

U
W
S. 5123
[106]

Roman Jakobson

**Russian and Slavic
Grammar
Studies 1931-1981**

Mouton

JANUA
LINGUARUM

Series Maior 106

Studia Memoriae
Nicolai van Wijk Dedicata

edenda curat
C. H. van Schooneveld
Indiana University

PG
2106
.J34
1984

5.9125
[106]
Roman Jakobson

Russian and Slavic
Grammar

Studies 1931-1981

Edited by
Linda R. Waugh
and
Morris Halle

Mouton Publishers
Berlin • New York • Amsterdam



1000067260

5-9125



Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Jakobson, Roman, 1896-1982
Russian and Slavic grammar.

(Janua linguarum. Series maior ; 106)

Bibliography: p.

1. Russian language - Grammar - Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Slavic languages - Grammar - Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Waugh, Linda R. II. Halle, Morris.

III. Title. IV. Series.

PG2106.J34 1984

491.75

84-1994

ISBN 90-279-3029-5

© Copyright 1984 by Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin. All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form - by photoprint, microfilm, or any other means - nor transmitted nor translated into a machine language without written permission from the publisher. Typesetting: Asian Research Service, Hong Kong - Printing: Druckerei Hildebrand, Berlin - Binding: Dieter Mikolai, Berlin.

Printed in Germany.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Note	vii
Introduction (by Linda R. Waugh)	ix
1 Structure of the Russian Verb	1
2 Russian Conjugation	15
3 Relationship between Russian Stem Suffixes and Verbal Aspects	27
4 Structure of the Russian and Ukrainian Imperative	33
5 Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb	41
6 Contribution to the General Theory of Case: General Meanings of the Russian Cases	59
7 Morphological Observations on Slavic Declension (The Structure of Russian Case Forms)	105
8 The Relationship between Genitive and Plural in the Declension of Russian Nouns	135
9 The Gender Pattern of Russian	141
10 Notes on the Declension of Pronouns in Contemporary Russian	145
11 Zero Sign	151

BUW 112-86 | 62/20 1

86.04.40

EDITORIAL NOTE

The studies published here contain the core of Roman Jakobson's writings on the analysis of various grammatico-morphological categories of Russian, with occasional discussion of other Slavic languages. The 11 articles, originally written in 4 different languages (1,6 in German, 4,7 in Russian, 11 in French, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10 in English) are all presented here in their first published English translation or in the English original. Chapters 1-5 deal with verbal categories, 6-10 with nominal and pronominal categories, and 11 with the concept of the zero sign as exemplified by Russian and Slavic grammatical material.

This volume was planned by Jakobson himself, including the table of contents and the order of the articles; he also read the entire manuscript prior to the editorial work. As to the translations, earlier drafts were prepared by Helge Rinholm (chap. 1), Kenneth Miner (chap. 6), and Rodney B. Sangster (chap. 7). The later, authorized translations of these three chapters are by Brent Vine and Olga T. Yokoyama. Chapter 4 was prepared by Helge Rinholm, chapter 11 by Linda R. Waugh. The editors are responsible for making minor stylistic revisions and emendations to the English originals and more extensive corrections of the translations; we have tried to unify the various chapters, insofar as this was possible, taking into account both the technical terminological differences between the four languages represented and the evolution of Jakobson's own thought.

All of the articles in this volume are published, in the language in which they were written, in Jakobson's *Selected Writings II: Word and Language* (1971), where chapters 1-10 form part of section A "Morphological Studies" of that volume, chapter 11 being the first article in section B "Crucial Questions of Linguistic Theory". While there are other studies by Jakobson which are more historical in orientation (e.g., "Comparative Slavic Grammar", in Jakobson 1971) or which focus on other languages (e.g., "On the Rumanian Neuter", in Jakobson 1971) or which use the results given here for applica-

tion to specific domains (e.g., "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet", in Jakobson 1981) or which deal with lexical categories of Russian (e.g., "Spatial Relationships in the Russian Adjective", in Jakobson 1984) – the present volume contains all of Jakobson's work which is concerned directly with the synchronic, formal and semantic, analysis of the grammatical categories of Russian.

Linda R. Waugh
Morris Halle

REFERENCES

- Jakobson, Roman - 1971 - Selected Writings II: Word and Language - the Hague: Mouton.
 - - 1981 - Selected Writings III: Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry (ed. by Stephen Rudy) - the Hague: Mouton.
 - - 1984 - Selected Writings VII: Contributions to Comparative Mythology. Recent Studies in Linguistics and Philology. Retrospections. Bibliography. (ed. by Stephen Rudy). - Berlin: Mouton.

INTRODUCTION

Linda R. Waugh
Cornell University

1. The theme underlying all of the works in this volume is their concern with the synchronic analysis of morphological, especially grammatical, categories as developed through the concrete analysis of particular grammatico-morphological categories of Russian (with some comparative Slavic material), in terms of their form (or *signans*) aspect, their meaning (or *signatum*) aspect, and the interrelation between the two (*signans* and *signatum* in mutual light). While chapter 1 was written in 1931 and chapter 10 in 1981, by their content and by their underlying, fundamental assumptions, they show both the continuity and the maturation of Jakobson's thought over the 50-year period of his concern with the study of grammatical categories in the sense that those assumptions are never changed or discarded, but rather they are further elaborated upon, made more nuanced, and generally are integrated with each other. At the same time, these studies have influenced, and are influenced by, Jakobson's work in a variety of other domains. For example, his works on phonology and on distinctive features in particular show some obvious parallels with these morphological studies (see Jakobson 1971a); his discussion of the types of aphasia is deeply imbued with many of the notions touched upon here (see Jakobson 1971b); his interest in translation, in visual signs, in the mathematical aspects of language, in communication theory, in philological problems, among others, is intertwined with many of the questions dealt with in the present volume (Ibid.); and while his ever-abiding love for the analysis of poetry has accompanied, and even at times provided the stimulus for, his linguistic work, his work in the grammar of poetry (see Jakobson 1981) is an outgrowth of the grammatical studies given here.

2. A full discussion of the fundamental assumptions which underlie the works collected in the present volume as well as of the interrelationship between these studies and the rest of Jakobson's oeuvre is not possible or appropriate for an introductory note.¹ However, it might be useful to the reader to give some general background to the volume.

For Jakobson, language is a hierarchized system of systems of signs, the purpose of which is interpersonal (and, by virtue of that, intrapersonal) communication. A system in this view is necessarily relational in nature; thus, any sign (*signum*) is defined by and arises from not only the internal relation between *signans* and *signatum*, but also its relations to other signs. A sign is a combination of a *signans* (a perceptual aspect) and a *signatum* (a conceptual aspect). Any *signans* in language is part of a sign and is thus to be correlated with a *signatum*, whether this *signatum* is one of "mere otherness" or pure "sense-discrimination", as in the case of the distinctive features and phonemes (see Jakobson, Fant, & Halle 1952, Jakobson & Halle 1971, and Jakobson & Waugh 1979), or whether it is significative in its own right, as in the case of signs other than the purely sense-discriminative ones. Signs are evaluated in terms of their contribution to the communication of information between addresser and addressee. It is in this sense that case, gender, number, tense, aspect, etc. are meaningful and that such phenomena as government and agreement and other predictable (redundant) occurrences of signs are meaningful, for predictability does not rob a significative sign of its meaning.

The signs which are of most relevance in this volume are morphemes — the "smallest linguistic unit charged with its own meaning" (Jakobson 1971b: 104) — although some attention is paid to periphrastic categories. Moreover, those morphemes which are focused upon here are grammatical (or inflectional) in nature. For Jakobson, grammar is the realm of *ars obligatoria*; grammatical categories, whether morphological or syntactic, are those which are obligatory for the construction of a grammatical (meaningful) utterance in the given language; grammatical meanings are those which are necessarily conveyed by a speaker. Thus, in Russian, in the finite verb, the grammatical category of tense is necessarily conveyed, providing the speaker with a choice between the past and the non-past tenses. Lexical categories are optional in the sense that the speaker has a choice as to whether a given lexical meaning may be conveyed or not. The differences between languages reside, then, not in what can be conveyed, but in what must be conveyed — whether a given concept is grammaticalized or not (see "Boas' View of Grammatical Meaning" in Jakobson 1971b:489-96). The grammatical categories of Russian include, for example, tense, aspect, and mood in the verb, and case, gender, and number in the noun. These are for the most part morphological in nature, although some are periphrastic (e.g., the "future/imperfective" tense/aspect in Russian) and thus are partially interrelated with the lexical and syntactic systems. It is with respect to these grammatical categories that we see the particular importance of the Slavic languages: their well-defined grammatical morphology makes them an ideal testing ground for Jakobson's methodology.

Just as with his studies of phonology, Jakobson's grammatico-morphological studies stress the relative autonomy and immanent structure of morphology in terms of both its formal make-up and its semantic import; they emphasize as well the ties of morphology with phonology on the one hand and word-structure, syntax, discourse on the other hand. Focus is placed on the systemic and systematic nature of morphological structure; in this sense, morphological categories are relational in nature and thus are analyzed in terms of their mutual interdependence. Moreover, since morphemes are signs, emphasis may be placed on either the *signans* or the *signatum* or both in their interrelation. The study of the *signans* aspect of morphemes focuses on the interlacing of phonology and morphology in the light of *signata* associated with the particular morphemes under consideration; this type of analysis is called here 'morphology' or 'morphophonemics' or (since most of the morphemes discussed here are grammatical in nature) 'grammatical processes'. The study of the *signatum* aspect of given morphemes enters into the realm of semantic analysis, into the analysis of 'meaning' (in particular, 'general meaning') or of 'grammatical concepts'. Moreover, meaning is consistently analyzed with regard to its formal carrier(s), and likewise form is related to its meaning-bearing function.

The make-up of the *signans* of these morphological signs is closely correlated with the phonological system,² which is characterized by a set of distinctive features — sense-discriminative signs which display 'mere otherness' as their *signatum*: they are purely differential marks. Characteristically, these distinctive features are combined or bundled into complete phonemes and incomplete (or neutralized) phonemes and it is the distinctive features and their combinations which underlie the morphological pattern(s) of a given language.³ Distinctive features are perceptuo-acoustic in nature, and are characterized by the opposition between two poles, one of which is marked (more focused and carries more information) and the other unmarked (less focused). They are also relationally invariant, invariant in the sense that a given pole of a feature displays, despite the various contextual variations there might be, a constant perceptuo-acoustic quality; and relational in the sense that the constant quality is defined only in relation to its opposite and not in absolute terms. Distinctive features (the sense-discriminative signs) are to be differentiated from other types of features. These include: redundant features, which serve to reinforce and enhance the distinctive features; configurative features, which serve to integrate and/or delimit grammatical units such as morphemes, words, phrases; emotive-stylistic features, which inform about the speaker's attitude or indicate the special status of the word in

which they are found; and physiognomic features, which identify the speaker in various ways.⁴ While the redundant, configurative, emotive-stylistic, and physiognomic features are important in terms of the information they convey, it is the distinctive features which are the most important in terms of building the *signantia* of the various grammatico-morphological categories analyzed here.

Signantia do not exist in isolation, rather they are related to particular *signata*. To elaborate further the relation between form and meaning (cf., "The Phonemic and Grammatical Aspects of Language in their Interrelations", in Jakobson 1971b:103-114), there are according to Jakobson intrinsic and systemic ties between the grammatical forms and the systems of grammatical meanings. Thus, as a primary fact, there is no meaning without a form (meanings are not abstract categories), and no form without a meaning (form is the means by which meaning is carried and can be conveyed from speaker to addressee). Since the structure of language is relational in nature, zero (the absence of any specific phonic material) may itself be a form if it is tied to a *signatum* and if it is in relation to a non-zero. Hence, the singular of the noun in English (e.g., *cat*) is generally signalled by a zero *signans*; it, however, is tied to a *signatum* ('singular number') and is in relation to a non-zero *signans* (e.g., *cats*, or more particularly *-s*, 'plural number'). Moreover, differences in form exist to carry semantic differences; thus, in principle, a difference in form signals a difference in meaning and total synonymy is impossible. In some cases, two signs may have the same *signans* (homonymy). In such instances, form may not be a signal of a difference in meaning. However, homonymy (e.g., case syncretisms) may in fact be a signal of the absence of certain expected meaning differences and thus should be seen as a cue to semantic correlations and coalescences. Furthermore, the relationship between *signans* and *signatum* is not necessarily arbitrary and there may in fact be an iconic rendering of the meaning within the form (icon as defined in the work of C. S. Peirce in particular). Thus, the plural (of the noun or verb) "tends to echo the meaning of a numeral increment by an increased length of the form", (see "Quest for the Essence of Language", in Jakobson 1971b:345-359 and especially p. 352.) One may say that in general form is a cue to semantic differences and even to semantic structure and is thus a serious consideration in doing semantic analysis.

In the articles given here, there is a discussion of both the semantic and the formal aspects of language in the light of each other, since they are so intrinsically connected for Jakobson. The only exception to this is chapter 2, "Russian Conjugation", which elaborates in some detail a rigorous system of

synchronic rules for the purely formal analysis of the conjugational pattern of standard Russian. This exclusive focus on the formal aspect makes chap. 2 somewhat different in spirit from the rest of the studies in this volume (cf., Matejka 1975); however, we find elaborated here for the first time on Slavic materials and used in rigorous fashion the concepts of underlying form, of truncated vs. full stem, of rules for describing the various alternants of given verbs, etc. Moreover, this article has had an enormous impact on the development of generative phonology (see e.g., Halle 1959 and Chomsky & Halle 1968).

While the analysis of the *signans* aspect of a morpheme is based on certain properties of the phonological system, the analysis of the *signatum* aspect of a morpheme rests on certain principles of semantic analysis relevant for any type of meaning. Thus, meaning is for Jakobson linguistico-conceptual and not concerned with extra-linguistic objects. Being linguistic, meaning is relational and systemic in nature and hence the meaning of any one category is analyzed with respect to the meanings of all those other categories to which it is closely related. The most important relation for grammatical categories, and one which seems to be present necessarily in grammatical meaning, is that of opposition. Opposition is a binary relation of mutual implication between two poles, wherein one of the opposites is marked (more restricted in meaning), and the other is unmarked (less restricted in meaning). The particular semantic (grammatical) concept associated with the opposition, and especially with the marked term, may be called a semantic feature (cf. distinctive features in phonological analysis). The total semantic concept of a given grammatical category may be associated with one or more such oppositions: e.g., the dative in Russian is associated with the marked poles of the semantic features of directionality and of marginality. The meaning of the dative, then, is a bundle of these two marks. Furthermore, the meaning of any category is to be seen as an antinomy between a general meaning and contextual meanings. The general meaning, which may also be termed the relational invariant, is the common denominator of signification as the sign is given an interpretation in various contexts and is thus more abstract and more general than any particular contextualization, while the contextual meanings are the more specific variants which occur in given contexts. The contextual variants themselves are hierarchized into a basic meaning – that which is least context-specific and most dependent upon the nature of the opposition itself – and various other particular meanings, some of which may occur frequently, others of which are more marginal. Both the general meanings and the contextual meanings of all sorts belong to the code, or

langue in Saussurean terminology; furthermore, the general meaning is more paradigmatic in nature being based for example on oppositional structure, while the particular contextual meanings belong in all their complexity more to the syntagmatic axis, being dependent upon their relation to other facets of the (syntagmatic) context.

3. This volume should be of interest to a variety of scholars from a variety of different disciplines — linguistics, Slavistics, semiotics, poetics, literary studies — who are interested in questions of grammatical analysis. Thus, for example, there are rigorous and far-reaching conclusions for those interested in questions of semantic analysis and in particular the properties of semantic systems especially with regard to grammatical (inflectional) morphology whether one's focus is on the analysis of Russian grammatical categories in particular or of grammatical categories in any language. Indeed, there are contained here some of the first attempts to define the semantic properties of grammatical systems. In addition, the interrelationship between phonology and morphology and especially the question of how the phonological system is used to build morphological relations is given here its first systematic and detailed treatment (for Russian, in particular), leading to a general discussion of such important issues as, for example, the place of zero in morphological analysis, or the iconic and non-arbitrary aspects of language.

While much of the discussion centers on Russian, it provides a model that goes well beyond the Slavic material. Jakobson's writings are always concerned with questions of typology and universals, and indeed as Mel'čuk has pointed out (1977), the schema provided in chapter 5 and in particular the characterization of shifters as duplex structures and the interrelation of the speech event and the narrated event⁵ should be of relevance for the analysis of any verbal system.

The studies given here are important not only for linguistic (and Slavic linguistic) studies, but also for semiotic and especially poetic analysis, for here we find the analytical basis for the poetry of grammar — here are the concrete studies upon which Jakobson based the particularities of his poetic analyses.⁶ And in fact, the discussion of the speech event both in chapter 5 and in the seemingly unrelated article on linguistics and poetics (see "Linguistics and Poetics", in Jakobson 1981:18-51) is a particularly telling example of the integration of Jakobson's work and of the inseparability for him of studies of language and poetry.

Jakobson has produced here models of analysis which go far beyond the particular Russian (and Slavic) material under investigation. Indeed, he has provided answers — in characteristic fashion, far in advance of the time — for

crucial questions of linguistic theory which are currently on the agenda for linguistic debate. The English translation of these classic studies makes evident to a wider audience than heretofore the profound originality and leadership of Jakobson's thoughts in this area and the universal importance of his work.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Holenstein 1976, Waugh 1976, and other works listed in the references at the end of this introduction for more detailed discussions; see also Matejka 1975 for a further discussion of Jakobson's grammatical studies.
2. For a discussion of phonology, see Jakobson, Fant, & Halle 1952, Jakobson & Halle 1971, Jakobson & Waugh 1979.
3. For an analysis of the distinctive features of Russian, see Jakobson, Cherry, and Halle, "Toward the Logical Description of Languages in their Phonemic Aspect", in Jakobson 1971a:449-463.
4. See Jakobson, Fant, & Halle 1952, Jakobson & Halle 1971, Jakobson & Waugh 1979 including the Appendix.
5. See "Linguistics and Poetics" in Jakobson 1981:18-51 for more discussion of the speech event and the 6 functions of language based on it.
6. Elsewhere, Jakobson (1981) has outlined his theory of the grammar of poetry and poetry of grammar and has exemplified the grammar of poetry with the analysis of a variety of different poems in a variety of different languages.

REFERENCES

- Armstrong, Daniel & C. H. van Schooneveld - 1977 - Roman Jakobson: Echoes of His Scholarship - Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press.
- Chomsky, Noam & Morris Halle - 1968 - The Sound Pattern of English - N.Y.: Harper & Row.
- Halle, Morris - 1959 - The Sound Pattern of Russian: a Linguistic and Acoustical Investigation - The Hague: Mouton.
- Holenstein, Elmar - 1976 - Roman Jakobson's Approach to Language - Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman - 1971a - Selected Writings I: Phonological Studies - The Hague: Mouton.
- - 1971b - Selected Writings II: Word and Language - The Hague: Mouton.
- - 1981 - Selected Writings III: Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry (ed. by Stephen Rudy) - The Hague: Mouton.
- - 1984 - Selected Writings VII: Contributions to Comparative Mythology. Recent

- Studies in Linguistics and Philology. Retrospections. Bibliography (ed. by Stephen Rudy) - Berlin-N.Y.: Mouton.
- Jakobson, Roman, Gunnar Fant, & Morris Halle - 1952 - Preliminaries to Speech Analysis - Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jakobson, Roman & Morris Halle - 1971 - Fundamentals of Language - The Hague: Mouton (second edition; first edition: 1956).
- Jakobson, Roman & Linda R. Waugh - 1979 - The Sound Shape of Language - Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- Matejka, Ladislav - 1975 - "Crossroads of Sound and Meaning", International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics 20:93-120.
- Mel'čuk, Igor - 1977 - "Three Main Features, Seven Basic Principles, and Eleven Most Important Results of Roman Jakobson's Grammatical Research" (Russian original in Armstrong & van Schooneveld 1977; English translation in Roman Jakobson - Verbal Sign, Verbal Art, Verbal Time - Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press).
- van Schooneveld, C. H. - 1977 - "By Way of Introduction: Roman Jakobson's Tenets and their Potential", in Armstrong & van Schooneveld 1977:1-12.
- Waugh, Linda R. - 1976 - Roman Jakobson's Science of Language - Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press.

Chapter One

STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN VERB*

I

One of the essential properties of phonological correlations is the fact that the two members of a correlational pair are not equivalent: one member possesses the mark in question, the other does not; the first is designated as marked, the other as unmarked (see N. Trubetzkoy in TCLP IV, 97). **Morphological correlations** may be characterized on the basis of the same definition. The question of the meaning of particular morphological categories in a given language frequently evokes constant differences of opinion and doubts on the part of linguists. How can one account for the multiplicity of these vacillations? When a linguist investigates two morphological categories in mutual opposition, he often starts from the assumption that both categories should be of equal value, and that each of them should possess a positive meaning of its own: Category I should signify A, while Category II should signify B; or at least I should signify A, and II the absence or negation of A. In reality, the **general meanings** of correlative categories are distributed in a different way: if Category I announces the existence of A, then Category II does not announce the existence of A, i.e. it does not state whether A is present or not. The general meaning of the unmarked Category II, as compared to the marked Category I, is restricted to the lack of "A-signalization".

When Category II in a particular context does in fact announce the absence of A, this merely reflects one of the applications of the given category: here the meaning is conditioned by the situation, and even if it is the most current function of this category, linguists should not equate the statistically preponderant meaning of the category with its general meaning. Such an identification leads to misuse of the concept of **transposition**. The transposition of a category takes place only where transference of the meaning is perceived (here I consider transposition solely from the standpoint of synchronic linguistics). The Russian word *oslíca* 'she-ass' indicates the female sex of the

animal, whereas the general meaning of the word *osěl* 'donkey' contains no indication of the sex of the animal in question. If I say *osěl*, I make no decision as to whether I have to do with a male or a female, but if I am asked *èto oslíca?* 'is it a she-ass?' and I answer *nét, osěl* 'no, a donkey', then in this case the masculine gender is indicated – the word is used in a restricted sense. But should one not rather interpret the genderless meaning of the word *osěl* as an extension? No, for in this case there is no perception of a figurative meaning, in the same way that the phrases *továřišĉ Nína* 'comrade Nina' or *èta dévuška – egó stáryj drúg* 'this girl is his old friend' are not metaphors. However, a transference of meaning is present, for example, in the polite plural form, or in the ironic use of the first person plural in the sense of a second person singular; likewise, the word *dúra* 'foolish woman', when referring to a man, is perceived as a metaphor that heightens the affective coloring.

Russian linguists of the middle of the previous century correctly assessed the essential distinction between the general and the occasional meaning of a category. K. Aksakov makes a strict distinction between the concept expressed through the grammatical form, on the one hand, and the derived concept as a matter of usage on the other (*Sočinenija filologičeskie* I, 1875, 414 ff.). Likewise, N. Nekrasov teaches that "within the framework of usage, the basic meanings break down into a number of separate meanings, which depend on the meaning and tone of the entire speech situation". He distinguishes, accordingly, between the general grammatical meaning of a form and those episodic partial meanings which it may acquire in context. He defines the connection between the form and the meaning as real in the first case and as possible in the second case. Since grammars interpret as a real connection that which has, in the language, only the value of a possible connection, they end up constructing rules with an enormous number of exceptions (*O značēnii russkogo glagola*, 1865, esp. 94 ff., 115 ff. and 307 ff.).¹ From further quotations to be adduced, the following emerges: already Aksakov, Nekrasov, and still earlier A. Vostokov (*Russkaja grammatika*, 1831), in their investigations of the basic meaning of particular Russian morphological categories, repeatedly established that, whereas one category announces a certain mark, this mark remains unannounced in the other category. This observation also recurs again and again in the later Russian linguistic literature – especially in F. Fortunatov ("O russkix zalogax", in *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. AN*, 1899), A. Šaxmatov (*Sintaksis russkogo jazyka*, vol. II, 1927), A. Peškovskij (*Russkij sintaksis*, first ed. 1914, and third ed., completely reworked, 1928), S. Karcevskij (*Système du verbe russe*, 1927). Thus Šaxmatov treats various

oppositions between verbal categories as a complication ("obosloženie") by certain accompanying concepts (§ 523); Peškovskij speaks of "zero categories" in which, as a result of comparison with the opposed categories, "the lack of meaning constitutes a meaning of its own" – "our language is full of such zero categories" (III, 31). This "zero category" corresponds essentially to our unmarked category. Zero values or negative values are also utilized in this connection by Karcevskij, who moreover already makes the striking statement that oppositions between grammatical categories are binary (18, 22 ff.).

Although morphological correlations and their range in language had thus been recognized, nevertheless they remained for the most part an episodic secondary concept in actual grammatical descriptions. Now the next step must be taken; the concept of morphological correlations must, in accordance with Trubetzkoy's conception of phonological correlations, become the foundation for the analysis of the grammatical system. If we now consider, from the point of view of this concept, the system of the Russian verb, as an example, it may be traced back in its entirety to a system consisting of a few correlations. The establishment of these correlations is the subject of the following remarks. We shall operate mostly with traditional grammatical terms, although we are aware of their inexactness.

II

The **classes of the verb** are formed by means of two "aspect correlations" and two "voice correlations".

The general **aspect correlation** is "perfective" (marked) ~ "imperfective" (unmarked). The unmarked character of the imperfective is apparently generally recognized. According to Šaxmatov, "the imperfective aspect signifies a habitual, unqualified action" (§ 540). Already Vostokov writes: "The perfective aspect shows the action with a specification that it has begun or is over", whereas the imperfective aspect "shows the action without specification of its beginning or its completion" (§ 59). A more exact definition would be that the perfective, as opposed to the imperfective, indicates the absolute limit of the action. We emphasize "absolute", since verbs that denote repeated inceptions or completions of iterative actions remain imperfective (*zaxáživai* 'he used to drop in').² The definition of those linguists who restrict the function of the perfective to signifying the non-extension of an action seems much too narrow – compare such perfectives as *ponastróit'* 'to do some building (here and there)', *povyttálkivat'* 'to do some pushing out

(of people)', *nagulját'sja* 'to have one's fill of walking', where the completion of the action is indicated, but no mention as to its "punctual" or short-lasting character occurs.

Within the imperfective there is an additional aspectual correlation, namely "iterative", which denotes the multiple nature of the action (marked) ~ forms without such denotation. While the general aspect correlation comprises all conjugational forms, this second correlation belongs only to the preterite.

III

The general **voice correlation**: forms denoting the intransitivity of an action (marked) ~ forms without such denotation, i.e. "actives" in the broad sense of the word. The interpretation of the active as the unmarked category is in fact given already by Fortunatov (1153 ff.).

The marked category of the correlation just mentioned has a further correlation at its disposal: "passive" (marked) ~ "reflexive". The passive denotes that the action is not brought about by the subject, but rather that it affects the subject from outside. In the phrase *děvuški, prodáváemye na nevól'nič'em rýnke* 'the girls being sold on the slave market', the participle signals "passivity"; but if we replace it with the form *prodajúščiesja* ('which are) being sold/ (which are) selling themselves', the passivity is given only by the context, while the form as such merely denotes non-transitivity. Compare, for example, the phrase *děvuški, prodajúščiesja za kusók xléba* 'girls selling themselves for a piece of bread' — here the passive meaning is completely lacking, since the context does not suggest it. The general correlation of voice embraces all conjugational forms, whereas the further correlation affects only participles. Some doubts have arisen in the linguistic literature as to where the category of so-called "communia" or "reflexiva tantum" (*boját'sja* 'to be afraid', etc.) should be incorporated in the system. From the point of view of the general correlation of voice, they are unpaired marked forms.

IV

The **conjugational system**. I leave aside the "compounded" forms; they stand outside the morphological verb system.

The "infinitive" was characterized by Karcevskij as a zero-form of the

verb, as to its "syntactic" value, since it concerns "the expression of a process outside of any syntagmatic relation" (18, 158). The remaining verbal forms indicate the presence of syntagmatic relations, and thereby function as the marked member of the correlation, in opposition to the infinitive.

Once again, this marked category splits into two correlative series: "participles" (marked) ~ "finite" forms. Šaxmatov describes the participles as a category which, as compared to finite forms, is "complicated" by a conception of attributes (§ 536). Thus, the signalization of "adjectivity" functions here as the marked feature of the correlation. But on the other hand, participles form a marked category signalizing "verbality", in relation to adjectives.

V

The **finite forms** have at their disposal a "modality correlation". The indicative has already been defined several times as the negative or zero mood: "it is simply an action — one which has not been complicated by any specific modal shading, just as the nominative simply denotes an object without any shading of causality" (Peškovskij, I, 126; cf. Karcevskij, 141). Opposed to the unmarked indicative is a mood which indicates the arbitrary impact of the action ("modalité d'acte arbitraire", see Karcevskij, 139 ff.); the marking of the correlation consists in precisely this indication. The action expressed by this mood may be arbitrarily ascribed to the subject (*prídí ón, vsě by uládilos'* 'if he had come, everything would have gotten settled'), it may be arbitrarily imposed on the subject (*vsě govorját, a mý molčí* 'they all talk, but we have to keep quiet'), or, finally, it may represent an arbitrary, sudden, unmotivated action on the part of the subject ("*nečájanno zagljani k nemú smért' i podkosí emú nógi*" 'death happened to drop in on him unexpectedly, and cut him down by the legs (as if with a scythe)'). In phrases of the last type, Nekrasov sees an expression of the "independent spontaneity of the action" ("samoličnost' dejstvija"), which completely accords with the masterly general characterization of the category in question given by this scholar: "In this category as such there is no real connection between the action and the acting person . . . In this case the speaker, so to speak, rules over the action" (105 ff.).

VI

The **indicative** possesses a "tense correlation": "preterite" (marked) ~ "present". The preterite indicates that the action belongs to the past, while the present of itself is indeterminate as to time, and forms a typically unmarked category. The interpretation of the Russian preterite proposed by Aksakov (412 ff.) and further developed by Nekrasov (306 ff.) is worth noting: this form expresses, in fact, no particular time, but solely a break in the direct connection between the subject and the action – the action, properly speaking, loses its character of action and becomes simply the distinguishing property of the subject.

The present tense is provided with two "correlations of person":

1. Personal forms (marked) ~ impersonal forms. The so-called "third person" form functions as a grammatical impersonal form, which as such does not indicate the relationship of the action to a subject; this form becomes semantically personal only in such a case where the subject is given, or at least implied. From the point of view of the correlation mentioned here, the so-called impersonal forms are unpaired unmarked forms.

2. The personal forms have at their disposal the following correlation: "first person" form (marked) ~ a form which does not indicate the relationship of the action to the speaker. It is the so-called "second person" form that functions as the unmarked category. The **general meaning** of the Russian second person form was aptly characterized by Peškovskij as "generalized-personal" (III, 429 ff.). The context determines which person this form refers to at any given time – whether to anyone at all (*umrěš'*, *poxorónjat* 'you will die, (and) they will bury (you)'), to the speaker (*výp'eš' byválo* 'you'd have a drink now and then'), or to the actual person addressed. To be sure, this form is used predominantly in the last-mentioned sense. But this, nevertheless, is merely one of its partial meanings; in determining the general meaning of a form, the statistical criterion is not applicable – the general meaning and the usual meaning are not synonymous. Moreover, in Russian, the second person form in its generalizing role is expanding "more and more at the expense of the usual personal sentences". As for the generalizing usage of the first person form, here too one may perceive the figurative nature of the expression (*pars pro toto*).

Both the present and preterite tenses possess a "number correlation": "plural" (marked) ~ "singular". The general meaning of this unmarked

category is restricted to the fact that plurality is not indicated. This was already recognized by Aksakov: "The singular is more general, more indeterminate; it contains, so to speak, more of a generic character; it can therefore be transposed more easily into other relationships, whereas the plural is of a more specific nature" (569). But in opposition to all of the other verbal correlations we have mentioned, the number correlation of the indicative, as well as of the participle, is externally specified: it is not an independent correlation, but a correlation of agreement, since it reproduces the grammatical number of the subject.

Both of the "gender correlations" which characterize the preterite singular forms belong as well to this correlation of agreement.

1. "Neuter . . . signifies . . . something negative, neither male nor female" (Peškovskij, I, 126), i.e. it signals the lack of any connection with sex; neuter nouns form in this way a marked category opposed to the non-neuters, which can signify sex and thus do not indicate any "asexuality".

2. The non-neuters split into two correlative series. The feminine nouns form a marked category, whereas the masculine gender merely says that signalization of the feminine gender is not present (cf. the examples like *osěl*, *oslíca*, etc., provided above).

VII

In contrast to the indicative, the "**mood of arbitrary action**" does not possess any correlations: it has neither independent tense or person correlations, nor the agreement correlations of number and gender.³ But this mood is "two-sided": on the one hand, it belongs, together with all other verbal categories, to representational speech; on the other hand, as "imperative" proper, it serves the "Auslösungsfunktion" (the function of appeals and exhortations), according to the terminology of K. Bühler.

Linguistic science has come to realize that the vocative is on a plane different from that of the other cases, and that address in the vocative stands outside the grammatical sentence. The genuine **imperative** must likewise be kept apart from the other verbal categories, since it is characterized by the same function as the vocative.⁴ The imperative ought not to be treated syntactically as a predicative form: imperative sentences, like any address, are complete as well as indivisible "vocative one-part sentences"; even their

intonation is similar. The personal pronoun used in conjunction with the imperative (*tý idí* 'you go') is address rather than subject, in terms of its function. The imperative stands out clearly within the Russian verbal system, not only syntactically, but also morphologically, and even phonologically.

The tendency in language to reduce the vocative to the pure stem is well-known (cf. Obnorskij in *ZfslPh*, I, 102 ff.). The same observation may be made about the Russian imperative. From a synchronic stand-point, the unmarked imperative represents the present tense stem without any grammatical ending. The structure of this form is determined by the following principles:

1. If the present stem has an alternation between two correlative phonemes (stressed and unstressed vowel, palatalized and non-palatalized consonant), the marked member of the alternation appears in the imperative: the unstressed vowel (*xlopočí* 'be busy'), the palatalized consonant (*idí* 'go').

2. If there is a consonantal alternation at the end of the present stem, the consonant found in the second person of the present tense appears in the imperative (*sudí* 'judge', *prostí* 'forgive', *ljubí* 'love'); the only exception is the alternation between velars and sibilants: in this case the imperative invariably has a velar (*lgí* 'tell lies', *pekí* 'bake', *ljág* 'lie down').

3. If the present stem ends in *j* and is non-syllabic, an *e* alternating with zero is inserted before the *j* (*šéj* 'sew').

4. If the present stem ends in a consonant cluster or if an unprefix stem consists of only unstressed syllables, the imperative form receives an epenthetic vowel *i* (*sóxni* 'become dry', *ézdí* 'ride', *kolotí* 'strike', *výgorodí* 'exculpate');⁵ the only exception: unstressed present stems in *j* from verbs belonging to the unproductive classes (see Karcevskij, 48 ff.) receive stress in the imperative and appear without epenthetic vowel (*stój* 'halt', *pój* 'sing', *žúj* 'chew', *sozdáj* 'create').

The imperative is characterized by the following correlations:

1. The "participation correlation": forms indicating the speaker's intention to participate in the action (marked) ~ forms without such indication. In the role of the marked category, a reinterpreted first person plural present tense form is employed (*dvínem* ~ *dvín* 'let's move' ~ 'move').

2. The "number correlation": forms indicating that the will of the speaker

is directed toward more than one individual (marked) ~ forms without such indication (*dvín'te* 'move [pl.]' ~ *dvín* 'move [sg.]', *dvínemte* 'let's move [pl. addressee]' ~ *dvínem*, 'Let's move [sg. addressee]'). The question has often been raised as to precisely why the mood of arbitrary action does not make use of the same plural form in representational speech as it does in the appeal function. This problem may be solved in a simple way: since no subject can be attributed to the imperative, the number correlation within the imperative is therefore an independent correlation; and a marked member of an independent correlation cannot be transferred into an agreement correlation.

3. The "familiarity correlation": forms that signal a certain intimate or familiar coloring of the will-expression (marked) ~ forms without this signalization (*dvín'ka*, *dvín'teka*, *dvínemteka* ~ *dvín*. etc.).

The difference between the appeal function and the representational function is expressed, within the system of the Russian verb, not only through the list of correlations, but also directly through the manner of its formation.⁶ The forms of the imperative are distinguished from the remaining verbal forms by the agglutination of the endings: in the imperative, every ending expresses only one mark each; for every added mark, another ending is added. Zero ending = the unmarked imperative form, */ím* ~ *im/* or */om/* = the marking of the participation correlation, */t'i/* = the marking of the number correlation, */s/* = the marking of the voice correlation, */ka/* = the marking of the familiarity correlation. Example: */dvín'im-t'i-s-ka/*.⁷ It is precisely this agglutinative character of morpheme combination in the imperative which accounts for the relative facility with which imperative endings are added to interjections or transposed indicative forms: *ná-te* 'take it (all of you)', *ná-ka* 'come on, take it', *nú-te-ka* 'come on, now (all of you)', *brýs'-te* 'get out of here', *pojdu-ka* 'why don't I go', the popular form *pošól-te* 'get out of here', etc. The interjections *ná*, *nú*, *brýs'*, and the like, merge with the unmarked imperative forms.

The agglutination is also expressed phonologically: here, each morpheme retains its individuality; the endings of the imperative, phonologically speaking, are treated not as parts of words, but as enclitics. At the morpheme boundary of the imperative, the group *t' + s* remains unchanged, whereas in other verbal forms *t/t' + s* becomes *c*, with a long closure: cf. imperative */zabút'sa/* 'forget yourself' – infinitive */abútca/* 'to put on (one's) shoes', 3rd person pl. pres. */skr'ibútca/* 'they scrub'; imperative */v'ít'sa/* 'meet with'

– infinitive /v'ítca/ 'to wind'; imperative /p'át'sa/ 'back up' – 3rd person pl. pres. /talp'átca/ 'they are thronging together'. In general, palatalized dentals appear in the imperative before non-palatalized *s*, which otherwise does not occur in word internal position: /adén'sa, žár'sa, krás'sa/ 'get dressed', 'get roasted', 'put on makeup'. Palatalized labials occur before dentals and velars, in the imperative, whereas otherwise in word internal position, labials admit of no palatalization before dentals and velars: /paznakóm'ka, síp'ka, stáf'ka, upr'am'sa, pr'ispasóp'sa, sláf'sa, gráp't'i (or grápt'i), gatóft'i (or gatóft'i)/ 'come on, introduce (s.o. to s.o else)', 'come on, pour', 'come on, set it up', 'be stubborn', 'get adjusted to', 'be glorious', 'loot', 'prepare'. In the imperative a combination of two *k*'s is retained, whereas it becomes *xk* elsewhere word internally: cf. imperative /l'ákka/ 'come on, lie down' – adjective /m'áxka/ 'soft (short form, n.)'.

Russian grammar has interpreted the imperative metaphorically, so to speak: on the basis of the extreme similarity in details, the elements and functions of the imperative have been identified with those of other forms. Thus the epenthetic vowel of the imperative, on the one hand, and its enclitic-like endings, on the other, have been mechanically ascribed to the category of affixes, etc. It was only natural, therefore, that the proper character of the imperative could not be grasped.

VIII

The **participles** are characterized by the following correlation: forms indicating predicativity (marked) ~ forms without such indication, i.e. the "attributive" participles. To the passive attributive participles are opposed the "predicative" participles, as marked forms, and to the active attributive participles the "gerunds". Compare *júnoša, tomímyj somnéniem, skitáetsja* 'the young man, (who is being) tormented with doubt, is wandering around' (*tomímyj* = present passive participle with an attributive function) – *júnoša, tomím somnéniem, skitáetsja* '(being) tormented with doubt, the young man wanders around' (*tomím* = present passive participle with a predicative function); *júnoša, tomjáščijsja somnéniem, skitáetsja* 'the young man, who is tormented with doubt, wanders around' (*tomjáščijsja* = present active reflexive participle with an attributive function) – *júnoša, tomjás' somnéniem, skitáetsja* 'the young man wanders around tormented with doubt' (*tomjás'* = present reflexive gerund). In opposition to the passive predicative participle, the gerund is almost unknown in the role of main predicate in the standard literary language.

All the attributive and the passive predicative participles have at their disposal the same agreement correlations as the preterite indicative (namely the number and gender correlations). The gerunds lack the agreement correlation. The attributive participles, in addition, possess distinctions of case (we leave aside, at this time, the question of the structure of these distinctions).

The perfective participles have no tense correlation, while the imperfective participles do; although the passive participles have all but lost the tense distinctions, the imperfective gerunds make use of the preterite very sparingly, and even in the active attributive participles a partial effacement of the boundary between the two tense categories may be observed (cf. N. Kaganovič in *Naukovi Zapysky Xarkivs'koji naukovo-doslidčoji katedry movoznavstva*, 1929, no. 2).

IX

In examining the so-called exchange of grammatical categories, we observe that one normally has to do here with an **application of the unmarked category at the expense of the corresponding marked category** (for instance, the replacement of finite forms by the infinitive, the preterite by the present tense, the first person by the second, passive participles by the reflexives, plural imperative by the singular), whereas substitutions in the opposite direction clearly occur only as rare exceptions, and are interpreted as figurative speech. The unmarked form functions, in our linguistic consciousness, as the representative of a correlational pair; the following forms, then, are perceived as primary, to a certain extent: the imperfectives versus the perfectives, the non-reflexives versus the reflexives, singular versus plural, present tense versus preterite, attributive participles versus predicative, etc. It is no coincidence that we assess the infinitive as the representative of the verb, its "dictionary form".

Research on aphasia shows that marked categories are lost before unmarked ones (e.g. finite forms before the infinitive, the preterite before the present tense, the first two persons before the third, etc.). I have personally observed half-joking, half-affective family argots which have eliminated conjugation: in such cases the personal forms were replaced by impersonal ones (*já ljúbit* 'I loves', *tý ljúbit* 'you loves', etc.). The same phenomenon is known from child language. Moreover, the humoristic rendering of a foreigner's Russian characteristically employs the third person rather than the first two (in Turgenjev's comedy the German says *fí ljúbit* = *vý ljúbite* 'you love', etc.). The

present tense of the verb *byt'* 'to be' has lost its conjugation in Russian: the 3rd person singular form *ést'* represents the forms of all persons in both numbers (*tý ést'* 'you are'; *takový mý i ést'* 'such are we').

X

We completely agree with Karcevskij's thesis that the asymmetrical structure of the linguistic sign is an essential prerequisite for language change (TCLP I, 88 ff.). In the present sketch we should like to point out two of the manifold antinomies which form the basis of language structure.

The asymmetry of a correlative grammatical form can be characterized as the **antinomy between the signalization of A and the non-signalization of A. Two signs may refer to the same objective reality**, but the meaning of one of the signs singles out a certain mark (A) of this given reality, whereas the meaning of the other sign makes no mention of this mark. Example: a she-ass may be characterized by the word *oslíca* as well as by the word *osěl*. The same object is denoted, except that in the second case the meaning is less complete and less specified.

From the asymmetry of correlative forms follows a further antinomy – that between the general and the partial meaning of an unmarked form, or in other words, **the antinomy between the non-signalization of A and the signalization of non-A. One and the same sign may possess two different meanings**: in the first case a certain mark (A) of the objective reality referred to remains undetermined – that is, its presence is neither affirmed nor denied; in the second case the absence of this mark becomes prominent. Example: the word *osěl* may mean either 'donkey' without reference to sex, or 'male donkey' in particular.

These contradictions furnish the motivating force for grammatical mutations.

"Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums." Written in Prague, 1931, for *Charisteria Gvilelmo Mathesio quinqvagenario a discipulis et Circuli Lingvistici Pragensis sodalibus oblata* (Prague, 1932).

FOOTNOTES

*In the following contribution I sketch merely a provisional outline of one of the chapters of a structural grammar. The essential core of this contribution consists of an analysis of the imperative – a category which can only be understood with reference to the multiplicity of the functions of language.

1. Both of these linguists – first-rate investigators of the Russian synchronic linguistic system – were naturally underestimated by scholars with a one-sided historical orientation. E. Karskij, for example, in his *Očerok naučnoj razrabotki russkogo jazyka* (1926), says nothing about Nekrasov, and bestows on Aksakov's writings only a few empty criticisms. [Already in his introductory Petersburg lecture in the fall of 1900, Baudouin de Courtenay warned: "The fact that 'public opinion' of a given science in a certain country sometimes takes offense at the behavior of people who dare to depart from commonplace opinions and take a look at the subject without prejudices or preconceived notions, is shown by an example from the history of the study of Russian grammar. Thirty-five years ago, N. P. Nekrasov, in his work *O značienii form russkogo glagola* (St. Petersburg, 1865), made an attempt to take an independent approach toward the Russian verb; but he was shouted down and viciously attacked. How dare he, being merely a Russian, take a look at the facts of the Russian language with his own eyes and see what is actually there, instead of what has been imposed upon it according to the pattern of medieval Latin grammars. A sort of 'westernism' – brought about, of course, by the apprehension (on the part of certain scholars) that, to accept Nekrasov's teaching, they would have to joggle their brains a bit, whereas 'Denken ist schwer und gefährlich!' ["Thinking is difficult and dangerous"]. Better to lull oneself to sleep by repeating the thoughts of others – as long as one isn't bothered, as long as one isn't bothered!" (Baudouin de Courtenay, *Izbrannye trudy po obščemu jazykoznaniju*, I, 1963, 363)].

2. Such verbs also remain imperfective in which the absolute character of the limit of the action is facultative (i.e. it is not indicated grammatically, but given only by the situation). Cf. *vót ón vyxódit* 'there he is going out' and *ón částo vyxódit* 'he often goes out'.

3. G. Pavskij recognizes the incorrectness of the tendency to interpret such forms as *sdélaj* 'do' as 2nd person sg. Although this form "is used more often in the sense of a 2nd person sg., even without the addition of *tý* 'you (sg.)', this still does not entitle us to refer to it directly as 2nd person. It is used more frequently in the 2nd person sense because the 2nd person is required in the imperative more often than all of the other persons" (*Filologičeskie nabljudenija*, vol. III, second ed., 1850, §90). Similarly F. Buslaev (*Opyt istoričeskoj grammatiki*, vol. II, 1858, 154). In more recent grammars, the appreciation of this fact has often been lost.

4. Already Aksakov realized that "the imperative is an exclamation; it corresponds to the vocative" (568).

5. In Russian, *i* is the regular epenthetic vowel in the position after palatalized consonant. The infinitive ending usually contains the same epenthetic vowel if the stem ends in a consonant (*nestí* 'to carry'). Compare the appearance of the epenthetic *a* together with the reflexive morpheme *s* under the same conditions (phonologically transcribed: *idúl'is*

'they sulked' – *dúlsa* 'he sulked', *fp'ilás* 'she clutched' – *fp'ílsá* 'he clutched'/). I remind the reader that I use the term 'epenthetic vowel' from a synchronic standpoint.

6. The imperative has still another morphological characteristic: the functions of the aspects are here somewhat modified (see Karcevskij, 139).

7. Forms between slashes represent phonological transcriptions.

Chapter Two

RUSSIAN CONJUGATION

We have seen that when forms are partially similar, there may be a question as to which one we had better take as the underlying form, and that the structure of the language may decide this question for us, since, taking it one way, we get an unduly complicated description, and, taking it the other way, a relatively simple one.

(L. Bloomfield, *Language*, 13.9)

0.1. Our purpose is the strictly synchronic formal analysis of the conjugational pattern of present-day Standard Russian, with two limitations: 1) only simple verbs (with unprefixated one-root stems) are treated here; and 2) the systematic analysis is confined to the purely verbal categories (the finite forms and the infinitive), while the comprehensive description of the gerunds and the participles proper, as classes transitional to the adverbs and to the adjectives, is left for a future study. However, the same principles of classification would apply to all the verbs in all their forms.

0.2. In our transcription of Russian grammatical forms, the prefix is separated from the following morpheme by a plus (+), the stem from the desinence by a dash (–), and within a desinence, its constituent suffixes are divided from each other by a hyphen (-). The sign ~ denotes alternation.

Throughout this paper, all Russian verbs are shown phonemically in italic type, whereas bare verbal components are in morphophonemic transcription and roman type. The acute accent (´) on a bare affix indicates that it is regularly stressed, the grave accent (`) signifies that the affix never carries the stress, and the absence of accent mark means that the affix in question may be either stressed or unstressed. As to the acute accent and the absence of accent mark on bare stems, see 2.61-2.

FUNDAMENTAL NOTIONS

1.1. *Stem and desinence.* – Any Russian inflectional form comprehends a *stem* and a *desinence*. The desinence may be *zero* (cf. 2.122).

1.2. *Components of the desinence.* – A desinence may consist of one or more suffixes.

According to their relative position suffixes are either *non-terminal*, which must be followed by another suffix, including zero suffix (cf. 2.111, 2.121), or *free*, which may occur in final position.

Desinences containing a non-terminal suffix are called *complex* desinences, as opposed to simple desinences.

1.21. *Consonantal and vocalic desinences.* The desinences are classified, according to their initial phoneme, as either *consonantal* or *non-consonantal*. The latter class includes, in addition to desinences beginning with (or consisting of) a vowel, one element consisting of zero in alternation with a vowel (cf. 2.122). For simplicity, the conventional term *vocalic desinences* instead of 'non-consonantal' will be used. This dichotomy is the pivotal principle of the Russian conjugational pattern.

1.3. *Stem alternations.* A Russian verbal stem may present alternating variants within one and the same paradigm.

The following alternations take place:

- Omission of one or two final phonemes (cf. 2.21-3).
- Concomitant change of that which precedes the omitted phoneme (cf. 2.24).
- Mutation of the stem consonant before consonantal desinences (cf. 2.3).
- Modification (softening) of the stem consonant before vocalic desinences (cf. 2.4-2.42).
- Insertion of a vowel within the stem (cf. 2.5).
- Removal of the stress from the stem to the desinence and vice versa (cf. 2.61-2) accompanied by automatic alternations¹ of stressed and unstressed vowels.

1.31. *Full-stem and truncated stem.* If one of the alternants differs from the other by the omission of its final phoneme, the shorter form is called *truncated stem* and the longer is termed *full-stem*.

1.32. *Basic form of the full stem.* In presenting and analysing full-stems, we use *morphophonemic* transcription. If certain phonemic constituents of

the given full-stem as compared with cognate forms appear in different alternants, we take as basic² the alternant which appears in a position where the other alternant too would be admissible.

E.g. in the alternation of the two forms – 1 Sg. Pres. *smatr'* –ú ~ 2 Sg. *smótr'* – i-š - the variant *o* is to be assigned to the full-stem *smotr'e* – 'look at' as the basic alternant because it alone occurs under stress, the only position where both the phonemes *o* and *a* are phonemically³ permitted. In the alternations of Inf. *p'éč* ~ M. Sg. Preterit *p'ók* ~ F. Sg. Pret. *p'ik-lá* (or 1 Sg. Pres. *p'ik-ú*), the basic vowel is to be looked for again in the stressed position. Furthermore, *o* is not admitted between two soft consonants of a stem, whereas both *o* and *e* occur between a soft and a hard consonant (cf. *p'ók* and *s'ék*, M. Sg. Pret. from *s'ék* – 'chop'); hence *p'ók* – 'bake' is the full-stem. In the alternation of M. Sg. Pret. *žók* (or Inf. *žé-č*) ~ F. Sg. Pret. *žg-lá* (or 1 Sg. Pres. *žg-ú*), the zero-vowel is the basic alternant belonging to the full-stem *žg* – 'burn', because a stem may either contain or lack vowels only before syllabic desinences, such as –*l-a* or –*u*. As for the final consonant, it must be the voiced *g* which appears before vowels or before *l*, in which position the unvoiced *k* may also occur.

In the alternation 1 Sg. Pres. *p'ik-ú* ~ 2 Sg. *p'ič-ó-š*, the consonant *k* is the basic alternant, because before the suffix –*u* both *k* and *č* are morphophonemically⁴ admissible (cf. *p'ik-ú* and *rič-ú* from *ričá* – 'roar'), whereas *k* does not occur before the suffix –*ó*.

In the alternation M. Pret. *p'ók* ~ F. *p'ik-lá* (or *v'ó-l* ~ *v'i-lá* from *v'od* – 'conduct'), the basic form of the stem is the unaccented one, because the stress on the stem appears here only in the monosyllabic form where it is phonemically indispensable, whereas in F. Pret. both possibilities are given (*p'ik-lá* and *str'íg-l-a* from *str'íg* – 'shear').

1.33. *Significance of full-stems.* – The truncation or the modification of a given full-stem completely depends upon the following desinence, just as the choice among alternating desinences is fully determined by the preceding stem. Thus, given the full-stem, it is as a rule possible to predict the exact form of the whole conjugational paradigm in regard to the stem, the desinence, and also the place of the stress.

TYPES OF FULL-STEMS

1.4. *Stem Finals.* Full-stems end either in a nonsyllabic phoneme (consonant or semivowel *j*) or in a vowel. The former are called *closed* (cf. 2.22) and the latter *open full-stems* (cf. 2.21).

1.41. One type of closed full-stems appears intact only in such positions where open full-stems undergo truncation, while the other type remains

intact under at least some of the same conditions as the open full-stems. The first sub-class may be termed *narrowly closed* and the other, *broadly closed* (cf. 2.221-222).

1.42. Full-stems are called *soft* if their last consonant is soft⁵ and *hard* if the last consonant is hard.

1.5. *Number of syllables.* Full-stems (as well as desinences) with a zero vowel are called *nonsyllabic*; all others are *syllabic* (cf. 2.5). The latter may be divided into *monosyllabic* and *polysyllabic* (cf. 2.42 and 62).

1.6. *Place of stress.* When, in the accentual alternation, the basic form of the stem is never stressed (cf. 1.32), or when the stress alternates between two different syllables of the stem in the finite forms, we label such full-stems *unaccented* as opposed to *accented full-stems* (cf. 2.62).

Accented full-stems are either stems with a *removable accent* which under certain conditions is moved from the stem to the desinence, or stems with an *irremovable accent* which is bound to the stem (cf. 2.61).

1.7. *Productivity.* Patterns of full-stems capable of building new verbs in present-day Standard Russian are called *productive* as opposed to the *unproductive* patterns (cf. 2.7).

GENERAL RULES

2.1. *Distribution of verbal desinences.* All the Preterit Finite forms and the Infinitive are built up on consonantal desinences, all the Present Finite forms and the Imperative on vocalic desinences.

The Present Gerund and both Participles (Active and Passive) likewise use vocalic desinences, while in the Preterit Gerund and Active Participle the desinences are consonantal. Only in the Preterit Passive Participle do consonantal and vocalic desinences alternate: when the full-stem is narrowly closed (cf. 2.221) or ends in a, o, u, r, the desinence is consonantal: $-n^6 \sim -t$; otherwise it is vocalic: $-\acute{o}n \sim -\grave{i}n$.

2.11. CONSONANTAL DESINENCES.

2.111. *Preterit.* The non-terminal suffix $-l-$ denoting the Preterit tense is followed by a suffix indicating the Gender or the Plural number – Masc. zero, Fem. $-a$, Neut. $-o$, Plur. $-i$. The suffix $-l-$ before $-i$ becomes $-l'$, because the initial i (or a zero alternating with i) of any verbal suffix softens the preceding consonant (cf. 2.122). After such consonants which stay intact before the preterit desinence the suffix $-l-$ drops if not followed by a vowel ($p'ók \sim p'ík-lá$, $n'ós \sim n'is-lá$).

2.112. *Infinitive.* $-t' \sim -t'i \sim -č$. The alternant $-č$ is substituted for $-t'$ after a stem ending in a velar, which in this case is dropped (e.g. $p'é-č$ 'bake' appears instead of $p'ék-t'$); in verbs with unaccented stems (see 2.62) $-t'$ when preceded by a consonant acquires an i (e.g. $n'is-t'i$ 'carry'); in all other positions there figures merely $-t'$.

2.12. VOCALIC DESINENCES.

2.121. *Present.* The first (non-terminal) suffix, consisting of a single vowel, denotes the Present Tense; the second (free) suffix indicates either the Person and the Number (1 Sg. $-u$, 1 Pl. $-m$, 2 Sg. $-š$, 2 Pl. $-t'i$) or the Person only (3 Pers. $-t$). Before the vocalic suffix $-u$ the non-terminal single-vowel suffix cannot occur (likewise before the vocalic suffix $-a$ or the Present Gerund; cf. 2.21). Elsewhere the first suffix regularly appears.

In the 3 Pl. (as well as in the Present Participle proper before its specific suffix $-šč-$) the first suffix is $-u \sim -á$, and in all other Finite forms of the Present $-i \sim -ó$. The difference in question assumes a functional value only in the third person forms where it serves to distinguish the numbers: 3 Sg. $p'j-ó-t$, 3 Pl. $p'j-ú-t$, from $p'j-$ 'drink'. As mentioned, both doublets of this tense suffix (that of the 3 Pl. and that of the other Finite forms) are subject to alternations according to the accent.

If unstressed, the Present desinences begin with a high vowel (thus with $-ú-$ for the 3 Pl., with $-ì-$ for the other Finite forms).⁷

The stressed Present desinences begin with an unrounded vowel (thus with $-á-$ and with $-í-$) in soft open full-stems,⁸ and with a rounded vowel otherwise (thus with $-ú-$ and with $-ó-$).

E.g. 3 Pl. $pláč-u-t$, 3 Sg. $pláč-i-t$ from $pláka-$ 'weep'; $úč-u-t$, $úč-i-t$ from $úči-$ 'teach'; $xran'-á-t$, $xran'-í-t$ from $xran'í-$ 'keep'; $v'is'-á-t$, $v'is'-í-t$ from $v'is'é-$ 'hang'; $mič'-á-t$, $mič'-í-t$ from $mičá-$ 'moo'; $taj'-á-t$, $taj'-í-t$ from $tají-$ 'conceal'; $talkn-ú-t$, $talkn'-ó-t$ from $talknú-$ 'give a push'; $rv-ú-t$, $rv'-ó-t$ from $rvá-$ 'tear'; $kuj-ú-t$, $kuj-ó-t$ from $ková-$ 'forge'; $griz-ú-t$, $griz'-ó-t$ from $gríz-$ 'gnaw'.

2.122. *Imperative.* The Imperative Sg. has zero alternating with $-i$ when the preceding consonant is soft (cf. 2.111). The alternant $-i$ occurs after two consonants or after a stem not having an irremovable accent (2.61-2).

Examples without $-i$ after single consonant and irremovable accent: $trónu-$ 'touch', Imp. $trón'$; $pláka-$ 'weep', $pláč$. Examples with $-i$ after two consonants: $kr'íknu-$ 'shout', $kr'íkn'-i$; $jézd'i-$ 'drive, go', $jézd'-i$. Examples with $-i$ after stems not having fixed accent: $krád-$ 'steal', $krád'-í$, cf. 1 Sg. Pres. $krád-ú$; $s'id'é-$ 'sit', $s'id'-í$, cf. $s'iz-ú$; $rub'i-$ 'cut', $rub'-í$, cf. $rubl'-ú$.

(so, too, the corresponding compound verbs with the prefix *vi*: *ví + krad'*-i, *ví + s'id'*-i, *ví + rub'*-i).

However, the group *j-i* is admitted only if the full stem itself ends in *ji*-.

E.g. *tají*- 'conceal', *taj-í*; *pojí*- 'give to drink', *paj-í*. But *stojá*- 'stand', *-stój*; *p'j*- 'drink', *p'éj*.

The Inclusive (hearer and speaker included) has no special form but uses without pronoun the 1 Plur. from verbs of 'Perfective' or 'Determinate' Aspect.⁹

Both Plural forms, Non-inclusive and Inclusive, add to the corresponding Sg. form the suffix of the 2 Plur. -t'í.

The peculiar sandhi laws (phonemic palatalization before palatalized consonants in such forms as *gráp'*-t'í 'rob', *sláf'*-t'í 'praise', *v'er'*-t'í 'believe') show distinctly that their desinence can be interpreted only as a zero suffix followed by the plural suffix -t'í. Cf. this zero suffix followed by the 'reflexive' suffix -sa in such forms as *znakóm'*-sa 'make the acquaintance of', *vís'*-sa 'rise above', *zabót'*-sa 'take care', differing strikingly from the similar clusters *zabí*-t-ca 'forget oneself', *skr'ib'*-ó-t-ca, 3 Sg. Pres. from *skr'is'*-t'í-s 'scratch'.¹⁰

2.21. *Open full-stems*. Open full-stems remain intact before a consonantal desinence and lose their final phoneme before a vocalic desinence.

E.g. *l'ožá*- 'lie', F. Pret. *l'iža-l-a* ~ 3 Pl. Pres. *l'iž-á-t*; *poro*- 'rip', *paró-l-a* ~ *pór'-u-t*; *dv'ínu*- 'move', *dv'ínu-l-a* ~ *dv'in-u-t*; *govor'í*- 'say', *gavar'í-l-a* ~ *gavar'-á-t*.

This rule is an implication of the more general law that any morpheme which ends in a vowel loses that vowel before a suffix beginning with a vowel (e.g. the Participial Preterit suffix -ši drops its vowel before a vocalic declensional suffix: -š-ij, -š-àja, -š-òvo, etc.).

2.22. *Closed full-stems*. - All closed full-stems remain intact before a vocalic desinence.

2.221. *Narrowly closed full-stems*. - Full-stems in *j v n m* drop their terminal phoneme before a consonantal desinence. They are the only stems which, while preserving the same number of syllables, are regularly closed before vocalic and open before consonantal desinences.

E.g. *d'élaj*- 'do', 3 Pl. Pres. *d'élaj-u-t* ~ F. Pret. *d'éla-l-a*; *stán*- 'become', *stán-u-t* ~ *stá-l-a*; *živ*- 'live', *živ-ú-t* ~ *ži-l-á*.

2.222. *Broadly closed full-stems*. - All other closed full-stems (in *k, g, t, d, s, z, b, r*) stay intact both before vocalic desinences and before at least part of

the consonantal desinences. The terminal velars of closed full-stems are dropped only before the Infinitive desinence; the terminal dental stops only before the Preterit desinence; full-stems in *s z b r* are never truncated.

E.g. *p'ok*- 'bake': M. Pret. *p'ók*, F. *p'ik-l-á* ~ Inf. *-p'é-č*; *str'íg*- 'shear': *str'ík*, *str'íg-l-a* ~ *str'í-č*; *m'ot*- 'sweep': *m'ó-l*, *m'i-l-á* ~ *m'is-t'í*; *klád*- 'put': *klá-l*, *klá-l-a* ~ *klás-t'*; *n'os*- 'carry': *n'ós*, *n'is-l-á*, *n'is-t'í*; *v'oz*- 'convey': *v'ós*, *v'iz-l-á*, *v'is-t'í*; *t'r*- 'rub': *t'ór*, *t'or-l-a* (as to the Inf., see 3.1).

2.23. *Deeper truncation*. If the stem-suffix -nu- does not denote momentariness and is preceded by a consonant, this suffix is omitted in Preterit forms.

E.g. *gásnu*- 'be extinguished' ~ M. Sg. Pret. *gás*, F. *gás-l-a*; *iščéznú*- 'disappear' ~ *iščés*, *iščéz-l-a*.

Before *j* - the group *vá*, if preceded by *a*, is omitted in the Present, and the stress falls on the following syllable.

E.g. *daváj*- 'give': Imp. *daváj* ~ 1 Sg. Pres. *daj-ú*, 3 Pl. *daj-ú-t* ~ F. Pret. *davá-l-a*, Inf. *davá-t'*.

2.24. *Concomitant changes*. Before dropped *a*- the group *ov* is regularly replaced by *uj*-; in a non-initial syllable the stress is transferred from *á*- to *új*-, otherwise to the following vowel (but for the Imp. cf. 2.122).

E.g. *s'étova*- 'mourn' ~ 1 Sg. Pres. *s'étuj-u*, Imp. *s'étuj*; *darová*- 'grant' ~ *darúj-u*, *darúj*; *ková*- 'forge' ~ *kuj-ú*, *kúj*; *pl'ová*- 'spit' *pl'uj-ú*, *pl'új*.

Before the dropped *j*- the vowel *o* in monosyllabic stems and zero in non-syllabic stems are replaced by *i*.

E.g. *moj*- 'wash' ~ F. Pret. *mí-l-a*; *p'j*- 'drink' ~ *p'i-l-á*.

Before the dropped nasal, zero in nonsyllabic stems is replaced by *á*.

E.g. *žm*- 'press' ~ F. Pret. *žá-l-a*; *žn*- 'reap' ~ F. Pret. *žá-l-a*.

2.3. *Convergence of final consonants in closed full-stems*. All terminal dentals and labials of the broadly closed full-stems coalesce into *s* before the infinitive desinence. It is the only consonant admitted in this position.

E.g. *no's*- 'carry' ~ Inf. *n'is-t'í*, *gríz*- 'gnaw' ~ *grís-t'*, *m'ot*- 'sweep' ~ *m'is-t'í*, *v'od*- 'conduct' ~ *v'is-t'í*, *gr'ob*- 'row' ~ *gr'is-t'í*.

2.4. *Softness and hardness of the last consonant*. An open full-stem can end

in any of the five Russian vowel phonemes i, e, a, o, u, and they are dropped before a vocalic desinence. The last consonant of an open full-stem is soft (palatal or palatalized) before i- and é-, hard before u- and ó-, hard or palatal (but never palatalized) before a-. Closed stems may end in j, otherwise only in hard consonants.

E.g. l'íši- 'deprive', v'ér'i- 'believe', kišé- 'swarm', v'el'é- 'order'; gnú- 'bend', kolo- 'stab'; pr'áta- 'hide', žda- 'wait', stučá- 'knock'; znáj- 'know', tr'as- 'shake'.

2.41. *Soft full-stems.* If the last consonant in the full-stem is soft, it preserves its softness through the whole paradigm, and only in 1 Sg. Pres. the softening is 'substitutive' (as far as the given consonant admits it). Substitutive softening,¹¹ a familiar concept in Russian linguistics, consists of a shift from a velar or dental to a palatal consonant (k or t > č, x s > š, g d z > ž, z g zd > žž, sk st > šč) or the addition of palatalized l' to any labial (p b f v m > pl' bl' fl' vl' ml').

E.g. m'éti- 'mark': 1 Sg. Pres. m'éč-u, 3 Pl. m'et'-u-t; msti- 'revenge oneself': mšč-ú, mst'-á-t, s'id'é- 'sit': s'iž-ú, s'id'-á-t; jézd'i- 'drive': jézž-u, jézd'-u-t; v'is'é- 'hang': v'iš-ú, v'is'-á-t; grož'i- 'menace': graž-ú, graz'-á-t; kup'i- 'buy': kupl'-ú, kúp'-u-t; l'ub'i- 'love': l'ubl'-ú, l'úb'-u-t; graf'i- 'draw lines': graf'l'-ú, graf'-á-t; stáv'i- 'station': stávl'-u, stáv'-u-t; šum'é- 'make a noise': šuml'-ú, šum'-á-t.

2.42. *Hard full-stems.* If the last consonant in the full-stem is hard, it becomes soft in the following cases only:

A. A consonant followed by a- or o- in a polysyllabic stem is softened before any vocalic desinence; the softening is 'substitutive' (as far as the given consonant admits it).

E.g. pláka- 'weep': 1 Sg. Pres. pláč-u, 3 Sg. pláč-i-t, 3 Pl. pláč-u-t, Imp. pláč; skaka- 'jump': skač-ú, skáč-i-t, skáč-u-t, skač-í; iska- 'look for': išč-ú, išč-i-t, išč-u-t, Imp. išč-í; brízga- 'sprinkle': brízž-u, brízž-i-t, etc.; paxa- 'plow': paš-ú, páš-i-t, etc.; pr'áta- 'hide': pr'áč-u, pr'áč-i-t, etc.; gloda- 'gnaw': gláž-ú, glóž-i-t, etc.; p'isa- 'write': p'iš-ú, p'iš-i-t, etc.; máza- 'smear': máž-u, máž-i-t, etc.; sípa- 'scatter': sípl'-u, sípl'-i-t, etc.; ora- 'plow': ar'-ú, ór'-i-t, etc.; kolo- 'stab': kal'-ú, kól'-i-t, etc.

B. Otherwise, the consonant undergoes a 'bare' softening before any vocalic desinence which does not begin with -u; the velars, however, undergo 'bare' softening only before Imperative desinences and 'substitutive' softening elsewhere.

E.g. monosyllabic full-stems in a-: žda- 'wait': žd-ú, žd'-ó-t, žd-ú-t, žd'-i, etc.; rva- 'tear': rv-ú, rv'-ó-t, rv-ú-t, rv'-í, etc.; lga- 'lie': lg-ú, lž-ó-t, lg-ú-t, lg'-í, etc. Full-stems in u-: tónu- 'drown': tan-ú, tón'-i-t, tón-u-t, tan'-í, etc. Closed full-stems: pas- 'tend': pas-ú, pas'-ó-t, pas-ú-t, pas'-í, etc.; p'ok- 'bake': p'ik-ú, p'ik'-ó-t, p'ik-ú-t, p'ik'-í, etc.; b'er'og- 'spare': b'ir'ig-ú, b'ir'iz'-ó-t, b'ir'ig-ú-t, b'ir'ig'-í, etc.

2.5. *Inserted vowels.* - A vowel is inserted within a nonsyllabic full-stem before a nonsyllabic desinence and, if the stem ends in r, before any consonantal desinence. The inserted vowel is é in the Infinitive, ó elsewhere.

E.g. žg- 'burn': M. Pret. žók, F. žg-l-á Inf. žé-č; t'r- 'rub': t'ór, t'ór-l-a.

2.61. *Full-stems with removable and irremovable accent.* In all Finite forms and in the Infinitive the stress falls on the same syllable of the accented full-stem, with the limitation that in open and broadly closed full-stems the stress moves from their final or only syllable to the first or only syllable of the vocalic desinence.

In our transcription of full-stems the acute accent marks the syllable which in Finite forms is the only accentable one.

E.g. sáxar'i- 'sugar': 1 Sg. Pres. sáxar'-u, 3 Pl. sáxar'-u-t, M. Pret. sáxar'i-l, F. sáxar'i-l-a, Pl. sáxar'i-l'-i; carápnu- 'scratch': carápn-u, carápn-u-t, carápnu-l, carápnu-l-a, carápnu-l'-i; v'el'é- 'order': v'il'-ú, v'il'-á-t, v'il'é-l, v'il'é-l-a, v'il'é-l'-i; krád- 'steal': krad-ú, krad-ú-t, krad-l, krad-l-a, krad-l'-i; str'íg- 'shear': str'ig-ú, str'iz'-ó-š, str'ík, str'ig-l-a, str'ig-l'-i; but on the final (or only) syllable of narrowly closed stems the stress remains irremovable: rugáj- 'scold': rugáj-u, rugáj-u-t, rugá-l, rugá-l-a, rugá-l'-i; d'én- 'put': d'én-u, d'én-u-t, d'é-l, d'é-l-a, d'é-l'-i.

2.62. *Unaccented full-stems.* - This type presents two varieties: A) verbs with open polysyllabic full-stems stress either the simple desinence or the preceding vowel if the desinence is complex (cf. 1.2); B) the other verbs stress their last (or only) accentable syllable, with the limitation that all but the broadly closed full-stems draw the stress back from the Neut. and Plur. Preterit desinences (cf. 1.32)

In our morphophonemic transcription the absence of an acute accent denotes an unaccented full-stem.

E.g. 1) open polysyllabic full-stems: xoxota - 'guffaw': Imp. xaxač-í, 1 Sg. Pres. xaxač-ú ~ 2 Sg. xaxóč-i-š, 3 Pl. xaxóč-u-t, and M. Pret. xaxatá-l, F. xaxatá-l-a, Pl. xaxatá-l'-i; var'i- 'cook': var'-í, var'-ú, var'-i-š, var'-u-t, var'-l, var'-l-a, var'-l'-i; 2) open monosyllabic full-stems: žda- 'wait': žd'-í, žd-ú, žd'-ó-s, žd-ú-t, ždá-l, F. žda-l-á, Neut. ždá-l-a, Pl. ždá-l-i;

narrowly closed stems: pliv- 'swim': *pliv'-í, pliv-ú, pliv'-ó-š, pliv-ú-t, plí-l, F. plí-l-á, but N. plí-l-a, Pl. plí-l'-i; kl'an-* 'curse': *kl'in'-i, kl'in-ú, kl'in'-ó-š, kl'in-ú-t, kl'á-l, kl'i-l-á, but kl'á-l-a, kl'á-l'-i; l'j-* 'pour': *l'éj (cf. 2.122), l'j-ú, l'j-ó-š, l'j-ú-t, l'i-l, l'i-l-á, but l'í-l-a, l'í-l'-i; broadly closed stems: tr'as-* 'shake': *tr'is'-í, tr'is-ú, tr'is'-ó-š, tr'is-ú-t, tr'ás, tr'is-l-á, tr'is-l-ó, tr'is-l'í, Inf. tr'is-t'í; v'od-* 'conduct': *v'id'-í, v'id-ú, v'id'-ó-š, v'id-ú-t, v'ó-l, v'i-l-á, v'i-l-ó, v'i-l'-í, v'is-t'í; b'er'og-* 'spare': *b'ir'ig'-í, b'ir'ig-ú, b'ir'iz'-ó-š, b'ir'ig-ú-t, b'ir'ók, b'ir'ig-l-á, b'ir'ig-l-ó, b'ir'ig-l'-í, b'ir'é-č (cf. 2.111).*

2.7. *Productivity.* Productive (cf. 1.7) are all existing verbal types with a polysyllabic accented full-stem, when it ends in a high vowel (i, u) or when the prevocalic alternant of the stem ends in a 'mobile' j (cf. 2.221 and 2.24).

E.g. *xaltúr'i-* 'turn out potboilers'; *buz'í-* 'make a racket'; *bl'ofnú-* 'bluff'; *šámaj-* 'eat': 3 Pl. Pres. *šámaj-u-t* ~ F. Pret. *šáma-l-a*; *v'igžel'áj-* 'waver': *v'igžil'aj-u-t* ~ *v'igžil'á-l-a*; *xam'éj-* 'become caddish': *xam'éj-u-t* ~ *xam'é-l-a*; *tr'est'irova-* 'combine into a trust': *tr'ist'iruj-u-t* ~ *tr'ist'irava-l-a*; *m'it'ingová-* 'assemble': *m'it'ingúj-u* ~ *m'it'ingavá-l-a*.

2.8. *Conclusions.* The rules formulated above and printed in boldface enable the student glancing over a bare inventory of full-stems to deduce their whole conjugational pattern with all the pertinent alternations in stem, desinence, and accent. If these few introductory rules are added, then a dictionary listing verbs only as full-stems would suffice to supply the reader with a complete knowledge of their inflection; and these rules could be presented in a popular form for teaching purposes. If the full-stem is not listed, two verbal forms are needed to set it up in its basic shape - F. Pret. and some of the Pres. forms except 1 Sg. (the most practical for this operation is 3 Pl.). Some few additional elementary rules would be necessary to master the spelling. And finally, a small number of 'unpredictable' irregularities have to be specially learned.

EXCEPTIONS

3.1. *Single deviating forms.*

xot'é- 'want', 2 and 3 Sg. Pres. *xóč-i-š, xóč-i-t* (instead of the expected *xat'-í-š, xat'-í-t*).

b'ežá- 'run', 1 Sg. Pres. *b'ig-ú, 3 Pl. b'ig-ú-t, Imp. b'ig'-í* (instead of *b'iz-ú, etc.*).

kl'an- 'curse', Inf. *kl'ás-t'* (instead of *kl'a-t'*).

id- 'go', Inf. *i-t'í* (instead of *is-t'í*; the Preterit forms are suppletive).

m'r- 'die', *p'r-* 'push', *t'r-* 'rub', Inf. *m'ir'é-t', p'ir'é-t', t'ir'é-t'*, (instead of *m'é-r-t', p'é-r-t', t'é-r-t'*).¹²

sípa- 'scatter', *krápa-* 'trickle': Imp. *síp', kráp'* (instead of *sípl'-i, krápl'-i*).

3.2. *Discrepancy between the prevocalic and the preconsonantal stem-shape.*

The expected consonantal alternation does not take place in four verbs: *ará-* 'shout' ~ 3 Pl. Pres. *ar-ú-t*; *sośá-* 'suck' ~ *sas-ú-t*; *stona-* 'groan' ~ *stón-u-t*; *žážda-* 'thirst' ~ *žážd-u-t*.

The distribution of hard and soft consonants (cf. 2.41-2) and of rounded and unrounded Present suffixes (cf. 2.12) deviates from the pattern in four verbs: *spa-* 'sleep' ~ *sp'-á-t*; *r'ov'é-* 'roar' ~ *r'iv-ú-t*; *sm'ejá-* 'laugh' *sm'ij-ú-t-ca*; *ržá-* 'neigh' ~ *rž-ú-t*.

In four verbs the 'substitutive softening' of t gives šč in place of the regular č: *kl'ev'eta-* 'calumniate' ~ *kl'iv'éšč-u-t*; *ropta-* 'grumble' ~ *rópšč-u-t*; *skr'ežeta-* 'grit' ~ *skr'iz'éšč-u-t*; *tr'ep'eta-* 'palpitate' ~ *tr'ip'éšč-u-t*.

Two verbs present a quite irregular interchange of consonants: *slá-* 'send' ~ *šl'-ú-t*; *jéxa-* 'drive, go' ~ *jéd-u-t*.

Irregular vowel alternation takes place in three verbs: *molo-* 'grind' ~ *m'el'-u-t*; *poj-* 'sing' ~ F. Pret. *p'é-l-a*; *br'éj-* 'shave' ~ *br'í-l-a*.

Irregular alternation 'vowel ~ zero' appears in four verbs: *zva-* 'call' ~ *zav-ú-t*; *bra-* 'take' *b'ir-ú-t*; *dra-* 'tear' ~ *d'ir-ú-t*; *tolok-* 'pound' ~ *talk-ú-t*.

Four verbs do not follow the usual stress pattern: *rod'í-* 'bear' ~ F. Pret. *rad'i-l'á, N. rad'í-l-a, Pl. rad'í-l'-i* (Perfective Aspect); *pr'ad-* 'spin' ~ *pr'i-l-á, pr'á-l-a, pr'á-l'-i* (cf. 2.62); *l'éz-* 'climb' ~ 3 Pl. Pres. *l'éz-u-t* (cf. 2.61); *dn'ová-* 'spend the day' ~ *dn'új-u-t* (cf. 2.24).

Five verbs present a multiple discrepancy between the prevocalic and the preconsonantal stem-shape: 3 Pl. Pres. *gón'-u-t* ~ F. Pret. *gna-l-á* 'drive'; *st'él'-u-t* ~ *stla-l-á* 'spread' (beside the regular *st'il'í-l-a*); *l'ág-u-t* ~ *l'ig-l-á* 'lie down'; *s'ád-u-t* ~ *s'é-l-a* 'sit down'; *búd-u-t* ~ *bi-l-á* 'be'.

3.3. *Anomalous verbs.* Two verbs—*jés-t'* 'eat' and *dá-t'*, 'give'—have anomalous paradigms in Present and Imperative: *jé-m, jé-š, jés-t, jid'-í-m, jid'-í-t'í, jid'-á-t, Imp. jé-š; dá-m, dá-š, das-t, dad'-í-m, dad'-í-t'í, dad-ú-t, dáj*.

Written in Hunter, NY, fall 1948, and first published in *Word*, IV (1948).

FOOTNOTES

1. See L. Bloomfield, *Language* 13.4. (New York, 1933).
2. Cf. Bloomfield's stimulating remarks about the 'theoretical basic form' (or 'artificial underlying form'), *op. cit.*, 13.9.
3. According to Bloomfield's terminology, *automatically*, 13.4.
4. According to Bloomfield's terminology, *grammatically*, 13.4.
5. To Russian 'soft' consonants phonemically there belong the palatalized (e.g. *t'*, *p'*, *r'*) and the 'palatal' (including prepalatal *č*, palato-alveolar *š*, *ž*, and the palatal semi-vowel *j*).
6. When the full-stem ends in *a* or *aj*.
7. In unstressed, i.e. weak position, the suffix in question admits only high (diffuse), i.e. weakest vowels; hence this statement may be labeled 'the rule of intensity attraction'.
8. Since the soft consonants are characterized by a sharpened acuteness, and since unrounded vowels versus rounded are acute versus grave, the formulated rule may be labeled 'the rule of acuteness attraction'.
9. That is, of any 'marked' (marqué, merkmalhaltig) aspect. Cf. R. Jakobson, "Zero Sign" (below, p. 145 ff.).
10. See R. Jakobson, "Structure of the Russian Verb" [see above pp. 1 ff.].
11. If a hard consonant becomes merely palatalized without other changes in its character, students of Russian call it 'nepexodnoe smjagčenie' (*bare softening*), while a concomitant change in the basic place of articulation (shift from velar or dental to palatal) or a change of one phoneme into a cluster (epenthesis of a palatalized consonant) is labeled 'pexodnoe smjagčenie' (*substitutive softening*). The following sets are found: *k* (*k'*) *č*, *sk* (*sk'*) *šč*, *tk* *tk'* -, *g* (*g'*) *ž*, *zg* (*zg'*) *žž*, *x* (*x'*) *š*, *t* *t'* *č*, *st* *st'* *šč*, *d* *d'* *ž*, *zd* *zd'* *žž*, *s* *s'* *š*, *z* *z'* *ž*, *p* *p'* *pl'*, *b* *b'* *bl'*, *f* *f'* *fl'*, *v* *v'* *vl'*, *m* *m'* *ml'*, *n* *n'* -, *r* *r'* -, *l* *l'* -.
12. The prefixed verb with closed full-stem (*u*) + *šib'*- 'bruise' forms the Infinitive from an open full-stem (*u*) + *šib'*i-.

Chapter Three

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIAN
STEM SUFFIXES AND VERBAL ASPECTS

"In various Indo-European languages, the positive, comparative, and superlative degrees of adjectives show a gradual increase in the number of phonemes, e.g. *high* - *higher* - *highest*, *altus* - *altior* - *altissimus*. In this way the signantia reflect the gradation gamut of the signata.*** The signans of the plural tends to echo the meaning of a numeral increment by an increased length of the form.*** When one traces the varied historical processes which persistently built up the diagram - longer plural/shorter singular forms - in diverse Slavic languages, these and many similar facts of linguistic experience prove to be at variance with the Saussurian averment that 'in the sound structure of the signans there is nothing which would bear any resemblance to the value or meaning of the sign'."¹

This statement may be exemplified by the suffixation of Russian verbs which serves to distinguish their grammatical aspects. Two such verbs as *zamorózit'* and *zamoráživat'*, provided with the same prefix and identical in lexical meaning, differ in their aspect - perfective and imperfective, respectively. The perfective aspect presents the narrated event with reference to its absolute completion, whereas the imperfective aspect is non-committal in regard to completion or noncompletion. Correspondingly, *zamorózit'* means "to complete freezing", while *zamoráživat'* means 'to freeze' with no concomitant information as to whether the process is or is not supposed to be completed. Thus the perfective aspect, in contradistinction to the imperfective, implies a limitation in the extent of the narrated event.² Comparing the full-stems of both verbs, [*za* + *moróz'*-i-] and [*za* + *moráz'*-ivaj-], we observe several differential characteristics;

(1) Only in the impf. stem is the final vowel followed by a nonsyllabic - namely /j/.

(2) This vowel is compact in the impf. but diffuse in the pf. stem: /a/ vs. /i/.

(3) The suffix, confined to one vowel – /a/ – in the pf. stem, comprises two vowels with a consonant between them – /iva/ – in the impf. stem.

(4) To the diffuse prevocalic consonant /z/ at the end of the pf. stem corresponds a final compact /ž/ in the impf. stem, while, e.g. the stems of the pf. *uslovít'sja* [u + slóv'-i-t'-s'a] and impf. *uslávliivat'sja* [u + slávl'-iva-t'-s'a] end in a single consonant /v/ and a consonant cluster /vl'/, respectively.

(5) To the noncompact stressed vowel /ó/ in the root of the pf. verb the impf. verb opposes a compact /á/.

All these differences in the form of the two correlative verbs display an iconic congruence with the opposition of their grammatical meanings. The perfective signalizes a limited extent of the narrated event, and correspondingly a lesser number of phonemes characterizes the pf. stem suffix (items 1 and 3). The same semantic relation between the two aspects is reflected by the phonemic opposition diffuse vs. compact or noncompact vs. compact (items 2, 4, and 5), since “the scale of magnitude, i.e. the small vs. large symbolism” is “latently connected for the average listener with the opposition of diffuse and compact”,³ a relation of two contraries which bifurcates into two dyads of contradictories: diffuse vs. nondiffuse and compact vs. noncompact.

Applying the same principle of analysis to all those pairs of Russian verbs both of which are provided with one and the same prefix, differing externally in their thematic suffixes and internally in grammatical aspect but not in lexical meaning, we find several types of formal difference between the correlative impf. and pf. full-stems. Pairs of stems provided with an identical prefix must be discussed separately from stems without any prefix. First we shall survey the pairs of complex, i.e. prefixal stems and subsequently the pairs of simple stems.

The aspectual pairs of complex stems in turn present different varieties. If such impf. stems are provided with a one-vowel suffix, it is always [-í-] and the corresponding pf. stems are devoid of suffix, e.g. *uvozít' ~ uvezít', prino-sít' ~ prinestí*. All other suffixes of impf. full-stems in these verbal pairs are [-áj-], [-váj-], and [-ivaj-]. Impf. stems with the suffix [-áj-] correspond to pf. stems 1) without vocalic suffix – *propadát', vlezát'* [-aj-] ~ *propást', vlézt'* [-#-]; similarly *produvát' ~ prodút', sogrevát' ~ sogrét'* – or 2) with a one-vowel suffix – usually the diffuse [-í-] or [-i-], such as *obvinját' ~ obvinít', zakupát' ~ zakupít', proverját' ~ provérit'*; the noncompact [-é-] or [-e-], such as *vletát' ~ vletét', stírat' ~ sterét', obížát' ~ obídet'*. When to

the impf. full-stems with [-áj-] the pf. full-stems oppose an equally compact [-á-], the difference lies in a pf. one-phoneme suffix vs. the impf. two-phoneme suffix, e.g. *vbegát' ~ vbežát'* (cf. *vbegá'ju ~ vbegú*), and frequently, moreover, there is an alternation of a complementary root vowel in the impf. stem with a zero in its pf. counterpart: *poryvát, udirát, peresylát'* [-áj-] ~ *porvát, udrát, pereslát'* [-á-]. If the impf. [-áj-] corresponds to the pf. [-a-], the higher intensity of the stressed vowel carries the iconic representation of the unrestricted deployment of imperfective action.

To the two-phoneme suffix [-nú-] or [-nu-] of pf. verbs the impf. stems oppose either the three-phoneme suffix [-iva-] – *podprýgnut' ~ podprýgivat', začerknúť ~ začerkivat'* – or the two-phoneme suffix [-áj-] with a compact /á/ vs. /ú/ or /u/ of the pf. suffix – *nameknút' ~ namekát', privýknut' ~ privykát'*.

The pf. stems in [-áj-] or [-aj-] correspond to the longer suffix [-ivaj-] of the impf. verbs – *zapugát' ~ zapúgivat', podslúšát' ~ podslúšivat'*.

The stem consonant before the initial vowel of the pf. suffix may be replaced by a consonant cluster in the corresponding impf. stem – *pricepít' ~ priceplját', uglubít' ~ uglublját', potráfít' ~ potraflját', vstavít' ~ vstavlját', uvédomít' ~ uvedomlját', ugodít' ~ ugoždát'*; if there is an alternation of the prevocalic consonants at the end of the stem the diffuse consonant of the pf. verb is usually matched by a compact consonant – *otvétít' ~ otvečát', smutít' ~ smuščát', ugoštít' ~ ugoščát', spustít' ~ spuskat', provodít' ~ provožát', povýsít' ~ povyšát', priblížít' ~ priblizát'*. The noncompact /ó/ of the pf. stems alternates with the compact /á/ of the corresponding impf. stems – *nastróit' ~ nastráivat', unavóžít' ~ unavázivat', zabrósit' ~ zabrásyvat'*.

Perfective vs. imperfective, the only aspectual opposition of verbs with prefixes, is supplemented by two aspectual distinctions of simple, i.e. prefixless, verbs. Among prefixless impf. verbs several pairs are differentiated as belonging to the determinate aspect, which signals the integrity and unbrokenness of the narrated event, respectively to the indeterminate aspect, devoid of such signalization. The higher temporal reduction of the determinate verbs finds its external expression in the use of the same grammatical processes which divide the compound verbs into perfective and imperfective.

A number of simple verbs which are neither perfective nor determinate undergo a scission, disappearing in literary Russian but still frequent in colloquial language, namely the opposition of the iterative and noniterative aspects, of which the former signals an event that is repetitive or usual in the past. In view of the wider scope encompassed by an iterative action, the same pair of suffixes is utilized by the simple iterative and corresponding non-

iterative verbs as by the complex impf. and pf. verbs respectively. Pairs of verbs used with identical prefixes for the distinction of the pf. and impf. aspects when deprived of prefixes fulfill one of the three aspectual oppositions: pf. *razrešít' ~ impf. razrešát'* – pf. *rešít' ~ impf. rešát'*; pf. *unestí' ~ impf. unosít'* – determ. *nestí' ~ indeterm. nosít'*; pf. *zagovorít' ~ impf. zagovárivat'* – noniter. *govorít' ~ iter. govárivat'*.

In the aspectual pairs of prefixless verbs, athematic stems in contradistinction to the suffixes [-í-], [-i-], [-aj-] specify the determinate verbs – *vezťí ~ vozít', lézt' ~ lázit', polztí ~ pólzat'*; there is, however, one instance of an athematic perfective stem opposed to an imperfective verb with the suffix [-aj-] – *pást' ~ pádat'* – and at least one example of a noniterative verb without stem suffix in opposition to an iterative verb with the full-stem suffix [-áj-] – *ést' ~ edát'*.

One-phoneme suffixes of determinate stems form pairs with two-phoneme suffixes of indeterminate stems – *bežát' ~ bégat', letét' ~ letát', katít' ~ katát'*.

Any iterative verb has a longer suffix than the corresponding noniterative, and all these aspectual pairs when provided with a common suffix fulfill the opposition of perfectives and imperfectives: cf. *ést' ~ edát'* and *s'ést' ~ s'edát'*; *znát' ~ znavát'* and *uznát' ~ uznavat'*; *pét' ~ pevát'* and *otpét' ~ otpevát'*; *pisát' ~ písyvát'* and *pripisát' ~ pripísyvát'*; *igrát' ~ ígryvat'* and *proigrát' ~ proígryvát'*; *kurít' ~ kúrivat'* and *zakurít' ~ zakurivat'*.

As a rule, pairs of simple pf. and impf. verbs use the suffixes [-í-] and [-áj-], respectively, or oppose a stem in [-nú-] or [-nu-] to an impf. stem in [-áj-] or [-aj-] – *glotnúť ~ glotát', čerpnúť ~ čérpat', prýgnúť ~ prýgat'*. Pf. stems in [-nú-] or [-nu-] may correspond also to impf. stems with a one-vowel suffix: a compact [-á-] – *kříknúť ~ křičát'*, a nondiffuse [-é-] or [-ó-] – *blesnúť ~ blestét', svísnúť ~ svistét', kol'núť ~ kolót'*, and finally a diffuse [-í-] – *skol'zít' ~ skol'znúť, ševelít' ~ sevel'núť, kutít' ~ kutnúť*. These are the only instances of aspectual pairs with a shorter impf. suffix and at the same time an equally diffuse vowel as in the corresponding pf. suffix. It is significant that the correspondence of the pf. suffix [-nú-], [-nu-] with the impf. one-vowel suffixes finds no analogues among the compound verbs: cf. such pairs as *soskol'znúť ~ soksál'zyvat', poševel'núť ~ poševélivat'sja, vskríknuť ~ vskríkivat', prisvístnuť ~ prisvístyvát'*. With the exception of the few simple stems which oppose the pf. suffix [-nú-] or [-nu-] to the impf. one-vowel suffix and of the entirely isolated pair *dúnúť ~ dúť'*, each aspectual pair of verbs without prefix or with an identical prefix conforms to the following rules:

Any verb of a semantically nonrestrictive or expansive (i.e. imperfective, indeterminate, or iterative) aspect has a longer stem suffix than the correlative verb of the opposite aspect.

The last or only vowel of this suffix never stands in relation of diffuse vs. nondiffuse (or noncompact vs. compact) to the corresponding vowel of the aspectual mate.

Whatever the historical background of the grammatical processes involved, the iconic character of the contemporary Russian aspectual design is patent.

Written in La Jolla, Calif., June 1966, for the István Kniezsa Memorial Volume.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Jakobson, "Quest for the Essence of Language". *Selected Writings II* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), p. 345 ff.
2. For a more detailed analysis of grammatical processes and concepts displayed by the Russian verbs, consult the author's earlier studies: "Structure of the Russian Verb" [see above p. 1 ff.]; "Russian Conjugation" [see above, p. 15 ff.] "Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb" [see below, p. 41 ff.].
3. See R. Jakobson, C. G. M. Fant, M. Halle, *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis* (Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1964), 2.413.

I

Psychologists have long drawn attention to the essential difference between the hortatory (conative) and the cognitive functions of speech. The complicated problem of how to analyze and measure the information contained in imperative sentences was pointedly raised by an outstanding theoretician of mathematical communication, D. M. MacKay ("The Informational Analysis of Questions and Commands", *Information Theory*, ed. C. Cherry [London, 1961]). Specialists in the field of mathematical logic have repeatedly attempted to uncover the logical nature of imperative utterances, to define their convergence with and divergence from declarative sentences. Of all these attempts, it seems to us that the most fruitful, as far as linguistics is concerned, is an article by the Copenhagen logician Jørgen Jørgensen, "Imperatives and Logic" in *Erkenntnis* VII (1938), where the author proceeds from a strictly linguistic definition of his topic, characterizing imperative sentences "as sentences in which the main verb is in the imperative mood", and where he actually puts this criterion to use. Thus conceived, imperative sentences on the one hand exceed in extension the concept of commands, for they include "not only commands, but also requests, pleas, appeals, and other linguistic expressions of willing or wishing something to be done or not to be done", while on the other hand there remain outside the linguistic concept in question various forms of transposition of imperative constructions onto the level of declarative speech. As it is, these two classes of utterances are not infrequently confused by logicians.

Jørgensen rightly points out that the truth test for declarative sentences cannot be applied to the imperative: "Be quiet — is it true or false? A meaningless question" (cf. W. Dubislav, "Zur Unbegründbarkeit der Forderungssätze", *Theoria*, III/1937; A. Hofstadter and J. C. C. McKinsey, "On the Logic of Imperatives", *Philosophy of Science*, VI [1939]; R. M.

Hare, "Imperative Sentences", *Mind*, LVIII [1949]; H. S. Leonard, "Interrogatives, Imperatives, Truth, Falsity, and Lies", *Philosophy of Science*, XXVI [1959]). It is precisely the inapplicability of such a test that sharply delimits genuine imperative constructions from all their transpositions into the language of declarative sentences. The true-false criterion is not applicable to the imperative "Work!", but is completely regular when applied to any indicative substitution. The sentences "You must work", "You are obliged to work", "You have to work", "You will work" are immediately open to judgment, whether there really is an obligation to work or not, whether it is true or not that the addressee has to work, whether he is going to do it or not. Another type of transposition changes not the object itself, but the very fact of will-expression, into a predication: "I command you to work", "I demand that you work", "You have been told to work", and in these cases it is precisely the fact of commanding that is open to testing: Is it true or not that there is a command?

Correspondingly, on a purely linguistic level, the impossibility of transforming imperative sentences directly into interrogative sentences is a distinguishing characteristic of the imperative. Whereas all other verbal constructions may be turned into interrogative correlates (e.g. "Are you working? Did you work? Will you work? Would you work?"), the imperative "Work!" lacks a corresponding interrogative formation. H. Reichenbach's attempt (*Elements of Symbolic Logic* [New York, 1947], p. 342) to include in the set of imperative terms such auxiliary verbs as *shall* and *should* represents an unfortunate confusion of elementary linguistic concepts, typical for this scholar's operations on the living language. The pairs *You shall do it - Shall you?* and *You should do it - Should you?* beside such pairs as *You have done it - Have you?* sharply contrast with the single *Do it*.

If imperative sentences, or rather, in a different terminology, equivalents of sentences, have been duly elucidated in syntactical studies, the morphologically distinctive character of the imperative has not yet received due attention.

II

In this connection the historical fate of the Slavic imperative and its present status are of no small interest. The verb stem alone, without flecational suffixes, or accompanied by various expressive particles, which served as the Indo-European imperative, was, as we know, pushed out by the old optative

in proto-Slavic, and the series of changes undergone by the optative forms in the process of becoming genuine imperative forms is extremely instructive. The author of these lines has often noticed that some kind of recidivism of the Indo-European formation is clearly seen in the contemporary Russian imperative mood, namely the approximation of imperative forms to the bare verb stem, which is used either independently or accompanied by isolated suffixes strung together in an agglutinative manner (see pp. 9-10 above, and 54-55 below). Phonologically they are treated as a type of particle. The immediate impetus for such treatment of the imperative suffixes was the second person plural form, which added an ending to the singular form of the same person; *kín'* - *kín'te* 'throw', *nesí* - *nesíte* 'carry'. The emancipation of the suffix *-te* is clear from (1) its being added to the first person form *-pojdemte* 'let us go' (in the last century this was often written *pojdem-te*) - to differentiate "I and you (pl.);" from "I and you (sing.);" and (2) the addition of the same suffix to interjections (*nu-te*, "now, all of you"). Awareness of the autonomy of this particle is illustrated by a dialogue in a novel by Pan-telejmon Romanov:

- Sadites' sjuda, - skazala Ket***

- Tol'ko "te" nužno vybrosit', zametil Miten'ka. - Sadis', a ne sadites'

(Come and sit here, said Kate*** - Except you will have to get rid of the "te", Miten'ka remarked. - "Sadis'" [sit down], not "sadites".)

The same law operates at the juncture between stem and imperative suffixes as at word boundaries, in contradistinction to the usual sound laws in effect at morpheme junctures. Compare for instance the imperative /p'át'sja/ *pjat'sja* 'move back' with the indicative /talp'átca/ *tolpjatsja* 'they are thronging together' and with the infinitive /kupátca/ *kupat'sja* 'to bathe', or the imperative /zabút'sja/ *zabud'sja* 'forget yourself' with the indicative /skr'ibútca/ *skrebutsja* 'they scratch' and with the infinitive /zabítca/ *zabyt'sja* 'to forget oneself'; also note the soft dentals and labials before dentals, which otherwise do not occur within the word: /ad'énsa/ *oden'sja* 'get dressed', /žár'sa/ *žar'sja* 'get tanned', /pr'ibl'is'sa/ *pribliz'sja* 'come closer', /upr'am'sa/ *uprjam'sja* 'persist', /gatof't'i/ *gotov'te* 'prepare', /gráp't'i/ *grab'te* 'rob'.

Similar morphological phenomena, connecting the end of the imperative stem with the end of the word, are observed in other Slavic languages as well. Thus for instance voiced and voiceless consonants are opposed to each other within the word in both Czech and Polish, while in certain Polish and Czech dialects voiceless consonants become voiced at word boundaries before sonorants, but in some other dialects, on the contrary, voiced consonants

become voiceless in the corresponding position. In both cases the final consonant of the imperative stem receives exactly the same treatment in the position before a first person plural suffix. In those dialects where the final consonant of the word is voiced before an initial sonorant, [voiced consonants appear in the imperative before /m/; thus, in Polish dialects,] we find not only *groźmy* and *powiedzmy*, but also *nieźmy* and *pledźmy*, while the Czechs have *vezme* as well as *nezme*, and correspondingly *vez mi* and *nez mi*. In those dialects where the final consonants of the word are voiceless before sonorants, voiceless consonants, accordingly, appear in the imperative before /m/: *nieśmy*, *plećmy*, *grośmy*, *powiećmy*, and in Czech *nesme*, *vesme* (from the roots *nes* and *vez*), just like in the word combinations *nes mi*, *ves mi*, whereas voicing is retained in position before /m/ within the word *vezme* 'he will take'.

III

The unique development of the Ukrainian imperative forms has been a constant puzzle to investigators. A whole series of questions kept cropping up: why is the vowel lost in the imperative endings *-mo* and *-te*, while the same vowels are consistently retained in the corresponding forms of the present tense? In other words, how does one explain the difference in the final position of the word between first and second person plural indicative forms like *pasémo*, *paséte* and the corresponding imperative forms *pasím*, *pasít*? What historical reason could be found for the softness of the final consonant in the latter form? Even if one accepts the assumption that Ukrainian consonants originally were soft in the position before /e/, it is difficult to admit that the loss of final /e/ in this ending could have taken place in Ukrainian earlier than the hardening of consonants before /e/.

As the history of the sounds of Ukrainian attests, consonants were hard before /e/ already in the thirteenth century, while examples of second person plural imperative forms without final /e/ are no older than the end of the sixteenth century. The fact that truncated endings occurred "only in the imperative and never in the present indicative" was long a stumbling block for philologists, prompting them to posit rather improbable hypotheses to the effect that the imperative forms in *-te* had been crossed with a supposed proto-Slavic imperative variant in **-tū* (cf. G. Il'inskij, "Zur Geschichte des Imperativs im Kleinrussischen", *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, II/1925, pp. 127-133). The conjecture arose that in the first person plural the Ukrain-

ian imperative employed an alternation between two dialectal variants, *-to* and *-tō*, and that the truncated form of the second person plural came about by analogy with this alternation, but the question of why both of these alternations remained "the exclusive privilege of the imperative" continued to be a source of confusion to the specialists.

Now, the paradigms of the Ukrainian imperative turn out to be clear and fundamentally consistent if they are considered precisely in the light of the specific traits of the imperative, as compared to other forms of the verb. Immediately upon the loss of the weak jers one observes in Ukrainian, just as in the other offshoots of proto-Slavic, a definite tendency toward reducing the imperative singular form to the bare stem. This tendency runs into two limitations. The ending was retained if preceded by not less than two nonsyllabic phonemes (*stúknny*, *pidkrésly*). Moreover, in verbs with an unstressed stem, even if the perfectivizing prefix *vý-* was added, the ending was kept, as a consequence of attracting final stress (*nesý*, *výnesy*), whereas in those cases where /j/ is the final nonsyllabic phoneme, the final vowel is always removed (*taj*, *dij*, *stij*). Where none of the two mentioned conditions was met, i.e. where there was no combination of two nonsyllabic phonemes before the final vowel, nor any unstressed stem, the ending was consistently lost.

If we ask ourselves what, in L. Bloomfield's terms, is the basic alternant in this alternation, the presence of the vowel or its absence, we have to ascribe the role of basic alternant precisely to the absence of a vowel, for the reason that such nonexistent forms as **kýny*, **rády* (instead of *kyn'*, *rad'*) and the like, would be possible within the framework of Ukrainian phonological laws, while formations like **hlýpn'*, **bubn'*, **krýkn'* or **nes'* without stressed vowels (instead of *hlýpny*, *búbny*, *krýknny*, *nesý*) would contradict these laws. Thus the theme without any flexional suffix is seen to serve synchronically as a base form, while the externally conditioned alternant *-y* emerges simply as a paragogical vowel (*rad'*, *kyn'*, *výkyn'*, *vir'*), and this loss of the final vowel spread in Ukrainian to the vocalic prefinal suffix of the plural ending (*rád'mo*, *rád'te*, *kýn'mo*, *kýn'te*, *vírmo*, *vírte*, *hrájmo*, *hrájte*, but: *nesím*, *nesít*, *výnesim*, *výnesit*, *stúknim*, *stúknit*, *pidkréslim*, *pidkréslit*). Compare similar phenomena in the history of Russian, Belorussian, Polish, Czech, and Slovak. The West Slavic languages testify to the fact that this removal of the ending remained a living process. In Polish documents of the fourteenth century, and in Czech documents from the beginning of that century, such survivals as *prosi* were retained in spite of the loss of end stress, but subsequently all these forms with previously stressed *-i* lost the final vowel (Pol. *proś*, Czech *pros*). Moreover, the same principle spread in

Ukrainian to the vowel of the final suffix in these endings as well: if the vowel was preceded by two nonsyllabic phonemes, it was retained, but if preceded by only one, it was lost (compare *stán'mo stán'te* and *stúknim, stúknit'*).

In the dialects, this generalization spread from the final vowel in the imperative singular to the final vowel in the plural form only within the second person, while the final vowel was kept in the first person forms (*nesím - nesít', stúknimo - stúknit', provítymo - provítit'*). Consequently, the alternation between forms with and without final vowel in the second person plural did not at all arise under the influence of the corresponding alternation in the first person plural, as S. Smal-Stockyj assumed (*Grammatik der ruthenischen Sprache* [Vienna, 1913], § 9), but directly on the model of an identical alternation in the imperative singular. Thereupon, by analogy with alternations between final vowel and zero in the second person of both numbers, part of the Ukrainian dialects acquired a similar alternation also in the first person singular forms of the imperative.

Dialects with a systematic vowel ~ zero alternation in the imperative endings, e.g. the western variety of the Ukrainian literary language, which forms the basis for V. Simovyč's *Hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy* (Kiev, 1919), operate with two types of ending in the imperative mood: #/V in the singular, and #/V + C + V/# in the plural (# signifies zero, V = vowel, C = consonant). All these alternations with zero are automatically conditioned by the structure of the unprefixing verb stem, i.e. by the presence or absence of stress on the stem, and by the absence or presence of a cluster of nonsyllabic phonemes preceding the ending. The model of the endings is thus represented by two combinatory variants — either # in the singular and correspondingly # + C + V in the plural, or V in the singular and correspondingly V + C + # in the plural. In the dialect type analyzed here, we find that after a cluster of nonsyllabic phonemes the imperative flexional suffixes demand a vowel, and in these endings of non-prefixing verbs an unstressed vowel is permissible solely after a cluster of nonsyllabic phonemes. Thus, only the consonant is an inalienable element of the imperative plural endings.

In the Ukrainian nominal endings there are no paired hard and soft consonants (i.e. paired as to the presence or absence of the sharpness feature), whereas in the verbal endings these paired consonants are soft in final position (*báčyt, báčat', berít'*), but invariably hard before final vowels (*státy, stála, státy, stánete, stán'te*). From the synchronic point of view we observe that in the imperative, i.e. in the only morphological category where a zero-ending alternates with a vocalic one, the above-mentioned principle of dis-

tribution between softness and hardness has spread also to the final consonantal phoneme of the stem. Here the phonemes (paired as to hardness and softness) are hard before the final vowel of the word, and soft in all other positions: compare *svýsny, žený* and *kyn', kýn'mo, kýn'te, svýsnim, svýsnit'*.

Historically it is to be assumed that the analogy went in the opposite direction —

letý (with hard prevocalic *t*): *trat'* (with soft final *t'*), =
trát'te (with hard prevocalic *t*): "x", i.e. *letít'* (with soft final *t'*).

Thus the softness of the final consonant in the second person singular, as opposed to the hardness of the same consonant before final vowel, could serve as an impetus to softening of the final consonant in the second person plural, as opposed to its hardness before final vowel. Of course the fact that all these paired consonants are soft at the end of Ukrainian flexional suffixes favored the action of the above-mentioned impetus. In this connection it is interesting to note that for the most part dialects with hard /t/ in the third person singular and plural present tense endings display final hard /t/ also in the imperative second person plural (cf. S. Bevzenko, *Istoryčna morfolohija ukraïns'koï movy* [Užhorod, 1960], p. 337).

As to the final vowels of the Ukrainian imperative and of the finite forms in general, it may be noted that both of the specifically personal categories, i.e. the first and second persons, are sharply differentiated by the distinctive features of these vowels: if the form ends in a vowel, the first and marked person, as opposed to the second, unmarked person (see above, p. 6), is characterized by the rounding (flatness) of this vowel (cf. *kýn'mo* versus *svýsny, kýn'te*, or in the indicative *pasú, pasémo* versus *paséte*); further, the narrowness (diffuseness) of the final vowel in the singular personal forms is opposed to the relative broadness (absence of diffuseness) in the final vowel of the personal endings in the plural (cf. *svýsnu* and *svýsny* versus *pasémo, paséte* and *kýn'mo, kýn'te*), so the flatness of the final vowel appears to be monopolized for the first person, in opposition not only to the second person, but, properly speaking, also to the impersonal category, i.e. the so-called 'third person'. Correspondingly, the vowel is equipped with low tonality in the first person endings (*im, xválymo, xvalím*), but with high tonality in the second and third person endings (*išý, xvályš, xvályte, xvalít'; xvályt', xvályjat'*).

Analysis of the Ukrainian imperative and its conjugation in general ought to be brought into the context of typological and comparative historical studies of the Slavic verb systems. When such a structural analysis is undertaken in its full breadth and consequence, new light will undoubtedly be cast

on the morphological structure and development of the Slavic verb, and the special place occupied by the imperative among the other grammatical categories will stand out more clearly. It is already possible to present for discussion various preliminary considerations of a synthetic nature.

This article ("Строй українського імператива"), which was written in Chicago at the beginning of 1963 for the Zdzisław Stieber Festschrift – *Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej* V (1965), is based on lectures given at a Departmental Session of Masaryk University (Brno, 1933), at the Yale Linguistic Club (1943), and at MIT (1961).

Chapter Five

SHIFTERS, VERBAL CATEGORIES, AND THE RUSSIAN VERB

1. SHIFTERS AND OTHER DUPLEX STRUCTURES

1.1. A message sent by its addresser must be adequately perceived by its receiver. Any message is encoded by its sender and is to be decoded by its addressee. The more closely the addressee approximates the code used by the addresser, the higher is the amount of information obtained. Both the message (M) and the underlying code (C) are vehicles of linguistic communication, but both of them function in a duplex manner; they may at once be utilized and referred to (= pointed at). Thus a message may refer to the code or to another message, and on the other hand, the general meaning of a code unit may imply a reference (*renvoi*) to the code or to the message. Accordingly four DUPLEX types must be distinguished; 1) two kinds of CIRCULARITY – message referring to message (M/M) and code referring to code (C/C); 2) two kinds of OVERLAPPING – message referring to code (M/C) and code referring to message (C/M).

1.2. M/M) "REPORTED SPEECH is speech within speech, a message within a message and at the same time it is also speech about speech, a message about a message," as Vološinov formulates it in his study of this crucial linguistic and stylistic problem. Such "relayed" or "displaced" speech, to use Bloomfield's terms, may prevail in our discourse, since we are far from confining our speech to events sensed in the present by the speaker himself. We quote others and our own former utterances, and we are even prone to present some of our current experiences in the form of self-quotation, for instance by confronting them with statements by someone else: "Ye have heard that it hath been said*** But I say unto you****" There is a multiplex scale of linguistic processes for quoted and quasi-quoted speech; *oratio recta, obliqua*, and various forms of "represented discourse" (*style indirect libre*). Certain languages, as for instance Bulgarian (s. Andrejčin), Kwakiutl

(s. Boas), and Hopi (s. Whorf), use particular morphological devices to denote events known to the speaker only from the testimony of others. Thus in Tunica all statements made from hearsay (and this covers the majority of sentences in the texts aside from those in direct discourse) are indicated by the presence of /-áni/, a quotative postfix used with a predicative word (Haas).

1.3. C/C) PROPER NAMES, treated in Gardiner's "controversial essay" as a very knotty problem of linguistic theory, take a particular place in our linguistic code: the general meaning of a proper name cannot be defined without a reference to the code. In the code of English, "Jerry" means a person named Jerry. The circularity is obvious: the name means anyone to whom this name is assigned. The appellative *pup* means a young dog, *mongrel* means a dog of mixed breed, *hound* is a dog used in hunting, while *Fido* means nothing more than a dog whose name is *Fido*. The general meaning of such words as *pup*, *mongrel*, or *hound*, could be indicated by abstractions like puppyhood, mongrelness, or houndness, but the general meaning of *Fido* cannot be qualified in this way. To paraphrase Bertrand Russell, there are many dogs called *Fido*, but they do not share any property of "Fidonesse". Also the indefinite pronoun corresponding to names such as Jean, Jan, Joan, June, etc. – the "what's-her-name" or "what-do-you-call-her" or "how-d'ye-call-her" – includes a patent reference to the code.

1.4. M/C) A message referring to the code is in logic termed an AUTONYMOUS mode of speech. When we say, *The pup is a winsome animal* or *The pup is whimpering*, the word *pup* designates a young dog, whereas in such sentences as "*Pup*" is a noun which means a young dog, or more briefly, "*Pup*" means a young dog or "*Pup*" is a monosyllable, the word *pup* – one may state with Carnap – is used as its own designation. Any elucidating interpretation of words and sentences – whether intralingual (circumlocutions, synonyms) or interlingual (translation) – is a message referring to the code. Such a hypostasis – as Bloomfield pointed out – "is closely related to quotation, the repetition of speech", and it plays a vital role in the acquisition and use of language.

1.5. C/M) Any linguistic code contains a particular class of grammatical units which Jespersen labeled SHIFTERS: the general meaning of a shifter cannot be defined without a reference to the message.

Their semiotic nature was discussed by Burks in his study on Peirce's classification of signs into symbols, indices, and icons. According to Peirce, a

symbol (e.g. the English word *red*) is associated with the represented object by a conventional rule, while an index (e.g. the act of pointing) is in existential relation with the object it represents. Shifters combine both functions and belong therefore to the class of INDEXICAL SYMBOLS. As a striking example Burks cites the personal pronoun. *I* means the person uttering *I*. Thus on one hand, the sign *I* cannot represent its object without being associated with the latter "by a conventional rule", and in different codes the same meaning is assigned to different sequences such as *I*, *ego*, *ich*, *ja* etc.: consequently *I* is a symbol. On the other hand, the sign *I* cannot represent its object without "being in existential relation" with this object: the word *I* designating the utterer is existentially related to his utterance, and hence functions as an index (cf. Benveniste).

The peculiarity of the personal pronoun and other shifters was often believed to consist in the lack of a single, constant, general meaning. Husserl: "Das Wort 'ich' nennt von Fall zu Fall eine andere Person, und es tut dies mittels immer neuer Bedeutung". For this alleged multiplicity of contextual meanings, shifters in contradistinction to symbols were treated as mere indices (Bühler). Every shifter, however, possesses its own general meaning. Thus *I* means the addresser (and *you*, the addressee) of the message to which it belongs. For Bertrand Russell, shifters, or in his terms "egocentric particulars", are defined by the fact that they never apply to more than one thing at a time. This, however, is common to all the syncategorematic terms. E.g. the conjunction *but* each time expresses an adversative relation between two stated concepts and not the generic idea of contrariety. In fact, shifters are distinguished from all other constituents of the linguistic code solely by their compulsory reference to the given message.

The indexical symbols, and in particular the personal pronouns, which the Humboldtian tradition conceives as the most elementary and primitive stratum of language, are, on the contrary, a complex category where code and message overlap. Therefore pronouns belong to the late acquisitions in child language and to the early losses in aphasia. If we observe that even linguistic scientists had difficulties in defining the general meaning of the term *I* (or *you*), which signifies the same intermittent function of different subjects, it is quite obvious that the child who has learned to identify himself with his proper name will not easily become accustomed to such alienable terms as the personal pronouns: he may be afraid of speaking of himself in the first person while being called *you* by his interlocutors. Sometimes he attempts to redistribute these appellations. For instance, he tries to monopolize the first person pronoun: "Don't dare call yourself I. Only I am I, and you are only

you." Or he uses indiscriminately either *I* or *you* both for the addresser and the addressee so that this pronoun means any participant of the given dialogue. Or finally *I* is so rigorously substituted by the child for his proper name that he readily names any person of his surroundings but stubbornly refuses to utter his own name: the name has for its little bearer only a vocative meaning, opposed to the nominative function of *I*. This attitude may persevere as an infantile survival. Thus Guy de Maupassant confessed that his name sounded quite strange to him when pronounced by himself. The refusal to utter one's own name may become a social custom. Zelenin notes that in the Samoyede society the name was taboo for its carrier.

1.6. *Jim told me "flicks" means "movies"*. This brief utterance includes all four types of duplex structures: reported speech (M/M), the autonomous form of speech (M/C), a proper name (C/C), and shifters (C/M), namely the first person pronoun and the preterit, signaling an event prior to the delivery of the message. In language and in the use of language, duplicity plays a cardinal role. In particular, the classification of grammatical, and especially verbal, categories requires a consistent discrimination of shifters.

2. ATTEMPT TO CLASSIFY VERBAL CATEGORIES

2.1. In order to classify the verbal categories two basic distinctions are to be observed:

- 1) speech itself (^s), and its topic, the narrated matter (ⁿ);
- 2) the event itself (E), and any of its participants (P), whether "performer" or "undergoer".

Consequently four items are to be distinguished: a narrated event (Eⁿ), a speech event (E^s), a participant of the narrated event (Pⁿ), and a participant of the speech event (P^s), whether addresser or addressee.

2.11. Any verb is concerned with a narrated event. Verbal categories may be subdivided into those which do and those which do not involve the participants of the event. Categories involving the participants may characterize either the participants themselves (Pⁿ) or their relation to the narrated event (PⁿEⁿ). Categories abstracting from the participants characterize either the narrated event itself (Eⁿ) or its relation to another narrated event (EⁿEⁿ). For categories characterizing only one narrated item — either the event (Eⁿ)

itself or its participants (Pⁿ) themselves — the term DESIGNATORS will be used, while those categories which characterize a narrated item (Eⁿ or Pⁿ) with respect to another narrated item (EⁿEⁿ or PⁿEⁿ) will be termed CONNECTORS.

Designators indicate either the quality or the quantity of the narrated item and may be termed QUALIFIERS and QUANTIFIERS respectively.

Both designators and connectors may characterize the narrated event (*procès de l'énoncé*) and/or its participants either without or with reference to the speech event (*procès de l'énonciation*) (. . /E^s) or its participants (. . /P^s). Categories implying such a reference are to be termed SHIFTERS; those without such a reference are NON-SHIFTERS.

With regard to these basic dichotomies any generic verbal category can be defined.

2.2. Pⁿ) Among categories involving the participants of the narrated event, GENDER and NUMBER characterize the participants themselves without reference to the speech event — gender qualifies, and number quantifies the participants. E.g. in Algonquian, verbal forms indicate whether the performer on the one hand, and the undergoer on the other, are animate or inanimate (Bloomfield, 1946); and the singleness, duality, or multiplicity of performers as well as undergoers is expressed in Koryak conjugation (Bogoraz).

2.21. Pⁿ/P^s) PERSON characterizes the participants of the narrated event with reference to the participants of the speech event. Thus first person signals the identity of a participant of the narrated event with the performer of the speech event, and the second person, the identity with the actual or potential undergoer of the speech event.

2.3. Eⁿ) STATUS and ASPECT characterize the narrated event itself without involving its participants and without reference to the speech event. Status (in Whorf's terminology) defines the logical quality of the event. E.g. in Gilyak, the affirmative, presumptive, negative, interrogative, and negative-interrogative statuses are expressed by special verbal forms (Krejnovič). In English the assertive status uses the "do"-combinations which in certain conditions are optional for an affirmative assertion but compulsory for a negative or questioned assertion. On aspects which quantify the narrated event see examples in 3.3.

2.31. E^nE^s) TENSE characterizes the narrated event with reference to the speech event. Thus the preterit informs us that the narrated event is anterior to the speech event.

2.4. P^nE^n) VOICE characterizes the relation between the narrated event and its participants without reference to the speech event or to the speaker.

2.41. P^nE^n/P^s) MOOD characterizes the relation between the narrated event and its participants with reference to the participants of the speech event: in Vinogradov's formulation, this category "reflects the speaker's view of the character of the connection between the action and the actor or the goal".

2.5. E^nE^n) There is no standardized name for this category; such labels as "relative tense" cover only one of its varieties. Bloomfield's (1946) term "order" or rather its Greek model "taxis" seems to be the most appropriate. TAXIS characterizes the narrated event in relation to another narrated event and without reference to the speech event, thus Gilyak distinguishes three kinds of independent taxis — one requires, one admits, and one excludes a dependent taxis, and the dependent taxes express various relationships with the independent verb — simultaneity, anteriority, interruption, concessive connection, etc. A similar Hopi pattern is described by Whorf.

2.51. E^nE^{ns}/E^s) EVIDENTIAL is a tentative label for the verbal category which takes into account three events — a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event (E^{ns}), namely the alleged source of information about the narrated event. The speaker reports an event on the basis of someone else's report (quotative, i.e. hearsay evidence), of a dream (revelative evidence), of a guess (presumptive evidence) or of his own previous experience (memory evidence). Bulgarian conjugation distinguishes two semantically opposite sets of forms: "direct narration" ($E^{ns} = E^s$) vs. "indirect narration" ($E^{ns} \neq E^s$). To our question, what happened to the steamer *Evdokija*, a Bulgarian first answered: *zaminala* "it is claimed to have sailed", and then added: *zamina* "I bear witness; it sailed". (Cf. H. G. Lunt on the systematic distinction made in the Macedonian verbal pattern between "vouched for" and "distanced" events.)

2.6. The interrelation of all these generic categories may be illustrated by the following over-all scheme:

	<i>P involved</i>		<i>P not involved</i>	
	<i>Designator</i>	<i>Connector</i>	<i>Designator</i>	<i>Connector</i>
<i>Qualifier:</i> <i>Quantifier:</i>	Gender Number	Voice	Status Aspect	Taxis
<i>Shifter:</i> <i>Shifter:</i>	Person	Mood	Tense	Evidential

With special regard to the opposition shifters vs. non-shifters, we condense this model into a simpler table:

	<i>P involved</i>		<i>P not involved</i>	
	<i>Designator</i>	<i>Connector</i>	<i>Designator</i>	<i>Connector</i>
<i>Non-shifter:</i> <i>Shifter:</i>	P^n P^n/P^s	P^nE^n P^nE^n/P^s	E^n E^n/E^s	E^nE^n E^nE^{ns}/E^s

3. THE GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTS OF THE RUSSIAN VERB

3.1. Let us list and classify the grammatical concepts expressed by the Russian verbal forms. This list amends and complements our studies of 1932 and 1939. As was pointed out in these papers, one of two mutually opposite grammatical categories is "marked" while the other is "unmarked". The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A. The unmarked term is always the negative of the marked term, but on the level of general meaning the opposition of the two contradictories may be interpreted as "statement of A" vs. "no statement of A", whereas on the level of "narrowed", nuclear meanings, we encounter the opposition "statement of A" vs. "statement of non-A".

When referring to a pair of opposite grammatical categories, we always qualify them as "marked vs. unmarked" in that order. Likewise, in referring to classes, first the designators and then the connectors are mentioned. Within each of these classes, categories involving P are listed before categories confined to E. Finally it is appropriate to treat the shifters before the corresponding non-shifters.

All verbal categories are dealt with except participles, a hybrid class which grammatically pertains both to the verb and to the adjective.

3.2. PERSON: a) personal (signaling that $P^n = P^s$) vs. impersonal; b) within personal: first person (signaling the addresser) vs. second person (signaling any imaginable P^s and more narrowly the addressee); c) within 2nd person: inclusive (signaling the participation of the addresser) vs. exclusive (without such an indication). Imperative and hortative use this distinction: cf. *otdoxnem* and *otdoxni*, *otdoxnemte* and *otdoxnite*.

3.21. GENDER: a) subjective (signaling the presence of P^n) vs. neuter; b) within subjective: feminine (signaling that P^n is not male) vs. masculine (which does not specify sex): *Vošel staršij vrač, ženščina let soroka*.

NUMBER: plural (signaling the plurality of P^n) vs. singular.

3.3. TENSE: preterit vs. present.

3.31. STATUS is expressed in Russian on a syntactical, but not on a morphological level: cf. *Ne on . . . Ne pojdet . . . On li? . . . Pojdet li?*

ASPECT: a) perfective (concerned with the absolute completion of E^n) vs. imperfective (noncommittal with respect to completion or noncompletion): cf. impf. *pet* 'to sing' and pf. *spet* 'to complete singing'; impf. *dopevat* 'to be in the final stage of singing' and pf. *dopet* 'to complete the final stage of singing'; impf. *zapevat* 'to be in the initial stage of singing' and pf. *zapat* 'to complete the initial stage of singing'. The preterit signals that of two events, E^n precedes E^s , while the present implies no sequence; consequently a perfective verb in the preterit cannot be used for a reiterated completion, since only the last completion in the temporal sequence is expressed by the perfective aspect: *Inogda on pogovarival (impf.) o reformax* (the pf. *pogovoril* could not be used); *To vystrel razdavsja (impf.), to slyšalis' kiki* (perfective preterits *razdavsja*, *poslyšalis'* could not be substituted for these imperfective forms). Only if the repetitive event is summed up and its final completion is stated, the perfective preterit may be used: *Za vse eti dni on ponagovoril o reformax*. In the present, where no temporal sequence is grammatically involved, each completion is absolute, and the perfective is used: *Inogda on pogovoril o reformax; To vystrel razdavsja, to kiki poslyšatsja*. The perfective preterit signals the temporal antecedence of E^n (in relation to E^s) and its completion. The perfective present does not indicate whether E^n precedes E^s or not, and when used in its narrowed, nuclear meaning, it intimates that

E^n does not precede E^s , and thus its envisaged completion is posterior to E^s : futurity is the most usual meaning of the perfective present, e.g. *Oni zakričat* 'They are expected to raise a cry'.

b) within imperfective: determinate (signaling the integrity, unbrokenness of E^n) vs. indeterminate, e.g. *exat' - ezdit'*.

c) within imperfective and indeterminate: iterative (signaling a formerly reiterated or habitual and later irrevocable E^n) vs. non-iterative: *On pljasjval* 'He used to dance but later ceased to' - *On pljasal* 'He danced'.

d) within imperfective: inceptive (signaling the inception of E^n) vs. non-inceptive.

e) within inceptive: perfectivized ("future") vs. non-perfectivized. Both varieties of the inceptive are expressed by periphrastic forms combining the infinitive of an imperfective verb with the present forms of the auxiliary verb "to be". The non-perfectivized inceptive uses the imperfective form of the auxiliary verb, while the perfectivized inceptive resorts to the corresponding perfective forms. The imperfective present form is expressed by a zero form (\emptyset), opposed to the imperfective preterit *byl* etc. on the one hand, and to the perfective present *budu* etc. on the other hand. The non-perfectivized inceptive simply states the act of starting: *Oni kričat* 'they are about to cry'; the perfectivized inceptive anticipates the completion of the starting act: *Oni budut kričat* 'They are expected to cry'. The relation between these two forms is similar to the usual relation between *Oni kričat* and *Oni zakričat*, [It has been objected that such forms as *Oni kričat* are mere elliptical constructions (= *Oni stali* or *načali kričat*) allegedly confined to the terminal position in a sentence and to infinitives rendering an exterior, palpable action. The belief that a finite verb is omitted in such expressions has long ago been correctly discarded by Šaxmatov, and vainly would one endeavor to replace the zero form of the auxiliary verb "to be" by some preterits in proverbs like *Ljudi molotit', a on zamki kolotit'* 'People are about to thresh, while he is about to break locks'. Neither the restrictive references to "a final position" and to "a concrete action", nor the old attempts to call in question the use of the second person in this type of construction take into account such current turns of speech (let us say in reply to Isačenko) as *Ty filosofstvovat', da vsě bez tolku* 'You are about to philosophize, yet still it makes no sense at all'.]

3.4. MOOD: a) conditional (signaling events which could happen in the speaker's view without having actually happened) vs. indicative.

Cf. *Žil by on na vole, ne znal by pečali* 'If he lived in freedom, he would

know no sorrow' and *Žil on na vole, ne znal pečali* 'He lived in freedom and knew no sorrow'; *Žit' by emu na vole, ne znat' by pečali* 'If he could live in freedom, he would know no sorrow' and *Žit' emu na vole, ne znat' pečali* 'May he live in freedom and know no sorrow'; *Žit' by emu na vole!* 'May he live in freedom!'

b) injunctive (signaling the Eⁿ as imposed upon the participant) vs. indicative.

There are two basic varieties of the injunctive: either it figures as a pure appeal (address-form) or it is transposed into a declarative statement.

Two appeal forms of the injunctive are to be distinguished: hortative (signaling a participation in the Eⁿ) vs. imperative. The latter calls for a participation in the Eⁿ, while the former adds a coaxing note. The perfective and determinate verbs express these categories by univerbal forms while the other verbs use periphrastic forms to indicate the inclusive person. E.g. in the hortative, the perfective verb *napisat'* and the corresponding imperfective *pisat'* present the paradigm: addresser *napišu-ka, budu-ka pisat'*, addressee *napiši-ka, piši-ka*, addressees *napišite-ka, pišite-ka*, addresser-addressee *napišem-ka, budem-ka pisat'*, (attenuated appeal: *davaj-ka pisat'*), addresser-addressees, *napišemte-ka, budemte-ka pisat'* (attenuated *davajte-ka pisat'*). The imperative offers the same paradigm as the hortative, but without the particle *ka* and without the exclusive addresser form (1 Sg.): in the imperative the addressee is always involved whether in singular or in plural and whether with or without addresser's participation, whereas the hortative involves the addressee and/or the addresser. Only the hortative of the determinate verbs lacks the 1 Sg. form.

The declarative form of the injunctive contains no distinctions of grammatical person or number and syntactically may be applied to each of the so-called "three persons" in both numbers. When used in a conditional clause, it means a counterfactual assumption of the speaker: *Pobegi (or begi) on, emu by ne sdrovrat'* 'Had he set out running (had he run), it would have turned out badly for him'. In an independent clause this form of imperfective verbs means a compulsion upon the Pⁿ assumed by the P^s: *Vse otdyxajut, a on begi* 'Everybody is resting, while he has to run'. The corresponding perfective form means an action performed by Pⁿ but so surprising for P^s that it seems counterfactual; *Vse otdyxajut, a on (ni s togo, ni s sego) pobegi* 'Everybody is resting, while he (all of a sudden) sets off running'. When such a narrative injunctive is built from imperfective verbs, it resorts to a periphrastic imperative form: *Vse otdyxajut, a on (ni s togo, ni s sego) davaj bežat'* 'Everyone is resting, while he (all of a sudden) is running'. Thus the narrative

injunctive of a perfective verb uses its imperative addressee form ("2 Sg."), while the narrative injunctive of an imperfective verb uses the imperative addressee form of the auxiliary verb *davaj*. Only the imperfective verbs when used in independent clauses express the difference between the two varieties of a declarative injunctive: assumptive *begi* and narrative *davaj bežat'*.

3.41. VOICE: reflexive vs. non-reflexive. In contradistinction to the latter, the "reflexive" restricts the participation in the narrated event. The non-reflexive verb corresponding to the reflexive verb may syntactically be transitive or intransitive. The transitive admits two primary Pⁿ — a subject and a direct object, and the reflexive form excludes the second of them. Cf. *Sonja myla posudu* 'S. washed the dishes' and *Sonja mylas* 'S. washed herself' or *Posuda mylas* 'The dishes were washed'. The grammatical subject is the only primary participant admitted by the intransitive verb. As a rule, the corresponding reflexive form excludes the subject and is used only in impersonal constructions (cf. *Ja tjaželo dyšu* 'I breathe heavily' and *Tjaželo dyšitsja* 'It's difficult to breathe'); or in a few cases, the sphere of action undergoes a substantial restriction (cf. *Parus beleet* 'A sail shows white' and *Parus beleetsja vdali* 'A sail glimmers white in the distance'; *zvonju* 'I ring' and *zvonjus'* 'I ring at the door').

3.5. EVIDENTIAL is expressed in Russian only on a syntactical level. Cf. such particles as *de, mol*, and the devices used by the various forms of direct and indirect speech.

3.51. TAXIS: a) dependent (signaling an Eⁿ concomitant with another, principal Eⁿ) vs. independent. A tense in a dependent taxis functions itself as a taxis: it signals the temporal relation to the principal Eⁿ and not to the E^s as tense does in an independent taxis.

The relation preterit vs. present is changed into an opposition definable in Whorf's terms as sequential (signaling the temporal contact between the two Eⁿ). Imperfective preterit gerund: *Vstrečav ee v rannej molodosti, on snova uvidel ee čerez dvadcat' let* 'After having repeatedly met her in his early youth, he saw her again twenty years later'; *Nikogda ne vstrečav ego ran še, ja včera poznakomilsja s nim* 'Having never met him before, yesterday I made his acquaintance'. Imperfective present gerund: *Vstrečaja družej, on radoval-sja or raduetsja* 'When meeting friends, he was (is) delighted'; *On umer rabotaja* 'He died while working' (both events are closely connected in time). There is a similar relation between the preterit and present form of the perfective

gerund – *vstretiv* and *vstretja*. It is hardly possible to substitute the latter form for the former in such a sentence as *Vstretiv ee v rannej molodosti, on snova uvidel ee čez dvadcat' let* 'After having met her once in his early youth, he saw her again twenty years later' or *nikogda s nej bol'še ne videlsja* 'never saw her again'. One can say *Pročitav* (or *pročtja*) *knigu, on zadumalsja* 'Having read the book, he lapsed into thought', but *pročtja* could not be used in the sentence *Pročitav knigu, on vposledstvii často govoril o nej* 'When he read a book, later on he often spoke about it'. Examples of the perfective present gerund: *vstretja vas, ja* (one may add *pri ètom*) *ne poveril* (or *ne xotel verit'*) *svoim glazam* 'Having met you, I did not believe (did not want to believe) my eyes': both events are nearly simultaneous. If the principal verb precedes such a gerund, the latter may express the resultant of the first of two closely contiguous events: *On vnes predloženie, vstretja (pri ètom) rjad vozraženij* 'He introduced a proposal which met with a number of objections'; *Ona upala, povredja sebe (pri ètom) rebro* 'She fell and thereby hurt a rib'. Only a few verbs build a perfective present gerund, and even in their paradigms there is a tendency to replace such forms by the preterit form and in this way abolish the distinction between sequential and concursive in the perfective gerunds: *On zažeg spičku, osvetiv* (substituted for *osvetja*) *komnatu* 'He struck a match and thereby lighted up the room', but *On zažigal spičku, každyj raz osveščaja* (and not *osveščav*) *na mig komnatu* 'Each time he struck a match, he lighted up the room for a second'.

In the Moscow speech of my generation the sequential is split into two purely tactic forms – consequential (signaling an internal connection between the two Eⁿ) vs. non-consequential (without implying internal connection): *Nikogda ne vstrečavši akterov, on ne znal, kak govorit' s nimi* 'Since he had never met actors, he did not know how to approach them'; *Nikogda prežde ne vstrečav akterov, on slučajno poznamilsja s Kačalovym* 'Having never before met actors, he became acquainted with K.'; *Vstretivši ego, ona gusto pokrasnela* 'She blushed scarlet, because of having met him', *Vstretiv Petra, on vskore stolknulsja ešče s neskol'kimi znakomymi* 'Shortly after having met Peter, he ran into some other friends'. It is easier to substitute forms like *vstretiv* for forms like *vstretivši* than vice versa. One may say, *Snjavši* (or *snjav*) *pal'to, ja počuvstvoval pronizyvajuščij xolod* 'When I took off my coat, I (consequently) felt a piercing cold'. But the form *snjavši* is scarcely possible in a sentence like *Snjav pal'to, ja sel za stol* 'After having taken off my coat, I sat down at the table'. Thus the alleged synonymity of such forms as *sxvatja*, *sxvativ*, *sxvativši* or *poxalturja*, *poxalturiv*, *poxalturivši* is actually invalid.

3.6. Among all verbal forms, it is the infinitive which carries the minimal grammatical information. It says nothing either about the participant of the narrated event or about the relation of this event to other narrated events and to the speech event. Thus the infinitive excludes person, gender, number, taxis and tense.

To a lesser extent than in the infinitive, the concurrence of verbal categories undergoes restrictive laws.

Gender and marked number (plural) are mutually exclusive.

Person and gender are mutually exclusive.

Person implies number.

Person and marked tense (preterit) are mutually exclusive.

P-designators and marked taxis (gerund) are mutually exclusive.

Among marked aspects, 1) perfective, determinate and iterative, 2) perfective, iterative and inceptive are mutually exclusive, and only determinate and inceptive are compatible: e.g. *On bežat'* and *On budet bežat'*.

Inceptive excludes marked tense (preterit), marked (non-indicative) mood and marked taxis (gerund).

Iterative excludes present and injunctive (correlated with the present).

Conditional and present are mutually exclusive.

Except for the appeal forms of the injunctive, marked (non-indicative) moods and person are mutually exclusive.

The appeal forms exclude the opposition personal vs. impersonal and imply the opposition inclusive vs. non-inclusive.

Marked (non-indicative) mood and marked taxis (gerund) are mutually exclusive.

Aspect and voice are the only categories compatible with all verbal categories whatsoever. Among aspects, however, only the pairs perfective vs. imperfective and determinate vs. indeterminate embrace all verbal categories. The pair inceptive vs. non-inceptive is confined to the present, whereas the opposition iterative vs. non-iterative excludes only the present and the injunctive. Cf. *My živali v stolice* 'We are no longer living in the capital, as we used to in the past'; *Ešli by on ne žival v stolice, on skoree privyk by k derevne* 'If he had never lived in the capital as he used to, it would be easier for him to get accustomed to the country'; *Živavši podolgu v stolice, on ne mog svyknut'sja s provinciej* 'Having formerly spent long intervals in the capital, he could hardly adjust himself to the province'; *Emu privedos' živat' podolgu v derevne* 'Only in the past he had occasion to spend long intervals in the country'; *V ètom gorode nam ne živat'* 'Nevermore are we to live in this

city as we used to'; *Na čužbine ne živat' – toski ne znavat'* 'He who has not spent a lot of time in foreign lands, has not experienced nostalgia'.

For the non-transitive verbs the voice opposition reflexive *vs.* non-reflexive is usually confined to the unmarked person (impersonal) of the unmarked aspect (imperfective).

4. THE GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES OF THE RUSSIAN VERB

4.1. Any Russian inflected form comprehends a stem and a desinence. Stems are prefixed or unprefixed (simple). In our examples a desinence is separated from a stem by a dash, a prefix from the following morpheme by a plus, and morphemes within a simple stem or desinence are separated from each other by a hyphen, e.g. /ví + rv-a-l-a-s/.

A stem may include a stem-suffix, e.g. /rv-á-t'/, or be unsuffixed, e.g. /grís-t'/. A verbal stem may present two alternants – the full-stem and the truncated stem, differing from the former ordinarily by the omission of the final phoneme, e.g. /znáj-/:/zná-/: /rvá-/:/rv-/. Full stems are divided into closed stems ending in a non-syllabic, /znáj-/, /star-, -éj-/, /gríz-/, and open stems, ending in a syllabic, /rvá-/, /dú-nu-/ (for a detailed account see our paper of 1948).

Three types of desinental morphemes are to be distinguished; an "initial suffix" which is never preceded by another desinental suffix, e.g. /rv-a-l-á/ or /rv-a-l-á-s/, /rv'-ó-m/ or /rv'-ó-m-sa/; a "final suffix" which does occur without being followed by another suffix, e.g. /rv-a-l-á/, /rv'-ó-m/; a "postfix" which may be added to a final suffix, e.g. /rv-a-l-á-s/, /rv'-ó-m-sa/, /rv-á-f-ši/. If a desinence consists of one suffix, the latter is at once initial and final, e.g. /rv-ú/, /griz'-á/. The desinences are divided into consonantal and vocalic. The consonantal desinences begin with a consonant /gríz-l-a/ or consist of one consonant /zná-f/. The vocalic desinences begin with a vowel /griz'-ó-š/ or consist of one vowel /griz-ú/ or of a zero alternating with a vowel /znáj-#/: /griz'-í/.

Different verbal categories make use of unsimilar grammatical processes.

4.2. Person, gender, and number employ the final desinental suffixes. When person is expressed, the distinction between the two numbers and between the first and second person is conveyed by the same suffixes at once, while the "third person" is rendered by the final, and its number by the initial suffix /gar'-í-t/:/gar'-á-t/. This is the only exception to the utilization of

final suffixes by the designators characterizing the participants of the narrated event. With this separate expression of number and "third" person, compare the pronominal pattern: while suppletion is used in the pronouns of the first and second person (/já/ and /mí/, /tí/ and /ví/), the "third person" is expressed by the root and the difference of gender and number by the desinences: /ón-#/ , /an-á/ and /an'-í/.

4.3. To signal tenses, vocalic desinences are used for the present, and consonantal ones for the preterit, /znáj-u/:/zná-l-#/; /znáj-a/:/zná-f/; /rv'-ó-m/:/rv-á-l'-i/. Vocalic desinences distinguish the present and the injunctive mood, correlated with the present indicative, from all other verbal forms – preterit as well as infinitive. The latter uses a one-suffix consonantal desinence which ends in zero alternating with a vowel (/zná-t'/: /n'is-t'í/).

4.31. Aspects are differentiated by modifications in the stem (stem-suffixes or prefixation) and by periphrastic forms. The pair determinate *vs.* indeterminate is distinguished by the alternation of two unprefixed stems: either an open full-stem is opposed to a closed full-stem ending in /-aj-/, /-áj-/, or an unsuffixed stem is opposed to a suffixed stem: /b'iz'-á-/:/b'ég-aj-/, /l'it'-é-/:/l'it-áj-/, /kat'-í-/:/kat-áj-/, /n'ós-/:/nas-í-/. The two unprefixed stems of the pair iterative *vs.* non-iterative are distinguished by the suffix /-ivaj-/ or /-váj-/ in the iterative form, e.g. /p'is-ivaj-/:/p'is-á-/, /čit-ivaj-/:/čit-áj-/, /zna-váj-/:/znaj-/. If a prefix is added to an iterative *vs.* non-iterative or determinate *vs.* indeterminate pair, then unless the lexical meaning of the pair diverges, the relation between its members changes into the opposition perfective *vs.* imperfective. Determinate and indeterminate become perfective and imperfective respectively, while iterative changes into imperfective and non-iterative into perfective, cf. /pr'i + n'ós-/:/pr'i + nas'-í-/: /ví + p'is-a-/:/vi + p'is-ivaj-/. In other pairs, perfective *vs.* imperfective, a prefixed stem is opposed to an unprefixed one or an open full-stem to a closed one ending in /-aj-/, /-áj-/, e.g. /na + p'is-á-/:/p'is-á-/, /r'is'-í-/:/r'is'-áj-/, /p'ix-nú-/:/p'ix-áj-/, /at + r'éz-a-/:/at + r'iz-áj-/. If both members of a perfective *vs.* imperfective pair have open stems, the stem-suffix /-nu-/, /-nú-/ signals the perfective verb, e.g. /kr'ík-nu-/:/kr'ič-á-/, /max-nú-/:/max-á-/.

The inceptive aspect combines the infinitive of the given verb with the perfective and imperfective present of the verb "to be".

4.4. Among the connectors, the non-shifters are expressed by means of postfixes. The marked voice joins a postfix to the final desinential suffix of the corresponding unmarked voice; the reflexive adds the postfix /-s/ or its automatic variants /-sa/, /-sá/ and /-ca/, e.g. /fstr'éc--u-s/, /fstr'ét'-i-š-sa/, /fstr'ét'-i-t-ca/. The correlative form of the preterit gerund adds the postfix /-ši/ to the non-correlative forms, e.g. /fstr'ét'-i-f-ši/:/fstr'ét'-i-f/. But before a second postfix, namely in the preterit gerund of reflexive verbs, the opposition correlative vs. non-correlative is abolished: the form /fstr'ét'-i-f-ši-s/ is the only one existing.

Hence of two successive postfixes the antecedent is redundant.

The shifters pertaining to the class of connectors, namely the moods, use enclitic particles, "annexes", in Whorf's terminology, instead of desinential suffixes and postfixes. The combination of such annexes with the preceding verbal morpheme undergoes the rules of external sandhi, whereas the combination of ordinary suffixes is governed by the laws of internal sandhi. In the injunctive moods, at the contact of annexes with the preceding morpheme, there appear clusters otherwise inadmissible within one word, as for instance /p't'/, /f't'/, /p's/, /f's/, /t's/, /s's/, /p'k/, /f'k/, or distinctions like /m't':/mt'/, /m's':/ms/, /m'k':/mk/. Cf. /pa + znakóm'-#-t'i/ and /pa + jd'-ó-m-t'i/, /pa + znakóm'-#-sa/ and /pra + jd'-ó-m-sa/, /pa + znakóm'-#-ka/ and /pa + jd'-ó-m-ka/. A space separating the hyphens and dashes from such annexes in our transcription symbolizes their particular character. In the indicative /v'il'-í-t'i/ there usually figures the close variant of /í/ due to the subsequent palatalized consonant of the same word, while in the imperative /v'il'-í-t'i/, sometimes — within the explicit code of standard Russian — we may observe a more open variant of /í/, as in the word group /pr'i + v'i-l-í t'ibé/, since the laws of internal sandhi do not work here. While the injunctive forms deal with fixed particles, the conditional operates with the movable particle /bi/ and its optional contextual variants /b/, /p/.

The particle /ka/ is specifically hortative, while the two other particles used by the injunctive — the 2 Pl. /t'i/ and the reflexive /s/ or /sa/ are merely changed from a suffix and postfix into annexes. All these particles may be strung together and each one, or two, or all three of them, may be appended to both annex-less injunctive forms which can also be used separately. One of these forms is the verb stem with the desinential suffix -# (substituted by /-i/, /-í/ after a cluster and after a stem which has no fixed stress on its root or stem-suffix), e.g. /fstr'ét'-#/, /kr'íkn'-i/, /s'id'-í/, /ví + s'id'-i/. In the whole Russian verbal pattern, it is the only example of a zero as the basic alternant of a desinence. The other annex-less form is identical with the 1 Pl.

of the perfective present but differs from the latter syntactically (absence of pronoun), semantically (it means 'let me and thee') and paradigmatically: /fstr'ét'-i-m/ is opposed to /fstr'ét'-i-m-t'i/ as "singular addressee" vs. "plural addressee", and to /fstr'et'-i-m-ka/ as imperative vs. hortative. Cf. the maximal accumulation of grammatical morphemes in /pa + v'id-áj-i-m-ti-s-ka/. Also the 1 Sg. of the perfective present is utilized in injunctive forms but only jointly with the annex /ka/.

A few periphrastic forms of injunctive moods combine the infinitive of a verb with injunctive forms of auxiliary verbs: /búd'-i-m/, /búd'-i-m-t'i/, /búd'-i-m-ka/, /búd'-i-m-t'i-ka/, /da-váj-#/ , /da-váj-#-t'i/, da-váj-#-ka/, /da-váj-#-t'i-ka/.

4.5. In sum, aside from a few periphrastic forms used by the imperfective verbs, the expression of the Russian verbal categories roughly exhibits the following pattern:

The P-designators (designators of the participants), whether shifters (person) or non-shifters (gender and number), make use of the final desinential suffixes.

The E-designators (designators of the event) deal with word-components anterior to the final suffix. The shifters (tense) employ initial desinential suffixes, while the non-shifters (aspect) go farther back; they ignore the desinence and operate with the stem — its suffixes and prefixation.

The connectors widely use units posterior to the final suffix. The non-shifters (voice and taxis) deal with the postfixes, while the shifters (mood) tend to reduce the desinence to zero and to replace the usual desinential suffixes by autonomous annexes, partly by changing the former into the latter, partly by adding new, purely modal particles.

Prepared in Cambridge, Mass., 1956, for the project "Description and Analysis of Contemporary Standard Russian", sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and published by this Department in 1957. Parts I-II are a synopsis of two papers delivered in 1950 — "Les catégories verbales", Société Genevoise de Linguistique (see *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, IX, 6), and "Overlapping of code and message in language", University of Michigan.

REFERENCES

- L. Andrejčín, *Kategorie znaczeniowe konjugacji bułgarskiej* (Cracow, 1938).
E. Benveniste, "La nature des pronoms", *For Roman Jakobson* (The Hague, 1956).

- L. Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933).
 L. Bloomfield, "Algonquian", *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (New York, 1946).
 F. Boas, *Kwakiutl Grammar* (Philadelphia, 1947).
 V. Bogoraz (W. Bogoras), "Chukchee", *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, II (Washington, 1922).
 A. W. Burks, "Icon, Index, and Symbol", *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, IX (1949).
 K. Bühler, *Sprachtheorie* (Jena, 1934).
 R. Carnap, *Logical Syntax of Language* (New York, 1937).
 A. H. Gardiner, *The Theory of Proper Names* (London, 1940).
 M. R. Haas, *Tunica* (New York, 1941).
 E. Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*, II (Halle a. d. S., 1913).
 R. Jakobson, "Zur Struktur des russischen Verbums", *Charisteria Guilelmo Mathesio* (Prague, 1932). [See above, pp. 1 ff.]
 R. Jakobson, "Signe zéro", *Mélanges Bally* (Geneva, 1939). [See below, pp. 151 ff.]
 R. Jakobson, "Russian Conjugation", *Word*, IV (1948). [See above, pp. 15 ff.]
 E. A. Krejnovič, "Nivxskij (giljackij) jazyk", *Jazyki i pismennost' narodov Severa*, III (Leningrad, 1934).
 O. Jespersen, *Language; Its Nature, Development, and Origin* (New York, 1923).
 H. G. Lunt, *Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language* (Skopje, 1952).
 B. Russell, *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth* (London, 1940).
 V. V. Vinogradov, *Russkij jazyk* (Leningrad, 1947).
 V. N. Vološinov, *Marksizm i filozofija jazyka* (Leningrad, 1930).
 B. L. Whorf, "The Hopi Language, Toreva Dialect", *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (New York, 1946).
 D. K. Zelenin, "Tabu slova u narodov vostočnoj Evropy i severnoj Azii", II, *Sbornik Muzeja Antropologii i Etnografii*, IX (1930).

Chapter Six

CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENERAL THEORY OF CASE:
GENERAL MEANINGS OF THE RUSSIAN CASES

I

The question of the **general meanings** [*Gesamtbedeutungen*] of grammatical forms is naturally basic to the theory of the grammatical system of language. The importance of this question was fundamentally clear to linguistic thinking associated with the systematist philosophical currents of the first half of the last century, but a comprehensive solution was not possible without further independent development and refinement of linguistic methodology. However, the following period of research chose rather to push the problem aside; mechanistically oriented linguistics relegated general meanings to the Index. As the history of the matter is not part of my task, I confine myself to a few illustrative examples.

The well-known Russian linguist Potebnja rejects the doctrine of a grammatical general meaning as something out of which particular meanings [*Sonderbedeutungen*] proceed as accident, asserting rather that the "general meaning" is a mere abstraction, an artificial construct "no more than a product of individual thought and having no real existence in language". Neither language nor linguistics require such general meanings. In language, there are only individual instances of a form, and each instance of the form possesses, in speech, only one unanalyzable meaning, "that is, stated more precisely, it is a different form in each instance". The various individual uses of the word are for Potebnja simply "similar-sounding words of one and the same family", and all their meanings are "equally partial and equally essential" (33 f.). The disavowal of general meanings is thus taken to an extreme — indeed, to the point of a total and unrevealing **atomization** of linguistic phenomena.

Of course, attempts have been made to rescue the unitary notion of a grammatical form, without which morphology simply disintegrates. Here one tries to separate the form from its function, and especially the unity of a grammatical category from the uniformity of its meaning: thus, for example,

according to Marty, cases are "not vehicles of some general concept, but rather vehicles of an entire bundle of various meanings" (32 ff., Funke 57). As a consequence, **the relation between sign and meaning** is lost, and questions of meaning are wrongly eliminated from the theory of signs (semiology, and especially linguistic semantics). Semantics, the very core of linguistics and of any sign theory in general, is thus deprived of an object of inquiry, and we are left with such grotesque scholarly enterprises as a morphology which is absolutely oblivious of the meanings of forms.

Peškovskij, a prominent linguist of the Fortunatov school, attempted to maintain the semantic character of grammatical forms by proposing that the unity of forms is effected not only by a unitary meaning, but also by "a unitary bundle of various meanings that repeat themselves within each of these forms in the same way" (24 ff.). Thus, for example, the following are shown to be unified within one and the same category of case (the Russian instrumental): the meanings of implement, comparison, extension in space and time, which "have nothing in common" and yet constitute a grammatical unit, since these various meanings "are repeated with each form", so that any given instrumental ending serves to reproduce all its meanings. This characterization is inexact: in Russian adjectives, every masc. sg. instrumental ending falls together with the dative pl. ending (*zlym*, 'evil', *bož'im* 'God's'); every masc. sg. nominative ending in qualitative adjectives falls together with their fem. sg. genitive ending (*zloj* - *zloj*, *staryj* 'old' - *staroj*, *tixij* 'quiet' - *tixoj*, *sinij* 'blue' - *sinej*; the orthographic distinctions are artificial), and nevertheless in each of these cases the separateness of the grammatical categories is beyond question. These are merely pairs of homonymous forms, and if the individual meanings [*Einzelbedeutungen*] of a case really "had nothing in common", that case would inevitably disintegrate into several disconnected homonymous forms. Yet **the objective reality of case in language**, and, in contrast to this, the subjectivity of their dismemberment into individual meanings, is all too clear.

Peškovskij himself admits: "Determining the inventory of meanings for one and the same form and classifying these into central and marginal meanings is an unusually difficult task, one that is usually carried out in different ways by different scholars". Even though, as Peškovskij correctly concludes, it would be dangerous to separate the concept of the grammatical category from its objective reality — i.e. from its phonetically realized grammatical form — it would be just as inadvisable to separate the concept of the grammatical category from its objective value — i.e. from its meaning in the language ("langue") which distinguishes it from every other category.

While the question of the general meanings of grammatical forms had at least been broached in Russian theory of the verb — and this despite the superstitious dread on the part of atomistic thought before any problem involving a whole and its parts — the situation was much worse with the question of case meanings. It was not only the increased complexity of the problem that was responsible. Nominal inflection in the Germanic and Romance languages is purely a matter of insignificant relics. In describing the manifold uses of individual cases in ancient and foreign languages with well-developed declensional systems, Western linguists could hardly draw on their own linguistic behavior as a control. Thus the question of the existence of so seemingly useless a category as case was for the most part replaced by a mechanical list of a case's various individual meanings. Through just such fragmented descriptions, Western linguists also sought, more than once, to grasp the nature of Slavic verbal aspect. But aspect and many other properties of the verbal system are too specific to Russian and the other Slavic languages to allow entrance into Slavic linguistics of inappropriate Western definitions.

It has been otherwise with case theory, where models for the interpretation of the Slavic data were provided by the reputable fields of classical philology and Sanskrit studies. The fact that nominal inflection is relatively foreign to the Western languages is reflected in Western linguistics, and the influence of the latter alienated the problem of case from Slavic linguistics, despite the importance of declension in most Slavic language systems.¹ Such examples of erroneous and misleading application of foreign, Western criteria to indigenous phenomena are no rarity in Slavic studies.

II

In the Festschrift *Charisteria G. Mathesio* . . . (1932: this volume, p. 1 ff.) I published one of my sketches of the structural grammar of modern Russian, in which I dealt with the general meanings of the Russian verb forms. The same principles underlie the present study of the Russian case system. Such a discussion seems to me all the more timely, since the question of the general meanings of cases has finally become the subject of lively and fruitful discussion.

At the International Congress of Linguists in Rome, 1933, M. Deutschbein delivered a lecture on "Meaning of the Cases in Indo-European" (see *Atti*), which contains some interesting observations on the system of basic meanings [*Grundbedeutungen*], but posits rigid basic meanings without bringing to

bear the full range of empirical data. The general meaning of each case is "determined by the entire case system of a given language" and can be established only by investigating the structure of this system; and hypotheses of general import can only be established through comparative analysis and typological studies of individual language structures. One cannot set up case meanings which are universally valid for all time and which are independent of a particular system (or system type) of case oppositions (see *Atti*, 146).

A considerable step forward toward a scientific solution to case was made by L. Hjelmslev's important book *La catégorie des cas* (1935). The subtle Danish linguistic theoretician draws on a rich native tradition for support: the far-sighted observations of the comparativists from Rask to Pedersen, stressing the need for a comprehensive comparative investigation of the various grammatical systems; Jespersen's broad-based struggle for immanent functional analysis; and especially the pioneering attempts of Brøndal to found a unified structural morphology. The importance of the new book lies in its critical overview of older case theories and in its clear and carefully thought out formulation of the problem. His major theses relate to the first-rate work of Wüllner, which anticipated them by centuries: "A grammar is a theory of basic meanings or values and of the system formed by means of them, and it must proceed empirically in accomplishing its task" (Hjelmslev, 84). With this formulation, Hjelmslev uncovers three central problems: **basic meaning**, **system**, and **empirical procedure**.

The first concept is clarified by the following definition: "A case, like linguistic units in general, does not mean several different things; it means one single thing — it carries a single abstract concept, from which concrete applications can be derived" (85). I take issue only with the term **basic meaning** (*signification fondamentale*), which can easily be confused with the designation **principal meaning** (*signification principale*), while what the author has in mind is more accurately expressed by the term **general meaning** (*signification générale*).

There can be no objection to the demand for an empirical (that is, immanent and language-internal) procedure; indeed, a more consistent application of such a procedure is called for. It is improper not only to keep apart that which from the linguistic point of view belongs together, but also to combine, artificially, that which from the linguistic point of view is separate. Not only two grammatical forms, but even two form classes, indicate a difference in value. The word in language is a functional unit, which differs fundamentally from a phrase. The form of the word and the form of the phrase represent distinct planes of linguistic value. One can therefore speak

not only of the difference between the general meanings of two case categories, but also of the difference between the **general meanings of the categories 'word' and 'phrase'**. I therefore doubt the correctness of Hjelmslev's assertion that "les distinctions faites par un ordre fixe des éléments agissent sur le même plan de relation que les distinctions faites par les formants casuels". ("The distinctions made by a fixed order of elements operate on the same level as the distinctions made by case forms".) For Russian the normal word order is subject, predicate, direct object: *otec ljubit syna* 'the father loves the son'; *syn ljubit otca* 'the son loves the father'. Inversion is permissible: *syna ljubit otec* 'the father loves the son'; "*žida naduet grek, a greka armjanin*" 'the Greek will cheat the Jew, and the Armenian the Greek'. Such an inversion indicates that the object is the starting point of the utterance and the subject its end point. The object may be the starting point either as a member of an antithesis or as a designation of an entity that is known from the preceding context or from the situation; or it may be the intention from the beginning to draw attention to this entity. In any event, the usual identity between the focus of the utterance (i.e. its subject) and the starting point of the sentence is violated. However, when the endings of both nouns in such a construction do not show their cases, the normal word order may not be violated. E.g.: *mat' ljubit doč'* 'the mother loves the daughter'; *doč' ljubit mat'* 'the daughter loves the mother' or in poetry "*strax gonit styd, styd gonit strax*" 'fear pursues shame, shame pursues fear'. On the basis of the word order, we know that 'fear' functions as the subject in the first case, and 'shame' in the second. In sentences like *otec ljubit syna, syna ljubit otec* the syntactic function of the nouns is suggested by their case form, but where the case form is unclear (*mat' ljubit doč'*), the function of the nouns in the sentence is determined by word order.² The latter completely takes over this function in uninflected languages. Yet we are not entitled to assert that word order can express case; word order can merely express the syntactic function of words, which is not at all the same thing. Brøndal correctly perceived that case is morphological and not syntactic in nature: "every case has its definition or 'function'; but there is no necessary relationship between a case function and a syntactic function; case theory and morphology are not syntax" (*Atti*, 146). Transferal of the question of the general meanings of case forms from morphology to syntax could only have occurred within a linguistic framework in which case was not a morphological category.

The system of **prepositional constructions** is also not interchangeable with nominal inflection, since those languages which possess both categories

first oppose the syntactic usages of a given case with a preposition to those without the preposition (indirect vs. direct connection), and then clearly differentiate between the meanings of the cases and those of the prepositions as two special types of meanings: one and the same case takes several prepositions, and the same preposition can require various cases. The so-called transition from an inflectional system to an analytic one is in fact a transition from the simultaneous existence of both an inflectional and analytic system to a monopoly of the latter. In a language which combines a system of prepositional constructions with an independent system of case the meanings in the two systems are differentiated in the sense that when prepositions are used the relation itself is focussed upon, while in constructions without prepositions the relation becomes a kind of property of the object denoted.

"One must counter atomistic procedure with an overall view which makes the system at once the starting point and the goal of research", Hjelmslev correctly writes, "but such an approach is far from a reality, and thus to date a theory of case has not been realized" (86 f.). That attempts to define individual cases in isolation are in vain, and that it is absolutely necessary to begin from a **general system of case oppositions**, follows as a natural conclusion from an immanent procedure (as opposed to an empirical one), which has no place for the meaning of form defined in isolation, existing independently of the system of linguistic oppositions. The essay on the general structure of a case system at the end of Hjelmslev's instructive book, which I hope to discuss in more detail after the appearance of the announced second volume, attempts to treat general meanings of case in the light of the case system as a whole. Here again, one cannot object in the slightest to Hjelmslev's programmatic statements; one could, however, object to the fact that the author does not sufficiently adhere to his own principles in his own concrete studies of case systems.

The fundamental question posed by Hjelmslev is this: what is the objective relationship between two grammatical categories, namely two cases, and in particular, how do their general meanings differ? — In the *Charisteria* I wrote:

"When a linguist investigates two morphological categories in mutual opposition, he often starts from the assumption that both categories should be of equal value, and that each of them should possess a positive meaning of its own: Category I should signify α , while Category II should signify β ; or at least I should signify α , and II the absence or negation of α . In reality, the general meanings of correlative categories are distributed in a different way: If Category I signals the existence of α , then Category II does not signal

the existence of α , i.e. it does not say whether α is present or not. The general meaning of the unmarked Category II, as compared to the marked Category I, is restricted to the lack of ' α -signalization' (74)". [See above, p. 1].

Hjelmslev acknowledges this principle: "La structure du système linguistique n'est pas telle qu'il soit possible de maintenir la distinction entre un terme positif et un terme négatif . . . L'opposition réelle et universelle est entre un terme défini et un terme indéfini" (101). ("The structure of the linguistic system does not allow the distinction between a positive term and a negative term to be maintained . . . The real and universal opposition is that between a definite term and an indefinite one".) But in his descriptions of individual case systems, for example that of the Gothic substantives, Hjelmslev deviates from the above guideline. Thus he defines the Gothic nominative and accusative, for example, as follows:

"Le nominatif désigne à la fois éloignement et rapprochement, puisqu'il est à la fois cas 'sujet' et cas 'prédicat': mais il insiste sur la face négative de la dimension parce que la valeur de 'sujet' prédomine. En outre le nominatif peut être neutre à l'égard de l'opposition; ainsi s'il est mis hors contexte ou s'il prend le rôle du vocatif. L'accusatif insiste sur la face positive de l'opposition parce que la valeur d' 'object' prévaut et est souvent la seule envisagée. En outre l'accusatif peut être neutre à l'égard de l'opposition comme c'est le cas lorsqu'il indique le temps, l'espace temporelle à l'intérieur de laquelle un fait est situé" (116 f.)

("The nominative designates at the same time distancing and approximation, since it is at the same time the case of the 'subject' and the case of the 'predicate': but it lays stress on the negative aspect of the dimension because the value of 'subject' predominates. Moreover, the nominative can be neutral with regard to the opposition, as when it is placed out of context or when it assumes the role of a vocative. The accusative lays stress on the positive aspect of the opposition because the value of 'object' predominates over the rest and is often the only one envisaged. Moreover, the accusative can be neutral with regard to the opposition, as is the case when it indicates time, the temporal space within which something is situated".)

Here, the problem of general meanings is clearly pushed aside, on the one hand, in favor of the traditional **list of individual meanings**, or of the list of syntactic functions of each of the two cases (e.g. nominative as the case of the subject and of the predicate, as a predicate-less form, and as an address-form) and, on the other hand, in favor of establishing the principal meaning of each case (in the nominative "the value of 'subject' predominates," while

in the accusative "the value of 'object' predominates and is often the only one envisaged"), although the author condemns such a procedure in principle (6 and *passim*).

The following sketches attempt to uncover the **morphological correlations** which constitute the system of modern Russian declension, to explicate on this basis the general meanings of the Russian cases, and thereby to contribute data for a future comparative theory of case.

III

In comparing the Russian nominative and accusative, the first is frequently defined as a case denoting the subject of some action, and the second, the object of the action. Such a definition of the accusative is by and large correct. The accusative always indicates that some action to some extent affects, is directed at, or is manifested on, the stated entity. We have to do here then, with an "entity toward which an action is directed [*Bezugsgegenstand*]", in the terminology of Bühler (250).

This general meaning characterizes the two syntactic varieties of A (accusative): 1) The A defined by Peškovskij as "**strongly governed**" denotes either an **inner object** of the action, which originates as the result of the action (*pisat' pis'mo* 'to write a letter'), or an **outer object** of the action, subject to the effect of the action but also having prior existence independent of the action (*čitat' knigu* 'to read a book'). 2) A "**weakly governed**" A denotes a segment of time or space that is entirely encompassed by the action (*žit' god* 'to live a year', *idti verstu* 'to go one *verst*') or the **objectivized content of an utterance** (*gore gorevat* 'to suffer suffering', *šutki šutit* 'to jest a jest', *stoit' den'gi* 'to cost money'). The weakly governed A differs from the strongly governed A in that its content is **insufficiently objectivized and not sufficiently independent of the action**, so that it vacillates between the function of an object and the function of a circumstance of the action (an adverbial); it can be used with otherwise intransitive verbs; it cannot become the subject of a passive construction; and it can occur in a simple sentence together with a strongly governed A (*vsju [dorogu] menja mučila žažda* 'thirst tormented me the entire way'), while two strongly governed A's are not compatible.

The meaning of the A is connected with the action so closely and directly that it can be exclusively governed by a verb and its independent use always suggests a missing and implied verb: *karetu!* 'the carriage!' *nagradu xrabrym!*

'a reward to the brave!' In such accusative addresses as *Van'ku! Lizu!* (a call from a distance or an emphatic call widely used in dialects), or in such exclamations as *nu ego [A] k lešemu!* 'the devil with him!'; *pust' ego [A] kutit!* 'let him carouse'; "èk ego [A] zalivaetsja!" (Gogol) 'how he pours forth [song]!', the accusative object is portrayed as the **object of the speaker's attitude**, be it one of appeal, refusal, yielding, or admiration. The meaning of directedness is also linked to the prepositional A. Cf. such expressions as *na stol* 'onto the table' — *na stole* 'on the table', *pod stol* 'under the table' (directional) — *pod stolom* 'under the table' (locative), etc.

While the standard definition of the A is in general correct, the traditional characterization of the N (nominative) as the case denoting the acting subject leaves a series of applications of the N unaccounted for. In the sentence *vremja - den'gi* 'time is money' neither the subject N nor the predicate N is marked as active. In the sentence *syn nakazan otcem* 'the son has been punished by the father' the content of the N is that of the object of the action. The actual contrast between the A and the N consists merely in the fact that the A denotes the entity at which an action is directed, whereas the N by itself specifies neither the presence nor the absence of any directedness of an action.³ **The statement of the existence of directedness [*Bezug*] is therefore the mark of the A as opposed to the N;** it follows that we treat the A as the marked member of a **directional correlation [*Bezugskorrelation*]** and the N as the unmarked member. The statements of the Hindu grammarians according to which the N contains nothing but the meaning of the nominal stem plus gender and number — an appropriate view, to which Delbrück is wrong in objecting that the N is not interpreted as the case of the subject (181) — are thus, as we have seen, valid for Russian.

In signaling the **dependent status of the object marked by the A**, the case form itself is relegated to a dependent role in the sentence, in contrast to the N, which by itself designates **no syntagmatic relationship**. The Russian N has often been correctly defined as a pure name of the entity, without the complications introduced by the other case forms (Peškovskij, 118); as the *cas zéro* (Karcevskij, *Système*, 18); in a word, as the unmarked case form. The fact that the N, in contrast to all other cases, does not limit in any way the role of the entity it designates (i.e. does not signify either its dependence upon an action or its incomplete presence in the content of the utterance, etc.) singles out this case in essence from all others and makes it the only possible vehicle of the **pure naming function**. The N directly names the entity while the other cases, according to Aristotle's apt definition, are "not names, but cases of the name". The naming function can be the sole

function of the N: the naming is simply linked to the given or imagined object. A sign announces: *buločnaja* 'bakery', *Revizor* 'The Inspector General' – this is the language of labels and headings. The speaker recognizes and names perceived objects (a visitor to the zoo: *medved*, *verbljud*, *lev* 'bear, camel, lion') and his own experiences (*xolod*, *toska* 'cold, melancholy'), or he calls forth imaginary things by naming them (for example, the poet Bal'mont: "Večer. Vzmor'e. Vzdoxi vetra". 'Evening. The seaside. Sighs of the wind'). The nominative functions in all these examples as a kind of predicate in relation to the state of affairs which exists outside the utterance either actually or fictively.)))

The N is the unmarked form for the naming function of the utterance. It functions also, however, as a part of the sentence which not only names the object, but imparts something more about it. Even in descriptive utterances the naming function of the N is always present, and even primary: the entity referred to by the N becomes the **topic of the sentence**. The incomplete blending of the naming function with the descriptive function is especially clear in cases like *osěl* [nominal sentence], *tot* [subject of a descriptive sentence] *ne trebuje bol'sogo uxoda* "the donkey, it doesn't require much care" (this construction is investigated most thoroughly on the basis of Czech data by Trávníček, *Věty*, 137 ff.). !]

The N can thus perform several syntactic functions in the same descriptive sentence, and the meanings of these various nominative constituents can differ as to their extent, yet the various constituents necessarily have one and the same referent, namely, **that referent which is designated by the subject of the sentence**. It is only in this sense that the thesis of the N as the case of the grammatical subject is appropriate (for Russian, e.g. see already Puchmayer, 259), for neither is the N the only expression of the subject (the subject can also be expressed by means of the genitive), nor is that of the subject the only syntactic function of the N (cf. the predicative N). 1) *Onegin – dobryj moj prijatel'* 'Onegin is my good friend', 2) "*Onegin, dobryj moj prijatel', rodilsja na bregax Nevy*" (Puškin) 'Onegin, my good friend, was born on the banks of the Neva'. The subject nominative and the predicate nominative in the first sentence have one and the same referent; likewise, in the second sentence, the subject and the apposition. Predication shows that the meaning of the predicate refers to the subject, while apposition (and attribution in general) shows merely that the meaning has some reference. Formally, only the mutual reference of two meanings is given by the "double N", and only the actual meanings of the nouns, or the entire context, suggests which of the two meanings is the determining one and which is the determin-

ed. Often, especially in poetic language, the difference between the subject and the nominal predicate (or, as the case may be, the appositive) is more or less obscured. Thus for example in Majakovskij's march: "*Naš bog* [P] *beg* [S]. *Serdce* [S] *naš baraban* [P]" 'Our God – the race. The heart – our drum'.

A peculiar syntactic perspective arises from the special status of the N: the referent that is in the nominative assumes the leading role in the sentence. Let us compare two sentences: *Latvija sosedit s Èstoniej* 'Latvia is bordered by Estonia' – *Èstonija sosedit s Latviej* 'Estonia is bordered by Latvia'. The content of the two sentences is identical, but in the first it is Latvia, in the second Estonia, that is the major focus of the assertion. Husserl, in the second volume of *Logische Untersuchungen* – the importance of which for language theory cannot be over-emphasized – analyzes such sentence pairs as "a is larger than b" and "b is smaller than a", and establishes that though the two sentences describe the same state of affairs, they differ in their semantic content (48). They are distinguished in terms of a **hierarchy of meanings**.

The lower rank of the accusative meaning on the scale of meanings in a sentence remains in force in subjectless sentences. The peculiarity of such sentences lies in the fact that without being deleted the **position of the main referent** is vacant. Syntactically we can speak of a "zero subject". *Soldata* [A] *ranilo v bok* 'the soldier was wounded in the side', *lodku* [A] *daleko otneslo* 'the boat was swept far away'. In the referentially identical sentences *soldat* [N] *ranen v bok*; *lodka* [N] *daleko otnesena* the referents designated by the N occupy the main position in the ranking. Use of the A in itself denotes that in the meaning hierarchy of the utterance something else is being more highly ranked, i.e. it implies, unlike the N, the **existence of a hierarchy of meanings**. Metaphorically speaking the A signals the lower ranking of a point, thus presupposing the existence above it of some other point (expressed or unexpressed) which is linked to the first; the A thus denotes the 'vertical' dimension of the utterance, while the N denotes nothing but a single point. When in a poem Andrej Belyj writes, instead of *ty vidiš' menja* [A] 'you see me', *ty vidiš' - ja* [N], he designates, syntactically, only two independent points, and thereby removes the hierarchy of meanings.

The question of the general meanings of cases belongs to morphology while the question of particular meanings belongs to syntax, since the general meaning of a case is independent of its environment, while its particular meanings are defined by various combinations of surrounding words involving both their formal and their real reference – the particular meanings are therefore, so to speak, **combinatory variants of the general meaning**. It would be

an over-simplification of the problem to restrict the investigation of case meanings to merely positing a set of particular meanings of a case and selecting an appropriate common name for these as a general meaning. The particular meanings, determined syntactically or phraseologically, are not a mechanical accumulation, but form rather a regular **hierarchy of particular meanings**. One must at all costs avoid replacing the question of the general meaning of a case with the question of its specific meaning or its principal meaning (as is often done); and, above all, we are not justified in denying the problem of the hierarchy of the particular meanings which are comprised by a general meaning. Principal meanings, as well as specific meanings of cases, are not intellectual fictions, but actual facts of language.

We have seen that two of the Russian cases are correlative; i.e. the general meaning of one case focusses upon the presence of a certain mark (α) of objective reality, while the general meaning of the other case is that neither the presence nor the absence of this mark is affirmed. In reference to the first we speak of a marked category; in reference to the second, of an unmarked category. From the fact that the categories are in opposition, it follows that the designation of the absence of a mark is the specific meaning of the unmarked case. If the general meaning of the N, as opposed to that of the A, does not specify whether or not the entity referred to is subject to any action (non-signalization of α), then the **specific meaning** [*spezifische Bedeutung*] of this case is that the utterance implies no such action (the signalization of non- α ; cf. *Charisteria*, 84). The N used independently has this meaning as well. But when the context indicates that the referent of the nominative is subject to an action (the signalization of α), then this combinatory meaning of the N, which coincides with the meaning of the accusative, is valued as an "improper" meaning. That specific meaning of the N which is in direct opposition to that of the correlative case – namely that of the acting subject or, better, the subject of a transitive action – is the **principal meaning** of the nominative. No other case could be used with this meaning. One says *detej* [G] *prišlo!* 'what a lot of children have come!'; *nikogo* [G] *ne bylo* 'there was no one there'; but one can also say *deti* [N] *sobirali jagody* 'the children were gathering berries', *nikto* [N] *ne pel* 'no one was singing' – but never *detej sobiralo jagody*, *nikogo ne pelo*. The syntactic use of the N, which makes this meaning overt, is naturally perceived as unmarked, in contrast to the use which suspends the meaning difference between the N and the A. This is why such active constructions as *pisateli pišut knigi* 'writers write books'; *Puškin napisal Poltavu* 'Puškin wrote Poltava' are unmarked, in comparison with such constructions as *knigi pišutsja pisateljami* 'books are written by writers'; *Poltava napisana Puškinym* 'Poltava was written by Puškin'.

unlike
in Polish !!!

deutsch
nominativ

The most fitting representation of the active subject, and especially the active subject of a transitive action, is an **animate being**, and that of the object an **inanimate entity** (cf. *Atti*, 144). A switching of roles – as when an inanimate entity functions as the nominative subject and an animate being as the accusative object – correspondingly smacks of personification: *gruzovik razdavił reběnka* 'the truck killed a child', *fabrika kalečit ljudej* 'the factory cripples people', *peč' požiraet mnogo uglja* 'the furnace devours much coal'. Thomson, who investigated statistically the distribution of the two semantic categories animate/inanimate between subject and object, arrived at the following conclusion: with transitive verbs the human being is the subject $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ ἔξοχήν, the thing is the object, and animal names occupy a middle position (XXIV, 305). An A which refers to an inanimate object may lack any formal mark distinguishing it from the N, usually without any impairment of comprehension. Compare the falling together, in most Russian nominal paradigms, of the inanimate object A with the N. And typically, we assume that in *čto delaet* 'what does', it is the object that is questioned, never the subject, in contrast to *kto delaet* 'who does'.

There are languages (for example Basque and the Northern Caucasian languages) in which the aforementioned most prominent function of the N, that is, that of the subject of a transitive action, becomes the only function of that case. In such languages, the marked-unmarked case relationship is reversed relative to Russian (and other nominative-accusative languages): in these languages the marked case does not imply that the referent is the object of an action, but, to the contrary, that the referent subjects something to an action, while the unmarked case does not have this implication. Uhlenbeck calls the first **transitivus**, the second **intransitivus** (an interesting overview of the question is found in Kacnel'son, 56 ff.). The first functions as the subject of transitive verbs, while the unmarked intransitivus, naturally, plays several syntactic roles, namely that of the object of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs. Comparison of the oppositions nominative-accusative and transitive-intransitive with the oppositions of the *genera verbi* reveals the **affinity between these nominal and verbal correlations**. The transitive-intransitive pair is correctly interpreted as an opposition of the active and neutro-passive *genus*; it would be appropriate correspondingly to treat the relationship of the N and the A as an opposition of the neutro-active and passive *genus*.

ergative

IV

The analysis of the allegedly "so ambiguous" genitive has shown with special clarity the fruitlessness of the atomistic approach, which dismembers this case into an array of different and even mutually contradictory particular meanings. Under the "individual genitives" of Russian, for example, have been listed a G of separation, a G of "the object from which the movement expressed in the verb stem takes its departure", and a G of goal, the meaning of which "is directly opposed to that of the G of separation, since the former designates an object on or to which the action is directed" (Peškovskij, 264 ff.). Compare such antitheses as the polemic contrast between Orthodox Old Believers and new doctrine as given in a writing of the Old Believers: on the one hand, *begaj bluda* [G] 'avoid lewdness', on the other hand, *želaj bluda* [G] 'desire lewdness'. In reality, such meanings as 'direction from' or 'direction to' are introduced into the sentence by the actual meaning of the verb itself, and in expressions like *ot zari* [G] *do zari* [G] 'from (evening) twilight to (morning) twilight' by the meaning of the prepositions. The very possibility of using the G to indicate two different directions shows that the G has, in itself, no directional implication.

A comparison of the G with the N and A shows that the G always indicates **the limit of the referent's involvement in the content of the utterance**. We can thus speak of the contrast between the G, which indicates the scope of involvement of its referent, and the other cases (N, A) which do not indicate this, as a **scope correlation** [*Umfangskorrelation*]. This nominal opposition can even be compared with that of the verbal **aspect correlation**, the mark of which is the designation of the scope of the action, and we can speak of a nominal aspect correlation.

As for the opposition between the signalization vs. non-signalization of an **action** directed upon the referent, this contrast is **removed** in the case of the G, which can equally well denote either an entity undergoing an action or an independent object.

The G in itself indicates only that the scope of its referent's involvement in the content of the utterance is less than that referent's entire extension. The precise scope of the involvement of the entity is determined by either the linguistic or the extra-linguistic context. The referent of the genitive can be either (a) **partially** or (b) **negatively** represented in the sentence. In the first instance the use of the genitive signifies a definite or indefinite degree of involvement (*Genitivus partitivus*) and thus establishes a spatial or temporal boundary. In the second instance the referent remains outside the content

of the utterance, while the context either determines merely that the action stops at the referent (G of limit), or determines in addition whether the action tends toward the referent (G of goal) or rather away from it (G of separation), or whether the referent is eliminated or thrust aside (G of negation).⁴ Let us examine the individual syntactic variants of both types of genitive.

G in nominal sentences: 1) *novostej, novostej!* approximately 'what a lot of news!'; in folk dialects *takix-to delov!* approximately 'how far things have gone!'; *kakogo dela!* approximately 'see what has become of the matter!'.⁵ A cry of the greengrocer: *kapusty! ogurcov!* '(some) cabbage! (some) cucumbers!' 2) "*vody, vody!* [G] . . . *no ja naprasno stradal'cu vodu* [A] *podaval'*" (Puškin) 'Water, water! . . . but in vain I offered the sufferer water'; "*spokojnoj noči! vsem vam spokojnoj noči*" (Esenin) 'good night! all of you, good night!'; "*limončika by!*" (A. Belyj) 'Oh, for a little lemon!'; "*ni golosa*" (Majakovskij) 'not a voice'. In all of the examples under this rubric, the entity referred to in the genitive remains outside the content of the utterance. The **independently** used G indicates, as we see from the examples, that its referent is, to an indefinite but perceptible extent, involved (1) or to be involved (2). Which of the two possibilities is meant in a given instance is determined by the situation.

Subject genitive: 1) *ljudej* [G] *sobralos'* '(many) people gathered' – *ljudi* [N] *sobralis'* (the same, but without focusing on the crowd); "*štok* [G] *bylo*" (Lermontov) 'there were (many) jokes' – *šutki* [N] *byli* (the large number is unindicated); 2) *nužno spiček* [G] 'matches are needed' – *nužny spički* [N] (without focusing on their factual absence); *strašno smerti* [G] 'it is frightening in the face of death' – *strašna smert'* [N] 'frightening is death' (in the first instance death is the negative "main figure" in the utterance and thus remains outside its content – its positive "main figures" are those who are cringing before death, while in the second instance death is the positive and only main figure); *otveta* [G] *ne prišlo* 'there came no answer' – *otvet* [N] *ne prišël* 'the answer did not come' (in the first case the answer itself is denied as if removed from the content of the utterance, while in the second only the action is denied).

Adverbial G: 1) The partitive object genitive appears in combination (a) with verbs which directly designate a change in quantity (additive or subtractive), e.g. *uspexi pridajut emu sil* 'the results increase his strength'; *pripuskaet ognja v lampe* 'he makes the flame in the lamp larger'; *nabiraet deneg* 'he accumulates money'; *s každyd dn'em ubavljajut xleba* 'every day they give less bread'; (b) with perfective verbs, since their aspect indicates the

absolute limit of the action (see "Structure . . .", above p. 3; Buslaev, 283 f.); e.g. *poel* [pf.] *xleba* [G] – *el* [impf.] *xleb* [A] 'ate bread', *vzjal* [pf.] *deneg* [G] – *bral* [impf.] *den'gi* [A] 'took money', *nadelal* [pf.] *dolgov* [G] – *dela* [impf.] *dolgi* [A] 'incurred debts', *kupit* [pf.] *baranok* [G] – *pokupat* [impf.] *baranki* [A] 'to buy *baranki* (ring-shaped rolls)', *daj* [pf.] *mne tvoego noža* [G] 'give me your knife (for a moment)'.⁶ The converse hypothesis of Peškovskij (266 f.), that many perfective prefixes are exclusively linked to the genitive, is wrong. As far as those actives which can be used with the partitive genitive are concerned, if there is no limiting of the referent, a construction with the A arises (*nakupiljmu* 'purchased an enormous number'; *nagovoril kuču komplimentov* 'paid a host of compliments'). The weakly governed A also corresponds to a genitive of divided or limited whole: *èto proizošlo pjatogo janvarja* 'it happened on the fifth of January', *šutoček našutili* 'jokes were told', *poezdka stoit bol'six deneg* 'the trip costs a lot of money'.

2) G of limit: "*odnoj nogoj kasajas' pola*" (Puškin) 'touching the floor with one foot', "*dostig ja vysšej vlasti*" (Puškin) 'I attained the greatest power'; G of goal: "*a on, bezumnyj, iščet buri*" (Lermontov) 'and he, the madman, seeks tumult', "*svobod xoteli vy*" (Puškin) 'you wanted freedoms'; G of separation: *izbežal vernoj gibeli* 'escaped certain ruin', *bojsja kary* 'be afraid of punishment'; G of negation: "*ne poj, krasavica, pri mne ty pesen Gruzii pečal'noj*" (Puškin) 'do not sing, beautiful maiden, in my presence the songs of sad Georgia', *ne čitaju gazet* 'I read no papers', *ne našel kvartiry* 'found no apartment'. The G in such instances denotes the absence of the referent in the situations given by the sentences, but insofar as this absence receives no emphasis and is in fact even countered by the presence of the referent in the preceding context or in the extra-linguistic situation, the genitive is displaced after actives by the A: *prosit' deneg* [G] 'to ask for money', *prosit' den'gi* [A] 'to ask for the money' (which has already been mentioned – Peškovskij's example); "*ja cel' svoju dostig*" (Lermontov) 'I have attained my goal'. The external character of the referent is not indicated here, and consequently the goal is drawn into the scope of the utterance; it is portrayed as known from the start. Thus we say *čelovek v pervye dostig poljusa* [G] 'man reached the Pole for the first time' and not . . . *poljus* [A]; *ja ne slychal ètoj sonaty* [G] 'I have not heard this sonata' – the emphasis is on the unknown-ness of the sonata on the part of the speaker; *ja ne slychal ètu sonatu* [A] – this emphasis is lacking, and the fact that I have not heard it becomes mere accident, which is unable to eliminate the sonata from the content of the utterance – the presence of the sonata takes precedence: this nuance requires the A as opposed to the G.

G with adjectives: 1) *polnyj myslej* [G] 'full of thoughts' (a variety of the partitive G; cf. *polnyj mysljami* [I], where the quantitative, partitive shading is lacking); 2) *dostojnyj priznanija* 'worthy of recognition' (a variety of the G of limit), *slašče jada* 'sweeter than poison', *ugovor dorože deneg* 'an agreement is worth more than money' (a variety of the G of separation: the higher stage suppresses the lower).

G with pronouns: *čto novogo* 'what's new' (the meaning is partitive).

Adnominal G: as already noted, the G signifies that its referent is outside the content of the utterance or is only partially represented in it. This focusing, not on the referent but on the adjoining content or a part of the referent, signals the **metonymic nature** of the G, or in the case of the partitive G, a special kind of metonymy or even its synecdochic character ("a narrow objectification", as Grimm neatly put it). This is especially clear in the adnominal G, a fact which, strangely enough, is generally overlooked in the literature, causing an artificial rift between the adverbial and adnominal uses of the genitive (see e.g. Delbrück, 307 f.). Either the noun upon which the G depends limits the scope of the object in the genitive directly (*stakan vody* 'a glass of water', *časť doma* 'a part of the house'), or it abstracts from this referent something from among its properties (*krasota devuški* 'the beauty of the girl'), its utterances (*slovo čeloveka* 'the man's word'), its oppressive circumstances (*razgrom armii* 'the destruction of the army'), its relationship (*imuščestvo remeslennika* 'the property of the craftsman'), its surroundings (*sosed kuzneca* 'the neighbor of the blacksmith'), or conversely it is itself abstracted from a property or an utterance of the agent or patient (*deva krasoty* 'a maiden of beauty', *čelovek slova* 'a man of his word', *žertvy razgroma* 'victims of the rout').

The adnominal use displays most fully and clearly the semantic peculiarity of the G, and it is noteworthy that it is the only case which can refer to a pure noun – i.e. one which is free from a verbal nuance of meaning. We can regard the **adnominal use of the G** as the typical expression of this case.

To this pure adnominal use of the G is opposed its **adverbial use, as the point of maximal case contrast**. With active verbs, only the G is directly opposed to the A, since the strongly governed A always presupposes an active verb. Verbs which indicate a separation of the agent from the referent of the genitive (*izbegat* 'to avoid', *trusit* 'to be afraid', etc.), cannot – at least in the written language – be used with the A, because the entity which causes the separation counts as an active factor and not as an object of the action. The verb *lišat* 'to rob' opposes the patient, who is robbed, to that of which the latter is robbed, or in other words, to that which is excluded from the

content of the utterance. The patient functions naturally as accusative object, the other as genitive object; the presence of both is crucial and the positioning of the first object before the second necessarily differentiates between them, so that here again the case opposition is not a prerequisite; cf. *lišil otca* [A] *syna* [G] *a mat'* [A] *dočeri* [G] 'robbed the father of a son and the mother of a daughter'. As Peškovskij correctly noted (265 f.), the genitives of negation and of goal (and also of limit) tend toward confusion with the A, and the distinction is often obscured. The opposition with the greatest differentiating power is that between the partitive G and the A (*vypil vina* [G] 'drank up some wine' – *vypil vino* [A] 'drank up the wine'). Animate beings can function as partitive G sg. only in exceptional cases (e.g. *otvedal kuricy* 'tasted the chicken'), and for this reason the A vs. G opposition is of little importance in connection with nouns denoting animate beings, and is obliterated in most paradigms: in names of animate beings, the A receives the G form. The generalization of this syncretism to plurals leads to the loss of a meaning distinction: the expressions *kupil kartiny* [A] 'bought pictures' and *kupil kartin* [G] 'bought (a number of) pictures' correspond, in the case where the object is an animate being, to the single expression *kupil lošadej* [A-G] 'bought horses'.⁷

Although the falling together of the A with the G indicates that the referent is animate, the falling together of the A with the N, though for the most part limited to the designation of inanimate things, is nevertheless not unambiguous with respect to inanimacy (cf. *mat'* [N-A] 'mother', *myš'* [N-A] 'mouse'). In the Russian declensional system it is always the case that if there is some marker of animacy or inanimacy, the opposite feature is not unambiguously indicated by the contrasting marker. In the N the endings of the so-called neuter indicate inanimacy (the only exceptions, *suščestvo* 'living creature' and *životnoe* 'animal', indicate animacy directly by the meaning of the stem), while the other nominative endings occur in reference to animate and inanimate entities; the presence of two genitive or two locative forms indicates inanimacy, but the absence of this split indicates nothing (see Section VII). It is the same in regard to gender in nouns: most of the cases have an ending indicating masculine gender (e.g. G sg. *-a*, D *-u*, I *-om*, N pl. *-a*, G *-ov*), while the other endings of this case do not indicate feminine gender (e.g. G sg. *-i*, D *-e* or *-i*, I *-uju*, N pl. *-i*, G *-ej* or zero ending). Nouns are clearly differentiated in gender by the singular adjective. The two genders themselves relate to each other as a marked category indicating that the referent cannot be a man (fem.), contrasting with an unmarked category that does not indicate whether a man or a woman is being referred to (so-call-

ed masc.); cf. *tovarišč* [masc.] *Ivanova* [fem.], *zubnoj vrač* [masc.] 'Comrade Ivanova, dentist'.

The prepositional G does not differ, in the nature of its meaning, from other uses of the genitive. Here again, by eliminating all or part of the referent, it limits the participation of the referent in the utterance, or more succinctly, specifies its scope-relationships, e.g. 1) *nekotorye iz nas* 'a few of us' (partitive G); 2) *u, okolo, vozle reki* 'beside the river' (G of limit); *do reki* 'as far as the river', *dlja slavy* 'for glory' (G of goal); *iz ruž'ja* 'out of the shotgun', *ot reki* 'from the river' (G of separation); *bez zobot* 'without worries', *krome zimy* 'except for winter' (G of negation).⁸

V

Neither the **Instrumental** nor the **Dative** indicate scope-relationships. These cases stand in a correlative relationship not with the G, but with the N and A. Like the A, the D also indicates that its referent is involved in an action, whereas the I, like the N, says nothing about this, and nothing about whether its referent itself exerts an action or participates in an action. Cf. *strana upravljajetsja ministrami* [I] 'the country is governed by ministers' – *ministry upravljajut stranou* [I] 'the ministers govern the country'; *oni byli vstrečeny rebēnkou* [I] 'they were met by the child' – *oni vstrečali ego rebēnkou* [i] 'they had met him as a child'. Like the A, the D functions as the marked member of the directional correlations (A and D being **directional cases** in opposition to the unmarked N and I). The presence of directedness toward an object is also indicated in the prepositional use of these A and D, e.g. *v, na, za, pod, čerez, skvoz', po pojas* 'in, on, behind, under, over, through, up to the belt'; *k, navstreču, po potoku* 'towards, against, along the stream'. The directional meaning is also maintained when these prepositions are used with a noun instead of a verb: *vxod v dom* 'entry into the house', *doroga v Rim* 'road to Rome', *ključ k dveri* 'key to the door'. As mentioned above, when the general meaning of the N in contrast to that of the A does not show whether the referent is affected by an action or not, then the specific meaning of the N indicates that the utterance says nothing of such an activity, and the nature of the N is especially clear when its referent is presented as the agent in an action. This holds also for the I–D opposition, and it is the **principal meaning** of the I that Šaxmatov has in mind when he sees as the essential difference between the I and the D the fact that the former "designates a concept which is independent of the verb and is not subject to

the effects of the marked feature of the verb, but, to the contrary, designates a concept which aids in the unfolding of the marked feature and changes or determines its expression" (§444).

What then is the difference between the I and D, on the one hand, and the N and A on the other? Paraphrasing two terms of Pongs (245), I will call the I and D peripheral cases and the N and A full cases, and for the opposition between the two types I will use the designation **status - correlation** [*Stellungskorrelation*] in what follows. A **peripheral case** indicates that its referent occupies a **peripheral status** in the overall semantic content of the utterance, while a **full case** indicates nothing about such a status. A periphery presupposes a center; a peripheral case presupposes the **presence of a central point in the content of the utterance**, which the peripheral case helps determine. However, this central point need not necessarily be expressed linguistically. E.g. the novel titles *Ognem* [I] *i mečom* [I] 'With Fire and Sword', *I zolotom* [I] *i molotom* [I] 'With Gold and Hammer' presuppose an action with respect to which the referents in the instrumental case act as implements; the heading *Ivanu Ivanoviču Ivanovu* [D] presupposes something intended for the person referred to in the dative, and although this something is not expressed, it serves as the central point of the utterance, with the addressee as the peripheral point.

I would like to emphasize that what is specific to the peripheral cases is not that they indicate the presence of two points in the utterance, but only that they render one peripheral with respect to the other. The A, too, indicates the presence of two points, one hierarchically lower than the other, but the A does not specify that this subordinate point is a marginal one in the utterance, one which could be omitted without impairment to the central one, as is the effect of the peripheral cases. The verb *delaet* 'does' requires answers to the questions *kto* 'who' and *čto* 'what', and *ne delaet* 'does not' requires answers to the questions *kto* and *čego* [G]. The absence of the N and A (or G in the negative) lends the utterance an elliptical character. Indeed the questions *čem* [I] *delaet*, *komu* [D] *delaet* do not emerge from the nature of the utterance itself, and are not directly linked to its center. They are, so to speak, incidental questions. Cf. also *delo delaetsja, sdelano* 'the work is being done, has been done'. Questioning of the agent (*kem* [I]) is optional; *on dal vsě, čto mog dat* 'he gave all that he could give'; *každyj den' on posylaet pis'ma* 'every day he sends letters' – the lack of the D is not felt as a lacuna.

In expressions like *tečenie* [N] *otneslo lodku* 'the current carried off the boat'; *olenja ranila strela* [N] 'an arrow wounded the deer'; *paxnet seno* [N]

'the hay smells', on the one hand, and *tečeniem* [I] *otneslo lodku*; *olenja ranilo streloj* [I]; *paxnet senom* [I], on the other, the referent is the same, but the semantic content is different; in both instances the carrier of the action is identical, except that in the hierarchy of meanings, it is represented in the first instance as the subject, and in the second as an adjunct of the predicate. The instrumental form assigns a secondary status to its referent, but the combination of a verb with the I does not in itself state whether the secondary status is due to the speaker's attitude, or whether the I plays, in actual fact, only a secondary role.⁹ Cf. *risunok nabrosan perom* [I] 'the drawing has been done with a pen' – *risunok nabrosan xudožnikom* [I] 'the drawing has been done by an artist': in the first instance the I denotes a mere implement, namely a tool, but in the second it denotes the author of the work, who with respect to the work itself is moved to the periphery of the utterance and is treated, so to speak, as a necessary presupposition. In active constructions it is sufficient to place the I next to a N, and the referent of the I receives an objective auxiliary character. The peripheral status of the referent is here expressed as a contrast between means and author: *oxotnik* [N] *ranil olenja streloj* [I] 'the hunter wounded the deer with an arrow'; *saraj* [N] *paxnet senom* [I] 'the barn smells of hay'.

Within the framework of the general meaning of the I, there are three semantic types to be differentiated.

1. The I indicates some stipulation of the action. This **I of stipulation**, which the above examples have already illustrated, gives the source of the action (*ubit vragami* 'killed by enemies'), the motive (*uvleč'sja sportom* 'to be keen on sports', *tomit'sja bezdel'em* 'to weary of idleness'), the implement (*žat' serpom* 'to reap with the sickle', *rasporjažat'sja den'gami* 'to dispose of money', *upravljat' mašinoj* 'to operate a machine', *vladet' rabami* 'to own slaves'), the mode (*idti vojnoj* 'to go to war', literally 'to go with war'), the space through which motion occurred (*idti lesom* 'to go through the woods'), the time of the action (*putešestvovat' noč'ju* 'to travel at night'). Such doublets as *švyrjat' kamnjami* [I] – *švyrjat' kamni* [A] 'to throw stones' are erroneously said by Peškovskij to be "stylistic synonyms" (269). Actually, here, too, the I indicates an auxiliary or incidental role of the referent, and the A the directedness of an action toward the referent. Therefore the opposition between the medium and the goal, between the implement and the self-sufficient object, is maintained. Thus we say: *čtoby probit' stenu, oni švyrjali v neč kamnjami* [I] 'in order to break through the wall, they throw stones at them', but *on bescel'no švyrjal kamni* [A] *v vodu* 'aimlessly he

threw stones into the water'. Even clearer is the opposition between the constructions *govorit' rezkimi slovami* 'to speak with sharp words' – *govorit' rezkie slova* 'to speak sharp words': in the former the speaker is referring to the content of the utterance, in the latter to the utterance itself. The tautological "I of reinforcement", in the usual terminology, is a kind of reduplication that emphasizes the intensity of the action (*krikom kričat* 'to shout with a shout'), while the tautological A eliminates, so to speak, the object of the action by naming it (*klič klikat* 'to call a call'). The I of stipulation is related to an expressed or implied verb (*knutom ego!* 'at him with the whip!') or to a noun signifying an activity (*uvlečenie sportom* 'enthusiasm for sports', *udar nožom* 'a blow with a knife', *oskorblenie dejstviem* 'an insult by action', *doroga lesom* 'a way through the woods'). The replacement of this I with a N signifies a disintegration of syntactic perspective and a dismembering of the sentence into equivalent sections: *on udaril ego šaska [N] na otmaš'* 'he struck him, swinging his sabre over his own shoulder in a downward diagonal motion', *"komsomolec – k noge noga [N]! plečo [N] k pleču! marš!"* (Majakovskij) 'komsomol member – foot to foot! Shoulder to shoulder! March!'

2. The **I of restriction** limits "the field of application of the sign" which is expressed in the predicate or in the attribute to which this case refers: *pomolodet' dušoj, jun dušoj, junyj dušoj* 'to become spiritually young, spiritually young, spiritually a youngster'; *junoša dušoj, on ne mog primirit'sja s nepravedlivost'ju* 'a youth in spirit, he could not be reconciled to injustice'. Peripheral status emerges here as confrontation of a part with the more relevant whole.

3. The **I of role** refers to the same entity as the corresponding (expressed or implied) full case in the same sentence, and signifies that a special function of that entity – a passing, occasional (acquired or negotiable) property – is involved. The I is attached to or inserted in the predicate. *On zdes' sud'ej* 'he functions here as judge', *budet sud'ej* 'will be a judge', *stal sud'ej* 'became a judge',¹⁰ *on izbran sud'ej* 'he has been elected judge', *ego naznačili sud'ej* 'he was appointed judge', *my znávali ego sud'ej* 'we knew him as judge', *sud'ej on posetil nas* 'he visited us as judge', *ja ne vidal eë lica [G] takim ozabočennym [I]* 'I have never seen her face so worried'. But if a permanent, original, inalienable property of the entity is meant, or at least if there is no intention to designate the character of this property as episodic, then the I is not possible. *Vse oni byli greki [N]* 'they were all Greeks'; *mładšij syn byl*

durak [N] 'the younger son was a fool'. The expression *bud' tatarinom [I]* 'be a Tartar' we perceive as an appeal to Tartar nationalism, while the expression "*bud' tatarin [N]*" in Puškin's epigram means: if you are born a Tartar, your national identity will remain with you, and there is nothing you can do about it. In the humorous verse "*on byl tituljarnyj sovetnik [N], ona general'skaja doč', on robko v ljubvi ej priznalsja, ona prognala ego proč'*" 'he was a titular counsellor, she a general's daughter; he timidly told her of his love; she turned him away', the rank of titular counsellor is perceived as part of the framework within which the scene takes place; it is felt to be something permanent, and the state of affairs before and after is purposely left unsaid. But *on byl tituljarnym, potom nadvornym sovetnikom [I]* 'he was a titular, later a royal counsellor'. When the attention of the speaker is focused on a period of time and the utterance is correspondingly static, the I of role gives way to the N. E. Haertel, in her substantial survey of the predicative I and N in the language of Turgenev, remarks that "there are a large number of sentences in which the N takes the place of the expected I, e.g. those with *togda, v svoë vremja*, i.e. those involving a temporal delimitation, or other circumstance which places a given utterance in the domain of the accidental" (106). But this evidence also bears witness to a subtle and important differentiation between the two cases on the part of the great stylist. Indeed, as long as the delimitations *togda* 'then', *v svoë vremja* 'in his time' are not meant as part of an antithesis, they even require a static-appearing N: "*vy byli togda rebënok [N]*" 'you were then a child', *v svoë vremja sil'nyj byl latinist [N]* 'was in his time an accomplished Latinist'. A few more illustrative examples: *on vernulsja bol'noj [N]* 'he returned ill' (and may have been ill before) – *on vernulsja bol'nym [I]* 'he returned ill (having become ill)': *ja uvidel dom, zapuščennyj i opustelyj [N]* 'I saw a house, neglected and deserted, – *ja uvidel dom, zapuščennym i opustelym [I]*; here the neglect and disrepair are clearly contrasted with an earlier and different state of affairs. "*Eë sestra zvalas' Tat'jana [N]*" (Puškin) 'her sister was named Tatjana' – . . . *Tat'janoj [I]*: in the second instance it is the giving of a name that is expressed by the case form, but in the first, only its possession; we could say: *sestra zvalas' Tanej [I]*, *a kogda podrosła, Tat'janoj [I]* 'the sister was called Tanja, and when she was grown, Tatjana'. Cf. *sestru [A] zvali Tat'janoj [I]* 'they called the sister Tatjana' or, with disruption of the syntactic perspective: – *zvali (:) Tat'jana [N]*. Likewise in a sentence of Herzen: *Odin Parfenon [A] nazvali (:) cerkov' [N] sv. Magdaliny* 'A Parthenon they called the Church of St. Magdalene'. Šaxmatov incorrectly sees here a "double A" (§430).

No less clear than the peripheral status of a temporally delimited and

therefore synecdochic meaning of an entity in contrast to its wider meaning is the marginal status in the value hierarchy of the utterance occupied by the metaphorical meaning of an entity in contrast to its proper meaning in the construction with the **I of comparison**; Miklosich (735) already perceived the inner relationship of the latter to the I of role: *u nego grud' kolesom* 'his chest is like a wheel' (is muscular), *kazak bujnym sokolom rinulsja na vraga* 'the Cossack threw himself upon the enemy like an enraged hawk'. But once the figurative meaning is viewed as inseparably connected with the referent, and the comparison changes into an identification, the I is no longer valid: *kazak, bujnyj sokol* [N], *rinulsja na vraga* 'the Cossack, an enraged hawk, threw himself upon the enemy'.

Tautological constructions also clearly reveal the semantic peculiarities of the I of role and the I of comparison (the difference between the two is removed here). Comparison of such constructions as *sidnem sidel* 'sat as (like) a sitter' (stay-at-home) or *dožd' lil livnem* 'the rain poured as (like) a downpour' (in torrents) with *krikom kričat* and the like shows that in both cases the I reinforces the predicate in that it releases its content, but in the latter instance this released content is portrayed as a mode of the predicate, and in the former as a property of the subject closely linked to the predicate (the so-called auxiliary predicate). In such expressions as *on ostalsja durak durakom* 'he remained a fool like (as) a fool' (a total fool), "*rož' les lesom*" (Šaxmatov, *Sint.*, § 2122) 'the rye is a forest like a forest' (is a real forest), the tautological combination of N and I enhances the given property by presenting it as substance (N) and as accident (I), or as identification (N) and as simile (I) at the same time. Peškovskij (244) is unable to explain on the basis of the meaning of the instrumental the tautological constructions in such adversative sentences as *razgovory* [N] *razgovorami* [I], *no pora i za delo* 'talks are talks, but it's time to get to work'. Yet it is precisely in this productive construction that the general meaning of the I is revealed: the object named by the N is shoved to one side, so to speak, by means of the I, and is assigned only peripheral status in the content of the utterance. In the proverb "*družba* [N] *družboj* [I], *a služba* [N] *služboj* [I]" 'friendship is friendship, but duty is duty', both entities displace each other to the periphery.

As we have seen from the usage discussed above, the I itself denotes nothing more than **peripheral status**; it occupies the same position among the peripheral cases that the N does among the full cases: that of the unmarked category. Correspondingly the I, like the N, tends toward the role of pure

"lexical form". Insofar as this tendency is realized, the peripherally marked I becomes an **adverb**. See the numerous examples of *instrumentalia tantum* amounting to adverbs in Šaxmatov (478): *opromet'ju* 'hurriedly' *ukradkoj* 'stealthily', *tajkom* 'secretly', *dybom* '(standing) on end', *blagin matom* 'at the top of one's voice', etc.

Everything other than peripheral status is given in individual uses of the I by the actual meaning of its referent and by the context, but not by the case form. Only by the actual meanings of the instrumentals in Majakovskij's lines "*morem bukv, čisl plavaj ryboj v vode*" 'through the sea of letters and numbers, swim like a fish in water' do we know that *morem* is an I of stipulation (namely of the path of the action) and *ryboj* an I of comparison. The connection of this peripheral case to the core of the utterance is such a loose one that without the real and formal meanings of the surrounding words we could not know to what and in what way the I *žandarmom* in the following sentence refers: *ona znavala ego žandarmom* 'she knew him as a gendarme', *on znaval ež žandarmon* 'he, as a gendarme, knew her', *on naletel žandarmom na detvoru* 'he rushed like a gendarme upon the children', *on prigrozil žandarmom brodjage* 'he threatened the vagabond with calling a gendarme', *on byl naznačen žandarmom* 'he was appointed a gendarme', *on byl ubit žandarmom* 'he was killed by a gendarme'. Typical examples are given by Potebnja (506): on the one hand *ona pletët kosy vtroe, devkoju* 'she braids her hair in triple braids, like a young girl', on the other hand *ženščina devkoju inače pletët kosy čem ženkoju* 'women braid their hair differently as young girls and as grown women' or *devkoju* [I] *krasuetsja kosoju* [I], *a baboju* [I] *ne svetit volosom* [I] 'as a girl she makes a show of her braids, but as a woman she doesn't display her hair'.

This loose type of connection is expressly clear also in the prepositional use of the I. Here we have what Hjelmslev (129) calls the *relation sans contact*, where the prepositional I shows no contact with its referent (*s, nad, pod, pered, za, između šarami* 'with, over, under, in front of, behind, between the spheres').

The **general meaning of the D** is very clear; it signifies peripheral status, like the I, and involvement in an action, like the A. Thus the Dative has been defined as the case of the indirect object or the auxiliary object. According to Šaxmatov "the adverbial D expresses a concept which is dependent upon the verb and to which the action of the verb is directed without actually embracing this concept and without affecting it directly" (§ 435). According to Peškovskij the Dative specifies only the addressee, signifying the mere directedness of the action without affecting the object (267 f.).

Compared with the accusative object, the more intimate connection between the dative object and the action is especially clear in that the D denotes the **existence of its referent as independent of the action**, while the A is silent in this regard and can refer equally well to an inner or outer object. Skalička writes in his book (which contains much of interest for general grammar): "one cannot assume a fundamental difference, for example, between the relationships of verb to noun in cases like Czech *učiti se něčemu* 'to learn something' and *studovati něco* 'to study something'. Here we sense a certain meaninglessness of the dative and accusative. And when one interchangeably uses *učiti se něčemu* or *učiti se něco*, the difference is perhaps felt only as a stylistic one: the construction with the dative is more pedantic, 'better', than that with the accusative. A certain meaninglessness of the dative or accusative is clear in this case" (21). Such an obliteration of meanings is characteristic of Czech, with its nearly eroded system of case oppositions; but in Russian, with its more stable case system, the corresponding pair *učit'sja* 'to learn' with D and *učit'* 'to learn' with A is clearly differentiated as to meaning. One can say *ja učus' francuzskomu jazyku* [D] 'I am learning the French language', since the French language exists independently of my learning it, but it is impossible to say *ja učus' svoemu uroku* [D]; one can say only *ja uču svoj urok* [A] 'I am learning my lesson', since my lesson has no existence without relation to my learning it. Also in such a prepositional D as *ěto vedět ego k gibeli* [D] 'this is leading him to ruin' instead of *vyzvaet ego gibel'* [A] 'brings about his ruin', the dative object is felt as an easy metaphor, similar to the same word in *ego ždět gibel'* 'ruin awaits him': the ruin is portrayed here as something certain, previously known and ideally existent.

Usually a given verb itself determines whether its object is to be taken as semantically direct or indirect, and if there are two objects, the verb usually determines which is to have a peripheral status and which is to be taken as directly affected by the action. In the sentence *ja prepodaju rebjatom* [D] *istoriju* [A] 'I am teaching history to the children', history functions as direct object, and the children as recipients; conversely in the sentence *ja uču rebjat* [A] *istorii* [D] 'I am teaching the children history' the children count as the direct object of my activity, while history is a mere accompaniment of the activity. Occasionally the direct and indirect objects are reversible, so that the opposition of the D and A is semantically transparent: *poët upodobil devušku* [A] *roze* [D] 'the poet compared the girl to the rose' — . . . *rozu* [A] *devuške* [D] ' . . . the rose to the girl'; *on predpočitaet brata* [A] *sestre* [D] 'he prefers his brother to his sister' — . . . *sestru* [A] *bratu* [D] ' . . . his sister to his brother': the action (that of preferring) is upon the accusative

object, but the dative object is affected by the action, since the latter takes place with reference to the former. In a few instances a verb is used with an A as well as a D to designate one and the same predication: of this type are the doublets *(po)darit' kogo* [A] *čem* I 'present someone [A] with something [I]' — *(po)darit' komu* [D] *čto* [A] 'give someone [D] something [A]'; in the first instance the receiver of the gift is the direct object of the action, and in the second, the gift: the receiver becomes a mere addressee, while the gift is transformed from a mere instrument into an actual object. A song fragment, cited by Greč, neatly illustrates this opposition: "*ne dari menja ty zlatom, podari liš' mne sebja*" (155) 'bestow on me no gold, give me only yourself'. Here the gold is depreciated and the gift is brought into prominence in opposition to it.

"The D of direct reflexive reference" (see Nilov 143) is characterized by the fact that the actual **agent is perceived as a recipient**: an action, or more exactly a state of affairs, is experienced as independent of the activity of the experiencer (cf. *bol'nomu* [D] *polegčalo* 'things became easier for the sick man' — *bol'noj počuvstvoval sebja lučše* 'the sick man felt better'; *mne* [D] *ne spitsja* 'I can't sleep' — *ja ne splju* 'I do not sleep', *ja ne mogu spat* 'I can't sleep'; *čego mne* [D] *xočetsja* — *čego ja xoču* 'what do I want'); or an action, expressed in the infinitive, is portrayed as predetermined or prescribed from the start, and the dative object correspondingly functions as the recipient of a command, prohibition, or warning of destiny (a proverb: "*byt' byčku* [D] *na verěvočke*" 'the bull-calf one day will be haltered'; from a folk tale: "*nosit' vam* [D], *ne perenosit'*" 'you must endure, never endure enough'; Lermontov: "*ne vidat' tebe* [D] *Tamary, kak ne vidat' svoix ušej*" 'you may no more see Tamara than you may see your own ears'); the stroke of destiny can be portrayed as a wish or apprehension of the speaker: *vernut'sja by emu* [D] *zdorovym* 'may he return healthy', *deneg by nam* [D] *pobol'še* (here the action is left unexpressed) 'if only we could get some more money'; *ne popast' by emu* [D] *v zapadnju* 'may he not fall into the trap'.

The so-called **ethical dative** explicitly assigns the content of the utterance to its recipient — the hearer is perceived as if he were affected by the action, as if it had even taken place with reference to him: *prišël on tebe* [D] *domoj, vse dveri nastež'* 'he came home, all doors wide open'; *tut vam takoj kavardak načalsja* 'here began such confusion'.

Like the I, the D in non-prepositional use can define only those words that encompass the meaning of the event. These cases therefore can only define a noun 1) when it is an action word (*otvet kritiku* 'answer to a critic', *podarok synu* 'gift for the son', *ugroza miru* 'threat to peace', *torgovlja lesom* [I]

'trade in wood', among others – see above); 2) when it is used as a predicate necessarily having the meaning of performing a function (*rusškaja pesnja - vsem pesnjam* [D] *pesnja* 'a Russian song is a song that surpasses all songs', literally: is a song to all songs, *ja vsem vam* [D] *otec* 'I am a father to you all', *on nam* [D] *ne sud'ja* 'he is no judge for us', *on rostom* [I] *bogatyř* 'he is a giant in size'); 3) rarely, as an apposition latently containing the meaning of occurring (being, lasting, functioning) (*rusškaja pesnja, vsem pesnjam* [D] *pesnja, neslas' nad rekoj* 'a Russian song – a song surpassing all songs – floated over the river', *mat' dvux devic, vnuček Mixailu Makaroviču* [D]¹¹ 'the mother of two girls, granddaughters of Mixail Makarovič' (kinship is treated in Russian as performing a kind of a function; cf. *obe prixodjatsja emu* [D] *vnučkami* [I] 'both are granddaughters of his'); *oxotnik, rostom* [I] *bogatyř*, *vyšel na medvedja* 'the hunter, a giant in size, took off after the bear'); and finally 4) when it functions as a one-member nominal sentence, a predicate, so to speak, of the extra-linguistic situation: *vsem pesnjam pesnja* '(that is) a song that surpasses all songs', *kuma mne* '(that is) my godmother', the same fully expressed in words – *éta ženščina prixoditsja mne kumoj* 'this woman is my godmother'; *bogatyř rostom* '(that is) someone (who is) a giant in size', "Čaplin požarnym" 'Chaplin as a fireman'. But neither the D nor the I can in such instances define a subject or an object. For example, one cannot say *vsem pesnjam pesnja neslas' nad rekoj* or – *prodolžает vosxiščat' nas* '– continues to delight us' (nor *bogatyř rostom pošel na medvedja, vstretil bogatyřja* [A] *rostom* 'met a –'), but we say, e.g. *pesn' pesnej* [G] *prodolžает vosxiščat' nas* 'the Song of Songs continues to delight us'. – The genitive in this case denotes the entirety (the entirety of songs) from which this song is selected.

The dative meaning of "more remote object" occurs with the preposition *k*. Cf. such oppositions as *k lesu* 'toward the forest' – *v les* 'into the forest' with what has been said above about the prepositional use of the instrumental. Similarly *strel'ba po utkam* [D] 'the shooting at ducks' says less about hitting the ducks than *strel'ba v utok* [A]. One can say *oplakivat' pokojnika* [A] 'to mourn for the deceased' and *oplakivat' poterju* [A] 'to mourn the loss' or *plakat' po pokojniku* [D] 'to weep after the deceased', but never *plakat' po potere* [D].¹² Combinations of the polysemous preposition *po* with the D give various shadings of "auxiliary object". Noteworthy is the opposition between the accusative object, upon which the action is directed, and the dative object, which it only lightly touches: *xlopnul ego prjamo v lob* 'slapped him right in the forehead' – *xlopnul ego družeski po pleču* 'he clapped him amiably on the shoulder'; *vyxožu na pole* 'I am going to the field' – *idu*

po polju 'I am going over the field'. The latter sentence is opposed, on the other hand, to one like *idu polem* 'I am going by way of the field', where the I is not an object of the action, but almost an aid or medium of the going, one stage on the way to something else. Cf. *idu polem v derevnju* 'I am going by way of the field to the village' or *idu polem, potom lesom i lugom* 'I am going by way of the field, then by way of the forest and the meadow'. One cannot say *vozduxom* [I] *letit ptica*, but only *po vozduxu* [D] – 'in the air flies a bird', since the bird does not fly without the air. *Pogorel'cy postroili novyj posëlok* [A], *každyj po izbe* [D] 'those who had been burnt out built a new settlement, with a cottage for each'. The relationship of the peripheral object to the full object is expressed here as part to the whole which is the main concern. *Ja uznal ego* [A] *po neuključej poxodke* [D] 'I recognized him by his clumsy gait' – two objects of my action must be distinguished here: I noticed the clumsy gait and thus recognized the man, which was the most important concern. *Ja po rassejannosti* [D] *zaper dver'* [A] 'I absentmindedly shut the door' – here again, I divide my action into two expressions: I was absentminded, and as a result – here we come to the nucleus of the sentence – I closed the door. It can even happen that the two actions are different: *po ego prikazaniju* [D] *ja pokinul komnatu* [A] 'at his command I left the room'. To the above-mentioned opposition between *učus' francuzskomu jazyku* – *uču urok* corresponds the difference between *otmetka po francuzskomu jazyku* [D] 'a grade in French' – *otmetka za urok* [A] 'a grade for the lesson'.

From our discussion of the N and A it is clear that the two cases are maximally in contrast when they function as subject and object of a transitive action; the most appropriate vehicle of the first function is an animate being and that of the second an inanimate entity. The I is most sharply opposed to the other cases when it has the meaning of an instrument or tool. A tool is notably different, on the one hand, from the objects of the action, and on the other hand, from the subject of the action. The remaining varieties of I can all, with relative ease, be transposed into other cases (e.g. *medved' ubit oxotnikom* [I] 'the bear was killed by the hunter' → *oxotnik* [N] *ubil medvedja* 'the hunter killed the bear'; *sosedi šli drug na druga vojnoj* [I] 'the neighbors fought against each other in a war' → *veli drug s drugom vojnu* [A] '– made war on one another'; *služil soldatom* [I] 'served as a soldier' → *služil v soldatax* [L pl.]; *letit sokolom* [I] → *letit kak sokol* [N] 'flies like a hawk'); the I of instrument, in contrast, can be replaced by another case only by an acutely felt metonymy which forces the instigator of the action from his role: *ja pišu pis'mo perom* [I] 'I write the letter with a pen' → *moë pero*

[N] *pišet pis'mo* 'my pen writes the letter'. The I of instrument, with transitive verbs, usually denotes an inanimate entity.

Of all the uses of the D, the D of address with transitive verbs is most clearly opposed to the other cases, and its meaning, with few exceptions, cannot be expressed by other cases (*dat' knigu bratu* 'to give the book to the brother', *pišat' pis'mo drugu* 'to write a letter to the friend', *govorit' derzosti sosedu* 'to say insolent things to the neighbor'); cf. *vernul otca* [A] *synu* [D] 'gave the father back to the son' or *synu* [D] *otca* [A] and *otcu* [D] *syna* [A] 'the son to the father' or *syna* [A] *otcu* [D]. The other uses of the D, however, can be replaced by other cases without drastic changes in meaning (e.g. *ja udivilsja tvoemu pis'mu* [D] → *ja byl udivlen tvoim pis'mom* [I] 'I was surprised by your letter'; *predpočitaju rozu rezede* [D] 'I prefer the rose to the mignonette' → *okazyvaju predpočtenie roze pered rezedoj* [I] 'I give the rose preference over the mignonette'; *ja radujus' tvoej radosti* [D] 'I am happy at (i.e. because of) your happiness' → *ja radujus' tvoej radost'ju* [I] 'I am happy at (i.e. share in) your happiness' and so forth). The D of address usually is carried by an animate being (cf. Delbrück, 185; Atti, 144), and the A of address by an inanimate entity, especially the A of inner object, and it is just this A that is most sharply opposed to the D, since the latter can express only an outer object (there are occasional exceptional animate beings as A of inner object: *Bog sozdal človeka* 'God created man'; *ona začala, rodila mladenca* 'she conceived and bore a child').¹³ Thus, when we consider the system of case oppositions in its essence, we find a tendency to distribute animate and inanimate contrastively between the full cases, on the one hand, and the peripheral cases, on the other:

N animate	A inanimate
I inanimate	D animate

Indicative of the anchoring of this distribution in linguistic perception is the revealing system of "school-grammar questions": *kto* [N] *delaet, čto* [A] *delaet, čem* [I] *delaet, komu* [D] *delaet* 'who is doing, is doing what, is doing with what, is doing to whom'.

VI

In the locative, as in the G and in opposition to the D and A, the opposition of directedness is irrelevant. Like the G, the L can denote an object affected by

the action (cf. *priznajus' v ošibke* [L] 'I confess to the error'; *priznaju ošibku* [A] 'I acknowledge the error'; *sužu o sobytijax* [L] 'I judge of the incidents' – *obsuždaju sobytija* [A] 'I judge the incidents'); but it can also denote an object of which nothing is said regarding its being affected by an action (cf. *ploščad' Majakovskogo v Moskve* [L] 'Majakovskij Square in Moscow' – *ploščad' Majakovskogo, Moskva* [N] 'Majakovskij Square, Moscow'; *čudovišče o trěx golovax* [L] 'the three-headed monster' – *čudovišče s tremja golovami* [I] 'the monster with three heads').

I say or write *luna* 'the moon' and mean thereby only a single object; but if I say or write *o lune* [L] 'about the moon', the hearer/reader is at once made aware that two objects are involved, the moon and a predication about it, and most directly this predication; the moon is only indirectly referred to as part of the expression's peripheral content. It is the same when we hear or read – *na lune* [L] 'on the moon': two objects are meant, the moon and something which is or takes place on the moon; the latter constitutes, so to speak, the core of the utterance, and the moon *per se* is again regarded as peripheral to this.

One might ask whether this difference is linked to the opposition between prepositional and non-prepositional use of case, rather than to a difference in case itself.¹⁴ It is true that the Russian preposition indicates a connection between two entities, and denotes, in particular, the indirect – or as in Greč's old definition – the "weakest, most distant relations" between the two members. But the prepositional construction for the L, in contrast to the A, G, I, and D, is not one of several syntactic possibilities, but one single and necessary possibility, similar to the non-prepositional construction for the N or that with the (expressed or implicit) verb for the A. The meaning of the prepositional use does not function as one of the special meanings of the L, but as its general meaning. In addition, the L unambiguously emphasizes the dominant category in the hierarchy of meaning of the sentence, and this does not occur in the prepositional use of the full cases (A, G). (As for the I and D, they indicate peripheral status in contrast to the dominant category in the hierarchy independently of whether or not they are used with a preposition.) The L indicates its own peripheral status in contrast to the explicit or implicit dominant point, while at the same time it denotes the "more limited objectivization" of the entity which is in the locative and the complete "objectivization" of the entity signified by the dominant category in the hierarchy and limited by the entity which is in the locative. The entity which is in the locative is not represented in the utterance to its full extent; thus the L is, like the G, a scope case. It differs, of course, from the G in that

it also defines the extension and in fact **the full extension of the object which is the dominant category in the hierarchy** and thus operates as a **peripheral case**.

Rasskazy o vojne [L] 'stories about the war, of the war, from the war', *rasskazyvajut o vojne* 'they tell about the war, of the war': the background of the story is indicated; the war, on the other hand, is treated as a mere partitive in the utterance. *Ostrov na reke* 'the island on the river': the extension of the island is defined, but not the extension of the river. *Poduška ležit na divane* 'the cushion lies on the sofa': the entire cushion, but only the surface of the sofa, is involved. *Bumagi zaperty v jaščike* [L] 'the papers are locked in the drawer' – *bumagi zaperty v jaščik* [A] 'the papers were locked in the drawer': they were not there before; thus the object is in this case not fully delimited temporally. *Grešnik raskajalsja v svoej žizni* [L] 'the sinner repented of his life': the life of the sinner exhausts the repentance, but not the reverse.

The preposition *pri* with the L designates a temporal limitation (*pri Petre* 'in Peter's time'), the zone of relation, influence, or observation **within which** something takes place: *služil pri dvore* 'served in court', *on pri fabrike* 'he is with the factory', *pri gorode sloboda* 'the city had a suburb', *skazal pri žene* 'said in the presence (within hearing) of his wife'.

The "feature-enumerating" L with the preposition *o* (cf. Nilov, 193, 195) imparts a quantitative limitation to the object in the locative; the enumerated feature in its entirety is characteristic, and exhaustively comprehends its nature: *stol o trěx nožkax* 'the three-legged table', *ruka o šesti pal'cax* 'the six-fingered hand', especially *stol s tremja treščinami* [I] 'the table with three scratches', *dom s dvumja trubami* 'the house with two chimneys'.

The L is thus marked as a scope case as opposed to the N, I, A, and D, and as a peripheral case as opposed to the N, A, and G. It is, so to speak, the antipode of the absolutely unmarked N: the case which is **always prepositional** and the case which is **never prepositional** are **diametrically opposed** to each other. It is noteworthy that the Russian grammatical tradition has always (as in Meletij Smotrickij in the 17th century) started its declensional paradigm with the N, and ended with the L. The customary contrasting of the N, A, and G (our full cases) with the others (our peripheral cases) was fundamentally correct, except for the untenable basis for this classification (cf. Wundt, II, 62, 74 f.).

VII

In the declension of many names of inanimate entities the G and L are split into two separate cases: some masc. sg. nouns with a zero ending in the N distinguish **two genitives** – a G I, ending in stressed or unstressed *-a*, and a G II, ending in a stressed or unstressed *-u*. A number of these, as well as a number of other nouns in the same declension, distinguish **two locatives** – the L I, ending in *-e* or its unstressed variant, and the L II, ending in stressed *-u*. Moreover, some fem. sg. nouns with a zero ending in the N distinguish between the L I, ending in unstressed *-i*, and the L II, ending in stressed *-i*.

Attempts have often been made to define the functions of the two subclasses of G and L, but these definitions usually embrace only a part of the sphere of meaning of each. Thus Bogorodickij (115) opposes to the G a special "case of departure" (e.g. *iz lesu* 'out of the woods'), and "in the sphere of the so-called prepositional" he distinguishes a "locative" (*na domu* 'at home') and an "explicative" case (*o dome* 'about the house'); yet it remains unclear why the "case of departure" disappears in the construction *iz těmnogo lesa* 'out of the dark woods', while the nuance of departure remains in the constructions *čaška čaju* 'a cup of tea', *prošu čaju* 'I ask for tea'; and why the "explicative" case appears in constructions like *pri dome* 'at the house', *v vašem dome* 'in your house' instead of the "locative". Nor does Durnovo provide an exact boundary between the two subtypes of G and L, in remarking that the genitive in *-u* is most frequent in words designating a quantity, and in distinguishing a locative (*na vozú* 'on the cart', *na mel'f* 'on the sand-bank') from the prepositional, the locative being used "after *v* and *na* with a pure locative and temporal meaning" (247 ff.).

Greater attention to the question of the double genitive with "names of substances" was given by Thomson (XXVIII, 108 ff.): "if the mass appears to be spatially restricted and ordinarily has a definite shape of its own, we treat these features as accidental, since, from a subjective standpoint, they are non-essential . . . In many masculine names of substances the genitive ending *-u* is used in place of the *-a* when they denote pure substances". In this connection Thomson compares such constructions as *kupi syru* [G II] 'buy cheese' – *vmesto syra* [G I] 'instead of cheese', *butylka mědu* [G II] 'a bottle of mead' – *prigotovlenie měda* [G I] 'the preparation of mead', *on kupil lesu* [G II] 'he bought woods' – *granica lesa* [G I] 'the edge of the woods'. The most insightful definition of the boundary between the forms in question is provided by Šaxmatov (*Očerck*, 100 ff., 122 f.). He establishes that genitives in *-u* are formed with noncount words with a meaning of substance, collectivity,

or abstraction, and that the *-a* ending connotes "the individualization or concretization of the substance-concept"; he adduces lists of words having a stressed *-u* or *-i* in the L after the prepositions *v* and *na*, these endings being generally avoided when the noun is accompanied by an attribute and its meaning thereby individualized; the same thing is found in the genitive used with abstract nouns.¹⁵

What, then, is the general meaning of the apparently parallel oppositions G I - G II and L I - L II? The nouns in the G II (or L II) necessarily occur also with the G I (or L I). The G II and the L II are **marked** categories in relation to the G I and L I. They indicate, in opposition to the unmarked G I and L I, that their referents function in the content of the utterance not as shapes, but as something **shaping or being shaped**. Correspondingly, the G II and L II can be regarded as **cases of shaping**, and their relation to the G I and L I as the **shaping correlation** [*Gestaltungskorrelation*].

Mass nouns, or the closely related **abstract nouns**,¹⁶ of which a definite portion (*ložka percu* 'a spoonful of pepper', *funt goroxu* 'a pound of peas', *mного смеху* 'much laughter'), an indefinite portion (*čaj!* '(some) tea!', *smexu bylo* 'there was laughter'), or a zero portion (*net čaju* 'there is no tea', *bez percu* 'without pepper', *bez smexu* 'without laughter') is involved in the utterance, are represented as positive or negative only through the **limiting function of the utterance**.

In those instances where the mass noun or abstract noun is treated not as a substance but as a concrete entity which is defined, valued, or perceptually treated as such, the G II loses its justification, given the nature of the G II which disregards the signified object's concreteness. Thus we obtain oppositions like the following: *rjumka kon'jaku* [G II] 'a glass of cognac', *skol'ko kon'jaku* 'how much cognac', *napilsja kon'jaku* 'got drunk on cognac', *ne ostalos' kon'jaku* 'there was no cognac left', *bez kon'jaku* 'without cognac' — *zapax kon'jaka* [G I] 'the smell of cognac', *kačestvo kon'jaka* 'the quality of cognac', *krepče kon'jaka* 'stronger than cognac', *razgovor kosnulsja kon'jaka* 'the conversation touched on cognac', *opasajus' kon'jaka* 'I am afraid of cognac', *ne ljublju kon'jaka* 'I don't like cognac', *ot kon'jaka* 'from cognac'. Admittedly there are instances where the border between the two case forms appears to fluctuate, and often such variations are even semanticized, e.g. *ne pil kon'jaka* [G I] 'drank no cognac', i.e. did not like or appreciate this drink — *ne pil kon'jaku* [G II] is a mere assertion, with no particular attitude toward the referent implied; *količestvo kon'jaka* [G I] 'the quantity of cognac': the quantity here has the semantic nuance of being a property of the referent — *količestvo kon'jaku* [G II] expresses simply a measure, a pure quantification.

When a mass or abstract noun is used in a sentence where it refers to several similar and hence countable entities, the noun is no longer a *singulare tantum*, the singular-plural opposition comes into play (*različnye čai* 'various teas', *vsjačeskie zapaxi* 'all kinds of odors') and the G II loses its validity: *net čaju* [G II] 'there is no tea' but *v prodaže net ni kitajskogo, ni cejlonškogo čaja* [G I] 'neither Chinese nor Ceylonese tea is being sold'; *cvety bez zapaxu* [G II] 'flowers without smell' — *v bukete ne bylo cvetov bez sladkogo ili gor'kogo zapaxa* [G I] 'there were no flowers in the bouquet without a sweet or bitter smell'. Our task here is not so much to describe the details of usage, as to indicate the general tendencies.

A referent in the capacity of a container, bounded area or measurement limits and shapes the content of the utterance. In the **prepositional** use, the G II and the L II indicate that this **function of container or measurement** is the usual, or even the only possible property of the referent. With the prepositions *o*, *pri* the L II cannot be used (*govorit' o berege* [L I], *o króvi* 'to speak about the shore, about blood', *izbuška pri lese* [L I] 'a cottage in the woods'); correspondingly the G II cannot be used with the prepositions *u*, *voze*, etc. (*u lesa* [G I] 'by the woods', *voze doma* 'beside the house'), since these prepositions do not indicate a shaping function of the referent. In contrast, the L II can be used with the prepositions *v*, *na* (*v lesú* 'in the woods', *v kroví* 'in the blood', *na beregú* 'on the shore', *na vozú* 'on the cart'), and likewise the G II with the prepositions *iz*, *s*, etc., insofar as these prepositions refer to shaping (or containment, or measurement). G II with the meaning of a container, area, or measurement is an unproductive grammatical form, and its use is restricted to a few frozen constructions, such as, for example, *iz lesu* 'out of the woods', *iz domu* 'out of the house', *s polu* 'from the floor', *s vozu* 'from the cart', especially in designations of measurement: *s času* 'from one o'clock', *bez godu* 'a year less'; in contrast the L II with the corresponding meaning is a current form.

In the event that the L with the preposition *v* does not have to do with a container of some sort of object, but rather with an object having definite properties, the L II is of course not appropriate. Cf. *skol'ko krasoty v lesu* [L II] 'how much beauty there is in the forest', *skol'ko krasoty v lese* [L I] 'how much beauty there is in a forest'; *v stepí* [L II] *menja razdražaeť moškara* 'in the steppes the midges bother me' — *v stepí* [L I] *menja razdražaeť odnoobrazie* 'the steppes bother me with their uniformity'; *no i v tení* [L II] *putnik ne našel spasenija* 'but even in the shade the wanderer found no relief' (here the shade functions as the wanderer's container) — *no i v téní* [L I] *putnik no našel spasenija* 'but even the shade brought the wanderer no relief'

(with the shade as a vehicle of relief); *i v grjazi* [L II] *možno najti almaz* 'even in the dirt one can find a diamond' (the dirt encloses the diamond) — *i v grjazi* [L I] *možno najti svoeobraznuju prelest* 'even in dirt one can find a peculiar charm' (that is, the peculiar charm can be a property of dirt).

If the thing contained is felt to be an accident of the container, and the latter is the focus of attention, the L II is prohibited. Cf. *na prudú* [L II] *baby bel'ě pološcut* 'in the pond the women rinse their laundry', *na prudu lodki* 'on the pond there are boats' — *sad zapusčěn, na prude* [L I] *rjaska* 'the garden is desolate, on the pond is duckweed'; *ona pojavilas' v šelkú* [L II] 'she appeared in silk' — *v šelke* [L I] *pojavilas' mol'* 'in the silk moths appeared', *v šelke est' bumažnye volokna* 'in the silk there are cotton threads'; *lepěški ispečeny na međú* [L II] 'cookies baked with honey' — *na mēde* [L I] *pokazalas' plesen'* 'on the honey mold appeared'.

If the type of containment given by the context is unusual for the referent, so that its role in the utterance cannot be restricted to simple containment or statement of area, and we sense that the referent has a certain value of its own, then the L II is not appropriate. Cf. *v lesú* [L II] *ležit tuman* 'in the woods lies a mist' — *na lese* [L I] *ležit tuman* 'on the woods lies a mist'; *v grobú* [L II] *mertvec* 'in the coffin is a corpse' — *na grobe* [L I] *venok* 'on the coffin is a wreath', *v čanú* [L II] 'in the pail' — *na čane* [L I] 'on the pail', *v grjazi* [L II] 'in the dirt' — *na grjazi* [L I] *tonkij sloj snegu* 'on the dirt lies a thin layer of snow'; *sidit voron na dubú* [L II] 'a raven sits on the oak tree' — *otverstie v dube* [L I] 'a cavity in the oak tree'; *na valú* [L II] *našli ostatki ukreplenij* 'on the mound were found remains of fortifications' — *v vale* [L I] *našli ostatki ukreplenij* 'within the mound were found . . . '.

For many nouns, it is sufficient for an attribute to occur in order to force the referent from its role as container. In these instances, too, the L I appears in place of the L II (or the G I in place of the G II). *V grobú* [L II] 'in the coffin', but rather *v derevjannom grobe* [L I], *v razukrašennom grobe* 'in the wooden, in the decorated coffin'; *v peskú* [L II] 'in the sand' — *v zolotom peske* [L I] 'in the golden sand'; *na vozú* [L II] 'on the cart' — *na čudoviščnom voze* [L I] 'on a monstrous cart'; *ruki v krovi* [L II] 'one's hands in blood' — *ruki v čelovečeskoj króvi* [L I] 'one's hands in human blood'; *svin'i kupajutsja v grjazi* [L II] 'pigs bathe in mud' — *bol'noj kupajetsja v celebnoj grjazi* [L I] 'the sick man bathes in "healing dirt" (mud)'; *iz lesu* [G II] 'out of the woods' — *iz tēmnogo lesa* [G I] 'out of the dark woods'. The more unusual the attribute is, the more emphasis it gives to the referent, and the more the L II gives way to the L I. Cf. *v rodnom krajú* [L II] 'in the homeland' — *v èkzotičeskom kraje* [L I] 'in an exotic land'.

VIII

The following table summarizes the **general system of Russian case oppositions**; for each opposition, the marked case is either to the right of or beneath the unmarked one:

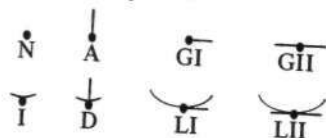
$$\begin{array}{cccc} (N \sim A) \sim (GI \sim GII) & & & \\ \} & \} & \} & \} \\ (I \sim D) \sim (LI \sim LII) & & & \end{array}$$

It is typical of all of these oppositions that the marking is always of a **negative sort**: it lowers the referent in the hierarchy, limiting in some way the full range of its possible development. Thus by the **directional cases** (A, D) the non-independence of the referent is shown; by the **cases of scope** (the G's and L's) the referent's extension is limited; by the **peripheral cases** (I, D and the L's) its peripheral status is indicated; and by the **cases of shaping** (G II, L II) the function of the referent is limited to containment or being contained. The more correlative features a case carries, the more limited and suppressed is the value of its referent in the utterance, and the more complex is the remaining content of the utterance.

Let us therefore attempt to present the Russian case system schematically. As we have seen above, the A denotes "vertical" position, while the N shows merely a single **point** (namely the point of projection of its referent in the utterance). Of the same kind is the relation between the D and the I, but both differ from the first pair by fixing the referent's status as peripheral within the utterance. This **peripheral** status can be schematically represented as the position of a point on a **segment of arc**; for the I, the position of the point's segment with respect to the presumed mid-point (above, beneath, or at the same height) is not actually indicated. The G affirms the existence of two points: on the one hand, the point of projection of its referent on the design of the utterance, and on the other hand, the referent's boundary, which remains outside the content of the utterance; in opposition to the two points indicated by the A, those indicated by the G are not ranked with respect to each other, and thus we can represent the G schematically as the starting-point of a **horizontal** line. The schema for the L differs only in that the point is located on a **segment of arc**, so as to express the peripheral status of the referent. The G II and the L II differ from the G I and the L I in that it is not the referent itself that is indicated, but only its contact with the predication. One of these two is limited by the other. From the point of view of the referent, this point of contact is simply one of its points, and we

give it also as a **point on a horizontal line**, and not as an objective starting point, as we did with the G I and L I. The G II does not tell us which of the two entities – the referent or the content of the utterance – is the shaping and which the shaped; the L II necessarily assigns the shaping function to its referent, since the peripheral position of the point of contact shows the interiority of the content of the utterance.

The general schema of the case system:



IX

No one declinable word utilizes through its case endings the entire system of Russian case oppositions. Typical are the various aspects of **case syncretism** (cf. Durnovo, 247 ff.). A certain **asymmetry**, which should be viewed as a constitutive factor in the language system (cf. Karcevskij, *Travaux*), is involved in the **general system** of Russian case: the marked series of the scope correlation is portioned differently from the unmarked series – causing sometimes the shaping correlation, sometimes the reference correlation, to function. The shaping opposition is usually avoided (or, seen historically, only a small number of nouns have carried out the split of the G and L into two cases). Nonetheless the asymmetry exists, for in the scope cases (G, L) the directional opposition is eliminated, so that for instance the G can correspond either to the A or the N (*est' kniga* [N] 'there is a book' – *net knigi* [G] 'there is no book'; *vižu knigu* [A] 'I see the book' – *ne vižu knigi* [G] 'I don't see the book'). This asymmetry in the system is reflected in the **asymmetry of individual paradigms** and generalized to the entire declensional system (the Russian conjugational system has similar properties). This is achieved – if we treat the question synchronically – by means of various forms of case syncretism.

If the shaping oppositions or at least one of them (G I - G II or L I - L II) occur in a paradigm, then one of the directional oppositions – that between the N and the A – is eliminated.

sneg		snega	snégu	smex		smexa	smexu
snegom	snégu	snege	snégú	smexom	smexu	smexe	

raj		raja	
raem	ráju	rae	rajú

If the N and A differ, then either the A - G distinction or the corresponding D - L distinction is eliminated.

syn	syna		žena	ženu	ženy
synom	synu	syne	ženoju	žene	

If both distinctions are removed, then the marked members of the directional and scope correlations fall together, and the asymmetry of the system is here in some sense overcome – the only such instance in the written language.¹⁷

ty	tebja
toboju	tebe

If the scope cases (G and L) merge into a single syncretic form, then at least one of the two series of status correlations, i.e. either those of the full cases or those of the peripheral cases, is reduced to a single special form. The asymmetry remains even if this occurs in both series.

pivnye		pivnyx	slepye	slepyx	te	tex
pivnymi	pivnym		slepymi	slepym	temi	tem
vy	vas		slepaja	slepuju	ta	tu
vami	vam		slepoju	slepoj	toju	toj
myš'			put'		vremja	
myš'ju	myši		putëm	puti	vremenem vremeni	

The oppositions N-G, N-I, and A-D in Russian declension cannot in general be dissolved, but the falling together of the marked members of all three oppositions occurs colloquially in the adjective and most feminine pronouns, since in the colloquial language the instrumental ending *-oju* is replaced everywhere by *-oj*. Here all peripheral cases fall together, and both status and scope correlations merge.¹⁹

ta	tu	
		toj

slepaja	slepuju	
		slepoj

The merging of the marked members, on the one hand, and of the unmarked members of all three of the above mentioned oppositions, on the other hand, yields the simplest of the Russian paradigms.

sorok	
soroka	

sto	
sta	

poltora	
polutora	

In addition to the paradigms already adduced, the following phenomena show the sharp **contrastiveness of the N** (or of the A, insofar as it falls together with the N) with respect to the peripheral and scope cases:

1. defective pronouns; in particular, on the one hand, isolated nominative forms *nekto* 'someone', *nečto* 'something' and, on the other hand, pronouns with no nominative – the negating *nekogo* [G], *nečego* [G], (*nekomu* [D], *nečemu* [D], etc.), and the reflexive *sebja* [G-A], *sebe* [D], *soboju* [I], which indicates the identity of the non-independent referent with the main subject of discourse and thus can have no N (cf. Polivanov, 87);

2. suppletive pronouns, whose N has a different root morpheme from that of the other cases: *ja* [N] 'I' – *menja* [G-A], *my* [N] 'we' – *nas* [G-A], *on* [N] 'he' – *ego* [G-A], etc.;

3. nouns whose nominative stem differs from the stem-form of the other cases in lacking a "linking morpheme" (see Trubetzkoy, 14): *vremja* [N-A] 'time' – *vremeni* [G-D-L], etc.

4. nouns which have root stress in the N but fixed stress on the ending in the other cases: *gvózdi* [N-A] 'nails' – *gvozděj* [G], *gvozdjám* [D], etc.

In the foregoing investigation I have purposely remained within the bounds of a **purely synchronic** description, although the question of the development of the Russian case system asserts itself automatically: the language allows case forms to fall together with the help of grammatical analogy, and offers no resistance to homonymies in case forms resulting from other forces at work; or it applies analogy in the other direction to maintain old oppositions or create new ones; the basic tendencies of Russian morphological evolution can be most fully understood by the systematic comparison

of a few related systems in the process of change – their convergences and divergences.

Whether we advance from synchrony to a comparative-historical case theory or attempt to integrate the above schema of the modern Russian case system and that of the structure of the verb, into the contemporary study of the totality of the Russian parts of speech and their interrelations, or whether we search, finally, for the principles underlying a typology of case systems (which would, in spite of the diversity among systems, reveal general agreement as to basic laws) – all of this work, if it is to be fruitful, must make a careful **distinction between the various levels of linguistic units**, in particular between two, **the word and the phrase**. It is Brøndal's unassailable and lasting contribution to have stressed forcefully this fundamental distinction. The simplistic notion that **any independent** meaning belongs merely to a unit capable of **one independent use**, and thus, for example, that most cases, abstracted from their surroundings, are nothing but "dead material", has devalued and distorted many morphological problems. I have attempted in this study to liberate several questions of case theory from this erroneous approach. The problem of meaning, which has already – and rightly – been introduced even into phonology, must be granted a more appropriate place in the theory of morphology as well.

"Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre: Gesamtbedeutungen der russischen Kasus", written in Brno, 1935, and published in *TCLP*, VI (1936).

REFERENCES

- Atti del III Congresso internazionale dei linguisti* (1935) (M. Deutschbein, "Bedeutung der Kasus im Indogermanischen", 141 ff., Diskussion, 145 f.).
- V. Bogorodickij, *Obščij kurs russskoj grammatiki* (1935⁵).
- M. Braun, *Das Kollektivum und das Plurale tantum im Russischen* (1930).
- V. Brøndal, *Morfologi og Syntax* (1932).
- V. Brøndal, "Structure et variabilité des systèmes morphologiques", *Scientia* (1935), 109 ff.
- K. Bühler, *Sprachtheorie* (1934).
- F. Buslaev, *Opyt istoričeskoj grammatiki russskogo jazyka*, II: *Sintaksis* (1858).
- B. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I (1893).
- N. Durnovo, "De la déclinaison en grand-russe littéraire moderne", *RES*, II, 235 ff.
- O. Funke, *Innere Sprachform* (1924).
- N. Greč, *Čtenija o russskom jazyke*, II (1840).
- E. Haertel, "Untersuchungen über Kasusanwendungen in der Sprache Turgenevs", *AfsiPh*, XXXIV, 61 ff.

- L. Hjelmslev, *La catégorie des cas*, I (1935).
 E. Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*, II (1913²).
 R. Jakobson, "Structure of the Russian Verb". [See above, pp. 1 ff.]
 S. Kacnel'son, *K genezisu nominativnogo predloženiya* (1936).
 S. Karcevskij, *Système du verbe russe* (1927).
 S. Karcevskij, "Du dualisme asymétrique du signe linguistique", *TCLP*, I, 88 ff.
 A. Marty, *Zur Sprachphilosophie. Die "logische", "lokalistische" und andere Kasus-theorien* (1910).
 F. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, IV (1883).
 I. Nilov, *Russkij padež* (1930).
 H. Pedersen, "Neues und nachträgliches", *KZ*, XL, 129 ff.
 A. Peškovskij, *Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osvveštenii* (1934⁴).
 E. Polivanov, *Russkaja grammatika v sopostavlenii s uzbekskim jazykom* (1934).
 H. Pongs, *Das Bild in der Dichtung* (1927).
 A. Potebnja, *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*, I-II (1888²).
 A. Puchmayer, *Lehrgebäude der Russischen Sprache* (1820).
 V. Skalička, *Zur ungarischen Grammatik* (1935).
 M. Šmotrickij, *Grammatiki slavenskija pravilnoe sintagma* (1618).
 A. Šaxmatov, *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka*, I (1925).
 A. Šaxmatov, *Očerki sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* (1925).
 A. Thomson, "Beiträge zur Kasuslehre", *IF* XXIV, 293 ff.; XXVIII, 107 ff.; XXIX, 249 ff.; XXX, 65 ff.
 F. Trávníček, *Studie o českém vidu slovesném* (1923).
 F. Trávníček, *Neslovesné věty v češtině*, II: *Věty nominální* (1931).
 N. Trubetzkoy, *Das morphologische System der russischen Sprache* (= *TCLP* V/2).
 C. Uhlenbeck, "Zur Kasuslehre", *KZ*, XXXIX, 600 ff.
 B. Unbegaun, *La langue russe au XVIIe siècle*, I: *La flexion des noms* (1935).
 F. Wüllner, *Die Bedeutung der sprachlichen Casus und Modi* (1827).
 W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, II: *Die Sprache* (1922⁴).

FOOTNOTES

1. The gradual erosion of the system of case oppositions in most modern Slavic languages, with the exception of the Polish and East Slavic area, plays a role which is not to be underestimated in the evolution of Slavic case theory.

2. It is worth noting that in instances where the case of the noun is unclear the word order is generally fixed, as also when the syntactic relationship follows from the actual meaning of the words; e.g. one can say *syna rodila mat' prošlym letom* 'the mother bore a son last summer', but never *doč' rodila mat'* – 'the daughter bore the mother –', only *say mat' rodila doč'* – 'the mother bore the daughter –'.

3. I believe that in Gothic these cases are opposed to each other in a similar way. The combination of the opposing functions of which Hjelmslev speaks is fundamentally different in the two cases. The N can perform either function; in other words, neither of these functions is specific to its general meaning. On the other hand, the A can unite the functions of both the object and the subject of an action, e.g. in the combination with the infinitive (*hausideduþ ina siukan* = ἠκούσατε αὐτὸν ἠσθενηκέναι 'they heard

that he had become ill' – the entity in the accusative is here equally the object of the experience and the subject of becoming ill), but the object-meaning always remains an indispensable feature of the A, while its auxiliary role as subject is merely one of the syntactic applications of this case. Thus the definition of the A as a case which designates the object of the action embraces all of the particular meanings of the A, and does not require the unjustifiable interpretation of these individual meanings as metonymic usages of the case.

4. The frequent absence of a clear boundary between the individual syntactic meanings of the G has been aptly taken into consideration by F. Trávníček (*Studie*, § 70).

5. Šaxmatov (§ 47) entertains doubts about the origin of this last construction, but Trávníček has correctly recognized the partitive genitive in the corresponding Czech "jakého to zvuku!" 'how noisy it is here!' (*Věty*, 16).

6. In general the partitive genitive, which temporally limits the involvement of its referent in the content of the utterance, is a disappearing archaism. For example the Krylovian "dostali not, basa, al'ta [G]" 'rounded up (temporarily) music, a contrabass, a viola' is nowadays usually misunderstood. Thus, according to Šaxmatov, the G here means "a collection or an indefinite number of objects of the same kind" (§ 425). Thomson claims that this genitive of temporal limitation is "still wholly alive in the domestic speech of many educated people" (XXIX, 250); this is certainly not true for the colloquial language of cultural centers.

7. In Polish the A pl. fell together with the G only in designations of persons, so that the meaning distinction remains almost intact, as the opposition of the A and the partitive G, in this class of names, could have only a limited existence.

8. We have left aside the question of the G with numerals, since it involves a series of striking peculiarities which I hope soon to be able to discuss separately. If the combination numeral + noun has no case marking, the numeral has the syntactic value of a substantivized indicator of quantity, while the accompanying noun functions as a partitive genitive indicating a quantitative limitation on the referent (*pjat'* [N], *sorok*, likewise *skol'ko*, *neskol'ko věder* [G] '5, 40, how many, a few buckets'); if, on the other hand, there is some sort of case marking, the noun carries this marking and the numeral becomes an attributive agreeing with the noun in case (*trěx* [G], *pjati*, *soroka*, likewise *skol'kix*, *neskol'kix věder* [G]; *trěm* [D], *pjati*, etc., *vědrám* [D]; *tremja* [I] *pjat'ju*, etc. *vědrami* [I], etc.). This does not hold for the numerals for a thousand and above (*tysjača* [N], *tysjači* [G], *tysjače* [D] – *věder* [G] 'a thousand buckets', etc.). The numerals 2-4 do not take a noun in the G pl. but in the G sg. (*dva* [N], *tri*, *četyre vedra* [G] '2, 3, 4 buckets'), as if in this instance the case form did not indicate plurality but only the fact that the scope of the referent as a unit (sg.) does not coincide with the scope of its participation in the content of the expression. In this sense we would have to extend our definition of the general meaning of the G, if we wanted to take into consideration its use with numerals and the quite special status of the latter in the language. We could then claim that the numeral signifies that the last scope exceeds the first, but that the case itself merely indicates the inequality of the two; cf. the gradual progression in the particular meanings of the G: *ni vedra* 'not one bucket', *polvedra* 'half a bucket', *poltora vedra* 'a bucket and a half'. It is noteworthy that those numerals which show by their grammatical form the animacy of their referent, or more exactly their humanness,

always indicate plurality in the noun: *dvoe, pjatero družej* 'two, five friends'; *dvoix, pjateryx družej* [G]; *dvoim, pjaterym druž'jam* [D], etc.

9. Pedersen (134 ff.) furnishes interesting examples of this type of I in Russian.

10. In such constructions as *stal sud'ej* 'he became a judge' the peripheral status is purely semantic, not syntactic: the expression *on stal* necessarily calls for the question *kem* 'who', *čem* 'what' [I].

11. This example from Dostoevskij is cited by Peškovskij (290).

12. The locative after *po* with verbs of remorse, recommended by the school grammarians, is a lifeless archaism.

13. The designation of the inner object is the principal meaning of the A; from the parallel opposition N - I, the principal meaning of the N is shown to be the center of the expression. It is realized as the sentence subject, whereas in the role of predicate the N competes with the I.

14. The pronouns, which, in contrast to the other parts of speech, express not real but formal meanings in their root morpheme, often denote by their root morpheme such semantic differences as are otherwise conveyed as morphological or syntactic oppositions: on the one hand, the categories of animacy and inanimacy (opposition of the root morphemes *k - č*: *kto* 'who' - *čto* 'what', *kogo* - *čego*, etc.), of person (*ja* 'I', *ty* 'you [sg.], *on* 'he') and, on the other hand, in highly unusual fashion the opposition of *relatedness vs. unrelatedness to a prepositional construction*, which is consistently expressed in third person pronouns by the distinction *n'* vs. *j* (*nego-ego, nemu-emu* 'he', *nej-ěj* 'she', etc.).

15. The question has been touched upon recently in Unbegaun's well-documented book on the history of Russian declension; the author follows in essence the conclusions of Šaxmatov, and explains as a tendency "*vers l'adverbialization*" those uses of the G II and L II that Šaxmatov treated from a semantic standpoint as due to the lack of an individualizing meaning (123).

16. On these types, which function as subtypes of *singularia tantum*, see Braun.

17. In the North Great Russian dialects, the asymmetry is leveled in a different way: the directional correlation is eliminated in the plural paradigm.

<i>ruki</i>	<i>ruk</i>
<i>rukam</i>	<i>rukax</i>

18. In the abovementioned North Great Russian dialects, a symmetrical solution is reached in the corresponding instances: no case indicates more than one correlative feature.

full case	<i>bol'sie</i>	<i>bol'six</i>	scope case
peripheral case	<i>bol'sim</i>		

The case forms of the Old Russian dual were distributed in the same way:

N-A	<i>druga</i>	<i>drugu</i>	G-L
I-D	<i>drugoma</i>		

19. In Serbian, all peripheral cases have a common plural form, while all full case distinctions are maintained.

<i>udari</i>	<i>udare</i>	<i>udara</i>
<i>udarima</i>		

In Czech, on the other hand, there exist plural paradigms which retain all of the peripheral case distinctions, but dismantle those of the full cases.

<i>znamení</i>		
<i>znameními</i>	<i>znamením</i>	<i>znameních</i>

This peculiarity of an individual Czech paradigm is repeated, for example, in Gilyak as a property of the general case system:

1. <i>təf</i> 'house'		
2. <i>təfkir</i>	3. <i>təftox</i>	4. <i>təvux</i>

(1. "absolute case", corresponding to the N, A and non-prepositional G of Russian; 2. I; 3. "aditive case", corresponding essentially to the Russian D; 4. "locative-elative case", corresponding to the Russian L and prepositional G.) The same relation obtains in the plural, but here there is a tendency to use the absolute case instead of the peripheral one (see *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov severa*, III, 197). A converse relation between the declensions of both numbers is to be observed in the Czech paradigm of *paní* 'woman': in the plural we find the above division, while in the singular the case distinctions are completely neutralized.

MORPHOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SLAVIC DECLENSION
(THE STRUCTURE OF RUSSIAN CASE FORMS)

I

The present report is dedicated to the fond memory of my two Moscow teachers in Russian linguistics – Nikolaj Nikolaevič Durnovo, who was the first to consider comprehensively the problem of case syncretism in Russian declension,¹ and Dmitrij Nikolaevič Ušakov. It was the latter who, at the beginning of his course on historical morphology, proposed to his listeners the task of determining the origin of the colorful dialectal form *trjuf lošaděf* ('three horses', genitive case), adding that in essence, the history of declension is at every point an example of grammatical analogy: our entire task lies therefore in uncovering the operation of analogy, and in providing it with a satisfactory explanation.

It is now generally acknowledged that the interpretation of changes in a given language requires beforehand a precise description of its structure at each moment in its development. "The linguist who wants to understand a given state must pay no attention to everything that produced it and ignore diachrony," as F. de Saussure pointedly stated: "The intervention of history can only falsify his judgment."² Precisely in order to understand the historical process clearly and to master the rules of the play of analogy, we must first temporarily close our eyes to the past.

It is from this standpoint that the declensional system of the contemporary Russian literary language will be subjected to a preliminary analysis here.

In the subsequent discussion, we shall make use of the following abbreviations: N(ominative case), G(enitive case), D(ative case), A(ccusative case), I(nstrumental case), L(ocative case); sg. (singular), pl. (plural); m. (masculine gender), n. (neuter gender), f. (feminine gender); anim. (animate being), inan. (inanimate entity).

II

1. Traditional surveys of declension are reducible to the following types of inventories: 1) a listing of the existing cases; 2) a listing of the contextual meanings characteristic of each given case in the various contexts in which it occurs; 3) a listing of the case forms grouped into paradigms: each paradigm indicates that a given complex of case endings enters into combination with a particular set of grammatical stems. In addition to these lists some observers (for example Trager) enumerate all the forms in which each separate case ending in the Russian declensional system occurs.³ All of the above types of enumeration provide indispensable preparatory material for grammatical analysis.

2. One of the fundamental concepts in the development of modern linguistics was the idea of invariance, first recognized by the Kazan' school at the close of the 1870s, simultaneously and in parallel with the success of the same idea in mathematics. Whereas the first stage of these new inquiries in linguistics gave birth to the theory of the phoneme, i.e., of the invariant on the level of sound variations, now the urgent need has arisen to establish and explicate grammatical invariants. Linguistics has for a long time set apart from each other the two grammatical domains of syntax and morphology — and rightly so — and moreover, has drawn a basic distinction between grammar and lexicon. Nevertheless, linguistics has not yet posed with the requisite acuity and consistency the topological question of those properties of each given morphological category which remain unchanged throughout all the contextual variations of that category — or more precisely, the problem of the invariant relationship between two opposing morphological categories, which relationship does not depend on the occurrence of these categories in one or another lexical or syntactic environment.

3. Each case, in its multifarious applications, displays a series of more or less heterogeneous meanings. The differences between each of these specific, contextual meanings are determined either by the grammatical or by the lexical composition of the phrase in which the case occurs. Cf., on the one hand, the semantic distinctions between the G in verbal and adnominal constructions, or between an I in active and passive constructions, or on the other hand, those variants in case meaning which are conditioned by the lexical meaning of the main or governed word. Exclusively connected with the semantic type of the governing verb are the differences among the so-called

G of separation, purpose, limit, etc. (*berěč'sja novšestv* 'to beware of innovations' — *želát' novšestv* 'to desire innovations'; *izbežát' bérega* 'to steer clear of the shore' — *kosnút'sja bérega* 'to touch the shore'); it is the nature of the governing and governed nouns that differentiates the contextual meanings of adnominal G constructions — cf. the subjective G *ljubóv' gerója* 'the hero's love', *želánie gerója* 'the hero's desire', versus the objective G *ubíjstvo gerója* 'the murder of the hero', *želánie slávy* 'the desire for glory'. In certain combinations, the meaning of the adnominal G remains ambiguous, e.g. *póiski sestry* 'search of (= by/for) the sister', where the choice between subjective and objective G cannot be made by the hearer without the help of more extensive verbal context or the factual situation.

Whatever the diversity of semantic variations dependent upon purely syntactic and lexical conditions, the unity of the case itself remains real and inviolable. It is characteristic that grammatical parallelism in Russian folk poetry not infrequently juxtaposes two forms of one and the same case, forms which differ both in their desinences and in their contextual meanings, so that the only connecting element between them is the fact that they share the case category itself. Also of this nature is the juxtaposition of two I, differing in both their external form and their function, in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*: "rastěkašetsja mysliju (I of means) po drevu, sěrymъ vьlkomъ (I of comparison) po zemli" ('[he] sang, flying with his thoughts [I of means] along the tree, like a grey wolf [I of comparison] along the ground').

All of the specific contextual meanings of any case can be reduced to a common denominator. In relation to the other cases of the same declensional system each case is characterized by its own invariant general meaning, its own purport (*značimost'*), to use the felicitous rendering of Saussure's term "valeur" in A.M. Suxotin's translation [see above, fn. 2].

Despite the wealth of contextual variants in the semantics of the Russian G, the morphological invariant easily lends itself to extraction: in any variation, the G retains its general meaning, which distinguishes this case from the N and A cases. There is always present in the G an orientation towards limitation of the signified entity's participation in the contents of the utterance. The G always signals the degree of objectification of the entity in a given context, and only the context specifies, prompts us, as to what in fact these limits are. The entity's presence may be measured (*skól'ko, stól'ko-to novostěj* 'how much, a certain amount of news'), heightened (*novostěj!* 'guess what a lot of news I have!'), or *naslúšalis' novostěj* '(we) heard lots of news'), limited (*poslúšali, kosnúlís' novostěj* '(we) listened to, touched upon (mentioned) some news'), reduced to a potential state (*ždáli, xotéli, iskáli novostěj* '(we)

were waiting for, hoping for, looking for news'), or reduced to null (*ne slyxáli novostěj* '(we) didn't hear any news', *né bylo novostěj* 'there was no news'); finally, the entity's presence can be averted or rejected (*izbegáli, pugális' novostěj* '(we) avoided, were frightened by the news'). The adnominal G informs us that what is under discussion is not the whole entity, nor the entity *per se*, but only a part or property of it, its action, its state, or entities adjacent to it (*obryvki, zanimátel'nost', vlijánie, vznikovénie, peredáča, istočnik, slúšatel' novostěj* 'bits, the entertainment, influence, origin, transmission, source, hearer of (the) news').

4. The I case of various nouns in one and the same context serves as a characteristic example of the wide range in variation of contextual meanings:

<i>ón él reběnkóm</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>as</u> a child'.
<i>ón él pudámi</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>by</u> the pood'.
<i>ón él lóžkoj</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>with</u> a spoon'.
<i>ón él dorógoj</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>on</u> the way'.
<i>ón él útrom</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>in</u> the morning'.
<i>ón él grěšnym dělom</i>	<i>ikrú</i>	'He ate caviar <u>I am sorry to say</u> '.

Nevertheless, the I in all its variants displays a general feature: a peripheral or marginal role is attributed to the entity in the contents of the utterance. This general feature on the one hand distinguishes the I from the N, A, and G cases, and on the other hand unites the I with the D and the L. But the D, unlike the I (and like the A), signals an entity upon which the action is directed; the L in its turn differs from the I in that it denotes (like the G) the extent of participation of the given entity in the contents of the utterance.⁴

Only in certain forms of aphasia does the meaning of a grammatical category lose its unity and become reduced to separate contextual meanings. Such aphasics have only a limited repertory of ready-made, stereotyped contexts at their disposal, and are not capable of creating new ones. Majakovskij's verses with the I used in new and entirely unfamiliar locutions are understandable only because both the poet and his reader, having mastered the Russian language, have also subconsciously mastered the general meanings of the Russian cases, in particular the meaning of the I: "*Nikto ne mešal MOGILAMI spat' kudrogolovym volxvam*" (Čelovek 'Man') 'No-one hindered the curly-headed wizards from sleeping *in/by/like their graves* (I)'; "*Stolic serdcebienie dikoe lovil ja, STRASTNOJU PLOŠČAD'JU leža*" (Ljublju 'I love') 'I, lying *on/by/like Strastnaja [Passion] Square* (I), caught the wild

heart-beat of the capitals'; "*Za zevakoj zevaka, štany prišedšie KUZNECKIM klešit'*" (*Xorošee otnošenie k lošadjam* 'A kind attitude to horses') 'One idler after another came to have their trousers bell-bottomed *on/by/via Kuzneckij bridge*'.

5. The Russian case system (like any well-developed case system) displays a series of isomorphic relations. For example, I:N = D:A = L:G. In each of these relations a case signalling a given feature is opposed to a case failing to signal that particular marking. The study of case meanings reveals that these meanings are analyzable into smaller discrete invariants, or *case features*.

6. If we limit the analysis of the Russian declensional system to its six primary cases, leaving aside for now those two cases which Peškovskij calls "accessory" (because "forms which constitute the phonetic realization of these cases are based on comparatively few stems"),⁵ then the following three dimensions, on which the system is based, emerge clearly:

1) The feature of directionality in the A and the D is opposed to the absence of this feature in the N and I; we shall call the A and the D *directional* cases.

2) The feature of quantification in the G is opposed to its absence in the N and A, and the same feature in the L is opposed to its absence in the I and D; we shall call the G and the L *quantificational* cases as distinct from the other, *non-quantificational* cases – N, A, I, and D.

3) It is the feature of marginality in the I, D, and L which opposes these cases to the N, A, and G, which lack this feature.

Thus the N is the totally *unmarked* case in relation to the other, *marked* cases, i.e. in relation to the three singly marked cases – the A, G, and I, and the two doubly marked cases – the D (directionality and marginality) and the L (quantification and marginality).

7. Grammatical analysis forces us to reject the holdover from pre-Saussurian anti-systemic views in the doctrine of Saussure himself, who continued to maintain that it is only the number of cases that is subject to determination: "However, their succession is not spatially ordered, and it is purely arbitrary [!] if the grammarian groups them in one way rather than in another." (See above, fn. 2.) The structural approach to the case system reveals its strictly regular, hierarchical character, with the unmarked N as the primordial case – whereas, according to the view inherited by Saussure from Neogrammarian

dogmatism, with its cult of isolated facts, "the nominative is not at all the first case of the declension, and the terms can appear in one order or the other, depending on the circumstances."

8. The directional (A and D) and the quantificational cases (G and L) shall tentatively be termed *definite*, as opposed to the *indefinite* cases, i.e. those lacking both directionality and quantification (N and I).

The A and the N, which amount to an opposition of a case signalling the object of a process to a case not containing this signalization, are not infrequently called – especially in Romance linguistics – *direct* cases, as opposed to the others, termed *oblique*. In a different terminology, stemming from the classical tradition, only the N was referred to as a direct case; we, however, follow those who designate by this term the A as well, i.e. the case of the so-called direct object. This usage appears to us to be less artificial than the designation of the N and A as "grammatical" cases in opposition to the others, labeled "concrete" or "functional".

9. Despite the fruitfulness of phonological experience for research at other levels of language, one must not automatically apply phonological criteria to grammatical elements; in contrast to the purely distinctive character of phonological elements, grammatical elements are endowed with their own individual meanings. Phonemes by themselves do not have meaning: the pair /t/ : /d/ is correlated with other voiceless: voiced consonantal oppositions within the same linguistic system. When these two phonemes belong to two otherwise identical grammatical units, e.g. *tvorec* 'creator': *dvorec* 'palace', they constitute the mark of their distinction. "Èto šestvujut tvorjane, Zamenivši D. na T." 'It is the creators who march along, having changed D into T', in the apt words of the poet Xlebnikov. However, Saussure's thesis "*Nacht* and *Nächte*, taken in isolation, are nothing: thus opposition is everything" (see above, fn. 2.) can easily lead to misunderstanding if applied to the morphological level. Certainly, the relation *Nacht*: *Nächte* presupposes the presence of the opposition of the grammatical categories singular and plural in the code of the German language; but so long as such an opposition is given, the form *Nächte*, taken in isolation, itself implies "more than one night", whereas both /t/ and /d/ by themselves, in reality, "are nothing".

Some linguists (particularly Kuryłowicz⁶ and de Groot⁷) have expressed the opinion that in those phrases where there is no possibility of a choice between two cases, the only admissible case is devoid of morphological

purport, and fulfills an exclusively syntactic function. The notion that cases semantically "are nothing" in those contexts where no case opposition is possible is a characteristic example of phonological contraband in grammatical studies. In the common Russian proverb *na vore šapka gorit* ('an uneasy conscience betrays itself', lit.: 'on the thief the cap burns') the verb 'burn' is understood even without being actually uttered: for speakers of Russian, the verb is completely predetermined by the context, and consequently "redundant", in terms of information theory. At the same time, however, it fully retains both its lexical and grammatical meaning. The grammatical meaning of the A stands out distinctly in alternations with the D – *proští egó* (A) 'forgive him': *proští emú* (D) 'forgive him [something]', with the I – *švyrjál kámni* (A) '(he) was throwing stones [emphasis on the object]': *švyrjál kámnjámí* (I) '(he) was throwing stones [emphasis on the action]', with the G – *výpil vódku* (A) '(he) drank the vodka': *výpil vódki* (G) '(he) drank some vodka'; *žál' dévušku* (A) 'to pity the girl': *žál' dévuški* (G) 'to pity the girl (for something)', and finally with the N – *prišél'cev grábjat* (A) 'they are robbing the newcomers': *prišél'cy grábjat* (N) 'the newcomers are robbing', where it is only the difference in case forms that informs the hearer of this sentence which of the two words is subordinated to the other. The A, however, retains its meaning of an object totally enveloped by the action of the verb even in those instances where a given verb does not allow any other case but the A, for example: *ubíl lisícu* '(he) killed a fox', *dópil vódku* '(he) drank up the vodka', *žíl nedélju* '(he) lived a week', *proéxal verstú* '(he) drove one verst'. Obviously, the semantic difference between *dostít'* *Antárktiki* (G) 'to reach the Antarctic' and *zavoevát'* *Antárktiku* (A) 'to conquer the Antarctic' has to do with the difference in the meanings of the two verbs involved; however, if the verb *dostít'* 'to reach' obligatorily requires the genitive case and *zavoevát'* 'to conquer' the accusative, it is because this distribution of case government once again reflects the semantic opposition of incomplete versus complete control. Of the two Greek verbs for love – one, ἔραμαι, governs only the genitive, while the other, φιλέω, requires the accusative: this syntactic rule has more than once been adduced as a striking example of a purely relative, semantically vacuous use of cases. Nevertheless, the first verb, as opposed to the second, expresses an amorous longing, that is, an incomplete possession of the individual longed for, and the genitive case of the object strictly corresponds to such a verbal meaning. Similarly, the G, as the only case allowed with the supine (for example, in Old Slavic texts), semantically echoes the goal-oriented, purely potential character of the action expressed by the supine, and the complete syntactic conditioning of the G in

such a combination in no way removes the proper meaning of the case, i.e. its orientation towards the degree of objectification.

10. Following the recording of the combinatory (syntactically or lexically conditioned) meanings of each case, a further operation should be carried out – the morphological analysis of case meanings. This analysis reveals the system of minimal units of grammatical information which lies at the basis of case meanings, i.e. the system of case features, and groups the cases into classes according to the features they have in common.

In precisely the same way, the recording of case paradigms leads in turn to the examination of their similarities and their differences; to the determination of the invariants of Russian declension, i.e. of the general laws which lie at the bottom of all the diversity of the contemporary paradigms; and finally, inevitably, raises the fundamental question: is it possible to ascertain the isomorphism in the relations between morphological categories on the one hand and their formal expression on the other?

III

1. The Russian language distinguishes two basic types of declension, substantival and adjectival, as well as intermediate types – the paradigms of the non-personal pronouns and the possessive adjectives (see III.8). Deviating somewhat from the general rules underlying these declensions are the personal pronouns proper (first and second person), and – joining them in this connection – the reflexive pronoun, as well as the numerals (cardinals, collectives, and the corresponding pronominals).

2. The distinction between feminine and non-feminine (masculine - neuter) gender is made only in the sg., the distinction between m. and n. is made only in the direct cases of the sg.

In Russian declension the paradigms of the pl. and the sg. are consistently delimited; within the sg., the “feminine” declension type is distinguished from the “non-feminine”, and the non-feminine types are subdivided into the “masculine” type and the “neuter” type on the basis of the form of the direct cases. Words which vary according to gender, i.e. both the nominal and pronominal adjectives together with the formally related anaphoric pronoun of the so-called “third person” – *ón, onó, oná* – show a complete correlation between gender and declensional type: all words belonging to the

“feminine” declensional type are of feminine gender, all words belonging to the “masculine” declensional type are of masculine gender, all words belonging to the “neuter” type are of neuter gender.

Somewhat more complex is the relation between grammatical gender and declensional type in words which do not vary according to gender, i.e. the nominal and pronominal substantives. Words of feminine gender or of the so-called common, i.e. optionally feminine, gender can belong exclusively to the “feminine” type of declension, and words of neuter gender exclusively to the “neuter” type. Substantives which denote persons of masculine sex retain their masculine gender even in those few cases in which they belong to the “neuter” or “feminine” declension type (*podmáster'e* ‘apprentice’; *slugá* ‘servant’, *sud'já* ‘judge’; *ón - krúglyj* [masc.] *sirotá* ‘he is a complete orphan’; *já slýšal* [masc.] ‘I heard’). In derivatives formed by suffixes with emotional evaluation from substantives, the gender is retained regardless of the resulting declensional type: *dóm* ‘house’, *domiško* (dimin.), *domišče* (augment.), *domína* (augment.) are all masculine.

3. No single paradigm distinguishes all six primary cases. Of these six, the basic declensional types of Russian number from five to three distinct case forms, while in one of the paradigms of the cardinal numerals there are only two in all.⁸

The degree of stability of the various case oppositions is far from uniform. In this respect they form a strictly lawful hierarchy.

Absolutely consistent is the division of the non-quantificational cases into marginal and non-marginal ones, i.e. the distinction between 1) the I and the N, and between 2) the D and the A. The next most consistent opposition is that between the D and the I.

On the other hand, in contemporary Russian declension, the A and the D, i.e. the two directional cases cannot both at the same time be distinct from all other case forms. Either one of the two has its own form, or neither of them does.

In those paradigms where there is no distinct form of the A case, it either falls together with the N (syncretism of the direct cases) or with the G (syncretism of the definite cases), whence: 1) the alternation of these two possibilities within the confines of an otherwise identical pl. or m. paradigm serves to distinguish inanimacy and animacy; 2) in the nominal forms of the f. and n. genders, the A always falls together with the N, whereas in the pronominals of all three persons it always falls together with the G, regardless of gender, number, and animacy or inanimacy.

In paradigms without an independent form for the D case, the latter invariably falls together with the L, in view of the above-mentioned stability of the distinction between the D and the I. In other words, the non-marginal cases allow a choice between two types of syncretism, whereas for the marginal ones the reduction in number of forms is accomplished primarily by syncretism of both definite cases. The system of marginal cases in these instances is reduced to an opposition of two forms – a definite case (L - D) and an indefinite case (I), whereas in those northern Russian dialects where the I and the D have fallen together in plural paradigms (*rukám* 'hands', *bol'sím* 'big', the marginal cases together with the non-marginal ones are reducible to an opposition of a quantificational case (L) to a non-quantificational one (D - I). In precisely the same way the paradigms of the dual in the original Slavic (particularly in the Old Russian) grammatical system distinguished three syncretic units in all: opposed to a common form for the quantificational cases (G - L) were two forms of the non-quantificational cases, namely a common form for the direct cases (N - A) and, correspondingly, a common form for the two marginal cases (D - I). The merger of all three marginal cases found in the Serbian pl. paradigms is completely foreign to the Russian language.

4. The five-case system of contemporary Russian reduces to two basic varieties:

Type 1.1

N		G
I	D	L

(The dotted lines indicate alternating syncretic forms: N - A and G - A.)
 α) the "non-feminine" type of the substantival declension of substantives in its basic variety (the so-called first declension: N *kulák* 'kulak', anim., G - A *kulaká*; N - A *kulák* 'fist', inan., G *kulaká*; N - A *oknó* 'window', G *okná*):⁹

#/o		a
om	u	e

β) the adjectival m. and n. paradigm (*zlój*, *zlóe* 'wicked'; for the paradigms intermediate between α and β , see III.8.):

oj/ojo		ovo
im	omu	om

γ) the substantival pl. paradigms (*delá* 'deeds', *lesá* 'woods', *usý* 'moustaches', *mjaččí* 'balls', *čerty* 'lines'; for the alternating endings of the N and G, see IV.5, IV.6.):

i/a		#/ov/ej
am'i	am	ax
N	A	G
I	L	

Type 1.2

Here belongs only the "feminine" type of substantival declension (*žená* 'wife', *sud'já* 'judge'):

a	u	i
oj (u)	e	

5. The four-case system either modifies one of the two varieties of the five-case system by merging the G and the L (syncretism of the quantificational cases), or combines both varieties, depriving the D as well as the A of their independent forms.

Type 2.1

N		
I	D	L

α) the adjectival pl. paradigm (N *zlýe* 'wicked', anim., L - G - A *zlýx*; N - A *zlýe*, inan., L - G *zlýx*; for the paradigms intermediate between the adjectival and substantival pl., see III.8.):

iji		
im'i	im	ix

β) the paradigm of the pronouns *vý* 'you (pl.)' and *mý* 'we' (the latter having a suppletive root in the N), which deviates from the usual norms:

i		
am'i	am	as
N	A	
I	L	

Type 2.2

Such syncretism of all three of the oblique, definite cases is found in the adjectival f. declension. (*zlája* 'wicked'; for the paradigms intermediate between the adjectival and the corresponding substantival, see III.8.):

aja	uju	
oj (u)		oj
N		G
I		L

Type 2.3

This type reduces the marginal as well as the non-marginal cases to an opposition of a definite to an indefinite case. It is represented by two anomalous paradigms with a suppletive N. These are, first, the third person f. pronoun (N *oná*, G - A *ež*, I *ěju*, L - D *ěj*), and second, the personal pronouns proper *já* 'I' and *tý* 'you (sg)' – both of the common (i.e. optionally feminine) gender, as well as the reflexive pronoun, which lacks a N case, but is fully comparable to *já* and *tý* both in the structure of its oblique cases and in its gender (cf. *tý sebjá molodúju požalěj* 'You should have pity on yourself, (such a) young (girl)'):

–	a
oj (u)	e

6. In the three-case system the A falls together with the N, and the D and L with the G.

Type 3

N	G
I	

To this type belong two closely related paradigms of the substantival declension –

α) the secondary paradigm of the "feminine" type (*nóč* 'night', *lóšad* 'horse'), to which belong, besides f. substantives the majority of the cardinal numerals (*pját* 'five', *désjat* 'ten'):

#	i
ju	

β) the secondary paradigm of the "non-feminine" type, to which belongs one m. substantive with zero ending (*pút* 'path') and a small number of neuter substantives ending in -o with an augmented stem in their oblique cases (*ímja* 'name', *sémja* 'seed'):¹⁰

#/o	i
om	

In the three-case system the A can fall together only with the N because merger with the G would do away with the indispensable distinction between the D and the A (cf. III.3.).

7. By way of exception, one finds in Russian morphology a two-case system, which reduces the declension to an opposition between two cases, direct and oblique.

Type 4

N	G

This type is represented by the numerals *sórok* (with zero ending) – *soroká* 'forty', and *stó* (with ending -o) – *stá* 'hundred', and the still more capricious specimen *poltorá* – *polútora* 'one and a half'.

8. The forms of the direct cases follow the basic substantival paradigms, while forms of the oblique cases follow the adjectival paradigms – 1) in the declension of those possessive adjectives with word-formative suffix -#j-/ej-: N-A m. sg. *bož-ej-#* (*bóž'ij* 'God's'), N f. sg. *bož-#j-a* (*bóž'ja*), A f. sg.

bož-#j-u (*bóž'ju*), N-A pl. bož-#j-i (*bóž'i*), G-A n.-m. sg. bož-#j-evo (*bóž'ego*); together with this group belongs the ordinal adjective *trétij* 'third';¹¹ 2) in the pronominal adjectives (N-A m. sg., N-A n. sg., N f. sg. *čej, č'ě, č'já* 'whose'; *vés, vsě, vsjá* 'all'; *sám, samó, samá* 'self'; 3) in the pronominal substantives, except those of the feminine (*oná* 'she') or common (*já* 'I', *tý* 'you' [sg.]) genders. A peculiarity of this third group is the full or partial suppletion in the nominative form (N-G: *ón, onó* – *egó* 'he, it'; *któ* – *kogó* 'who'; *čtó* – *čegó* 'what'). This pronominal declension presents several peculiarities in the initial vowel of the desinence: 1) in the f. endings, -e appears instead of -o after soft consonants and /j/: I, G-D-L sg. *č'éju, č'éj* 'whose'; *moéju, moéj* 'my'; *vséju, vsěj* 'all'; 2) in particular pronouns, -e corresponds to the initial -i of the adjectival desinences: pl. *témi, tém, téx* 'those'; *vsémi, vsém, vséx* 'all'; I sg. *tém, vsém*.

To this mixed declensional type belong also the collective and pronominal numerals, with the difference that the adjectival forms follow the pl. paradigm, while the neuter sg. serves as the substantival N form (N-A *pjátero, tróe, skól'ko* – G-L *pjaterýx, troíx, skól'kix* 'five, three, how many'; *óba, óbe* – G-A m.-n., f., *obóix, obéix* 'both' is deviant). Finally, the still more anomalous declension of the cardinal numerals *dvá* 'two', *trí* 'three', *četyré* 'four' belongs to this same mixed type, with peculiarities in both the initial and final vowels of the endings: G - L *dvúx, trěx, četyrěx*; I *dvumjá, tremjá, četyr'mjá*.

In the declension of the simple pronouns and numerals stress characteristically shifts onto all of the real endings while in bisyllabic desinences the stress falls on the last syllable, except for bisyllabic I desinences in *ju* and *m'i*, with obligatory stress on the first syllable: G m.-n. sg. *togó* 'that', *moegó* 'my', *samogó* 'self', *odnogó* 'one'; D m.-n. sg. *tomú, moemú, samomú, odnomú*; I *desjat'jú* 'ten', *dvumjá* 'two', but I f. sg. *odnóju* 'one', *moéju* 'my', *vséju* 'all'; I pl. *odními, moími, vsémi*.¹²

IV

1. Case endings may be either **zero** (-#) or **real**, i.e. consisting of one or more phonemes.

Real desinences subdivide into monophonemic and polyphonemic endings. Polyphonemic case endings contain either two or three phonemes. Monophonemic and biphonemic case endings are monosyllabic; the three-phoneme ones are always bisyllabic.

In biphonemic endings a syllabic phoneme usually precedes a non-syllabic. A syllabic phoneme follows a non-syllabic only in a biphonemic desinence whose two phonemes are identical with the two final phonemes of an equivalent three-phoneme desinence with which it alternates: I -*oju/ju* (*nóč'ju* 'night') and in isolated cases -*am'i/-m'i* (*ljud'mí* 'people', *lošad'mí* 'horses', *det'mí* 'children'); cf. *tremjá* 'three' and *četyr'mjá* 'four'.

Thus monophonemic endings always consist of one syllabic phoneme, biphonemic endings of one syllabic and one non-syllabic phoneme, and three-phoneme endings of two syllabic phonemes and one non-syllabic. In three-phoneme desinences the non-syllabic phoneme always occupies the position between the two syllabics.

2. All the Russian syllabic phonemes occur in both the monophonemic and the polyphonemic case endings. But of the 33 non-syllabic phonemes in the Moscow norm of the Russian literary language, only four – /j/, /v/, /m/, and /x/ – occur in case endings. Of these, only the first three appear in both pre-vocalic and final position, while /x/ only occurs in final position. It is only in the declension of the personal pronouns, the most irregular of all the declensions, that the phoneme /s/ serves as a substitute for the usual /x/, namely in the G pl. *nás* 'us', *vás* 'you (pl.)'. In the desinence -*ov* the phoneme /v/ automatically loses its voicing in the Russian literary language. It is true that both [m'] and [m] occur in case endings – cf. on the one hand *stolámi* 'tables', *zlými* 'wicked', *ími* 'them', *dvumjá* 'two', and on the other hand *stolóm, stolám, zlým, zlóm, zlómu, emú* 'him', *ím, dvúm*; but from a morphological point of view, there is no opposition of two phonemes here, since 1) the contemporary Russian literary language does not allow soft consonants in final position in grammatical endings (cf. *damo* > *dam* 'I will give', *snoḃmo* > *snom* 'dream', *idutb* > *idut* 'they go');¹³ 2) within a morpheme soft labials do not occur before /u/; consequently, in independent position, case endings know only the soft variety of the labial nasal, and, conversely, only the hard variety occurs in those northern Russian dialects where either the forms of the I pl. are replaced by those of the D pl., or in place of the newly-formed *dvumjá* 'two', *tremjá* 'there', which have assimilated /m'/ under the influence of the endings -*am'i, -im'i*, one finds the reverse influence of the form *dvumá: den'gámy* 'money', *zlými* or *zlýma* 'wicked', *s vámy* 'with you (pl.)'.

3. The case endings can be classified in the following manner, according to the number of phonemes they contain.

The zero ending occurs only in the N sg. (*stól* 'table', *bój* 'combat', *kón* 'steed', *mýš* 'mouse') and the G pl. (*slón* 'words', *kópij* 'spears', *rúk* 'hands', *stáj* 'flocks', *dýn* 'melons'), of substantives, as well as in the N m. of those nominal (*lísij* 'fox's', *séstrin* 'sister's') and pronominal (*mój* 'my', *sám* 'self') adjectives which make use of substantival endings in their direct cases (cf. III.8). If there is a zero ending in one of the paradigms of either the singular or the plural, then no zero ending occurs in the other paradigm of the same word, with very rare exceptions (N sg. and G pl. *čulók* 'stockings', *soldát* 'soldiers'). With relatively few exceptions, every substantive does have one case form with zero ending in either the singular or the plural (*stól* - *stolów* 'table', *bój* - *boěv* 'combat', *kón* - *koněj* 'steed', *mýš* - *myšěj* 'mouse'; *slóvo* - *slón* 'word', *kop'ě* - *kópij* 'spear', *ruká* - *rúk* 'hand', *stája* - *stáj* 'flock', *sem'já* - *seměj* 'family', *dýnja* - *dýn* 'melon').¹⁴

4. The use of monophonemic endings on the one hand is systematically delimited from the use of polyphonemic endings on the other.

Of all the cases only the I always has a polyphonemic ending. In the sg., this ending consists of two phonemes obligatorily: *-om*, *-im*, *-em*, *-oj* (*u*) (cf. *rukój*, *rukóju* 'hand'), *-ej* (*u*) (cf. *moěj*, *moēju* 'my'), *-ju*. The I pl. is characterized by a three-phoneme desinence (*-am'i*, *-im'i*, *-em'i*, *-um'a*, *-om'a*), in rare cases lacking the initial vowel (*ljud'mí* 'people', *lošad'mí* 'horses', *četyr'mjá* 'four').

In the adjectival declension there exist only polyphonemic endings.

Substantival endings in the direct cases consist of no more than one phoneme. All the definite cases (A, D, G, L) of the substantival declension of the sg. are characterized by monophonemic desinences.

In the pl. of all declensions as well as in the f. of the adjectival declension the real endings of the definite cases consist of two phonemes: D pl. *-am*, *-im*, *-em*, *-um*, *-om*; G. pl. *-ov*, *-ej*; L pl. *-ax*, *-ix*, *-ex*, *-ux*, *-ox*; the common ending for the cases of adjectives in the f. *-oj*.

In all the cases of the adjectival declension except the L the m. endings differ in number of phonemes from those of the pl.: in the non-definite cases the three-phoneme endings of the pl. correspond to two-phoneme endings in the sg. (N *-iji*: *-oj*, I *-imi*: *-im*). Conversely, in the definite cases two-phoneme desinences occur in the pl., three-phoneme desinences in the sg. (G. *-ix*: *-ovo*, D *-im*: *-omu*), with the exception of the L (*-ix*: *-im*).

5. Polyphonemic desinences always contain *-j-* in the direct cases (*-oj*, *-ojo*, *-aja*, *-uju*, *-iji*), and, furthermore, *j* figures consistently in the polyphonemic

desinences of the oblique cases in all the declensional paradigms for words of the feminine or common (optionally feminine) genders: *-oj*, *-oj(u)*, *-ju*.

The labial nasal phoneme occurs only in the endings of the marginal cases. It is always present in the polyphonemic endings of the I and D, since its presence does not contradict the preceding rule concerning *-j-* in all the polyphonemic endings of the feminine declensional type: I *-om*, *-im*, *-em*, *-am'i*, *-im'i*, *-em'i*, *-um'a*, *-om'a*; D *-am*, *-im*, *-em*, *-um*, *-om*.

When the polyphonemic endings of the three marginal cases differ in their initial vowel, then the same nasal marking occurs in the L as well as the other two cases (I, D, L sg.: *zlým*, *zlómu*, *zlóm* 'evil'). Otherwise the L is characterized by its own consonantal marking: *-x-* (I, D, L pl.: *stolámi*, *stolám*, *stoláx* 'tables'; *zlými*, *zlým*, *zlýx* 'evil'; *témi*, *tém*, *téx* 'those').

When the G possesses its own distinct polyphonemic desinence, this desinence contains *-v-*. Adjacent to this phoneme, or its automatic unvoiced alternant, only /o/ can appear (*-ov*, *-ovo*), or an automatic alternant of /o/ (cf. pl. /krajóf/ 'edges'; /sarája/ 'sheds'; sg. /zlóva/ 'evil', /samavó/ 'himself', /živó/ 'him', /s'ín'iva/ 'blue'). After soft and hushing consonants, the monosyllabic group *-ov* is consistently replaced by the combination *-ej* (*koněj* 'steeds', *stepěj* 'steps', *nočěj* 'nights', *veščěj* 'things', *všěj* 'lice', *grošěj* 'pennies', *nožěj* 'knives'); after all other consonants and /j/, *-ov* is retained (*činóv* 'ranks', *otcív* 'fathers', *boěv* 'combats').

Thus a nasal phoneme serves as the mark of the marginal cases, while fricative consonants mark the quantificational cases: *-x-* the prepositional and *-v-* the genitive. In those North Russian dialects where the final /x/ of the L is replaced by final /v/, or more precisely by its automatic unvoiced alternant /f/, e.g. *na zelenýf lugáf* 'in green meadows', a labial fricative has become the mark of both of the quantificational cases.

6. When the D or the A sg. has an independent desinence, its sole or final phoneme is always /u/: D *slonú* 'elephant', *zlómu* 'evil', *tomú* 'that'; A *ženú* 'wife', *zlúju* 'evil', *tú* 'that'. In other words, in the six-case system, final /u/ belongs uniquely to the directional cases; it is not shared by them with any other cases, and therefore serves as the mark of the directional cases.

Only the ending *-e* can serve as the specific sign of the L in the substantival declension, thus distinguishing this case from all other cases.

An independent ending for the A sg. corresponds to final *-a* in the N; if, however, the A lacks an independent ending, then the N is characterized by a zero ending alternating with *-o* (*slón* 'elephant', *vinó* 'wine'; *nóč* 'night', *pút* 'path', *vrémja* 'five'; *sórok* 'forty', *stó* 'hundred'; for the N sg. of the ad-

jectival declension see IV.8), or else the form of the N is suppletive (N - A: *já* 'I' - *menjá* 'me').

With a small number of exceptions, a zero ending in the G pl. corresponds to a real ending in the N sg., -o or -a; if, however, the N sg. has a zero ending, then we usually find in the G pl. the real ending -ov in systematic alternation with -ej (cf. IV.5.).

The monophonemic desinence of the G is -i where syncretism of the definite cases takes place only within the marginal series, i.e. where D = L, and not within the non-marginal series, i.e. where A ≠ G (G *žený* 'wife', *noči* 'night', *putí* 'path'); elsewhere, the G ends in -a (*sloná* 'elephant', *konjá* 'steed', *tebjá* 'you', *soroká* 'forty').

7. The majority of the monophonemic endings of the G sg. and N pl. are either identical or are differentiated only prosodically by the presence or absence of stress. The ending -i in the N pl. always corresponds to -i in the G sg. (*strány* - *strány* 'country', *rózy* - *rózy* 'rose', *noči* - *noči* 'night', *putí* - *putí* 'path', except in one paradigm *imená* - *ímeni* 'name'). With the exception of this one rare type, a G sg. in -a corresponds to a N pl. in -a (*mésta* - *mestá* 'place', *okná* - *ókna* 'window', *kopýta* - *kopýta* 'hoof', *věčera* - *večera* 'evening').

A G sg. in -a is opposed to a N pl. not in -a but in -i only in nouns of the masculine declensional type for the most part (*časá* - *časý* 'hour', *gvozdjá* - *gvozdí* 'nail', *ráka* - *ráki* 'crayfish', *popá* - *popý* 'priest'). Though case endings are normally identified by the inherent attributes of their phonemes, differentiation between N and G belonging to different numbers is made primarily by other means - either by placement of stress or by the opposition of a real to a zero desinence (for an interpretation of this difference of means, cf. the reference given in footnote 14).

The endings of the N pl. in -a and the G pl. in -ov are the only indicators of gender among the normally genderless forms of the pl.: in the Russian literary language a N pl. in -a and a G pl. in -ov cannot be formed from f. nouns. In addition, the gender distinction of the sg. nouns is transmitted to the oblique cases of the pl. as well, when the forms *obóimi*, *obéimi* and the like agree with them: cf. *obóix dněj* (m.) 'both days' and *obéix nočěj* (f.) 'both nights' (but usually *obóix nočěj* in non-literary colloquial speech).

8. The desinence of a direct case in the adjectival declension begins and ends with the same vowel that is found in the monophonemic desinence of the corresponding form in the substantival declension: N - A n. -o, -ojo; N f.

-a, *aja*; A f. -u, -uju; N - A pl. -i, -iji. In the N m. the # of the substantival form recurs at the end of the adjectival desinence, and then its initial phoneme is stressed /o/: *borzój* 'Russian wolfhound' (for unstressed position, see IV.9.).

In the substantival declension, the desinences of all the marginal cases in the pl. begin with -a-; in the adjectival declension, the desinences of all cases in the pl. as well as the I sg. begin with -i-, and only in a few pronominal adjectives with -e-. Except for the above, all the polyphonemic desinences of the oblique cases begin with -o- (-om; -ovo, -omu, -om; -oj(u), -oj), alternating in the G pl. of nouns and in the declension of f. pronouns with -e- (*gostěj* 'guests'; *vsěj, vsěju* 'all').

It is characteristic of the I that it is always distinguished from the other oblique cases of the same paradigm either by its greater number of phonemes or by a different initial vowel. In the pl. the three-phoneme desinence of the I contrasts with the two-phoneme desinences of the other oblique cases; in f. adjectives the optional third phoneme distinguishes the I from the two-phoneme endings of the remaining oblique cases; in the substantival declension the obligatory two phonemes differentiate the I sg. from the monophonemic endings of the other oblique cases in the sg. and bring it closer to the biphonemic type of the corresponding forms of the pl.; and finally, the I case of m. adjectives, because of its initial vowel, deviates from the other oblique cases of the sg. and coincides rather with the case forms of the pl.

9. According to traditional Moscow pronunciation the unstressed alternants of stressed /o/ and /a/ in case endings after soft consonants and /j/ are:

1) in an open, final syllable, always /a/ (N sg. *móre* 'sea', *zél'e* 'potion', *ímja* 'name', *bánja* 'bath', *kúča* 'heap', *svája* 'pile', G sg. *mórja*, *zél'ja*, *zvěrja* 'beast', *žítelja* 'inhabitant', *pláča* 'cry', *krája* 'edge'; N pl. *pér'ja* 'feathers', *rúž'ja* 'rifles', *brát'ja* 'brothers'; adj. N sg. *zlóe*, *zlája* 'evil';

2) before /j/ always /i/ (subst. *báneju*, *bánej*, *kúčej*, *sváej*; adj. *síneju*, *sínej* 'blue', *gorjáčej* 'hot');

3) in other positions either /a/ if the form belongs to the substantival type of declension (I sg. *mórem*, *zél'em*, *zvérem*, *pláčem*; G pl. *saráev* 'sheds', *brát'ev*; D pl. *bánjam*, *kúčam*, *svájam*, *éljam* 'firs', *žíteljam*; I pl. *bánjami*, *kúčami*, etc.;¹⁵ L pl. *bánjax*, *kúčax*, etc.) or usually /i/ if the form belongs to the adjectival declension (G sg. *sínego*, *gorjáčego*; D sg. *sínemu*, *gorjáčemu*; L sg. *sínem*, *gorjáčem*).

In open final syllables, unstressed /a/ is the systematic alternant of stressed

/o/ and /a/. This alternation, which is automatic in monophonemic desinences, extends as well to the initial vowels of polyphonemic desinences in the substantival declension, where polyphonemic and monophonemic desinences alternate; in the adjectival declension, on the other hand, where there are no monophonemic endings and where, moreover, there are no forms with stressed endings after soft consonants, the initial vowels of polyphonemic endings remain outside the operation of this alternation.

In the adjectival desinence of the N m. unstressed /i/ corresponds to stressed /o/ in all positions (*stáryj/stárij* 'old', *bórzyj/bórzij* 'swift'), whereas in the other forms of the same declension, unstressed /i/ corresponds to stressed /o/ only after soft consonants and /j/ (G f. *kárej/kár'ij* 'hazel', *korotkošéej/karatkašéjjij* 'short-necked', but *stároj/stáraj*, *bórzoj/bórzaj*). What is reflected in the case of the N m., aside from the influence of the written form and perhaps by analogy with the unstressed ending of the soft stems, may well also be the parallelism *star-#* : *star-i*, *star-im #* : *star-im'í*, *star-ij #* : *star-iji*.

V

1. What remains is to include both of the "accessory" cases (cf. II.6.) into the scope of our analysis. Although there is only a very limited number of inan. nouns with zero desinence in the N which distinguish two genitive and two locative cases in the sg. (G 1 *snéga* – G 2 *snégu* 'snow'; L 1 *snége*, *téni* 'shade' – L 2 *snegú*, *tení*), there is every reason to agree with the recent conclusions of P. S. Kuznecov that "contemporary Russian possesses not one genitive case, as school grammar believes, but two distinct genitive cases", and that similarly there arises "the question of the need to distinguish two cases within the locative in contemporary Russian grammar."¹⁶

For the comparative characterization of the meanings of each of these two pairs, let us examine the following passage: "*Dolgo ne bylo snégu* (G 2), *zaždalis' snéga* (G 1) *rebjata*. 'There had been no snow (G 2) for a long time, the children were impatient for snow (G 1)'. *Zato skol'ko snégu* (G 2) *namelo v janvare*. 'Then to make up for it, so much snow (G 2) piled up in January'. *Snégu* (G 2) *krugom!* 'Snow (G 2) everywhere!' *Nabrali snégu* (G 2) *rebjata*, *vylepili snežnuju babu*. 'The children gathered [some] snow (G 2) and made a snowman'. *Brjullov ne ljubil snéga* (G 1), *pugalsja snéga* (G 1). 'Brjullov did not like snow (G 1), he was afraid of snow (G 1)'. *Zemlja v snegú* (L 2) *navodila tosku*. 'The ground covered by snow [lit.: in snow] (L 2) depressed him'. *Vorony čego-to iskali v snegú* (L 2), *no kormu v snegú* (L 2) *ne bylo*.

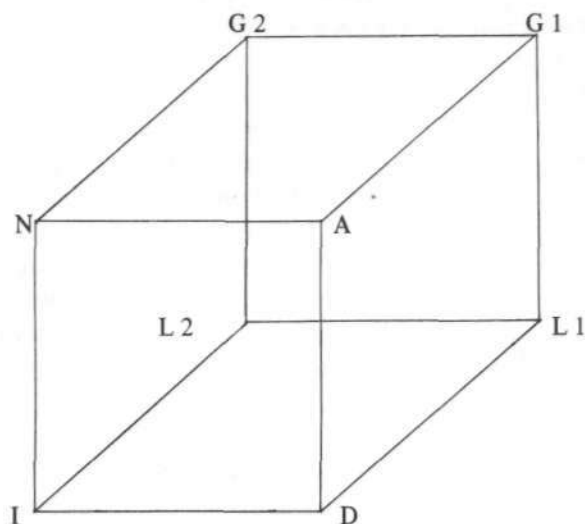
'The crows were looking for something in the snow (L 2), but there was no food in the snow (L 2). *Xudožniki čego-to iščut v snégu* (L 1), *no živopisnosti v snégu* (L 1) *net*, – *utverždal Brjullov*. "Artists look for something in snow (L 1), but there is nothing picturesque in snow (L 1)," Brjullov contended'. *Razdraženno govoril on o snégu* (L 1): *cvet snéga* (G 1) *napominaet moloko*". 'He talked irritably about the snow (L 1): "The color of snow (G 1) reminds one of milk".'

The difference in meaning between L 2 and L 1 stands out clearly when both are used in one and the same context, e.g. *iščut čego-to v snegú* (L 2) 'They are looking for something in the snow' (L 2) – *iščut čego-to v snégu* (L 1) 'They look for something in snow' (L 1): snow as the carrier of the property being sought (L 1) is contrasted with snow as merely the location of the search (L 2). As for G 1 and G 2, Ebeling expressed doubt that they both could occur in identical contexts, and came to the conclusion that the difference between them therefore "lacks meaning".¹⁷ These two cases, nevertheless, do occur in identical constructions: cf. quantitative *nedostátok čáju* (G 2) 'shortage of tea' vs. qualitative *nedostátok čája* (G 1) 'shortcoming of the tea'; here only the difference in case ending informs the hearer or reader of the difference in meaning between the two examples, i.e. of the absence of sufficient quantity versus an internal defect.

Insofar as the G or the L splits into two cases, the first G or L, as opposed to the second, ascribes to the object a property or a condition resulting from an action directed onto the given object. Thus the snow in the above text appears in the G 1 as the object of a wearisome wait, of distaste, of fear, or as the bearer of an optical property, and in the L 1 as the object of an artistic quest and the theme of a conversation. The relationship of G 1 to G 2 and of L 1 to L 2 should be compared with the relationship of the D to the I, i.e. with the opposition of signalling directionality of the action onto the object to the absence of such a signalization. Accordingly, each of the four cases – G 1, L 1, A, and D – as distinct from the G 2, L 2, N, and I, ascribe to the object a property, or a state resulting from the action directed towards the object, and consequently may be called ascriptive (directional) cases. The same grammatical rendering of the properties of the object or the results of an action is revealed also in the existence of predicative forms for adjectives and passive participles, though not for active participles (*měrtv* '[he] is dead' and *ubit* '[he] is dead [lit.: killed]')

2. Thus the eight cases of the Russian declension together form a three-dimensional system:

Безформы
мелко
"сущее"
не в том же
контексте !!!



The rare combination of the features quantification and directionality is also found in the Sanskrit case system, but the latter exhibits a different hierarchy of the two features. In the ablative, which is opposed to the genitive and the locative by directionality, and to the accusative and dative by quantification, it is the quantification feature that determines directionality, such that the ablative case signalizes direction away from the object, as distinct from the A and D, which signalize direction toward the object. The opposition of marginality and non-marginality is absent in the ablative, and thus all of the possible two-feature combinations of the Sanskrit cases are utilized – directionality and marginality in the dative, quantification and marginality in the locative, and directionality and quantification in the ablative; but no one case combines all three features, whereas the Russian L 1 is a three-feature case (quantificational, marginal, and ascriptive [directional]).

3. As for the allotment of the maximal number of Russian case forms: in f. substantives which distinguish a L 1 and a L 2, both of these cases, together with the G and the D, end in *-i*, but in the L 2 this ending is stressed, as opposed to the other three cases, where it is not; in m. substantives which distinguish two L and two G, L 2, together with the G 2 and the D, all end in *-u*, but in the L 2 the ending is stressed, in opposition to the unstressed ending of the other two cases. In both of these instances, differentiation by prosodic means alone is again associated with the quantificational cases, as it was in the case of the G pl. (see footnote 14).

VI

1. Since case is primarily a morphological category, a syntactic analysis of the usage of cases cannot exhaust their interpretation. The problem of syntactic variation in case meanings is indissolubly connected with that of the invariant semantic value of each case in relation to the other cases of the same morphological system, as well as with the problem of the exact relationship between the cases and the other morphological categories of a given language.

On the other hand, when investigating the phonological side of a language, we inevitably take into consideration the grammatical entities within the confines of which various sound laws operate: we differentiate between sound phenomena that operate within a word and those at word boundaries, in word-final as opposed to word-initial positions, and we stipulate the sound peculiarities which occur at morpheme boundaries in comparison with those that concern the internal composition of morphemes. A further question then arises as to the differences in sound structure of the various classes of grammatical entities – between root morphemes and different types of affixes, between stems and inflectional endings. Both the stems and desinences of each part of speech display characteristic differences in their external structure which should be consistently delimited. For example, the specific inventory of phonemes and phoneme combinations must be established for the Russian inflectional endings in general, as well as for the conjugational and declensional desinences taken separately. Declensional inflection, in turn, may be subdivided into substantival and adjectival endings differing in their sound characteristics; on the other hand, such grammatical categories as number and gender (the latter being in definite relation to declensional type) specifically provide phonological features for the classification of the entire declensional system. A structural analysis of the sound composition of the various endings of a given case made in comparison with those of the other cases of the same paradigm frequently allows us to extract the common phonological characteristics of a case, for example the I (cf. IV.8.),¹⁸ or of a class of cases.

Of special significance here is the question of case syncretism, i.e. the problem of eliminable contrasts between case endings and the order of such eliminations. Along with complete syncretism, a thorough investigation is required for partial syncretism; here, similarity of desinences is limited only to the existence of the same number of phonemes (e.g. the real desinences of the definite cases in all paradigms of the pl. consist of two phonemes), or

to the common occurrence of one of the phonemes (e.g. all endings of the marginal cases begin with the same vowel in any paradigm of the pl., while in the other declensional types all polyphonemic endings of marginal cases contain the same non-syllabic phoneme; all polyphonemic endings of the oblique cases in the feminine types of declension include *-j-*, whereas in the remaining declensional types all polyphonemic endings in the I and D, i.e. the non-quantificational, marginal cases, contain a labial nasal phoneme).

The problem of how phonemes function within the confines of one or another morphological category – for example, within case inflection in general or just the singular or the plural, within the paradigms of a given grammatical gender, in a given class of cases or merely in a given case – joins phonology and morphology into one. In singling out from the various polyphonemic endings of a given case or class of cases a common feature (“mark” or “characteristic consonant of those desinences”, as Meillet used to say),¹⁹ specific to that one case or class of cases, we are converting the investigation of a grammatical form proper into an analysis of its phonological constitution. The connection can thus be revealed between a case and its distinctive phoneme (e.g. *-v-* as the indicator of the G case, *-x-* as the indicator of the L case) and ultimately between the component elements of a case meaning and specific phonemes or component elements of phonemes: *-m'* (in automatic alternation with /m/) occurs as the marker of the case feature marginality, whereas frication, the common attribute of *-v-* and *-x-*, serves as the marker of the case feature quantification. Phonology and grammar prove to be indissolubly linked by a whole range of transitional, interdisciplinary problems, and chiefly by the indivisibility of speech sound and meaning.²⁰

2. Given the relative conservatism of the whole complex of Russian case meanings, the multiphased restructuring of the system of case forms, as exhibited by the history of Russian and of Proto-Slavic, is most instructive. The transformation and redistribution of case syncretism, both full and partial, requires a synthetic survey and intrinsic interpretation.

The sound characteristic of cases or case classes dates back in part to the remote past: e.g. the labial nasal feature of the marginal cases already existed dialectally in the Indo-European epoch alongside another dialectal variant *-bh-*, both phonemes sharing the common distinctive property of labiality.

Many peculiarities in the sound shape of case endings turn out, on the other hand, to be innovations, and in order to understand their position and function it is necessary to trace exactly how the system of case forms has

reacted in the face of radical changes in vocalism – the loss of nasals, the disappearance of intonational and quantitative distinctions, the fall of the weak and reduced vowels: in what directions was the process of grammatical analogy operative in overhauling the system? In particular, what analogical changes were peculiar to the sound structure of case desinences, differentiating them from all other Russian forms? An example of this is the appearance of the unstressed phoneme /a/, which, in substantival case endings, is phonetically realized as [ə] in the same positions where, in other grammatical categories, it gives way to the automatic alternant /i/. Cf. /d'ikar'óm/ 'savage' - /l'ékar'am/ 'physician', but /b'ir'óm/ 'we take' - /v'ib'ir'im/ 'we shall choose' (cf. IV.9.).

Which sound changes, originating only under limited grammatical conditions, altered the sound structure of inflections in general or the sound characteristics of individual cases? Thus the loss of consonantal softness in final position in inflectional endings (cf. IV.2) restricts the consonantism of inflectional endings in comparison with stems. The phonetic change of the group /ogó/ into /ovó/ attained widespread use only in the desinence of the G case, and was transferred by analogy into forms without end stress as well. The stimulus for such an expansion, if not the stimulus for the change itself, was, we must assume, the possibility of generalizing *-v-* in the role of the genitive case marker.

3. Comparison of the sound structure of the Russian system of case desinences with that of other Slavic languages provides many instructive examples of their convergent and divergent development. Thus, for example, of the three Czech non-syllabic phonemes that occur in case endings, *-m-*, as in Russian, functions as the marker of case marginality, *-h-* together with its automatic final alternant /x/ specifies quantificational cases (*zlého* 'evil', *domech* 'houses', *ženách* 'women', *zlých, těch* 'those'), and *-v-* functions as the indicator of animacy (*královi, králové* 'king'). In Serbo-Croatian, *-m-* is the common marker of all polyphonemic desinences of the I case (*udarom* 'blow', *mačem* 'sword', *ženom* 'woman', *našim, našom* 'our', *novim, novom* 'new'), and in the pl. and in the adjectival declension of the m. *-m-* is the constant marker of all of the marginal cases (I - D - L pl. *udarima, ženama, novim*; I m. *novim*, D *novomu*, L *novom*). In Polish, nasality is common to all desinences of the I, associated with the vowel in monophonemic desinences and with the consonant in polyphonemic ones (*głową* 'head', *nocą* 'night', *tą* 'that' *złą* 'evil'; *dworem* 'manor', *tym, ztym, dworami, ztymi*).

Comparative Slavic investigations can throw a new and fuller light upon

the interpretation of the sound shape of case inflections, both in their synchrony and their diachrony.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The central theme of this report has been the isomorphism of the relationships between grammatical categories and their sound shapes, examined on the basis of Russian declension, a subject instructive for both historical and comparative Slavic morphology. Questions such as these, in particular the central problem of full and partial syncretism, had not yet been considered in my article on the general meanings of the Russian cases (1936; see above p. 59 ff.) In the present report, following a condensed introductory review of the conclusions of this previous article, we set a new goal – a comprehensive analysis of case inflection.

The variability of contextual (in Baudouin's terminology – combinatory) meanings of one or another case does not hinder the search for its synchronic common denominator, any more than the diversity of reflexes (for example, Russ. *tri*, Low.-Lusatian *tšo*, Germ. *drei*, Arm. *erek* 'three') prevents uncovering what unites them, i.e. the systematic reconstruction of their common diachronic proto-form. Without a typological orientation towards the determination of variants, the very concept of variation loses its meaning, and linguistic material runs the risk of being turned into a chaotic mass of individual facts, not amenable to analysis and scientific classification.

The general meaning of any one case can only be defined in relation to all the other cases of the same linguistic system. S. K. Šaumjan was correct in recognizing that relativism is the indispensable basis for linguistic analysis, but this thesis does not break with linguistic tradition: the indispensability of a consistently applied relativism was already clearly expressed in the work of Fortunatov and Baudouin de Courtenay.

The meaning of a grammatical form is most evident in those contexts where a choice is possible between two mutually opposed categories, but it remains in force also when the choice is completely predetermined by the context. The notion that grammatical meanings are neutralized in such contexts seems to me to represent an unjustified and mechanical transfer of phonological criteria to the domain of grammar. On the other hand, those who urge us to reduce the investigation of case meanings to the question of particular syntactic and other contextual meanings, contrary to the best tradition of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, urge us to replace the analysis of

the semantic oppositions underlying case paradigms with the most mechanistic and clearly moribund variety of American distributionalism – these opponents have no right to repeat the slogan of the struggle against "phonological contraband" in the domain of grammar. Otherwise one would be obliged to accuse of such imaginary phonological contraband all those exact sciences of our time which systematically investigate questions of invariants and transformations, and even to include in this kind of "contrabandism" the notion of a class of "absolutely equivalent conditions", which A. N. Kolmogorov correctly put forth as the basis of his apt definition of the category of case.

It goes without saying that bridges must be built between the two grammatical disciplines, morphology and syntax; but at the same time it does not follow that we should ignore the relative autonomy of each of these two domains and reduce the morphological problem of word inflection – in particular, the questions of the external and internal structure of cases – to the syntactic problem of phrase structure.

The decomposition of case meanings into their component features is no less objective than the analysis of any other grammatical category; striking examples of isomorphism, the characteristic phenomena of both full and partial case syncretism, make it possible to verify empirically the correctness of analyses seeking to uncover the system of inter-case relationships.

Despite the limited and exclusive nature of the pronominal inventory, pronouns cannot be excluded from grammatical analysis – quite the contrary, they are a central concern of any such analysis because of their thoroughly grammatical character, their substitutive role and frequency of use; to confirm this fact one need only consider the enormous historical influence of pronominal paradigms on other types of declension.

Allusions to instability and ambiguity in certain contextual meanings (for example, in the phrase *póiski sestřý* 'search by/for the sister') are not convincing: here the specification of a particular contextual meaning merely depends on a larger context.

The close relationship between cases and prepositional constructions is not in doubt, but the very fact that one and the same case can be used with various prepositions and one and the same preposition with various cases necessitates a thorough and principled delimitation of the two grammatical processes. By the same token, the obvious semantic difference between the use of a given case with and without a preposition does not eliminate the question of the general meaning of that case, which remains in force regardless of the presence or absence of the preposition.

"Морфологические наблюдения над славянским склонением (состав русских падежных форм)": report to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists, Moscow, 1958. First published in the *American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists* (The Hague: Mouton, 1958). A summary and concluding remarks were published in the Proceedings of the Congress: *Materialy diskussii*, II (Moscow, 1962).

FOOTNOTES

1. N. Durnovo, "De la déclinaison en grand-russe littéraire moderne", *Revue des Études Slaves*, II (1922).
2. F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1922).
3. G. L. Trager, "Russian Declensional Morphemes", *Language XXIX* (1953).
4. For a more detailed analysis of the meanings of the Russian cases the reader is referred to the author's article of 1936; see above, 59 ff.
5. A. M. Peskovskij, *Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osveščanii*, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1934).
6. J. Kuryłowicz, "Le problème du classement des cas", *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego*, IX (1949).
7. A. W. de Groot, "Classification of Cases and Uses of Cases", *For Roman Jakobson* (The Hague, 1956).
8. Concerning indeclinable nouns of foreign origin, see B. Unbegaun, "Les substantifs indéclinables en russe", *Revue des Études Slaves*, XXIII (1947).
9. Morphemes and their combinations are noted here in morphophonemic transcription using Latin letters without parenthesis. In cases of automatic alternation of phonemes, that alternant is shown whose selection is independent of conditioning, for example, *-ovo* on the basis of the stressed alternants: cf. /*ètava*/, /*tavó*/, /*inóva*/. Phonemic transcription is given between diagonal lines and phonetic transcription in square brackets.
10. P. Košutić already correctly recognized in this desinence the automatic unstressed alternant of stressed *-o*. *Gramatika ruskog jezika*, I (Petersburg, 1919).
11. Possessive adjectives with suffixes in *-ov-*, *-in-* follow the substantival model not only in the direct cases, but also in those forms where a three-phoneme desinence in the adjectival declension corresponds to a single-phoneme desinence in the substantival declension, i.e. in the G and D of the non-feminine paradigm (G *mél'nikova* 'miller's', *séstrina* 'sister's, D *mél'nikovu*, *séstrinu*). Of the three monophonemic endings of this substantival paradigm, two are preserved here, while in last names with the same suffix all three are preserved (L *Mél'nikove*, *Il'iné*).
12. We intend to examine separately the system of stress in Russian declension.

13. The ending of the infinitive is not at issue here: in this morpheme the consonant is followed by # in alternation with the phoneme /i/ (*znát'* 'to know', *nést'* - *nestí* 'to carry').
14. The problem of the relationship between the substantival form of the N sg. and the G pl. on the one hand and the G sg. and the N pl. on the other has been examined in detail in our article of 1957, "The Relationship between Genitive and Plural in the Declension of Russian Nouns"; see below, p. 135 ff.
15. /a/ in these forms sporadically gives way to the phoneme /i/ under the influence of a following soft consonant.
16. P. S. Kuznecov, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: Morfologija* (Moscow, 1953).
17. C. L. Ebeling, "On the Meaning of the Russian Cases", *Analecta Slavica* (Amsterdam, 1955).
18. The instrumental case phonologically contrasts with the dative with the greatest clarity and consistency: if the D ends in a syllabic phoneme, the I either ends or begins with a non-syllabic phoneme; if the D ends in a non-syllabic phoneme, the I ends in a syllabic phoneme (either obligatorily or optionally).
19. A. Meillet, *Le slave commun* (Paris, 1923).
20. Cf. the general linguistic observations on this subject in the present author's article "The Phonemic and Grammatical Aspects of Language in their Interrelations", *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Linguistes*, Paris, 1948, reprinted in *Selected Writings II* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENITIVE
AND PLURAL IN THE DECLENSION
OF RUSSIAN NOUNS

The Moscow linguistic school inaugurated by F. F. Fortunatov gave to international science several outstanding investigators equally expert in the Slavic field and in the general theory of language. The classification of grammatical categories, and in particular the comparative interpretation of number and case, was for them as well as for their master a most arresting topic. I am happy to touch upon a facet of this problem in a paper humbly dedicated to Olaf Broch, one of the greatest and most original representatives of this illustrious pleiad.¹

To provide the entity named by a noun, e.g. *dráma*, with a quantitative characteristic, Russian uses A) syntactic and/or B) morphological devices. A) A cardinal numeral or its pronominal equivalent (*skól'ko* 'how much', *stól'ko* 'as much', *mnógo* 'much', *málo* 'little', *ból'se* 'more', *mén'se* 'less') may be combined with the noun. B) Each of the two categories inherent in any form in the noun declension – number and case – encompasses a quantifier. The plural indicates that more than one unit is contemplated, whereas singular is non-committal: *interés k drámam* (Pl.) is 'an interest in (the) dramas', while *interés k dráme* (Sg.) may mean 'an interest in the drama, in a drama, or in dramas'. In the pair of grammatical numbers, the plural is the marked opposite of the singular.²

The genitive focuses upon the extent to which the entity takes part in the message. The context indicates whether the amount is measured (*skól'ko drám* 'how many dramas', *pját' drám* 'five dramas'), extended (*drám!* 'there are a lot of dramas', *nasmotrét'sja drám* 'to have seen enough of dramas'), or reduced. Thus *počítál drám* means 'read a little from dramas', *kosnúlsja drám* 'touched upon dramas', *ždál drám* 'waited for dramas', *xotél drám* 'wanted dramas' – the entity is intended without having been realized; *izbegál drám* 'avoided dramas' – the entity is repelled, and a similar reduction to zero

appears in the genetivus negationis: *ne ljubíl drám* 'did not like dramas', *né bylo drám* 'there were no dramas'. The adnominal genitive signals that not the entire entity is considered, but merely its part or property or only an action performed or undergone by this entity: *konéc drám* 'the end of dramas', *realízm drám* 'the realism of dramas', *vlijánie drám* 'the influence of dramas', *výbor drám* 'the selection of dramas'. The nominative is an unmarked case, and the genitive is opposed to this "zero-case" by one single mark: the genitive is a mere quantifier.³

In GPI both the case and the number are quantifiers. One could represent both of them by plus and their unmarked opposites by minus: a lucid scheme results.

G	Pl
+	+

-	-
N	Sg

The distinction between this twofold quantifier and its doubly unmarked counterpart occupies a particular place in the Russian declensional system and is expressed differently from all other relations within the same pattern.

As a rule, one of these two forms is distinguished from the other by having a zero desinence, and this desinence does not occur in the other forms of the Russian declension.

In the NSg, nouns have either the desinences -a, -o or the zero desinence -#.

If a noun has a zero-desinence in the NSg, the desinence of the GPI is -ov or -ej. The desinence -ej occurs after the palatalized obstruents, nasals, and liquids (/t', /d', /s', /z', /p', /b', /f', /v', /n', /m', /r', /l') and after the palatal obstruents (/č/, /š/, /ž/); -ov appears after any other phoneme (/t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /c/, /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /k/, /g/, /x/, /n/, /m/, /r/, /l/, /j/). Examples: /put'-ěj/, /žilud'-ěj/, /lós'-ij/, /máz'-ij/, /cip'-ěj/, /galub'-ěj/, /v'érf'-ij/, /čirv'-ěj/, /kan'-ěj/, /car'-ěj/, /karal'-ěj/, /nač'-ěj/, /miš'-ěj/, /naž'-ěj/, /kat-óf/, /v'íd-af/, /čis-óf/, /grúz-af/, /čir'ip-óf/, /grib-óf/, /kr'ík-af/, /bag-óf/, /dúx-af/, /bl'in-óf/, /dam-óf/, /m'ir-óf/, /stal-óf/, /baj-óf/.

Usually nouns with the desinences -a, -o in NSg have a zero desinence in GPI /dir-á/ ~ /dír/, /l'íp-a/ ~ /l'íp/, /úl'ic-a/ ~ /úl'ic/, /bán-a/ ~ /bán', /stáj-a/ ~ /stáj/, /s'im'j-á/ ~ /s'im'ěj/, /l'ic-ó/ ~ /l'íc/, /slóv-a/ ~ /slóf/, /z'irn-ó/ ~ /z'ór'in/, /akóšk-a/ ~ /akóšik/, /kap'j-ó/ ~ /kóp'ij/, /ružj-ó/ ~ /rúžij/, /žil'íšč-a/ ~ /žil'íšč/.

There are a few exceptions: nouns without zero desinences in their declension: A) some nouns with -o in NSg and -ov, -ej in GPI, namely forms with /ik-a/ or /k-ó/ in NSg (/pl'ěč-ik-a ~ /pl'ěč-ik-af/, /ač-k-ó/ ~ /ač-k-óf/, also /dr'éf-k-a/ ~ /dr'éf-k-af/, /óblak-a/ ~ /ablak-óf/, several nouns with /c-a/ and /j-a/ in NSg (/kal'én-c-a/ ~ /kal'én-c-af/, /plát'-j-a/ ~ /plát'-j-af/, and /pól'-a/ ~ /pal'-ěj/, /mór'-a/ ~ /mar'-ěj/; B) about twenty nouns with -a in NSg and -ej in GPI, e.g. /júnaš-a/ ~ /júnaš-ij/, /nazdr'-á/ ~ /nazdr'-ěj/, /dól'-a/ ~ /dal'-ěj/, /t'ót'-a/ ~ /t'ót'-ij/.⁴ On the other hand, instead of the expected -ov, some twenty nouns have a zero desinence both in NSg and in GPI, e.g. /aršín/, /saldát/, /túrak/, /glás/, /čulók/. In the pair NSg. /vólas/ ~ GPI/valós/ both forms with a zero desinence are differentiated by the place of stress.

In a series of nouns, the numbers are distinguished not only by inflectional suffixes but also by a special stem suffix. In such nouns the GPI has a zero desinence despite a similar desinence of the NSg: /bajár'-in/ ~ /bajár/, /dvar'in'-ín/ ~ /dvar'án/, /južán'-in/ ~ /južán/, /gaspad'-ín/ ~ /gaspót/, /xaz'áj-in/ ~ /xaz'áj-if/, /ščin-ók/ ~ /ščin'-át/, /t'il'-ón-ak/ ~ /t'il'-át/. But the collective suffix -#j- is ordinarily followed in GPI by the desinence -ov: /z'át'/ ~ /z'it'-j-á/ ~ /z'it'-j-óf/, /brát/ ~ /brát'-j-a/ ~ /brát'-j-af/, /stúl/ ~ /stúl'-j-a/ ~ /stúl'-j-af/, /d'ér'iv-a/ ~ /d'ir'év'-j-a/ ~ /d'ir'év'-j-af/. Four nouns with the -#j- suffix, however, have a GPI with a zero desinence: /kn'ás'/ ~ /kn'iz'-j-á/ ~ /kn'iz'-ěj/, /drúk/ ~ /druz'-j-á/ ~ /druz'-ěj/, /muš/ ~ /muž'-j-á/ ~ /muž'-ěj/, /sín/ ~ /sin-av'-j-á/ ~ /sin-av'-ěj/.

Thus with very few exceptions, each noun has no more, and usually no less, than one form with a zero desinence: either the NSg or the GPI.

The GPI desinences -ov and -ej were generalized in the declension of those nouns which have a zero desinence in NSg. The historical tendency to differentiate the GPI and the NSg by confronting a zero and a non-zero desinence is herewith documented.

The relation between GSg and NPl may be visualized by a similar scheme:

G	Sg
+	-

-	+
N	Pl

One of the two quantifiers carries the case mark and the other the number mark. Russian declension exhibits a clear tendency to express this distinction by a mere difference in the place of wordstress.

In the declension of nouns with a non-zero desinence in the NSg, the desinences of GSg and NPl coincide with each other and may be differentiated, if at all, merely by the place of stress. Only the nouns ending in *-ik-o*, or *-k-o* have different desinences: *-a* in GS and *-i* in NPl (/kal'ós'ik-a/ ~ /kal'ós-ik-i/, /az'ir-k-á/ ~ /az'ir-k-í/). The overwhelming majority of nouns ending in /-o/ and /-a/ opposes the final stress of GSg to the retracted stress of the NPl, e.g. /s'il-á/ ~ /s'ól-a/, /kal'is-á/ ~ /kal'ós-a/; /graz-í/ ~ /gróz-i/, /gub-í/ ~ /gúb-i/, /duš-í/ ~ /dúš-i/, /visat-í/ ~ /visót-i/, /skar lup-í/ ~ /skar lup-i/, /skavarad-í/ ~ /skóvarad-i/. Only a small number of such nouns has a final stress also in NPl, e.g. /suščiv-á/, /astrij-á/; /m'ičt-í/, /xval-í/, /stat'j-í/, /bulav-í/. Most of the nouns in *-o*, with initial stress in the singular, change its place in the plural: /d'él-a/ ~ /d'il-á/, /stád-a/ ~ /stad-á/, /mór-a/, ~ /mar'-á/, /z'érkal-a/ ~ /z'irkal-á/, /krúživ-a/, ~ /kruživ-á/, /óblak-a/ ~ /ablak-á/, /óz'ir-a/ ~ /az'ór-a/; cf. on the other hand GSg and NPl /kr'és-l-a/, /z'él'j-a/, /čúčil-a/ etc. The middle stress of nouns in *-o* (as /karít-a/) is fixed, and likewise any type of stress on the stem of nouns in *-a*: both GSg and NPl /bán'-i/, /kómnat-i/, /varón-i/.

Among the nouns with a zero desinence in the NSg, the feminines end in an unstressed *-i* both in GSg and in GPI, and the stress falls on the same syllable of the stem, e.g. /nóč-i/, /lóšid'-i/, /kravát'-i/. A considerable and ever-growing number of masculines substitutes a stressed *-a* for the usual *-i* desinence of NPl.⁵ All masculines which have acquired the stressed *-a* desinence in NPl, have an unstressed *-a* in GSg (except the fixed final stress in /rukav-á), e.g. /lúg-a/ ~ /lug-á/, /xútar-a/ ~ /xutar-á/, /t'ét'ir'iv-a/ ~ /t'it'ir'iv-á/, /učít'il'-a/ ~ /učit'il'-á/. The productivity of this pattern is demonstrated by its particularly wide use in modern loanwords, e.g. /v'éks'il'-a/ ~ /viks'il'-á/, /kandúktar-a/ ~ /kanduktar-á/. All other accentual varieties of this declension have *-a* in GSg, but *-i* in NPl, unless a particular stem suffix is used in the plural (/muž-j-á/, /t'il'át-a/).

The *-a* declension shows a gradual extension of stress alternation in GSg and NPl. The observer cites such recent forms of NPl as *bědý*, *viný*, *duží*, *žený*, *svěčí*, *vdový*, *sírotý*, *sud'í*, where "toward our time there occurred a shift of stress from the desinence to the stem and this was an adaptation to the pattern of nouns with mobile stress": GSg /b'id-í ~ NPl /b'éd-i/, leveled after such pairs as /gar-í/ ~ /gór-i/. This development is all the more revealing, since "the NPl of nouns with mobile stress has not been affected by the nouns with fixed stress."⁶ The recent change of the fixed initial stress in such instances as NSg *město*, GPI and NPl *města* into a mobile type - GSg *města* NPl *mestá* is another manifestation of the same drift.⁷

The NA dual form ending in *-a* (as *rukavá*), the collective singulars like *gospodá*, *storožá*, and the early extended use of the stressed desinences /-ám/, /-ám'i/, /-áx/ in the oblique cases of the plural may have contributed to the rise of the desinence /-á/ in NPl of the masculine declension, but can hardly have induced this change and its continuously progressing expansion. Jagić was the first to raise the question "whether the analogy of the neuter desinence *a* did not work here", since "the difference between *gólosa* and *golosá*, *pógreba* and *pogrebá*, *ókoroka* and *okoroká* vividly recalls a similar difference in the neuter: *slóva* and *slová*, *pólja* and *poljá*, *mórja* and *morjá*, *zérkala* and *zerkalá*, *déveva* and *derevá*."⁸ Thirty years ago Bulaxovskij shrewdly answered Jagić's question: "On the analogy of the relations GSg *óblaka*: NPl *oblaká*, GSg *téla*: NPl *telá*, the masculines set up GSg *bérega*: NPl *beregá*, GSg *góroda*: NPl *gorodá*."⁹ Yet if this analogical change had been stimulated only by the tendency to tie the distinction of both forms "to a difference in the place of stress", a simple shift of the stress from the stem to the desinence, without substitution of the final vowel, would suffice. This change of the desinence was spurred by the possibility of confining the difference between the forms of GSg and NPl to a mere stress alternation.¹⁰

Furthermore, *ceteris paribus* stress alternation is now used in the Russian declension only by quantifier cases, namely to distinguish locative II from locative I in feminines (/t'in'-í/ ~ /t'en'-i/, /gr'iz-í/ ~ /gr'áz-i/) and from genitive II in masculines (/l'is-ú/ ~ /l'es-u/, /sn'ig-ú/ ~ /sn'ég-u).¹¹

Russian is not the only Slavic language which displays the tendency to restrict the distinction of certain quantifiers to an alternation of full desinence and zero or to a prosodic alternation. Thus a purely prosodic distinction of NSg and GPI on the one hand, and of NPl and GSg on the other, has been developed in the *-a* declension of Serbocroatian nouns. Each of these two pairs is distinguished by the opposition of a short and long vowel in the desinence: NSg *dúša* (desinence /-a/) ~ GPI *dúšâ* (/--a:); NPl *dúše* (/--e/) ~ GSg *dúšê* (/--e:/). In other Serbocroatian declensions the same quantitative opposition (alone or combined with other prosodic oppositions) distinguishes the genitive of two numbers: GSg *ūdâra* (/--a/) ~ GPI *ūdârâ* (/--a:); *sêla* ~ *sêlâ*, *pòlja* ~ *póljâ*; *stvári* (/--i/) ~ *stvári* (/--i:/).

A quantitative opposition (likewise controversial as to its origin) differentiates GSg from NPl of the Slovak neuters: GSg *slova* (/--a/) ~ NPl *slová* (/--a:/). GPI is distinguished from NSg by a zero desinence: *slov* ~ *slovo*.

Written in Cambridge, Mass., in 1956 for *Scando-Slavica*, III (1957), dedicated to Olaf Broch.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Latin or Latinized spelling form of Slavic examples is in italics; transcription of spoken language is in roman type. The forms transcribed phonemically are in slants, while no marks enclose the specimens of morphophonemic transcription. The transcribed desinences are preceded by a dash, stem suffixes by a hyphen.
2. Cf. R. Jakobson, "Structure of the Russian Verb", [see p. 1 ff. above].
3. Cf. R. Jakobson, "Contribution to the General Theory of Case" [see above p. 59 ff.]; E. Pauliny, *Struktúra slovenského slovesa* (Bratislava, 1943), Ch. IV.
4. See *Grammatika ruskogo jazyka*, I (Moscow, Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1953), pp. 161 f., 166, 168.
5. See L. Beaulieu, "L'extension du pluriel masculin en -a, -я en russe moderne", *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XVIII (1913); S. Obnorskij, *Imennoe sklonenie v sovremennom ruskom jazyke*, II (Leningrad, 1931), p. 2 ff.: he lists more than two hundred nouns with the new desinence in NPI.
6. Obnorskij, *o.c.*, p. 387 f.
7. L. Vasil'ev, "K istorii zvuka ě v moskovskom govore v XIV-XVII vv.", *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. I. Ak. Nauk*, X, no. 2 (1905), p. 209; Chr. S. Stang, *La langue du livre Učenie i xitrost' ratnago stroenija pexotnyx ljudej* (Oslo, 1952), p. 35.
8. I. V. Jagić, "Kritičeskie zametki po istorii ruskogo jazyka", *Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. I. Ak. Nauk*, XLVI, no. 4 (1889), p. 114.
9. L. Bulaxovskij, "Zametki po ruskoj morfologii", *Slavia*, VI (1928), p. 645; *idem*, "Intonacija i količestvo form dualis imennogo sklonenija v drevnejšem slavjanskom jazyke", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Otd. lit. i jaz., V, no. 4 (1946), p. 301.
10. NPI in -a implies GSG in -a, and GSG in -i implies NPI in -i. Nouns have the same inventory of desinences in GSG and NPI (-a, -i), while the repertory of their GPI desinences corresponds to NSgMasc suffixes of nouns (-#) and possessive adjectives (-ov, -ej).
11. See R. Jakobson, "Contribution . . .", [see p. 91 f. above].

Chapter Nine

THE GENDER PATTERN OF RUSSIAN

Louis Hjelmslev's notable study "Animé et inanimé, personnel et non-personnel" (*Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique*, I, Paris, 1956, p. 155 ff.), with its references (on pp. 160, 170, 184 ff.) to my early discussion of some Russian grammatical oppositions (*Charisteria Mathesio*, Prague, 1932, p. 74 ff.) has stimulated me to sketch a new outline of the Russian grammatical genders. I wish to dedicate this study to Alexander Graur, an eminent expert on the genders of Rumanian.

Russian case-forms distinguish two numbers — the marked plural *vs.* singular, and in all the grammatical cases of the unmarked singular, two genders — the more specified, marked feminine *vs.* non-feminine. The feminine gender signals that the given noun cannot designate a male human being, unless in expressive, particularly pejorative language (cf. *ón — svóloč', stérva, ètakaja drján' i razmaznjá*). The unmarked non-feminine, in turn, splits into two genders, distinguished, however, only in the unmarked, nominative case (and in the accusative when merging with the nominative).

Russian non-feminine nominative forms display a distinction between the marked neuter and the less specified, unmarked masculine. The neuter signals a lack of sex reference. These asexual nouns are either inanimates or the widest generic designations of animate beings, as *suščestvo* 'being', *životnoe* 'animal', *nasekómoe* 'insect', *mlekopitájuščee* 'mammal', *čudóvišče* 'monster'. The masculine is a twice unmarked gender. Contrary to the neuter, it signals neither the asexual character of the entity named, nor, in contradistinction to the feminine, does it carry any specification of the sex; masculines like *vráč* 'physician' or *továrišč* 'comrade' apply to both males and females (*továrišč Ivanóva — stáršij vráč*).

Thus the distinction neuter *vs.* masculine implies the distinction feminine *vs.* non-feminine. Neither of these two distinctions is compatible with the

marked, plural number. The distinction neuter *vs.* masculine is incompatible with any marked case.

Furthermore, the distinction between the so-called sub-genders animate *vs.* inanimate is incompatible with any marked gender, either neuter or feminine. This distinction, confined to the accusative, is combinable only with the unmarked, masculine gender or with the genderless plural.

Russian declension exhibits certain slight hints of a distinction between "personal", specifying male human beings, and "non-personal"; in particular we find the use of a divisive stem-suffix *-in-* in the singular and a grammatical alternation of the final stem-consonant in the plural of some personal nouns (NSg /bajár'in/ – NPl /bajár'i/ – GPl /bajár/). The most striking distinction between these two sub-genders, however, is offered by the numerals from two to ten; beside simple cardinal numerals there appear corresponding collective numerals (like *tróe* 'the totality of three', *pjátero* 'the totality of five') which at least in the oblique cases are used in Standard Russian only with reference to male human beings, while in the nominative (and in the accusative when merging with the nominative) such collective numerals fulfill also some other functions (cf. *dvé ruki* 'two hands' – *dvóe rúk* 'two pairs of hands'). It is noteworthy that this distinction appears in numerals, the only declinable part of speech which has no grammatical number and as a rule no genders.

The caseless forms provided with distinct genders, namely the short forms of the adjectives in the positive degree and the preterit forms of the verb, present the same three basic genders. Our statement about the incompatibility of the distinction neuter *vs.* masculine with any marked case can be given a more general formulation: such a distinction is combinable only with an unmarked case or with a caseless form. As in the case-forms, the discrimination of the three genders is incompatible with the marked, plural number in the caseless forms; furthermore, such a discrimination is incompatible with the comparative, i.e. marked, degree in adjectives and with the discrimination of persons in verbs.

The interrelationship of the three genders is different here, however. The neuter, which is a specified, marked category in the case-forms, proves to be the least specified – the unmarked gender – among the caseless forms. Here a "subjective" class is opposed as marked to the unmarked neuter, and the former signals that the verb or short adjective actually relates to a subject, namely to a more specified, marked feminine or to a less specified and, in this respect, unmarked masculine, whereas the neuter may relate either to a subject of neuter gender or to a lack of a substantival headword: cf. *zél'e*,

žgló, vsjó xorošo, and on the other hand predicative neuters without any nominative subject, *zél'em žgló vnútrennosti, rassveló, národu prišló, býlo temno, lgát' grešno, xorošo v krajú rodnóm*, or adverbial modifiers – *ón byválo oxótilsja, xorošo pojút*.

Such shifts in the distribution of marked and unmarked categories in the caseless forms, as compared to the case-forms, are quite natural. Cf. the phonemic opposition compact *vs.* diffuse, with compactness as the marked opposite in the consonants while unmarked in the vowels, or stridency as marked among the plosives but as unmarked among the continuants.

There is an expectable difference in the treatment of the neuter gender under the viewpoint 1) of the noun and 2) of the verb or adverbial adjective (adjective combined either with a notional verb or with a real or zero copula). The tension between the two coexisting patternings of the three genders can easily have contributed to the variance in their structural interpretation.

Written in Stanford, California, 1959, for *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* (Omăgiu lui Al. Graur), XI (1960).

Chapter Ten

NOTES ON THE DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN

In pronouns not only affixes, but, in contradistinction to all other inflected parts of speech, also the root morphemes carry a formal, grammatical meaning.

The Russian declinable pronouns offer two syntactic varieties: those which function primarily as syntactic subjects or objects, and those primarily invested with the grammatical role of attributes.

Russian pronouns fall into two declensional types: on the one hand, a specifically pronominal variety of declensional paradigm, and on the other hand, a transitional type of declension.

The paradigm of the latter type contains two varieties of grammatical desinences, one "concise" and the other "expanded". The concise desinences consist either of a mere zero sign or maximally of a single actual phoneme, and they serve to build the nominative sg. or plur. and the accusative sg. or plur., insofar as this case has not merged with the genitive. All other case forms of the transitional declension are supplied with expanded desinences, each containing at least two phonemes. The expanded pronominal desinences of the transitional declension encompass a number of phonemes similar to the corresponding desinences of the full adjectival declension, whereas in the choice of constituent phonemes there appear several differences between the transitional declension of pronouns and the full adjectival declension, e.g. instr. *vse(ě)m* versus *zlym*.

Only some of the subject-object pronouns display a specifically pronominal declension, whereas a few other pronouns of the same syntactic variety, and moreover all the attributive pronouns, belong to the transitional declension.

The specifically pronominal declension singles out either the properly personal pronouns (namely the 1. and 2. persons based on the distinction of the addresser and addressee), or the reflexive pronominal forms confined to

the sg. oblique cases. The solely grammatical meaning, carried, as mentioned above, by the pronominal roots, finds its characteristic expression in the wide use of full or partial suppletion by paradigms of the specifically pronominal declension, and on the other hand, in a formation of tautologically underscored, close morphological subclasses.

Thus suppletion separates the nominative sg. of the 1. person pronoun "ja" from the rest of its case forms, and furthermore, all the plural forms of the 2. person from all of its singular forms.

The single paradigms of the specifically pronominal declension are denoted merely by the initial consonant of the pronoun.

The oblique cases of 2. person pronouns share their initial consonant with the nominative forms of the same person and number: sg. "t" — plur. "v".

The oblique cases of the 1. person sg. pronouns (*menjá, mne, mnoj*) share the basic distinctive feature of their initial consonant, namely nasality, with the oblique plur. cases of the same person (*nas, nam*) and the grave (labial) variety of the initial nasal with the plural (*my*).

In the plur. oblique cases of the 1. and 2. person pronouns the initial consonant is invariably followed by the formative "a" and diverse desinences according to the cases: the joint form of accusative, genitive, and locative displays a final "s" (*nas, vas*), otherwise unfamiliar to Rus. affixes; whereas the dative "m" and the instrumental "mi" are common especially to the plural desinences of all the Russian declinable words (*stárym, stárymi, gorodám, gorodámi*).

The oblique cases in their specifically pronominal declensional paradigm undergo common structural rules. Each of these systems presents an oxytone: its accent falls on the last or single syllable of the word. The instrumental in "-oj" admits an optional stylistic variant in "-óju" (*tobóju*). Each of these systems is confined to three mutually differing case forms, all three disyllabic, unless there appears between interaccentual, atonic vowels a pair of nasals which favors an abbreviation and subsequent abolishment of syllabic intervals between the accented vowels.

In the specifically pronominal declension each of the oblique case forms from its beginning to the accented vowel contains two consonants. The tonality opposition of acute and grave consonants underlies the treatment of all these case forms. Acute-grave is the order regularly followed by the two obstruents within the three oblique case forms differing from each other in the 2. person pronoun singular declension. See e.g. the acute (dental) "t" which precedes the grave (labial) "b" in *tebjá* etc. Easily explainable is the

tendency to accompany the direction from a plain to a flat (rounded) vowel with a parallel shift of the neighboring consonant from sharpness (palatalization) to plainness. In comparison with the obstruents of the 2. person sg. pronouns, 1. person sg. pronouns follow the opposite direction in the tonality feature of their nasal consonants, namely grave—acute. See e.g. *menjá*, etc.

A single distinctive feature, the presence of nasality, unifies all the nominative 1. person pronominal forms, the "m" of *my* and of the possessive *moj*, the "n" of the plural oblique cases and the possessive *naš*, as well as the immediate or mediated group of "m" and "n" of the singular oblique forms.

Besides the specifically pronominal declension of the 2. and 1. person pronouns, the former dealing with the addressee and the latter with the addresser of the speech event referred to, the specifically pronominal type of declension singles out the reflexive pronouns which, however, in contradistinction to the personal pronouns are deprived of nominative and of plural forms.

Of the personal pronouns, those of the 2. person designate the addressee of the speech event, and hence, stand nearer to the reflexive pronouns which designate the addressee of the narrated event. The reflexives share with the 2. person pronouns the acute-grave order of the two obstruents, while demanding the sole replacement of the voiceless "t" by the equally voiceless "s". See e.g. *tebjá* and *sebjá*.

The transitional type of declension shows several variations in desinence phonemes. There is an alternation between "i" and "e" (<ě). The alternant appears as "e" when both of two conditions are met: namely, there is no antecedent "yod", and the syllable of the desinential vowel is at the same time the initial syllable of the word. The alternant is "i" when neither of these two conditions is met: instr. sg. *vsem, kem* but *čjim, samím, étim*; nom. plur. *vse, te* but *čji, sámi, éti*; gen. plur. *vsex, tex* but *étix, samíx*; instr. plur. *čjími, étimi. odními* but *vsémi, témi*.¹

Pronouns invested with a double stem before a zero desinence (*to-t, k-to, č-to*), preserve only the shorter of the two doublets when followed by real (non-zero) desinential suffixes (*t-ogó, té; k-ogó, k-em; č-egó*).

The strong tendency of the pronouns to move the stress to the last vowel of the word is near to a general law: *kogó, čegó, togó, komú, samogó, samíx, samím*, etc.

This removal of the accent to the final syllable does not involve pronouns with prefixed stems *étot* with the interjectional "e" used as an affective prefix which signals a closer spatial relation between the narrated content and the participants of the speech event (cf. gen. *étogo*, instr. *étim* and *togó, tem*).

The plural instrumental desinence, regularly preceded by the dative desinence, is conceived as a double desinence, and the stress remains on the vowel of the dative. See e.g. *samín* – *samími*, *vsém* – *vsémi*, etc.

The possessive adjectives which relate to pronouns (viz. are “motivated by pronouns” according to N. Švedova’s terminology²) are treated as belonging to the transitional declension of pronouns, and in particular, they shift the accent to the word end: *moegó*, *svoemú*, *čjemú*. Cf. the similar modifications of the possessive forms of the sg. 2. person *tvoj* and of the reflexive *svoj*, as well as the initial “m” common to the sg. 1. person pronoun and to the possessive *moj* “mine”, and to the sg. oblique cases of the 1. person pronominal forms such as *mnoj* as well as the nominative plural *my*. But no removal of stress takes place in possessives which relate to adjectives: cf. *čjegó*, *tvoegó*, with such forms as *bóžij(-ej)*, *ptičij(-ej)* with a zero desinence, *bóžjego*, *ptičjego*. Among the possessives relating to pronouns, the formal *naš*, *vaš* retain the initial accent (*nášego*, *vášemu*, etc.) perhaps even prompted by the sibilant desinences of gen. plur. *nas*, *vas*.

The paradigm of the so-called “3. person” pronoun (see its explicit logical analysis by E. Padučeva)³ occupies an intermediate position between two varieties of declension – one specifically pronominal and the other transitional. With the 3. person pronoun the 1. person paradigm shares a radical suppletion between the nominative sg. form and the other, oblique forms of the same pronoun: cf. the postvocalic “n” of the nominative *on* with the prevocalic “yod” of *ja* and the initial glide “yod” of all the 3. person forms different from the nominative: gen.-acc. *ego* and *ež*, *emú*, *im* (< *jim*) etc. The reverse distribution of “yod” and “n” in the two oppositions of the twofold kinds of case forms must be noted: the “yod” of the *ja* and the “n” of the *on* in the nominative as well as the nasals of the oblique other 1. person cases contrast with the initial “yod” of the 3. person oblique cases. Yet after prepositions the initial “yod” of all the 3. person pronouns changes into a palatalized “n”, and even Russian repetitive constructions of 3. person pronouns in locative forms demand an explicit reference to that locative frame and subsequently a substitution of the prefixal nasal for the initial “yod”. Hence a steadfast commutation of the initial “yod” to the prefixal palatalized “n” becomes a compulsory feature of the 3. person locative in all its grammatical contexts and remains the sole formulation admissible: thus such readings as *pri něm*, *nej*, *nix* are acceptable while **pri ěm*, *ej*, *ix* are not. Meanwhile, the elliptic variants such as “*pri otce*, *syne* 1 *vnukax*”, as well as “*pri mne*, *tebe* 1 *vas*” remain valid.

The chief difference between the declension of the 3. person and that of

the 1. and 2. persons lies in the formal rendering of grammatical genders in the sg. facet of the former’s paradigm and no distinction of genders in the latter.

Written in Cambridge, 1981, for the *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* XXIII (1981), 87-91.

FOOTNOTES

1. The last two sentences of this paragraph originally said: “The alternant appears as “e” under one or both of two conditions. At least one of the two conditions is necessary for the emergence of the alternant “e”: namely, there is no antecedent “yod”, and the syllable of the desinential vowel is at the same time the initial syllable of the word. The alternant is “i” when neither of these two conditions is present: instr. sg. *vsem*, *kem* but *čjim*, *samžm*, *ětim*; nom. plur. *vse*, *te* but *čji*, *sámi*, *ěti*, gen. plur. *vsex*, *tex* but *ěrix*, *sámix*; instr. plur. *čjími*; *ětimi* but *vsémi*, *témi*, *odními*.” The changes have been introduced by the editors to accord with the data.

2. Švedova, N. Ju. (chief ed.), *Russkaja grammatika* (Moscow: The Institute of Russian Language at the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1980).

3. Padučeva, E. V., “Problemy logičeskogo analiza mestoimenij”, *Semiotika i Informatika* XV (Moscow, 1980), pp. 125-153.

I

In conceiving of language as a coherent system of synchronic oppositions and in accentuating its asymmetric dualism, the Geneva School was necessarily forced to elucidate the importance of the notion "zero" for the analysis of language. According to the fundamental formula of F. de Saussure, language can tolerate the opposition between something and nothing,¹ and, it is precisely this "nothing" opposed to "something" or, in other words, the zero sign, which lead to certain of the personal and fertile concepts of Charles Bally. It is, above all, his succinct studies, "Copule zéro et faits connexes"² [Zero copula and allied matters] and "Signe zéro,"³ which have pointed out the role that this phenomenon plays not only in morphology, but also in syntax; not only in grammar, but also in stylistics. This instructive analysis requires further investigation.

The existence of **zero desinences** in the declensions of the modern Slavic languages is a generally known example. In Russian, for instance, the NSg *suprug* 'husband, spouse' is opposed to all the other forms of the same word (GA *suprúga*, D *suprúgu*, I *suprúgom*⁴ etc.).

One finds in Russian, in almost all the paradigms of the substantives, and particularly in the case forms, only one form in each paradigm with a zero desinence. In those paradigms where the genitive plural and the nominative singular used to have the same zero desinence, the former has assumed the positive desinences *-ov* (*suprúgov*) or *-ěj* (*konej*) by analogy, thereby eliminating the previously existing homonymy. The zero desinence of the GPI has survived only in those nouns which distinguish the GPI from the NSg in some other way, whether by the desinence (NSg *žená*, *seló* - GPI *žěn*, *sěl*), by the place of the stress (NSg *vólos* - GPI *volós*), by a derivational suffix (NSg *bojárin* - GPI *bojár*), or by the composition of syntagmas (in the Saussurian sense of the word) in which these case forms are used (NSg *aršín*, noun of measure - GPI *aršin*, which almost always accompanies nouns of number).

The zero desinence, and likewise the "zero degree" opposed to a phoneme in grammatical alternations (for example, in Russian GSg *rta* - NSg *rot* 'mouth') corresponds exactly to C. Bally's definition: a sign invested with a particular value, but without any material support in sound.⁵ But language "can tolerate the opposition between something and nothing" not only on the level of the signifier (*signifiant*), but also on the level of the signified (*signifié*).⁶

II

In the singular, the paradigm *bog* 'god', *suprúg* 'husband, spouse' is systematically opposed to the paradigm *nogá* 'foot', *suprúga* 'wife'. While the first of these two paradigms expresses unequivocally a particular grammatical category, namely that of non-feminine gender, the second can refer indiscriminately to feminine and masculine gender: the masc. *slugá* 'servant' and the ambiguous *nedotróga* 'sensitive person' are declined in the same way as the fem. *nogá*, *suprúga*. None of the desinences of the oblique cases of the paradigm of *bog*, *suprúg* can be used with feminine nouns, and, with respect to the nominative of this paradigm, its zero desinence signals masculine gender exclusively only in stems which end in a hard consonant. In stems which end in a soft or hushing consonant, the zero desinence could equally well belong to a masculine word (*den* 'day', *muž* 'husband') or to a feminine word (*dan* 'tribute', *mys* 'mouse').

The paradigm *bog*, *suprúg* signifies, as we have said above, the non-feminine, or, in other words, the masculine or the neuter. These two genders are different only in the nominative, and in the accusative whenever it coincides with the nominative. In the nominative, a zero desinence signals exclusively the non-neuter, whereas the desinence *-o* or its unstressed counterpart can belong either to the neuter gender or to the masculine (neuter *toporišče* 'handle of an axe', masc. *toporišče* the augmentative of *topór* 'axe').

Thus, the paradigm *nogá*, *suprúga* is devoid of differential function with regard to gender opposition. The desinence is, therefore, from the point of view of gender, a sign that has a form which is well defined but has no functional value, in brief, a form with a **zero morphological function**. By carefully inspecting the two nominative formations *suprúg* 'spouse' and *suprúga* 'wife', we can see that, in this case, the form with a zero desinence has a positive morphological function, while the positive desinence has a zero morphological function, with respect to the differentiation of gender.

What are, in Russian, the general meanings of the grammatical genders, masculine and feminine? The feminine indicates that, if the referent is a person or lends itself to personification, it is absolutely certain that that person belongs to the female sex (*suprúga* always refers to the wife, the female spouse). On the other hand, the general meaning of the masculine does not necessarily specify the sex of the referent: *suprúg* designates either, in a more restrictive way, the husband (*suprúg i suprúga* 'husband and wife'), or, in a more general way, one of the spouses (*óba suprúga* 'the two spouses', *odín iz suprúgov* 'one of the two spouses'). Cf. *továrišč* (masculine gender, here female sex) *Nina* (feminine gender, female sex), *zubnój vrač* (masculine gender, here female sex) = 'Comrade Nina, dentist'. Thus, in the opposition of the general meanings of the two genders, the masculine is the gender with **zero meaning**. Here again, we are face to face with a clear chiasmus: the forms with zero morphological function (of the type *suprúga*) denote the gender with a positive meaning (feminine) and, on the other hand, the forms with a positive morphological function (of the type *suprúg*) specify the gender with zero meaning (masculine).

In fact, the patterning of the grammatical system, as I have tried to point out elsewhere,⁷ is based on the "opposition between something and nothing", that is, on the **opposition of contradictories**, according to the terminology of formal logic. Thus, the nominal system and the verbal system can be decomposed into binary oppositions, where one of the terms of the opposition signifies the presence of a certain quality and the other (the unmarked or undifferentiated term of the opposition, in brief, the zero term) indicates neither its presence nor its absence. Thus, in Russian, the perfective aspect signals the absolute end of a verbal process, in opposition to the imperfective (zero aspect) which leaves the question of the end of the action unresolved. Impf. *plávat'*, *plyt'* 'to swim', Pf. *priplýt'*, *doplýt'* 'to swim up to or as far as', *poplýt'* 'to have begun to swim' (the beginning is presented as a finished process), *poplávat'* 'to take a swim', *naplávat'sja* 'to have a good swim', *ponaplávat'* 'to have a good swim several times, and in all, enough' (absolute end). The determinative aspect (according to the terminology of S. Karcevskij) signifies an action conceived of as a unity: *plyt'* 'to be (in the act of) swimming', whereas the indeterminative aspect (zero aspect) does not give such an indication: *plávat'* can, depending on the context, signify a unified action (*poka ja plavaju, on sidit na beregu* 'while I swim, he sits on the shore'), a repeated action (*ja často plavaju* 'I swim often'),⁸ a non-realized action (*ja ne plaval* 'I didn't swim'), a capacity for a non-realized action (*ja plavaju, no ne prixoditsja* 'I know how to swim, but I have no occasion to'),

and finally an action about which one has no information – one does not know if it took place once or several times or never (*ty plaval?* ‘did you swim?’). *Plavat*’ is an imperfective and indeterminate verb. Thus, it belongs to two zero aspects. But no Russian verb can contain two positive values for aspect. The opposition of determinate and indeterminate verbs is, therefore, only valid within the imperfective aspect. V. Brøndal has brought out the fact that languages tend to avoid an excessive complexity in the aggregate of one morphological formation, and that, frequently, forms which are complex with respect to one category are relatively simple with respect to others.⁹ Likewise, in Russian, the present tense (zero tense) distinguishes persons, in contradistinction to the past which has only one form for all the persons; the singular (zero grammatical number) distinguishes grammatical genders, in contrast with the plural, which has totally effaced them. But, even though the grammatical system limits the “accumulation of meanings” [*cumul des signifiés*] (term and notion introduced by Bally),¹⁰ it does not by any means exclude it. The dative, like the instrumental, is opposed to the accusative and the nominative in that it indicates the peripheral position of the referent in the content of the message and, from the point of view of this opposition, the latter two cases are zero cases. But, at the same time, the dative and the accusative signal that the object is affected by the action and they are thus opposed to the instrumental and the nominative, which, from the point of view of this opposition, are zero cases. In this way, the dative combines two grammatical values; the accusative possesses one of these values and the instrumental possesses the other. The nominative functions as the absolute zero case and distinguishes, in conformity with Brøndal’s “principle of compensation”, the masculine and the neuter, a distinction which is irrelevant in the oblique (“marked”) cases.

The distinction between the nominative and the accusative provides proof of the purely arbitrary character of the relation between the “opposition between something and nothing” on the level of the signified, and the opposition of the same kind on the level of the signifier. Each of the three possible varieties of this relation are present: 1) there is a zero desinence corresponding to a zero case: N *suprúg* - A *suprúga*; 2) the relation is inverse (cf. the “chiasmus” cited above): NPI *gospodá* - API *gospód*; 3) neither of the cases has a zero desinence: N *slugá* - A *slugá*.

Meanings can be opposed to one another, as something to nothing, not only in grammar but also in the domain of vocabulary; one of two synonymous words can be distinguished from the other by a supplementary determinant not applicable to the other. Thus, the Russian words *devúška* and

devíca both designate a girl, but the former of these synonyms, as opposed to the latter, adds the meaning “virgin”: one could not permute the two words in the sentence *ona – devica, no uže ne devúška* ‘she is a girl but is no longer a virgin’. Likewise, in the pair of Czech synonyms *mám rád* ‘ich habe gern’, ‘I like’, and *miluji* ‘ich liebe’, ‘I love’ (passionately), it is *mám rád* which is the “zero synonym”, and both *mám rád šunku* ‘I like ham’ and *mám rád rodiče* ‘I like my parents’ are possible, but *miluji* adds a meaning of strong passion and, in the sentence *miluji šunku*, one would feel that the verb is being used figuratively.

Such a use would correspond, for example, to the case of the feminine used for a man: *on – nastojaščaja masterica* ‘he is a really skilled crafts-woman’. This is a real exchange of signs, a metaphor, whereas the opposite use *ona – nastojaščij master* ‘she is a really skilled craftsman’ is nothing more than the application of a more general, generic term in place of *masterica*, which is more precise. Nevertheless, here, too, there is hypostasis, although to a much less noticeable degree, in much the same way that the historical present or the generic singular are, in actual fact, examples of hypostasis. A marked sign signals A (*masteríca*); the zero sign which is opposed to it (*máster*) signifies neither the presence nor the absence of that A (neither A nor non-A). The zero sign is, therefore, used in those contexts where A and non-A are not distinguished (*tut bylo sem’ masterov, v tom čisle dve mastericy* ‘here there were seven skilled craftsmen, among them two [crafts] women’) and in those contexts where non-A is designated (*tut bylo pjat’ masterov* [non-A] *i dve mastericy* [A] ‘here there were five skilled craftsmen and two skilled craftswomen’), but hypostasis is present in those cases where the zero sign serves to designate A and only A: *ona – nastojascij master*.

The judicious insight of Bally emphasizes the diversified play of hypostasis as an essential fact of the patterning of language.¹¹ J. Kuryłowicz has shown decisively the important role that hypostasis plays in syntax, where hypostasis means “the motivated and marked use” of words, as opposed to their basic or primary function.¹² “The attributive function is the primary function of the adjective”. The attributive adjective denotes, therefore, **zero hypostasis** in opposition to diverse hypostatic transformations, such as adjective-subject (*dalěkoje plenjaet nas* ‘the faraway fascinates us’) or adjective-complement (*sejte razumnoe, dobroe, večnoe* ‘sow the wise, the good, the eternal’). The predicate adjective has an external sign of transformation, *est*, in examples like *deus bonus est*, whereas the phrase *deus bonus* represents hypostasis in its pure form.¹³

III

In those languages where constructions without a copula are the only ones possible, as is the case with Russian, the absence of the copula in constructions like *izba derevjannaja* 'the hut (is) wooden' is viewed, in opposition to *izba byla derevjannaja* 'the hut was wooden' and *izba budet derevjannaja* 'the hut will be wooden', as a zero copula because of its form, and as the present tense of the copula verb, because of its function. But in Latin and in all the languages which allow, in the form of stylistic variants, sentences with copulas and those without, the lack of a copula in constructions like *deus bonus* is felt, in opposition to *deus bonus est*, as a zero copula because of its form, and as a signal of expressive language because of its function; on the other hand, the presence of the copula, positive form, is endowed, because of its function, with a **zero of expressivity**. The zero sign in question has, therefore, stylistic value in Latin. In this last case, Bally speaks of an implication [*sous-entente*] which rests on the existence of two parallel types and which supposes a certain choice by the speaker.¹⁴ The Geneva master places ellipsis, which he defines as "the repetition or the anticipation of an element which necessarily figures in the context or is suggested by the situation", alongside the zero sign with a grammatical value and the implication. We are tempted to interpret ellipsis rather as an implication of anaphoric terms which "represent" the context or else of deictic terms which "present" the situation.¹⁵ Thus, the question *Čto delal djadja v klube?* 'What did Uncle do at the club?' can be answered by choosing between one of two parallel modes: one with "explicit representation" *On tam obedal* 'He dined there' or one with "implicit representation" — *obedal* 'dined'. Ellipsis is, therefore, an **anaphoric (or deictic) zero sign**.

When one has to choose between two forms of expression which are equal in their conceptual content, these two forms are never really equipollent, and ordinarily they form the following opposition: on the one hand, the expressive type which forms a whole with the given situation or else evokes an imagined situation in esthetic language and, on the other hand, the type with an expressive value and a deictic zero. In Russian, for example, there is a primary word order which is opposed to its various inversions. Thus, the predicate preceded by the subject and followed by the direct object, or the substantival form preceded by an attributive form but followed by a nominal complement, are examples of a word order with a zero value. *Ljudi umirajut* 'men die' is a complete utterance. By contrast, the utterance *umirajut ljudi* occurs as an appendix to the context or to the situation, or as an emotional

reaction. Explicit, formulaic language only allows **zero order** — *zemlja vraščaetsja vokrug solnca* 'the earth revolves around the sun'; by contrast, everyday language, preeminently implicit, creates combinations like *vertjatsja deti vokrug ělki*, *vokrug ělki vertjatsja deti*, *vokrug ělki deti vertjatsja*, *deti vokrug ělki vertjatsja*. In opposition to the zero order *deti vertjatsja vokrug ělki* 'the children are going round and round the Christmas tree', these constructions signal the point of departure motivated by the context or the situation (extralinguistic context), while the zero order does not make reference to either. However, in those cases where the syntactic function of the words is not clearly indicated by morphological means, the zero order is the only possible one and adopts a purely grammatical value. This is the case, for example, when the accusative coincides with the nominative (*mat' ljubit doč'* 'the mother loves the daughter', *doč' ljubit mat'* 'the daughter loves the mother'), or when the nominative coincides with the genitive (*dočeri prijatel'nicy* 'the daughters of the friend', *prijatel'nicy dočeri* 'the friends of the daughter'), or when the adjective functions as a substantive (*slepoj sumasšedšij* 'the blind madman', *sumasšedšij slepoj* 'the mad blind man') etc.

Russian has two stylistic variants for 'I go (by conveyance)': *ja edu* (with the personal pronoun) and *edu* (without the pronoun). Likewise, in Czech: *já jedu* and *jedu*. However, there is, as far as this is concerned, a great difference between the two languages: Russian, having abolished the present tense of the auxiliary verb and of the copula, had to transmit the role of the personal desinences to the personal pronouns and finally generalized their use: consequently, in Russian, it is the construction with two parts which is the "normal" type, while the variant with zero-subject has an expressive function.¹⁶ In Czech, by contrast, the zero of expressivity is related to the zero-subject, and the expressive value is attached to the type *já jedu*. The first person is focused on by the presence of the pronoun, whose use, from the grammatical point of view, is a pleonasm. Over-use of this pronoun, in Czech, gives the impression of a boastful style. By contrast, in Russian, it is exactly the excessive omission of the first-person pronoun that Dostoevskij experiences as irritating arrogance ("Krokodíl").

IV

The phonological system, as Bally points out, runs parallel to the general system of the language. Correlations of phonemes oppose the presence of a phonic quality to its absence or **zero quality**.¹⁷ Thus *t*, *s*, *p*, etc., are dis-

tinguished from the corresponding soft consonants *t'*, *s'*, *p'*, etc., by the lack of softening (palatalization), and the same phonemes are distinguished from *d*, *z*, *b*, etc., by the lack of sonority. The unifying factor which connects such a lack of something to the diverse kinds of zero signs which we have observed in grammar is again the fact that it is not a question of a simple nothing but of a nothing opposed, within the phonological system, to something positive. F. de Saussure has already shed light upon the role of contradictory oppositions in phonology by pointing out as an example the opposition of nasal and oral vowels, where "the absence of nasal resonance, a negative factor, will serve, just as well as by its presence, to characterize certain phonemes."¹⁸

In analyzing a phoneme like *s* in its relationship with the other phonemes of Russian, we ascertain that the positive qualities of this phoneme do not participate in any contradictory opposition, that is, that the presence of these qualities is never opposed to their absence. Outside of these qualities, the phoneme *s* only has zero qualities. By contrast, the phoneme *z'* comprises several phonological values, clearly analyzable, in opposition to the lack of the same values in correlative phonemes (voicing and softening are added to the qualities of an *s*). This is, therefore, a case of phonological accumulation, corresponding to the accumulation of meanings, such as Bally has analyzed it. Likewise, the "principle of compensation", established by Brøndal for morphology and limiting accumulation, has remarkable analogies in the structure of phonological systems.

A correlation is formed by a series of pairs, where each pair contains, on the one hand, the opposition between one and the same quality and its absence and, on the other, a common core (for example the pair *z'*-*z* consists of an opposition of softening and of a common core: voiced, constrictive, sibilant). But this common core could be absent from one of the pairs: in this case, the phoneme is reduced to the quality in question and is opposed quite simply to the absence of a phoneme (or **zero phoneme**). Thus, A. Martinet rightly insists, by virtue of structural analysis, on the fact that, in the correlation of aspiration which characterizes the consonants of Danish, one must recognize the opposition: initial aspirate /*h*/ - initial vowel.¹⁹

Likewise, in Russian, the correlation of softening opposes the phoneme *j* to zero (initial palatal glide - initial vowel). In Russian words, the vowel *e* can be preceded by a soft consonant, but not by the corresponding hard consonant; the vowel *e* can be preceded by *j*, but cannot begin a word. (The interjections, and especially the deictic interjection *e* in diverse compounds, are not affected by this rule.)

Thus, the opposition of soft and hard consonants is suppressed before the

vowel *e*: the presence of an opposition is, consequently, opposed to its absence. This absence (**zero opposition**), confronted with a realized opposition, gives greater relief to that which unifies and that which distinguishes the two terms of the suppressible opposition. As N. Durnovo had discerned, and as N. Trubetzkoy and A. Martinet have shown, a phonological opposition which is neutralized in particular positions constitutes, in contradistinction to constant oppositions, a profoundly distinct type.²⁰ Likewise, the syncretism of morphological forms which appear in certain paradigms or in certain grammatical categories²¹ or, on the other hand, the opposition of meanings whose suppression we witness in a given context — all these point to the large scope of the problem of "zero opposition" for linguistics and for general semiology, which is destined to examine closely the complex and bizarre relationship between the intertwined notions of "sign" and "zero".

"Signe zéro". Written in Brno in 1938 for the *Mélanges de linguistique offerts à Charles Bally* (Genève, 1939).

FOOTNOTES

1. *Cours de linguistique générale* (1922), p. 124. Cf. the notion of "negative form" in the linguistic doctrine of F. Fortunatov.
2. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, XXIII, pp. 1 ff.
3. *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*, pp. 129 ff.
4. Since the facts analyzed here must be considered in relation to the total system of the given language, I have borrowed the examples for this study from my native language.
5. *Bulletin* . . . , 3; cf. R. Gauthiot, "Note sur le degré zéro", *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Antoine Meillet* (Paris, 1902), pp. 51 ff.
6. The problem of zero meaning was posed in my monograph *Novejšaja russkaja poèzija* (Prague, 1921), p. 67.
7. "Structure of the Russian Verb" [see above, pp. 1-14] and "Contribution to the General Theory of Case" [see above, pp. 59-103].
8. *But ja často plyvu i dumaju* . . . 'often, when I am swimming, I think . . . '.
9. See *Slovo a slovesnost*, III, p. 256.
10. *Linguistique générale* . . . , pp. 115 ff.

11. *Linguistique générale* . . . , pp. 132 ff.
12. "Dérivation lexicale et dérivation syntactique", *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XXXVII, pp. 79 ff. Cf. my study cited above, "Contribution to the General Theory of Case", [see above, pp. 59-103].
13. Cf. *Linguistique générale* . . . , p. 135, and *Bulletin* . . . , p. 2.
14. *Bulletin* . . . , pp. 4 ff.
15. Cf. *Linguistique générale* . . . , pp. 65 ff.
16. See S. Karcevskij, *Système du verbe russe* (Prague, 1927), p. 133, and R. Jakobson, "Les enclitiques slaves", *Atti del III. Congresso Internazionale dei Linguisti*, 1935, pp. 388 ff.
17. *Linguistique générale* . . . , pp. 13 ff., 120; "Projet de terminologie phonologique standardisée", *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague*, IV, pp. 314-321.
18. *Cours* . . . , IV, p. 69.
19. *La phonologie du mot en danois* (Paris, 1937), p. 32.
20. See N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Die Aufhebung der phonologischen Gegensätze", *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague*, VI, pp. 29 ff.; and A. Martinet, "Neutralisation et archiphonème", *Travaux* . . . , VI, pp. 46 ff.
21. Cf. *Travaux*, VI, pp. 283 ff. [See "Contribution . . ." , pp. 59 ff. above].



1000067260