> For the sake of consistency, the Ukrainian IS will be transliterated as -mi and -ami, although -my and -any would be more normal.

<sup>15</sup> For examples, see Volox et al. [1976:135].

<sup>16</sup> For details, see Mayo [1976:25].

<sup>17</sup> In recent times Andersen has been a champion of the 'centre vs. periphery' concept. See especially Andersen [1969b], with references to Issatschenko [1934] and Jakobson [1962].

## CHAPTER 3

### A REVIEW OF A-PENETRATION LITERATURE

This chapter contains a review of contributions on the topic of A-penetration in Russian and RCS. These contributions are drawn from articles (predominantly), monographs, and standard reference works on the history of the Russian language. The actual review is in two sections. Firstly (Section A), contributions dealing with the vernacular are discussed, and secondly (Section B), those having to do with RCS. The first section is very much larger than the second, since so little has been written on RCS. The works are treated in strict chronological order within the two groups, save for some of the reference works, editions of which are sometimes other than the first. Most attention is accorded those contributions which advance new theories or aspects with regard to A-penetration, especially those which are also based on a large fund of textual investigation. At the end of the review (Section C), an attempt is made to find common ground, common denominators among the contributions under consideration. Here the various theories and observations that have been advanced to explain A-penetration will be grouped together under a number of headings.

#### A. A-penetration in Russian

Much has been written on A-penetration in Russian. Many scholars have devoted articles specifically to this topic; many more have included a section on the DIL in examining the wider morphological

composition of texts; it is de rigueur for all historical grammars of Russian to treat the problem of A-penetration. Thus it would be impossible to include all contributions in this review. I should like to think, however, that all major work on the topic finds a place in the following section.

### 1. Šaxmatov [1885]

It is generally agreed that it was Šaxmatov who first concerned himself with the problem of A-penetration in Russian. In researching Novgorodian texts of the 13th and 14th centuries, Šaxmatov advanced the hypothesis [ibid.:196-197] that A-penetration began with the D in neut. nouns. In fact his very first example of A-penetration is mostojanijam. He theorizes that an 'association' was established between the N pl. ending -a and the oblique cases. Such a relationship was supported by collective forms such N pl. brat'ja - D brat'jam, N pl. pop'ja - D pop'jam, and the normal -a- stem oblique endings, viz. -am, -ami, -ax. A-penetration in the L and I came much later according to Šaxmatov. By the 15th century there would have been much confusion between -o- and -a- stems, since Šaxmatov notes the forms gorox, lovckex in the L.

### 2. Sobolevskij [1888]

In this work Sobolevskij merely collected data with respect to A-penetration, without attempting to interpret what he had found. He notes [ibid.:177-179] the following examples of A-penetration from the Paremejnik of 1271: egiztijanam, bezakonijam, kiobukami,

matigor'cam. The example klobukami is the only instance of the I to be noted, and consequently it is often quoted by subsequent researchers.<sup>1</sup> However one scholar, Markov [1974:101], took the trouble to check Sobolevskij's findings in the original text and has this alarming piece of news to report: "... ee (klobukami, J.D.) мет в Паремейнике 1271 года." (See later in this section for a detailed account of Markov's views.) It seems that Sobolevskij simply made a mistake.

### 3. Jagić [1889]

This really amounts to a review-article of Sobolevskij [1888]. For Jagić A-penetration was a relatively straightforward matter, and he took issue with Sobolevskij for not having inferred the same conclusions from his data. Jagić reasoned [ibid.:116-119] that the process of A-penetration had begun in the D of neut. nouns, i.e. -ок + -ам. The motivating factor for this change was, according to Jagić, the phonetic proximity of the two sounds [o] and [a] when not under stress. He offers as supporting evidence the -а ending of the N and A pl. in neut. nouns, which would serve as a model for the whole pl. paradigm (cf. Šaxmatov [1885]). Mas. nouns then took over this new ending from neut. nouns. Only later would the L adopt the -ах ending, and much later -ами would become usual for the I.

### 4. Šaxmatov [1903]

Šaxmatov here modifies his opinions on the subject of A-penetration. He now concludes [ibid.:111] that it was the lack of gender



distinction in the pl. of adjectives and pronouns that was crucial to a similar situation eventually obtaining for the nouns. Here are Šaxmatov's sentiments:

На распространение окончаний женск. рода в склонении мужского и среднего рода повлияло, как, кажется, то обстоятельство, что в именах прилагательных и местоимениях падежи дат., твор. и местн. были во всех трех родах тождественны по форме.

##### 5. Šaxmatov [1910]

A third solution is now proposed by Šaxmatov. He suggests that it was the I of mas. -o- stems which first succumbed to A-penetration. His reasoning here was that when the N pl. of the -o- stems took on the form of the A pl., there were now three pl. endings in -y, i.e. N, A, and I. Since this state of affairs would often occasion ambiguity, there arose the desirability to disambiguate. Šaxmatov backs up his theory by showing that all Russian dialects now have mas. I in -ami, but there are still many vestiges of D in -om and L in -ex (i.e. and absence of A-penetration). Much of this supporting data is culled from Belorussian and Ukrainian dialects, and some later scholars (Unbegaun [1935] in particular) have taken serious issue with this fact. Somewhat curiously, it is the third theory which is nearly always associated with Šaxmatov. This is quite unjust, since his first two ideas have been taken up repeatedly by scholars, and it is seldom realized the debt these people owed to this pioneering Russian philologist.

## 6. Obnorskiĭ [1913]

In examining the declensional forms in Kantemir's satires, Obnorskiĭ devotes some attention to the DIL. He finds A-penetration almost complete in these 17th century writings. For the D only a few instances of the old endings are noted, viz. vragom, grešnikom, zubom. The I also has overwhelming A-penetration, but -mi is found after palatals and jot, e.g. krajmi. There are also a few examples of the original -o- stem ending -y. The L is even more affected by A-penetration than either the D or the I. Obnorskiĭ notes only four instances of the old ending, viz. domex, patex, čelovecex, and věcex. In his concluding remarks he states that, with regard to noun morphology, Kantemir's satires show all the features of the current vernacular language. This is decidedly the case for the DIL.

## 7. Durnovo [1924]

In this general discussion of the history of Russian Durnovo deals with the problem of A-penetration. He considers the phenomenon to be due to the workings of analogy. Although he offers no textual evidence, Durnovo states that the -i- stems were the most resistant to A-penetration, and he makes the point that the I -i- stem ending -mi occasionally spread to other stems, e.g. knut'mi, svečmi, slez'mi, dušmi. This is of particular interest, since both svečmi and dušmi are -ja- stems, and slez'mi is an -a- stem.

## 8. Obnorskiĭ [1931]

In this standard work on the Russian declensional system,

Obnorskiĭ devotes a large section to the DIL [ibid.:304-373]. A wealth of dialectal examples is offered, but, in the main, Obnorskiĭ is not concerned directly with A-penetration and the motivating forces thereof. Since my study seeks to describe and motivate A-penetration into the standard language, I shall select for consideration only those parts of Obnorskiĭ's survey which bear a direct relation to the norms in the standard language.

With respect to the D, Obnorskiĭ states that the old endings, i.e. -om, -em were still in vogue in Petrinic times, citing examples from Prokopovič; yet after this epoch the old endings are seldom in evidence. When they do occur it is mainly in songs (byliny), and they have a decidedly archaic flavour. The ending -ēm (+ emŭ + imŭ) is then discussed. Obnorskiĭ makes the insightful comment that those dialects with 'heavy' or 'moderate' akan'e<sup>2</sup> would have passed easily from -ēm to -jam, but such a switch would have been resisted in dialects with 'dissimilative' akan'e (cf. Eriksson later in this section).

Turning his attention to the I, Obnorskiĭ comments on the occurrence of the -o- stem ending -y until the time of Lomonosov. After this time the old ending is much on the wane. In the modern language -y is only encountered in byliny. The retention in a number of instances of the -i- stem ending -mi is discussed. Obnorskiĭ points out that, until quite recently, many more -i- stems retained this ending, and that -mi spread to nouns of other stems, mainly -jo- stems. Since the r.a.s. -i- stems went over in toto to the -jo- stems,

Obnorskiĵ deems this reason enough for some original -jo- stems to adopt the I ending -mi. However, he finds it more difficult to explain the -mi ending in -o- stems, and still more difficult its spasmodic appearance in -a- and -ja- stems. In this connexion he advances the proposition that there was confusion between -ja- and -i- stems, which lead to some -i- stem endings penetrating into the -ja- stems, e.g. sveča, G pl. svečeĵ, and then I svečmi.

In respect of the L, Obnorskiĵ makes an interesting point. He gives numerous examples of -o- stem Ls in -jax, e.g. vo snjax, v vidjax, vtoropjax (still in use), which he explains by the desire to retain the softness of the consonant that would have been present in the early OR forms, i.e. sněx, viděx, vtoropěx.

#### 9. Unbegaun [1935]

In this seminal work on 16th century Russian morphology Unbegaun researched a vast number of texts, and accordingly he devoted a large section to the problem of A-penetration. By and large he found the old endings still to be in the ascendancy during this time. Unbegaun's data showed conclusively that the I was the most resistant to change. The L was the most receptive to A-penetration. As for A-penetration into different stem types, this researcher's material demonstrated that -i- stems were less likely to adopt the new endings than -o- or -jo- stems.

For Unbegaun one of the motivating forces behind A-penetration was the -a N and A pl. ending of neut. nouns (cf. Šaxmatov [1885]).

He rejects utterly Šaxmatov's [1910] notion that the I was the first to go over to the new endings. Indeed the matter seemed to be to the contrary, with the -y/-i endings being quite typical at this time. The second major influence in A-penetration for Unbegaun was the presence in the system of mas. -a- stem nouns of the type: voevoda, sluga. In addition, the collective nouns of the type: gospoda, latina came to be considered as pl. and of clear mas. gender (cf. Šaxmatov [1885]).

Unbegaun is also of the opinion that 'proper nouns' (noms de personne) were the first to succumb to A-penetration. In the Novgorod texts of the 16th century he finds A-penetration for the D to be almost exclusively limited to 'proper nouns', e.g. kupcam, dvorjanam, namestnikam.

#### 10. Nikiforov [1947]

This is an article on the language of the Domostro! of the 16th century. In discussing the D endings, Nikiforov finds the old endings dominant, with A-penetration limited to three instances, viz. po xoromam, po zalavkam, po dobytkam. He appends a note to this section pointing out that A-penetration was limited in 16th century texts, e.g. Pis'ma Ivana IV Kurbskomu have but one instance of A-penetration, i.e. sovetam. Even in a text such as Sudebnik carja Fedora Ivanoviča, which has a greater degree of A-penetration, the old forms are still in the ascendancy. In the I the old forms also dominate, with only five forms in -azi being noted (although the -i- stem I is always -mi, i.e. no A-penetration). For -o- stems the L has mostly -ex, before which

velars now remain now undergo second velar palatalization.<sup>3</sup> A mere eight forms have -ax. The usual L ending for the -jo- stems is -ex. Nikiforov has no examples of the original ending -ix, and merely one of -jax, viz. v monastyr,jax. For the -i- stem L Nikiforov records only the original ending -ex, with just one example of -jax, viz. v klet,jax.

#### 11. Nikiforov [1948]

In this article Nikiforov again turns his attention to the morphological analysis of OR vernacular texts. Again he maintains that A-penetration had started in the neut. L, giving as evidence the superior number of A-penetration forms in the L as opposed to the D and I. He finds A-penetration in the I to be of very limited scope, seldom encountered in mas. -o- and -jo- stems, and only once in neut. -o- and -jo- stems. For the D the old forms are still clearly dominant for both mas. and neut., albeit to a lesser degree than for the I. It is interesting to note that for the -i- stems Nikiforov has the new forms in the ascendancy for the D and L, but the I is still dominated by the original -i- stem ending -mi. The significant degree of A-penetration in the D and L is attributed by Nikiforov to the influence of, and confusion with, the -ja- stems.

#### 12. Stang [1952]

This monograph by Stang is a detailed investigation into the language of a 1647 translation of Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen's Kriegskunst zu Fuss. In summing up his findings with regard to the

DIL, Stang has this to say [ibid.:19-20]:

Dat. pl. Il y a flottement entre les désinences -om/-em et -am/-jam. Il ne semble pas possible de poser de règle pour l'emploi de deux désinences. La forme en -om/-em est de beaucoup la plus fréquente. J'ai compté deux fois plus de formes en -om/-em qu'en -am/-jam. Les thèmes mouillés présentent une majorité des vieilles formes encore plus grande.

Instr. pl. Les désinences sont -y/-i et -ami/-jami ... La forme la plus fréquente est celle en -ami. J'ai compté à peu près deux fois autant de formes en -ami qu'en -y.

Loc. pl. Les désinences sont -ěx(-ex) et -ax. Les vieilles formes apparaissent en majorité.

Clearly in Stang's work the I was the most receptive to A-penetration, and this represents the first supporting evidence for Šaxmatov [1910].

### 13. Bulaxovskij [1953]

Here Bulaxovskij discusses the phenomenon of A-penetration in some detail. He briefly reviews some previous scholarship, without taking a definite stand as to how A-penetration was carried through in Russian. Whilst acknowledging that the old I ending -y survived longer in the texts than the old D and L endings, he chooses to consider this as being limited to the written language. Although -y is found in 18th century texts (and even a few examples can be found in 19th century texts), Bulaxovskij quotes a line from Deržavin in which

the following phrase occurs: so mnogocenny dani, and he observes that dan' is a fem. -i- stem, and in the I the ending -i is quite alien to it. This, he feels, shows the artificial nature of the -y/-i ending at this time.<sup>4</sup> Then Bulaxovskij goes on to surmise that the old I ending -y/-i might have been retained longer than the old D and L endings because the old and new I endings differed to a greater degree than was the case for the D and L, i.e. I -y/-i vs. -ami/-jami compared with -om vs. -am in the D, and -ex vs. -ax in the L. He also points out the tenacity of the I -i- stem ending -mi, which in the 16th century showed considerable extra vitality, becoming popular with -jo- stems, especially those in -tel'.

#### 14. Černyx [1953]

In this study of the Uloženie of 1649 Černyx devoted a substantial section to the question of A-penetration. He found a state of confusion with regard to the old and new endings, but, as with Unbegaun's [1935] material from the 16th century, Černyx's data from the following century showed that the process of A-penetration was by no means complete, although it had reached a crucial phase.

Contrary to most previous investigators Černyx found that his material demonstrated that the -i- stems were much more receptive to A-penetration than the -o- or -jo- stems.<sup>5</sup> As far as individual cases were concerned Černyx's research showed that the D and L were much more receptive to the new endings than the I. This, of course, goes contrary to Šaxmatov [1910] and Stang [1952], but it does bear out the majority opinion.



## 15. Sokolova [1957]

In this work Sokolova reexamines the morphology of the 16th century Domostroj, and, with respect to the DIL, she reaches different conclusions from those arrived at by Nikiforov [1947]. She notes the same three instances of A-penetration in the D of -o- and -jo- stems, viz. dobytkam, zalavkam, and xoromam, but adds that all three have unstressed endings, so perhaps here we are dealing with instances of akan'e. For the I she agrees with Nikiforov that the old ending -y/-i dominates for the -o-/-jo- stems, but also notes one case of -i- stem influence, i.e. metan'mi. Sokolova also concurs with Nikiforov in his finding the old ending to be dominant in -o-/-jo- stems for the L, but she considers A-penetration to be quite common in 'everyday' (sugubo bytovoj) words, e.g. tčanax, udax. She concludes her section on the DIL by claiming that A-penetration takes place in the main in these 'everyday' words, but -i- stems remain practically immune to A-penetration.

## 16. Galkina [1958]

Galkina found that for the D of -o- and -jo- stems both old and new endings are recorded. She surmises that the old endings are used in texts of a traditional nature, while the new endings represent the current norm. Yet her examples offer little support for such a supposition. The I has mainly old endings, with some A-penetration. Galkina agrees with Bulaxovskij [1953] that the old I ending was artificially retained because it differed so greatly from the new ending, i.e. -y vs. -ani. She goes on to say that -y even sometimes

occurs in -a- stems, especially in the chancery language.<sup>6</sup> This situation could only have arisen if people who quite normally had the ending -ami for both -o- and -a- stems were of a mind that in 'bookish' language -y could substitute for -ami. This substitution would then take place indiscriminately for both -o- and -a- stems. Galkina also comments on the spread of I -mi to -jo- stems and, to a lesser degree, to -o- stems. For -i- stems the original I ending -mi is absolutely dominant. The L in these Rjazan' texts is dealt with laconically. Galkina merely points out that A-penetration had gained a firm foothold in these texts. No mention is made of the frequency of the old endings, if indeed they were to be noted at all.

#### 17. Kiričenko [1958]

In these texts Kiričenko found both old and new endings, with the old endings being usually confined to words of the chancery language. Quite often a word would have now the old ending now the new. Neut. -o- and -jo- stems have A-penetration almost to exclusion. As for the -i- stems Kiričenko, rather tersely, states that they all have the new ending, except for ljudi, which preserves the old ending, i.e. ljudem. In the I of mas. and neut. -o- and -jo- stems, again both old and new endings occur, and again Kiričenko ascribes the old ending to chancery words. No A-penetration is detected in the I of -i- stems. For the L of mas. and neut. -o- and -jo- stems, the new endings are dominant. Unfortunately, nothing is said about the L of -i- stems. Bringing his remarks to a close, Kiričenko states:

Архаические элементы, особенно в дательном /-ом, -ем/, творительном /-ы, -и/ и предложном падежах /-ех/ множественного числа, продолжали оставаться только в сравнительно небольшом кругу имен существительных, нередко с определенной стилистической установкой, а с течением времени, к концу XVIII - началу XIX века и совсем были вытеснены своими дублетными формами, формами новыми, соответствовавшими живой речи.

18. Ul'janov [1958]

This study is devoted to the fate of the -i- stems. Ul'janov points out the divergent views of previous scholarship with regard to A-penetration into the -i- stems. Sobolevskij [1888], Jagić [1889], Untegaun [1935], and Stang [1952] had found the -i- stems most resistant to A-penetration, especially in the I. Yet Kosovskij [1947], Nikiforov [1948], and Černyx [1953] had arrived at quite opposite results. Ul'janov's own research, conducted on a wide range of texts, demonstrates the validity of the former hypothesis. Ul'janov suggests that Nikiforov and Černyx had arrived at their conclusion of early A-penetration into the -i- stems because they had only worked on 16th and 17th century texts. Early texts show little or no A-penetration into -i- stems. The fact that old DIL forms still occur after 1650 is explained by Ul'janov as due to the written language being more archaic and conservative than the spoken, and that one should not underestimate the influence of RCS on the Russian language of the 17th and 18th centuries. Summing up, Ul'janov writes that by the second half of the 17th century A-penetration was complete in 'spoken'

Russian, with the exception of the I of -i- stems, where -mi was still preferred to -ami.

#### 19. Kulikov [1959]

Kulikov finds A-penetration to be very limited in these texts. For mas. -o- stems he only has a single example, and only a few in neut. -o- stems. For -jo- stems there was some encroachment from the new forms, but again very restricted. Noticeable is the advance of the I -i- stem ending -mi, e.g. konmi, knjazmi, mužmi, polmi. Neut. L -jo- stems have some A-penetration, whereas the mas. has none. For -i- stems A-penetration is nonexistent in the I, and limited to pustošam and volostjax for the L. Kulikov concludes his remarks on the DIL by saying that A-penetration was in its infancy in the 16th century.

#### 20. Kuznecov [1959]

In the section on the DIL Kuznecov gives a solid review of much previous scholarship on this topic. The author offers no new data and advances no new ideas. Kuznecov mentions the fact that the Novgorod birchbark letters contain no new forms at all. He also notes and concurs with the remark in Durnovo [1924] that A-penetration did not get underway until the 15th century in southwestern Russian dialects. He considers Jagić's [1889] theory of A-penetration having begun in neut. nouns to be the most likely. His support for this particular theory is due to the fact that A-penetration is most substantial in neut. nouns in the earliest texts.

## 21. Sørensen [1959]

In this article Sørensen investigated A-penetration in Kotošixin's O Rosii v carstvovanie Alekseja Mixajloviča of the 17th century. He considers Unbegaun to be correct in positing that the D was the first of the DIL to go over to the new endings as far as the neut. -o- stems were concerned, but sees a different picture for the mas. -o- stems. In effect Sørensen argues in favour of Šaxmatov [1910], stressing:

Der Zusammenfall des Nominativ-Akkusativs mit dem Instrumental in den o-Stämmen des Maskulinums machte nunmehr ... einen wenigstens in einigen Fällen unauflösbaren Synkretismus (emphasis mine, J.D.) aus.

The ambiguity occasioned by this syncretism is, according to Sørensen, especially evident in predicate constructions.

The arguments put forward in this article are both intriguing and stimulating, but the sheer weight of counter-evidence is hard to push aside. The selective data used by Sørensen to bolster his hypothesis largely vitiate his case. Pennington [1980] (see later in this section) in her herculean undertaking on the same text will come to conclusions different from those of Sørensen.

## 22. Maxaroblidze [1959]

Maxaroblidze reviews in some detail much previous scholarship, and is critical of his predecessors for failing to address the question of why A-penetration started specifically at the end of the 13th century. This for him is the crux of the whole problem. The answer

suggested by Maxaroblidze concerns the merger of the N and A pl. of adjectives and pronouns, which took place in the 13th century (cf. Šaxmatov [1903]). This merger meant that for these categories there was no gender distinction throughout the pl., and, for this linguist at least, it was inevitable that the nouns should follow suit and abolish gender distinction. Finally, Maxaroblidze states:

Решающим фактором, давшим толчок распространению новых окончаний -ам /-ям/, -ами /-ями/, -ах /-ях/ соответственно в дательном, творительном и местном падежах множественного числа, является аналогия с именами прилагательными и местоимениями, утратившими родовые различия во множественном числе в связи с унификацией в XIII в. форм именительного и винительного падежей; такая аналогия была неизбежна и диктовалась самим грамматическим строем языка, законами словосочетания.

Maxaroblidze's theory is really an elaboration of Šaxmatov [1903], although he is clearly correct in pointing out that the weakness of Šaxmatov's theory lies in the fact that the DIL of adjectives and pronouns had been identical even before the 13th century. So why should this have proved to be a motivating force for unification in nouns just at this time? This is a good point, but the theory is unsubstantiated by hard textual data of any kind.

### 23. Eriksson [1960]

In reviewing earlier scholarship Eriksson complains that some investigators, in particular Šaxmatov, Černyx, and Sørensen, had worked with limited material. Accordingly Eriksson accumulated her

data from a wide range of 16th and 17th century texts. These consisted in the main of legal documents and gramoty,<sup>7</sup> some of which had more than a touch of RCS colouring. The following conclusions were arrived at:

1. -jo- and -i- stems are more affected than -o- stems.
2. The new endings are especially common after šc and c.
3. Neut. -jo- stems have the new endings more frequently than the mas. -jo- stems.
4. Mas. -o- stems are the most conservative.
5. Mas. -o- stems ending in a velar usually have the new endings.
6. Neut. -o- stems usually have the old endings.
7. Overall, the new endings are most frequent in the L, then the I, and then the D.
8. Akan'e played a role in accounting for the preponderance of A-penetration in -jo- and -i- stems.

As can be seen from the seventh point, Eriksson's findings run contrary to the opinion held by most previous investigators, who deemed A-penetration to have started with the D. Also somewhat unusual is her finding that the -i- stems were the most susceptible to A-penetration (cf. Černyx [1953]).

#### 24. Fomenko [1960]

In this article Fomenko studied the nominal morphology of 17th

century Siberian chronicles. He bemoans the fact that many previous researchers (he is not specific) of Russian historical morphology have not given the exact figures of old and new forms, and so he is careful to note the numbers. I reproduce them below in tabular form.

Table 15

		<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>F</u>
		<u>-o-/-jo-</u>	<u>-o-/-jo-</u>	<u>-i-</u>
D	om/em	305	11	7
	am/jam	17	8	8
I	y/i	381	28	0
	ami/jami	48	13	0
L	ex	116	46	7
	ax/jax	60	14	1

From these figures Fomenko concludes that neut. nouns have a greater degree of A-penetration than mas. The number of -i- stem examples he considers too small to be suitable for significant analysis, except for the I which, as usual, shows no A-penetration at all.

#### 25. Kiričenko [1961]

Kiričenko carried out his research on texts written in the chancery language from the end of the 17th and on into the 18th century. For the D of -o- stems he finds A-penetration greater in neut. nouns than in mas. nouns, and in the D of -i- stems the new ending is usual. He feels that stress plays a role in determining old or new endings for the D of -o- stems, since the majority of ending-stressed words



have -am. Also words of a decidedly RCS stamp, together with those of an official nature, are much more likely to retain the old ending -om. For the I the new ending is dominant in mas. and neut. -o- and -jo- stems, but the old ending -y is still much in evidence, being used in 29 percent of all instances. Again Kiričenko considers higher style words much more likely to retain the old ending. The I of -i- stems retains the original -mi ending in most instances, and Kiričenko notes that -mi spreads to mas. -jo- and -o- stems, e.g. žitel'mi, služitel'mi, prijatel'mi, sekretarmi. For the L of mas. -o- and -jo- stems, both old and new endings occur. Often a word will switch willy-nilly from old to new, and vice-versa. A-penetration is, however, dominant in the L of -i- stems.

26. Macenko [1961]

Macenko investigated specifically the penetration of -am in Novgorodian and Muscovite texts of the 14th and 15th centuries. His work showed that penetration had taken place much earlier in Novgorod than in Moscow.

Macenko's findings show that although -om/-em were still the dominant D endings for mas. -o- and -jo- stems at the beginning of the 15th century, by 1475 the position had changed radically. Now -am/-jam were clearly the preferred D endings.

The point is made that after Novgorod's loss of independence to Moscow in 1478, the spread of A-penetration in the D is halted, and indeed the process is pushed into reverse. Very soon thereafter

the form -am will only appear to a limited extent in non -a- stem nouns. Macenko sees here the unambiguous influence of Muscovite norms of the 15th century.

In the Muscovite texts Macenko can discover very few examples of A-penetration, even by the end of the 15th century. In one text, for example, he records over 100 instances of the old D endings, but not a single instance of A-penetration.

#### 27. Cocron [1962]

Cocron devotes a section to the DIL in this morphological study of 17th century Russian. Gleaning his data in the main from Žitie protopopa Avvakuma, but also drawing on a variety of texts of the period, Cocron is able to state [ibid.:85]:

De ces exemples, il ressort avec netteté que l'époque en question (17th century, J.D.) était celle d'une transition des désinences anciennes aux désinences nouvelles. S'il a été établi pour la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> s. qu'aucun mot n'avait encore définitivement adopté les trois désinences nouvelles, on constate pour la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'aucune groupe de mots (à part, évidemment, les clichés slavons) n'appartient plus entièrement à la flexion ancienne.

Yet whereas Unbegaun [1935] had found the I to be extremely resistant to A-penetration in the 16th century, Cocron finds things otherwise a century later. He puts it in the following way [ibid.:86]:

Le flottement entre l'état ancien et le nouveau

y (in the I, J.D.) est tout aussi développé qu'aux datif et locatif, à la seule exception des thèmes en -i-.

Cocron's material suggests strongly that stress has played a role with respect to A-penetration [ibid:39]:

Il va de soi que parmi ceux-ci, les mots qui portaient au pluriel l'accent sur la désinence étaient les plus sensibles à la nouvelle évolution.

In summing up Cocron states that this was a time of uncertainty and confusion with respect to the DIL, and definite conclusions as to their distribution cannot be reached.

#### 28. Sokolova [1962]

In this book on the historical grammar of Russian Sokolova is of the opinion that the following factors played a part in A-penetration:

1. The presence of -a in the N and A pl. of neut. nouns.
2. The shared zero ending for the G pl. of fem. -a- stems and neut. nouns.
3. The presence of mas. nouns with a fem. -a- stem declensional pattern, e.g. voevoda.
4. The bojarin/bojare type, where certain dialects substituted N pl. bojara for bojare.
5. The collectives of the brat'ja type.
6. Akan'e.

## 29. Černyx [1962]

In this standard handbook for students of the history of the Russian language, Černyx considers the problem of A-penetration. It is his opinion that not enough research has been done in this area, and, in consequence, it is impossible to give an accurate account of the phenomenon of A-penetration. Černyx believes that a combination of Šaxmatov [1885]/Jagić [1889] and phonetic factors, e.g. phonetic similarity between unstressed -om and -am, and -em and -jam, offer the most likely solution.

## 30. Kulikov [1963]

Kulikov investigated the problem of A-penetration by examining texts from north-east Rus' during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. These texts display a decidedly vernacular flavour, and Kulikov found that significant A-penetration had taken place, with the degree of penetration being much greater for the D and L than for the I. He goes on to observe (to my knowledge, the first to do so) that perhaps the old mas. -i- stems served as a transitional vehicle by which the I of -jo- stems passed from -i to -jami. It seems that the old mas. -i- stems, all of which were to pass over into the -jo- stems, retained their distinctive -i- stem I ending in doing so, i.e. -mi. In other words, there seems never to have been a form, for instance, gosti for the I of gost', only gost'mi. Indeed, the ending -mi spread to original -jo- stems, e.g. kon'mi for original konj. Kulikov also makes reference to Obnorskij [1931], where it is shown that in some dialects and vernacular speech, the -mi ending survived for a long

time. Kulikov sees the -mi ending as a sort of 'bridge' (mostik) between the original I -i and the final -jami. Schematically one could express it in the following way: -i + -mi → -jami.

31. Ivanov [1964]

In this work Ivanov stresses that although in OR texts of all periods there are always to be found at least some old forms, one should not attach undue importance to this. It is Ivanov's opinion that, in the majority of instances, the old forms merely reflect the 'written' tradition. It is only when an innovation is completely dominant in the spoken language that it will appear in the written language in significant numbers, according to Ivanov.

32. Molčanova [1964]

In this article Molčanova examines how morphological research has been carried out on OR texts, and then discusses how she thinks such research ought to be pursued in the future. She takes the phenomenon of A-penetration as a morphological topic around which to discuss her ideas. As other scholars have done, e.g. Ivanov [1964], Molčanova makes the point that change will take place in the spoken language before, in some cases long before, it makes its way into the written. She stresses the need to examine a wide variety of texts and genres, and criticizes some previous scholars, e.g. Šaxmatov, Unbegaun, for coming to seemingly resolute conclusions in respect of A-penetration on the basis of either a meagre amount of textual data, or by confining their research to one or possibly two genres. Molčanova also stresses

the need to present the data accurately, making the distinction between the total number of examples of a particular form and the number of examples of individual words. As an instance of the discrepancy which might arise between the two, Molčanova quotes her own work on the D of -i- stems in the 17th century texts, where she collected a total of 610 forms in -em. Of this number, however, 400 were the one word ljudem, 50 for detem, and 25 for rečem. Molčanova goes on to emphasize that the genre of text should be made clear, and makes the following observation:

Новообразования, появившиеся в устной речи, легче проникают в язык памятников, отражающих повседневную жизнь; такова, например, частная переписка, деловая письменность, отдельные фрагменты летописей и некоторых других произведений. Менее восприимчивы к новообразованиям памятники церковнокнижного характера.

And later:

... новообразования в разных памятниках имеют различную значимость. Например, единичные ранние случаи употребления новообразований писцом, хорошо усвоившим орфографию и придерживавшимся традиционных написаний, по-видимому, могут свидетельствовать о том, что в живой речи соответствующий процесс уже получил некоторое развитие. ...  
Далее, если единичные новообразования находим не только в памятниках, написанных языком, близким к разговорному, но и в памятниках, для которых характерен книжный стиль речи, можно предположить, что процесс вытеснения старых форм новыми находится не в самой начальной стадии, а уже получил

некоторое развитие.

Further on it is also mentioned that more attention should be given to the question of whether the word is used in a fixed phrase or in a more general setting. In the former environment Molčanova claims the old forms are much more probable. She considers the occurrence of the new forms in a RCS setting to be of particular importance. She states:

... единичные новообразования в церковнокнижном контексте, по-видимому, свидетельствуют о том, что в живой народной речи процесс уже получил более или менее значительное развитие.

Towards the end of her article Molčanova makes an interesting point. She observes that sometimes an innovation can take place in the written language quite independently from the spoken. Her example is the spread of the -i- stem I ending -mi to neut. -jo- stems in -ĭje, e.g. mučen'mi, darovan'mi in RCS texts. There is no record of this phenomenon in more vernacular writings and, by extrapolation, in the spoken language.

### 33. Borkovskij/Kuznecov [1965]

In general Borkovskij/Kuznecov agree with Šaxmatov [1885] and Jagić [1889] as to how A-penetration came about. They are unimpressed by Unbegaun's [1935] hypothesis that the voevoda type had played a crucial role. They point out that these mas. -a- stems were very small in number. They also comment on the retention of the -i- stem endings -ëm and -ěx. They consider as improbable Obnorskiĭ's [1931]

suggestion that dissimilative akan'e had played a part here, and state that more recent scholarship has shown that dissimilative akan'e extends over a far wider area than the area covered by the retention of -ëm and -ëx.

34. Molčanova [1965]

Here Molčanova investigated A-penetration in the D of mas. nouns only. She availed herself of a number of Novgorodian, Dvinian, and Muscovite texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. Molčanova finds that -ax encroaches first in geographical pluralia tantum names. She reasons that in such nouns the link with the singular had been obliterated, and since the suffixes for pluralia tantum geographical names and fem. suffixes were often the same, e.g. -ĭk-, -ŭk-, -ĭc-, -ĭč-, these nouns soon adopted the D ending -ax. In general Molčanova asserts that stems ending in velars were most likely to succumb to A-penetration, with the palatal consonant reverting to the velar in most instances. Of the three velars (k, g, x), stems ending in -k are the most receptive to the new ending. Molčanova again links this with the fact that many of the pluralia tantum geographical names were formed with suffixes ending in -k. This really constitutes a new theory in regard to the motivation of A-penetration.

35. Galenko [1965]

This stresses the secondary role that vowels came to play in the Russian phonological system, after the 'hard' vs. 'soft' opposition came to bear the brunt of the phonemic burden. This, according to



Galenko, permitted vowel syncretism in the declensional system. He puts it thus [ibid.:33]:

... следовательно, объединение форм дат., твор. и местн. пад. явилось следствием упрощений в системе падежных противопоставлений второстепенных элементов, утративших свою дифференцирующую силу.

36. Molčanova [1966]

Molčanova comes to the conclusion in this article that A-penetration had started with the I of -i- stems in the 16th century, encroaching steadily thereafter, until by the beginning of the 18th century -ami was just as frequent as the original ending -mi. She points out that by the 18th century -ami starts to appear in words of a RCS/literary nature, e.g. volnostjami, prinadležnostjami, and Molčanova takes this as a sure sign that A-penetration was now well embedded in the vernacular. She also mentions Adodurov's comments in the preface to his Nemecko-latinsko-russko-russkij leksikon of 1731, where it is stated that -mi is the more elegant form. Yet from this time on, A-penetration is relentless, leaving CSR with only ljud'mi and det'mi as undisputed relics of the -i- stem I.

From her data Molčanova is able to conclude that -ami first entered the -i- stems in northwest dialects. Indeed, her evidence shows that it was in these dialects that -ami first became established for all non -a- stem nouns. The reason for the late spread of -ami into the -i- stems is attributed to the distinctive nature (dostatočno vyrazitel'na) of the ending -mi.

## 37. Kiparsky [1967]

In this major work Kiparsky makes some pertinent comments on A-penetration. He sees the process as having started in the D of mas. -o- and -jo- stems, spreading quickly to the D of the neut. -o- and -jo- stems. Next affected were the L of both mas. and neut. -o- stems, i.e. -ěx → -ax, which Kiparsky interprets as being the result of gender oscillation. Basically these arguments follow the sentiments of Šaxmatov [1885] and Jagić [1889].

Yet, in one respect, Kiparsky develops a new angle. With regard to -jo- stems, he notes a clear difference in the L for the development of mas. -jo- stems and neut. -jo- stems. In mas. -jo- stems the original ending -ix disappears in the 14th century, being replaced by -ex. Only much later will -jax appear. On the other hand, the neut. -jo- stems never have a form in -ex, but go immediately from -ix to -jax, starting in the 15th century. The reason for this discrepancy Kiparsky lays at the door of the mas. -i- stems. As is well known, this type merged early on with the mas. -jo- stems, leaving behind the odd vestige, e.g. ljud'mi and the put' paradigm.<sup>8</sup> 'Merger' would seem to be the apposite word, for not all -jo- stem endings were taken aboard by the -i- stems. We have already noted Kulikov's [1963] remarks with respect to the I (the 'bridge' theory), backed up by considerable data. Now Kiparsky sees another -i- stem 'bridge' in the L, i.e. -ěx → -ex (+ -ixŭ, i.e. not simply due to a merger of [ě] and [e] → -jax). Since there were no neut. -i- stems, this possibility was not open to them.

For Kiparsky the I was the last to undergo A-penetration. He makes light of Šaxmatov [1910], pointing out that the I is frequently used together with a preposition, which would be a clear marker for the I, and thus ambiguity is unlikely to arise. The -i- stems are the last to succumb, and then in the order D, L, I.

38. Anan'eva [1968]

This researcher begins by reviewing much of the previous work on the subject of A-penetration, and then she states (before presenting her material) that the motivating force for A-penetration was the fact that, in the pl., adjectives and pronouns had but one form for each of the DIL. The texts studied by Anan'eva were from the 16th century, especially the Kazanskiĭ letopisec. She arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Neut. and -i- stems had a greater degree of penetration in the D and L than in the I.
2. For mas. nouns the rate of penetration was the same for all three cases.
3. The I of -i- stems and neut. nouns resisted, for the most part, penetration.
4. Ũ, A, I pl. syncretism played a role (cf. Šaxmatov [1910]).
5. Akan'e played a role (cf. Bulaxovskiĭ [1931]).
6. Vernacular words were more prone to A-penetration (cf. Sokolova [1957]).
7. Lack of DIL distinction in adjectives and pronouns was decisive.

## 39. Molčanova [1968]

Molčanova again uses her Novgorodian, Dvinian, and Muscovite texts (see Molčanova [1965]) and now studies A-penetration in the I of neut. nouns. She reaches the following conclusions:

1. A-penetration started in the 14th century and came to dominate in the early 19th century.
2. It began in the northwest and did not affect Moscow until the 15th century.
3. It first affected stems ending in -l.
4. Soft neut. stems succumbed more easily than hard ones.

To illustrate the fourth point Molčanova gives a table, which I reproduce here with somewhat different notation:

Table 16

	<u>HARD</u>		<u>SOFT</u>	
	<u>y</u>	<u>ami</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>jami</u>
Novgorod 15th c.	4	0	1	6
Dvina 15th c.	3	0	8	0
Moscow 15th c.	188	0	20	0
1500-1550	21	0	14	2
1550-1600	40	0	70	3

## 40. Šul'ga [1968]

The texts studied by Šul'ga are of a decidedly vernacular nature, and since the Brjansk area falls under the influence of akan'e, it is not always easy to discern the actual ending. Consequently Šul'ga was careful to base his conclusions on unambiguous forms. This meant paying careful attention to stress. In both the D and L Šul'ga found A-penetration dominant. In the I the old ending was still frequent, but less so than the new ending. The original ending, i.e. -mi, was still usual for -i- stems. It was also noted that the -c- stem I ending -y/-i penetrated into the fem. -a/-ja- stems to quite a significant degree. Šul'ga interprets this as meaning that the endings -y and -ami were at this time in free variation, or that, more probably, -y was felt to be a 'quaint' alternative for the usual -ami.

## 41. Andersen [1969a]

In this article Andersen suggested a completely new approach to the problem of A-penetration. He summarily dismisses previous scholarship, since, in his opinion, the 'traditional' approach to the problem not only precluded a solution, but also made the problem impossible to define. A major failing of the 'traditional' approach was that it did not take into account the meaning of desinences, and that, when meaning is left out "the forms involved in a change have to be treated as indivisible units". Following the ideas of Jakobson,<sup>9</sup> Andersen proceeds to extract meaningful elements from the desinences concerned. Thus, for the L z is the case-marker, the proceeding vowel having no relevancy in this respect. Similarly m is the case-marker for the D.

As for the I desinence, Andersen considers, after the fall of the jers in Russian,<sup>10</sup> the case-marker -i to be common to all declension types (since now [i] and [i̇] were mere allophones of the same phoneme<sup>11</sup>). This case-marker -i could either be preceded by -m' or by -∅ (zero). (Andersen takes the underlying sharpened m, viz. m', on trust from Jakobson.<sup>12</sup>) The function of this -m' is, again following Jakobson,<sup>13</sup> to signify peripherality, thus linking the D and I as 'peripheral' cases. Although a sharpened m never appears in the D, and cannot be justified historically, Jakobson/Andersen set up m' as underlying the D m, stating that -m' in final position is realized as (plain) m. Yet it seems to me there is a discrepancy with regard to the function for the I. In the D m' serves a dual function, i.e. both as the D marker and as the peripherality marker; whereas in the I m' has a unique function, i.e. marking peripherality, since i is the case-marker here. One could suggest a possible answer to this problem. One could posit for the D the case-marker ∅ preceded by the peripherality marker m'.

In the second part of his article Andersen accounts for the generalization in the oblique pl. of the thematic vowel -a- by suggesting that the thematic vowel was assigned according to part of speech, viz. -i- for adjectives, -i- and -e- for pronouns, and now -a- for nouns. According to Andersen this change established a clearer relation between meaning and form.

#### 42. Čerkasova [1969a]

Čerkasova investigated here Muscovite epistolary texts from the

second half of the 17th century. She thinks that the following factors played a role in the rise of A-penetration:

1. Lexical-semantic.
2. Phonetic.
3. Structural.
4. Genre/stylistic.
5. Grammatical.

It is only with grammatical considerations that Čerkasova concerns herself here.

Her study showed that neut. nouns were the most receptive to A-penetration, and that the I of -i- stems was the most resistant (where no examples of A-penetration were recorded). For mas. nouns the most receptive case to A-penetration was the L, then the I, finally the D. For neut. nouns the rate of A-penetration was equal for all three cases. For the -i- stems the order was D, L, I. Čerkasova also looked closely at pluralia tantum nouns, and found them to be most affected by A-penetration. She extrapolates from this that pluralia tantum nouns might have encouraged other nouns to accept A-penetration.

#### 43. Čerkasova [1969b]

In this short abstract Čerkasova discusses the categories she had outlined previously [1969a], and which she considered to have played a role in the rise of A-penetration. In the lexical-semantic category she found that abstract literary words retain the old ending,

while concrete everyday words would have the new ending. Yet the old endings could occur for everyday words in the D and I. In the phonetic category Čerkasova found that A-penetration was linked to the stem-final consonant. In the L, if the final consonant was a velar, both endings, i.e. -ex and -ax could occur, but -ex was always accompanied by preceding palatalization, e.g. o čelovecex. In the structural/grammatical category Čerkasova found that nouns with the 'emotive' formant -išk- would have A-penetration, e.g. detiškami. In the genre/stylistic category she found that the epistolary texts she studies would vary. She puts it this way:

Так, язык посланий с их книжной стихией содержит формы с исконными, но уже устаревшими флексиями; грамотки же, фиксирующие разговорный язык своего времени, закрепляют живые, повседневно употребляемые формы ...

#### 44. Molčanova [1969a]

This article returns to the themes expressed in Molčanova [1964], i.e. the need for a more careful scrutiny of the data, and the need to look at texts of every genre. Again Molčanova stresses the importance of investigating RCS material. However, this article is really a study of A-penetration in the D of mas. nouns (again using the same Novgorodian, Dvinian, and Muscovite texts she had used before in Molčanova [1965]). Molčanova compares her results with those arrived at by Šaxmatov [1885] and Unbegaun [1935], and Černyx [1953], and she finds that her own results do not totally accord with any of them. She finds that words denoting professions, official positions, and



social rank are the most conservative, and that -jo- stems with stem stress are the most receptive to A-penetration.

#### 45. Molčanova [1969b]

Again using the same texts as in Molčanova [1965], A-penetration is studied in the D and L of neut. nouns. Molčanova reaches the following conclusions:

1. A-penetration started for both D and L in the northwest.
2. A-penetration for the D and L started at the same time.
3. Encroachment started in the northwest in the 13th century, and in Moscow in the 14th century.
4. The rate of A-penetration was the same in the northwest and in Moscow.
5. A-penetration appeared for both the D and L in stems ending in -išč and -j with stem stress.
6. Geographical pluralia tantum nouns were the first to succumb to A-penetration.
7. For -o- stems the D is more receptive than the L.

#### 46. Sultanzade [1969]

The material studied by Sultanzade comprised war reports from the first half of the 17th century. The conclusions reached are somewhat surprising, in that they lend support to Šaxmatov [1910], i.e. the I is the case most affected by A-penetration. Another interesting point made by Sultanzade is that foreign words (here mostly Tatar words)

almost always have the new endings. He puts it thus:

Оформляя же слова не общерусские, он (scribe, J.D.)  
пишет так, как говорит.

Thus we have: D jurтам, ulуcam; I kaјukami, karaulami; L kamyšax,  
kaјukax.

Sultanzade's results also showed that mas. nouns are more receptive to A-penetration than neut. nouns.

#### 47. Smirnova [1970]

Smirnova examined narrative literature of the 17th century, in particular the Skazanie Averkija Ivanoviča Palicyna. She was prompted to do so because of the lack of work carried out on 17th and 18th century texts with respect to A-penetration. The conclusions of this study are somewhat different from the majority of results arrived at by previous researchers. Firstly Smirnova found that in the I of -o- and -jo- stems the encroachment of -mi (not -ami) was widespread, especially in deverbative nouns in -ŷje. In the L A-penetration was rampant in velar stems, not elsewhere. The D proved the most conservative of the DIL, with only a 6 percent degree of A-penetration. With respect to declension type, the -i stems showed practically no A-penetration for all three cases. Smirnova noticed that certain words would show consistently A-penetration in one or two of the DIL cases, but not in all three.

## 48. Thomas [1973]

Thomas conducted his research in the Soviet Union and is, consequently, the only Westerner to quote extensively from Soviet scholarship. Indeed, the article is invaluable for its references to these Soviet sources (often quite obscure), although on the whole it is a competent summary of other people's findings.

Thomas has much sympathy for the views expressed by Maxaroblidze [1969] and would agree that the lack of gender distinction in the pl. of adjectives and pronouns provides the motivating force behind the phenomenon of A-penetration. Then, echoing Andersen [1969a] (whose article Thomas does not quote), he goes on:

It also prompts us to view the phenomenon as a process conditioned by the linguistic system of the 13th century, which was implemented only by a long and tortuous confrontation with already existing morphological norms.

The one criticism of Maxaroblidze that Thomas has is that the Soviet scholar had failed to explain satisfactorily the reason why, given the loss of feeling for gender in Russian in the pl., the forms of the -a- stem nouns were the ones to be generalized for all stem classes. Thomas then proceeds to offer his own explanation along lines already propounded by Jakobson and Andersen [1969a]:

If one examines the syntactical function of the various cases in Old Russian as well as Modern Russian, it is obvious that there is a clear distinction between the nominative, accusative and

genitive, on the one hand, and the dative, instrumental and prepositional (locative), on the other. In view of this we should expect to find in the oblique cases a logically linked system of endings.

This reasoning seems to me to be somewhat spurious, since the syntactic function of the cases was more or less identical in OCS with what it was in OR. So, one might ask why it is 'obvious' that OR should have a logically linked system of endings in the oblique cases, but not in OCS?

Thomas then continues:

The a-stems being more numerous than the i-stems would have been the class to influence the o-stems.

This again strikes me as somewhat inaccurate. The paucity of members of a particular declension type will not always be a sign of scant influence. I have in mind the -u- stems of OCS, whose endings exerted enormous influence in the declensions of all Slavic languages, although the number of -u- stems was small.<sup>14</sup>

#### 49. Kotkov [1974]

In this book Kotkov brought together his findings in respect of the 17th century letters (gramotki) that he and his team had collected and edited.<sup>15</sup> The language of these letters is very close to the vernacular and the situation concerning -am, -ami penetration proves to be of interest. (For some reason Kotkov chose to consider only the D and I, leaving out the L.)

In brief, Kotkov found that the I was just as likely to have the new ending as the D, and that mas. and neut. did not vary to a noticeable degree in their propensity to adopt the -a- stem ending. However, he concluded that the -i- stems showed more resistance to the new endings than the -o- stems. Finally, Kotkov was unable to lend credence to the hypothesis advanced by Maxaroblidze [1969], and ended by saying:

Наши данные как будто не противоречат изложенной  
по этому вопросу точке зрения А. А. Шахматова  
(Šaxmatov [1910], J.D.).

50. Markov [1974]

In this book Markov devotes a whole section to A-penetration. I have already mentioned the fact that Markov went back to the original texts to verify the findings of previous scholars, and in at least one instance his diligence was rewarded.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, his discussion of the phenomenon of A-penetration is extremely precise and thorough.

Markov begins his commentary by pointing out that the oft quoted examples of A-penetration in Sobolevskij [1888] are not actually the first recorded in OR. He notes [ibid:100] žiteljam in the 11th century Putjatina mineja and ljudgoščičam from an early 12th century inscription. Taking a closer look at Sobolevskij's [1888] examples, Markov observes that there is no example of A-penetration in -i- stems, which would speak for the late development of A-penetration in this declensional type. After this a more detailed investigation is made of the two mas. inanimate forms, viz. klobukami and razdorax. As I

have already mentioned klobukami is not in fact attested in this text; this must have been an oversight on Sobolevskij's part. Markov would also exclude razdorax from consideration, since in OR there were competing forms, viz. razdor (mas.) vs. razdora (fem.). Markov is inclined to accept Šaxmatov [1885] and Jagić [1889] as the most likely route by which A-penetration took hold, and (the only scholar to my knowledge so to do) he compares the Russian situation with that in Slovak, where A-penetration has engulfed neut. nouns but not mas. nouns. As for Šaxmatov [1910], Markov finds no real supporting evidence, pointing out that it was not -ami but -mi that first encroached upon the domain of -y/-i. Another valuable observation made by Markov concerns the 'reliability' of the attested old forms. On this point it is shown that in a text such as the 16th century Muscovite Kniga ključej volokolamskogo monastyrja, which is replete with vernacular features, e.g. akan'e, ekan'e, [e] → [o], voicing/ devoicing assimilations, the old D endings -om/-em are well attested.

#### 51. Rusinov [1975]

Rusinov approaches the problem from a new angle, i.e. the cybernetic. Indeed, he claims that only by considering A-penetration in this light can one hope to explain it. He states it thus:

Думается, что правильно объяснить (A-penetration, J.D.) только кибернетически, а именно: а. нужно исходить из того, что изменения в языковой системе, так же как и в любой иной саморегулирующейся, имеют кибернетический характер, т.е. направлены, в частности, на преодоление энтропии /функциональной

неопределенности составляющих частей/ и устранения избыточного /т.е. утратившего функциональную значимость/.

The above constitutes the main thrust of Rusinov's 'cybernetic' method. As to why -am, -ami, -ax came to be generalized, Rusinov offers the following points by way of answer:

1. Since the DIL endings carried no 'functional' load, i.e. they were not necessary to convey meaning, they could be dispensed with.
2. From the cybernetic point of view, -am, -ami, -ax were generalized because they were more 'universal' than the other endings in the DIL. They occurred after both hard and soft consonants.
3. The ending -ami was preferred to -mi in order to avoid the consonantal cluster on the inflexional boundary.

Rusinov's data are drawn from Uglučanian texts of the 15th thru 18th centuries. He first presents his findings in a traditional manner, and it is interesting to note that he attests the -mi ending in -jo- stems, e.g. knjaz'mi, and the complete absence of L -jo- stem ending -ix.

## 52. Pennington [1980]

In this gargantuan study Pennington has a comprehensive section on the DIL. At the beginning of this section she states:

The distribution of old and new endings is remarkably different for different cases.

More specifically her findings lead her to the following conclusions:

All declension types show the influence of the a-type flexions, but the degree of penetration varies greatly. Masculine o-types are most receptive in the I pl., where the new ending is sometimes exploited for syntactic clarity (echoing Sørensen [1959], J.D.). With the neuter o-types, the new endings, though not always more frequent, are probably unmarked (it is not made clear how this point of view is arrived at, J.D.). With the feminine i-types, the new endings are certainly dominant. Most resistant are the masculine consonant-types and masculine i-types.

Finally, Pennington compares her findings with the norms given by the 1648 version of Smotrickij's grammar<sup>17</sup> and discovers that the declensional system used by Kotošixin is very close to Smotrickij's model.

### 53. Worth [forthcoming]

In this article Worth examines the DIL in the so-called statejnye spiski, i.e. diplomatic reports sent back to Moscow by ambassadors during the years 1567-1667. Worth makes the point that these reports really constitute a new genre "unbound by tradition, and hence free to introduce whatever new forms the authors felt were appropriate". Worth argues for the importance of investigating new genres, especially in connexion with A-penetration.



In the early reports very limited A-penetration was found, more in the D and L than in the I. In the middle of the 17th century, however, "a major upsurge in new a-stem endings" occurred for all three cases. For the I Worth found that A-penetration was about equal for mas. and neut. nouns, with the new ending being usual for gosudarstvo. For the D, neut. nouns in -ije were the most receptive to A-penetration, e.g. podvor'jam, imen'jam, ust'jam. In the latest text studied (1667), -om occurred "with more than three times the frequency of -am, even with neologisms like burgumistrom, kurfirstom, ratmanom". Worth takes this as an indication that even in the mid-17th century, -am penetration "was still restricted to conversational and less formal written Russian". The I was the most conservative; even neologisms occurred with the old ending, e.g. s muškety.

Worth concludes his article by comparing his findings in this investigation with his previous research on 17th century Russian and RCS material. He has this to say:

... grammatical and stylistic variability stand in a kind of complementary distribution: the early and mid-seventeenth century was a time of grammatical tightening but stylistic loosening, -- or, to put it another way, a time when the first major step was taken toward the creation of the contemporary Russian literary language.

## B. A-penetration in RCS

To my knowledge only a mere handful of people have undertaken linguistic research into the morphology of RCS, and still fewer have devoted attention to the phenomenon of A-penetration.

### 1. Kjellberg [1957]

In this monograph Kjellberg has a section on A-penetration, where he boldly states that the process had started with the D in Russian, and as far as RCS is concerned, he has this to say:

Les phénomènes du slavon russe rappellent ceux du russe du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous y avons comme formes normales les anciennes terminaisons (au lieu du vieux slave -ix dans les thèmes -jo, le slavon a comme le vieux russe -ex), mais, parallèlement -- surtout dans la Bible de 1751 -- une intrusion des formes du type en -a dans les autres types de flexion ainsi que -(')mi dans le type en -o.

Now turning specifically to the language of Gedeon Krinovskij, Kjellberg finds it difficult to discern any clear pattern in the way the preacher uses the old and new endings. With regard to the D it transpires that the neut. is more receptive to the new endings than the mas., and also that the -i- stems are much more receptive to the new ending than the -o- and -jo- stems. For the I Kjellberg is able to see a clearer picture. He says:

Dans le type dur en -o, l'ancienne désinence -y a bien résisté à l'intrusion de -ami. Surtout dans quelques anciens thèmes en -i, qui ont plus ou

moins conservé à ce cas et même en russe moderne leur flexion originale. ... Les substantifs du type en -i ont normalement leur ancienne désinence -ĩmi ... mais, même ici, la désinence du type en -a se fait jour.

Kjellberg does not mention whether the -jo- stems display the ending -jami or the ending -ĩmi. He merely states that the ending -i was rare for -jo- stems.

Turning now to the L, Kjellberg again notes that both old and new endings occur. He adds:

A son (Gedeon's, J.D.) époque, les anciens locatifs étaient plus archaïques que les anciens instrumentaux.

Kjellberg considers that in the L the use of the old ending would dictate a consonant alternation and, in order to avoid such an alternation, the new ending tended to be used. He also sees a distribution of old and new endings along stylistic lines:

Dans le texte de Gedeon il semble que les désinences -ěx/-ex au moins en ce qui concerne le type en -o aient une valeur stylistique plus marquée que -ax/-jax ... La désinence -ax/-jax, par contre, a une valeur stylistique plus terne.

As for the -i- stems Kjellberg found that this type maintained the old ending to a very large degree.

Finally, Kjellberg brings his remarks to a somewhat laconic conclusion:

En comparant les formes du pluriel des dat., loc. et instr. dans le texte de Gedeon avec celles de la langue russe littéraire et celles du slavon de la même époque, on constate partout la présence des mêmes types de flexion. La seule différence entre les trois domaines vient de la proportion des différentes formes.

## 2. Šepeleva [1959]

Šepeleva states the principal purpose of her investigation as follows:

Рассматривая дат., твор. и местн. пад. мн. ч. в произведениях Симеона Полоцкого, сделаем попытку определить, в какой мере названные формы XVII в. соответствуют правилам грамматики М. Смотрицкого 1648 г., какие флексии и в каких случаях предпочитает Полоцкий использовать.

The works investigated by Šepeleva are all of a poetic nature, and, of course, the fact that it is poetry should be borne in mind at all times. I am thinking here of rhyme and number of syllables, which may well have influenced Polockij in his choice of old and new endings. With these things duly considered, Šepeleva came to the following conclusions:

1. In the D -am encroached only in -o- and -jo- stems, never in -i- stems.
2. In the I -ami was more frequent for mas. than for neut., and -mi was especially common for -jo- stems.
3. -ax occurred mostly in neut. nouns.

4. The frequency of -y in the I is a stylistic selection.
5. A-penetration is more evident in Polockij's work than in Smotrickij's grammar.

### 3. Šepeleva [1965]

Right at the outset Šepeleva argues the need for such an undertaking:

Языковеды постоянно обращаются к грамматикам, являющимся свидетелями начального этапа развития русского языка. Однако с точки зрения названного вопроса систематического исследования грамматик не предпринималось, хотя очень важно знать, как первые грамматики отражали живые процессы в языке.

According to Šepeleva the first grammars followed the Greek pattern, and so, in consequence, the I and L are lacking. In Azbuka Ivana Fedorova, Kgramatyka sloven'ska jazyka of 1586, the old endings are dominant in the D, with A-penetration occurring only in the -i- stem premudrostjam and the old -ū- stem cerkvam. Later in the Adel'fotis grammar of 1591, the proper name Ėnej has the D Ėneam. In the text of this grammar A-penetration is noted for the D in the -jo- stem pričastijam.

The first grammar which was, to a significant extent, free from Greek influence was Lavrentij Zizanij's Grammatika slovenska, s"veršennago iskustva os'mi častej slova of 1596. Forms for the DIL are given, with both old and new endings occurring for all three. Šepeleva is unable to detect Zizanij's own preference in these matters.