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The History of Predicative Possession in Slavic: Internal Development vs. Language Contact

By

Julia McAnallen

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requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Johanna Nichols, Chair

Professor Alan Timberlake

Professor Richard Rhodes

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## Abstract

### The History of Predicative Possession in Slavic: Internal Development vs. Language Contact

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

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The languages of the world encode possession in a variety of ways. In Slavic languages, possession on the level of the clause, or predicative possession, is represented by two main encoding strategies. Most Slavic languages, including those in the West and South Slavic sub-groupings, use a ‘have’ verb comparable to English *have* and German *haben*. But Russian, an East Slavic language, encodes predicative possession only infrequently with its ‘have’ verb *imet'*; instead, Russian uses a construction for predicative possession originating in a locative phrase, e.g. *u menja est' kniga*, which literally means ‘at me is a book’ for ‘I have a book’.

This locative construction for predicative possession in Russian is often singled out as an aberrant construction in Slavic and attributed to contact-induced influence from Finnic languages. The opposite point of view is also put forth: that the locative construction for predicative possession in Russian is the original construction inherited from Late Proto-Slavic and the ‘have’ verb used in other Slavic languages is merely a calque from Greek. Neither explanation is entirely satisfactory. As a matter of fact, early Slavic textual traditions, based on a comparison of textual examples from Old Church Slavic, Old Serbian and Croatian, Old Czech, and Early East Slavic, reveal that both a ‘have’ verb and a locative construction for predicative possession were used in Late Proto-Slavic, alongside a third construction with the possessor encoded in the dative case.

The present-day distribution of encoding strategies in the Slavic languages is explained by tracing the different textual and population histories for multiple areas of Slavdom. Contacts with neighboring languages, especially neighboring non-Slavic languages, over the course of history influenced predicative possessive constructions (PPCs) in all areas of Slavdom. Because the Slavic languages spread rather rapidly over a vast geographic expanse, covering most of Eastern Europe in a matter of a few centuries in the latter half of the first millennium CE, the languages that different Slavic populations came into contact with were often quite different. In particular, languages in the western end of Slavdom were in contact with German-speaking populations to varying degrees of intensity; in the northeastern end of Slavdom, Early East

Slavic assimilated and lived alongside large numbers of originally Finnic-speaking populations, who spoke languages closely related to Modern Finnish and Estonian.

In short, each Slavic language expanded usage of one of the three original encoding strategies for predicative possession already attested in Late Proto-Slavic and the encoding strategy that expanded brought it closer to usage in neighboring and historically substrate non-Slavic languages. Not only the form of the PPCs themselves came to parallel usage in neighboring non-Slavic languages, but the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the Slavic constructions also converged with the PPCs used in areal languages. Additional support for the scenarios put forth in this dissertation comes from examination of factors outside the domain of predicative possession, including linguistic features other than predicative possession, textual histories and considerations of language standardization in different areas, socio-historical factors, and demographic factors. While this dissertation traces the development of one grammatical category – predicative possession – in the history of Slavic, the scenarios outlined are meant to contribute more generally to an understanding of linguistic change in the history of Slavic and how those changes reflect the influence of population processes on shaping the path of historical linguistic change.

*To the memory of my grandmother, Helen Chudy McNamara,  
and the memory of my father, Thomas James Close*

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And in closing, I return to the beginning. Many thanks to my mother, who is and has always been tirelessly enthusiastic and supportive of everything I do. I thank her for rooting for me, even – *especially* – as the nature of my specialization makes it increasingly difficult to follow what I do.

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<sup>1</sup> The URL for the database is: <http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/proiel/>

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb (used in discussion on argument structure, Chapter 4)
Akty	Akty social'no-ekonomičeskoj istorii Severo-Vostočnoj Rusi (15th century Central Russian bureaucratic documents)
BCS	Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian
ČDB	Ceská draždanská bible (Czech Dresden Bible)
dative PPC	PPC with the possessor in the dative case
DND	Drevnenovgorodskij jazyk (Old Novgorodian)
EES	Early East Slavic, used interchangeably with Old Russian
Fenne	Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual of Spoken Russian, Pskov 1607
LPS	Late Proto-Slavic
MLS	Moskovskij letopisnyj svod (The Moscow Chronicle)
NT Greek	New Testament Greek
O	the object of a transitive verb (used in discussion on argument structure, Chapter 4)
OCS	Old Church Slavic
PIE	Proto Indo-European
PPC	predicative possessive construction
Pravda	Russkaja Pravda (The Russian Truth)
PSA	privileged syntactic argument
PVL	Povest' vremennyx let (The Russian Primary Chronicle / Tale of Bygone Years)
RNC	Russian National Corpus
S	the single argument of an intransitive verb (used in discussion on argument structure, Chapter 4); also used in some cases to indicate either an intransitive or transitive subject more generally
SAE	Standard Average European
Sudebnik	Sudebnik of 1497 (Legal code of 1497)
<i>u</i> + genitive PPC	PPC with the possessor in a prepositional phrase with the preposition <i>u</i> 'at/near', which governs a noun or pronoun in the genitive case
Uloženie	Sobornoe Uloženie 1649 goda (The Muscovite Law Code of 1649)
V	finite verb in a clause
ŽSK	Život Svaté Kateřiny (The Life of Saint Katherine)

*Glosses for examples follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which can be accessed at the following URL: <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>*

## INTRODUCTION

Predicative or sentential possession is the encoding of possession on the level of the clause. It is different from both adnominal possession, where the possessor is a modifier of the possessum, and external possession, where an adnominal possessor is coded as an indirect object or other clausal argument. In English, for example, predicative possession is expressed with the verb *have*, e.g. *Jane has a book*. This is in contrast to adnominal possession with a possessive modifier, e.g. *Jane's book*. The West and South Slavic languages, much like English, use a 'have' verb for predicative possession, such as the example from Czech in (1). However, the usage of its equivalent in Russian – *imet'* 'to have' – is highly restricted (Timberlake 2004:311-312), and Russian instead relies on an existential construction with the verb 'be' as its standard means of expressing predicative possession. In the Russian construction, the possessed item, or possessum, controls agreement with a 'be' verb and the possessor is embedded in a prepositional phrase, specifically *u* 'at/near' + genitive; an example is given in (2). I refer to this construction as the *u* + genitive construction.

- (1) **Mám** auto  
have.1SG.PRES car.ACC  
'I have a car'
- (2) **U menja est'** mašina  
At me.GEN is.3SG.PRES car.NOM  
'I have a car'

There has been a fair amount of debate over the provenance of the anomalous (from the point of view of other Slavic languages) *u* + genitive construction for predicative possession in Russian. Two seemingly opposing explanations have been proposed in the literature:

- (I) The Russian *u* + genitive construction for predicative possession was a calque from Balto-Finnic languages
- (II) The Russian *u* + genitive construction for predicative possession was inherited from Late Proto-Slavic

The first explanation has been motivated by the formal similarity between encoding strategies for predicative possession in Russian and Balto-Finnic languages. Compare Russian in (2) with the parallel example in Finnish (3). The Finnish adessive case is a locative case corresponding in meaning to the Russian *u* + genitive prepositional phrase.

- (3) **Minulla on** auto  
me.ADESS be.3SG.PRS car.NOM.SG  
'I have a car'

In this dissertation, I argue that the two points of view in (I) and (II) are not contradictory. In fact, both explanations are necessary for fully understanding the history of predicative possession in Russian. In order to see why these statements are not contradictory, a composite approach must be used to analyze language change, which admits the possibility that both internal and external language change are simultaneously possible, that changes in languages are often driven by overlapping linguistic and extra-linguistic factors.<sup>1</sup>

This study departs from previous research in two main respects. First, as I show in the chapters that follow, predicative possession in Russian is part of a broader pan-Slavic problem. In different areas of Slavdom, different constructions developed as a result of combinations of pressures related to both internal developments and language contact. Only by taking all of Slavic into account can the history of the Russian *u* + genitive construction be fully understood. In taking this approach I carry out the first study, to my knowledge, of predicative possession in West Slavic with an examination of predicative possession in the history of Czech (Chapter 2). The second main respect in which I depart from previous research on this topic is in bringing a wide scope of linguistic and extra-linguistic evidence to bear on this problem, using a variety of linguistic resources, both historical and modern, as well as evidence outside linguistics from demography, history, cultural studies, etc. to address the problem. The approach I have employed for investigating predicative possession could be extended to other areas of the grammar where the scope of work for historical linguistic change has been circumscribed too narrowly, obscuring adequate understanding of the problem.

This dissertation is organized as a series of case studies for different areas of Slavdom. The studies characterize synchronic and diachronic aspects of the systems for predicative possession for each of the three traditional Slavic sub-groupings: South Slavic, represented by Old Church Slavic (Chapter 1); West Slavic, represented by Old Czech (Chapter 2), and East Slavic, represented by Early East Slavic (Chapters 3) and Modern Russian (Chapter 4). In the case studies I appeal to linguistic and extra-linguistic information available for the given language or language area, so that case studies are not always parallel in the evidence they bring to bear on the problem. In this way, each case study is tailored to the region and language and/or dialects in question, thus maximizing the amount of information used to analyze the linguistic traditions, while at the same time not devoting unnecessary attention to investigative dead ends in a language or region.

For example, in Russian there is a relatively long and varied tradition of writing, thus bookish and vernacular texts from early, middle, and later periods are drawn on for analysis. Furthermore, features in modern and historical Russian dialects are compared to features in areal non-Slavic languages, in particular Finnic and Baltic languages. Language contact was certainly a relevant force in different periods of Russian development, especially in certain geographic regions, which is known from both historical and linguistic evidence. Information on the history of Russian societies and city formation also contributes to understanding the problem, and data from these fields are integrated into the argument in Chapters 3 and 4.

The evidence available for historical developments in the opposite end of Slavdom, in West Slavic, is quite different than it is in Russian. In my case study on Czech, there is far less

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<sup>1</sup> Here I examine only “possessor-oriented” predicative possession, not “possessum-oriented” predicative possession using verbs such as *belong* in English or *prinadležit'* in Russian. See Weiss and Raxilina (2002) for discussion of these and other methods of encoding possession in Russian.

historical textual history to draw on than what is available for Russian. In particular, only bookish texts are available in Old Czech, so no direct information about the vernacular language is available, and the early corpus of texts consists primarily of translations from Latin. Czech, however, has two early Bible translations dated two centuries apart, which do not exist for East Slavic. These two translations offer the unique opportunity to compare two more or less identical examples of Czech written language at a remove of two centuries. The two languages that exerted the most influence on Old Czech – Latin and German – are also examined in the study. An important extra-linguistic component of the case study on Czech is historical demographic evidence available for populations of Germans, Czechs, and other groups that resided in Bohemia and Moravia.

The study of Old Church Slavic (OCS) differs from the studies on East Slavic and Czech because the OCS corpus is restricted both in size and time. OCS consists of a finite number of texts based on a Bulgarian dialect of Late Proto-Slavic (LPS) written in the 9<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. The most representative elements of the OCS canon – translations of the first four books of the New Testament Bible – are analyzed in Chapter 1. The discussion of OCS necessarily involves some attention to Greek influence on the language, since the books of the Bible were translated from the original Greek New Testament. The discussion of OCS is supplemented by evidence from Old Serbian, Old Croatian and Middle Bulgarian.<sup>2</sup>

The results of the studies show that by the time of Late Proto Slavic (LPS), which constituted a continuum of dialects (most likely mutually intelligible) spoken in Eastern Europe from approximately the middle to the latter half of the first millennium CE, there were three encoding options for predicative possession. The most frequent predicative possessive construction (PPC) was the verb *iměti* ‘have’, cf. (1). The two other constructions in LPS were existential PPCs with the possessum in the nominative case controlling verb agreement. In the first of these constructions, the possessor was in the dative case, cf. (6) below. In the second, the possessor was in the prepositional phrase *u* ‘at/near’ + genitive, cf. (2). In LPS, the *u* + genitive PPC was a peripheral construction that was restricted in its usage.

As the Late Proto-Slavic dialects developed into the distinct Slavic languages, each chose one of the three original constructions as its primary means of expressing predicative possession.<sup>3</sup> Most Slavic languages chose the Late Proto-Slavic verb *iměti*, such as Czech *mít*, Polish *mieć*, etc. (example (4), repeated from (1) above), Russian chose the *u* + genitive PPC (example (5), repeated from (2) above), and no modern Slavic language uses the dative PPC as a primary means of expressing predicative possession, though it is frequently attested in early Slavic writing. An example of a dative PPC from Old Church Slavic is in example (6).

- (4) **Mám** auto  
 have.1SG.PRES car.ACC  
 ‘I have a car’

---

<sup>2</sup>Middle Bulgarian is more or less contemporaneous with Old Serbian and Old Croatian, but the designation “Old Bulgarian” is avoided because it is already used as a synonym of Old Church Slavic.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Ukrainian and Belarusian, which use both a ‘have’ verb and the *u* + genitive construction. The widespread use of an *u* + genitive PPC in both Ukrainian and Belarussian is likely the result of more recent influence from Russian, not a carryover from the Early East Slavic, but this question is in need of further research.

- (5) **U menja est' mašina**  
 At me.GEN is.3SG.PRES car.NOM  
 'I have a car'
- (6) **ašte bōdetŭ eter-u člověk-u 100 ovecī...**  
 if be.FUT.3SG certain-DAT.SG person-DAT.SG 100 sheep.GEN.PL  
 'if a man have an hundred sheep...' (*Codex Marianus*, Matthew 18:12)

The dative PPC in Slavic is almost certainly older than 'have', since a dative PPC has been reconstructed for Proto Indo-European, whereas the verb 'have' arose in the individual daughter languages after the break-up of PIE (Meillet 1923:9; Vondrák 1908:363). Use of a 'have' verb is typical for most Western European languages, attested first in Greek (Isačenko 1974), which likely formed the impetus for other European languages to develop 'have' verbs using their own lexical repertoires. The etymology of *iměti* in Slavic can be traced to a verb originally meaning 'to take'. The locative construction, as represented by the Russian *u* + genitive construction, but also attested in OCS and Old Czech, was clearly restricted to temporary possession in the earliest period. Only in East Slavic did the *u* + genitive PPC expand beyond the encoding of temporary possession to encode permanent and abstract possessive relations.

The difference in PPCs in the modern languages is split along a geographical axis. Slavic languages in the northeast, represented primarily by Russian, express predicative possession with the *u* + genitive PPC. On the other hand, western and southern Slavdom use an overt 'have' verb, as in Czech. In a European areal perspective, here represented by Slavic, a language's possession type is an indicator of the structure of its syntax more broadly. For example, *u* + genitive in Russian is by no means the only construction with impersonal syntax and, in fact, many other areas of the grammar rely on impersonal syntactic constructions, notably modal constructions and experiencer verbs. Czech shows the opposite trend; not only does it use the personal, agentive verb *mít* 'have' (similar to English and German usage), but it also has personal, transitive syntax for modal verbs, in contrast to Russian. Thus, a language's means of expressing predicative possession has implications reaching far beyond one lexical item or one construction; rather, predicative possession can be used as an indicator of syntactic organization on a much broader scale. This has been discussed by scholars such as Isačenko (1974), who developed the classification of 'have' and 'be' languages, with Czech, German, and English in the 'have' group because of their fully developed usage of a 'have' verb for both predicative possession and modal usage, and Russian and Finnish in the 'be' group because they use 'be' constructions to express predicative possession, modality, etc.

A particularly clear example of susceptibility to contact influence in this area of the grammar comes from Molisean Slavic, a Croatian variety of Slavic that has been spoken in Southern Italy from the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century. Breu (1996, 2003) describes how a new 'have' modal future of necessity based on the verb *imet* developed in Molisean Slavic as a result of adstratal influence from neighboring Molisean dialects of Italian (Standard Italian has a synthetic or simple future tense and does not form a periphrastic future with its PPC, a 'have' verb). The 'have' lexeme in Slavic has also been co-opted for a new perfect construction in several Slavic languages, especially in dialects of Macedonian and Bulgarian (Heine and Nomachi 2010).



Nomachi (2006) also shows that new ‘have’-based possessive perfects have arisen in Slovene and most West Slavic languages. Contact with German may have promoted the development of these new perfect constructions. The construction itself is part of a wider European phenomenon, cited as one of the features of Standard Average European (e.g. Haspelmath 1998).

Part of the problem in past analyses of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC has been the tendency to perceive internal and external language change as mutually exclusive problems that must be analyzed separately. Scholars of historical linguistics, on the one hand, tend to study language change from the inside; this means that as a default they approach languages and their histories as relatively abstract isolated systems. Scholars of language contact, on the other hand, examine language change from the outside; they are interested in how languages can influence one another when their speakers are in contact with one another, and in more extreme situations when groups abandon their language in favor of another language (to varying speeds and degrees). Studies of language contact can address historical periods, but more often the focus is on modern populations, where access to linguistic data is more readily available. While there are interactions between these two camps of scholars – historical linguists and contact linguists – linguistic studies, nevertheless, tend to fall into one category or the other, and rarely are linguistic problems analyzed by weighing both internal and external linguistic considerations equally. Thus, my analysis of predicative possession in Slavic fills a methodological gap in the analysis of historical linguistic problems in that it equally and simultaneously weighs historical linguistic and language contact considerations.

While I argue that language contact played a role in the developments in different areas of the Slavic-speaking world, I am also careful to not use language contact too liberally as an explanation for language change. For example, two parallel structures in two unrelated languages are not enough to prove that there has been language contact. A variety of linguistic factors, such as the frequency of the structure cross-linguistically, the properties of the matching linguistic structures in the languages in question, and historical textual evidence (where available), as well as sociolinguistic and extra-linguistic factors, e.g. the degree of multilingualism and political and historical contexts, must all be considered to assert a case of language contact for even a single linguistic feature. In some cases, this task is more difficult than in others, and frequently there is not adequate evidence to prove language contact has influenced a grammatical feature.

For predicative possession in Slavic, I trace clear cases of language contact altering the course of language change, but show that contact primarily influenced changes in frequencies, thus operating fully within the linguistic structures inherited from Late Proto-Slavic. However, it is somewhat misleading to state that language contact affected only frequencies in the domain of predicative possession in the history of Slavic. Changes in frequencies of preexisting constructions are often accompanied by changes in semantic and syntactic behavior of the constructions. Such was the case in the history of Russian when the *u* + genitive PPC expanded to attain its status as the primary encoding strategy for predicative possession, which I discuss in detail in Chapters 3 and 4. In particular, the *u* + genitive possessor argument in Modern Russian exhibits syntactic control properties normally associated with subjects, despite its formal marking – non-nominative and in a prepositional phrase – and could thus be considered a non-canonical subject. Thus, the *u* + genitive PPC not only expanded in frequency in the history of Russian, but also developed a number of new subject-like behavioral properties, which I show to be remarkably parallel to the behavior of the Finnish adessive PPC in Chapter 4 (where Finnish

is used as a representative of Balto-Finnic languages). Examples of Modern Russian and Finnish controlling reflexivization are in (7) and (8), respectively, with the Russian reflexive pronoun and Finnish reflexive possessive suffix italicized. (Control of reflexivization is first attested in the Middle Russian or Muscovy period at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.)

(7) Mož-et byt', kogda **u menja** bud-et sv-oj milliard  
 may-3SG be.INF when at 1SG.GEN be.FUT-3SG REFL-M.SG.NOM billion.M.SG.NOM

dollar-ov, ja...  
 dollar-PL.GEN 1SG.NOM

‘Maybe, when I have my (own) billion dollars, I...’ (Corbett 2006:194)

(8) **Anna-lla<sub>i</sub>** on tapa-*nsa<sub>i</sub>*  
 Anna-ADESS be.3SG ways-POSS(REFL).3SG  
 ‘Anna has her ways’ (Wechsler 1995:3)

Thus, the increase in frequency of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC was inspired by contact with Finnic languages, which was accompanied by increasing parallelism in morphosyntactic behavioral properties. I furthermore show that these developments do not merely trace a preferred path of linguistic progression for locative constructions that evolve into PPCs, since both the control properties and other morphosyntactic features shared by Russian and Finnish constructions are lacking in other languages which use a locative PPC, e.g. Irish.

One way of framing this discussion is with Matras and Sakel’s (2007) concept of non-isomorphism of meaning and form. Their idea is that two languages may use the same grammatical structure for a grammatical category, such as the locative PPC in both Balto-Finnic languages and Early East Slavic, but that the scope of usage of the two constructions could be quite different, as could the syntactic behaviors of the constructions, such as the degree of the subjecthood of the oblique possessor argument, as exemplified by its control properties. Matras and Sakel argue that in language contact, languages often converge to have greater isomorphism of meaning and form, which they call *pattern replication*, and that this type of change is often below the radar of the speakers’, and even linguists’, awareness, in contrast to the more salient type of contact influence which they call *material replication*, where lexical items are copied from the contact language. Language contact in these domains can be quite surreptitious and sensitive analyses of data are required to uncover such subtle changes in usage. Breu (1996) has addressed some these theoretical problems with examples from Slavic, including examples of ‘have’ modals, future tense auxiliaries, and perfect constructions that developed as a result of contact with neighboring non-Slavic languages.

The idea of frequency changes as a result of contact has been discussed elsewhere in literature on language contact, but a consensus on terminology has yet to be reached. Johansen (2008:74-75) calls the phenomenon *frequential copying*, Aikhenvald (2006:22) – *enhancement*, Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli (2001:627) use the term *latent constructions*, while Heine & Kuteva (2005:44-61) discuss changes from *minor* to *major use patterns* (or the reverse). All of these works address changes in construction frequency and many address semantic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic changes accompanying the frequency changes. The diversity in

terminology reflects heterogeneity in methods for analyzing frequency changes in language contact scenarios. Thus, a framework is still lacking for systematically approaching this problem and there remains a need for more in-depth case studies to bring us closer to establishing such a framework. The case studies here are offered as efforts toward this end.

It must also be kept in mind that language contact itself is a heterogeneous concept, since there exist different types of language contact scenarios with different intensities of contact. A number of representative scenarios exist in Slavic alone. An example of language shift is found in northwestern Russia, where speakers of Balto-Finnic languages shifted to Slavic; examples of long-term bilingualism are found in areas of West Slavdom, where speakers of Slavic languages have had prolonged contact with German; and the linguistic concept of a Sprachbund or language area originally stems from the Balkan Sprachbund, a linguistic situation that is likely the result of both language shift and long-term bilingualism. It is necessary to look beyond linguistic facts alone to determine the nature of the contact scenarios in historical periods. Some of the most relevant evidence in my research has been gleaned from studies in history, demography, and the organization of societies, especially city formation, in early Slavdom. A preliminary comparison with findings from human population genetics further supports the conclusions for human population histories and social processes I put forth here.

Language contact was likely a relevant factor not only in the individual Slavic language histories, but also in periods of Proto-Slavic.<sup>4</sup> In particular, deeper historical contacts between Late Proto-Slavic and the westernmost branches of Uralic, including Finnic and perhaps some of the Volga Finnic languages, have been suggested (Veenker 1967, Thomason and Kaufman 1991, Weiss 2003). Such contacts probably would have taken place in the middle of the first millennium CE. Several linguistic features in Slavic have been linked to these early contacts, including the origin of the locative or *u* + genitive PPC in early Slavic, but establishing such contact-induced influence to any degree of certainty proves impossible given current evidence and methods.

Despite some dissenting opinions (e.g. Mańczak 2003), linguistic, archaeological and genetic evidence converges quite convincingly on a homeland for the Slavs in the Middle Dnieper Basin of modern-day Ukraine. Darden (2003) draws on evidence from linguistics, including tree names, history, and archaeology to identify Western Ukraine – north of the Russian steppe and south of the Pripjat river – as the most probable homeland of the Slavs. Using a different combination of linguistic, archaeological, and historical evidence Timberlake (forthcoming) identifies the Middle Dnieper basin as the most probable homeland for the Slavs, showing that Iranian hydronyms, such as the *dn-* initial designations of the Dnepr and Dniester rivers, arose only after Iranian-speaking Scythians and Sarmatians drove the Slavs out of the center of their homeland. Evidence from human population genetics also suggests that Slavs (at least Slavic-speaking males) originally spread from the Middle Dnieper Basin. A study of male genetic lineages based on Y chromosomal DNA for populations in Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Belarus, etc., isolates the Middle Dnieper Basin as the locus of diversity for all surrounding Slavic-speaking regions (Rębała et al. 2007).

Indeed, a center for early Slavdom in the Middle Dnieper Basin makes it difficult to assert direct and sustained contact between Proto-Slavic and Uralic languages, which likely

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<sup>4</sup> And even further back during periods of Baltic-Slavic unity and Proto Indo-European, but such a discussion is beyond the scope of the present study.

spread from the area between the Middle Volga river and the Ural Mountains (Décsey 1967), though there may have been a broader Slavic-Baltic-Uralic zone of influence. Either way, Baltic languages were spoken in the area between Slavic and Uralic, and the role of (long-extinct) Baltic languages in these areas must be factored into further examination of potential contacts at this deep historical level.

In summary, this dissertation presents an empirical study that brings together approaches from contact linguistics and historical linguistics, alongside additional evidence outside of linguistics, to address a diachronic linguistic problem. The case studies appeal to a range of linguistic data, including textual histories, dialect evidence, and systematic comparisons with areal non-Slavic languages, in an attempt to improve understanding of the ever-present tension between written and spoken varieties of language. Furthermore, I have made an effort to integrate extra-linguistic evidence where relevant, including demographic, socio-historical, and cultural evidence. In addition to addressing a problem in Slavic linguistics, I also see the studies as examples of a multidisciplinary approach that could potentially be applied to additional problems in historical linguistics and I hope that the structure of the case studies will be useful for linguistic problems outside of possession in both Slavic and other languages.

## PREDICATIVE POSSESSION IN OLD CHURCH SLAVIC BIBLE TRANSLATIONS<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

The earliest Slavic texts include 9<sup>th</sup> century translations of the first four books of the New Testament from Greek into OCS (a Bulgarian dialect of Late Proto-Slavic (LPS)). These texts provide evidence that there were three encoding options for predicative possession in OCS, which are shown in (1)-(3). The most frequent construction in OCS is the verb *iměti* ‘have’ in (1). ‘Have’ verbs developed in the histories of the independent Indo-European languages: first in Greek, then elsewhere (Isačenko 1974:44-45). The two other constructions used in LPS were existential PPCs with the possessum in the nominative case controlling verb agreement. In the first of these constructions, shown in (2), the possessor was in the dative case. The construction in (2), a dative PPC, has been reconstructed for Proto Indo-European (PIE) (Meillet 1923:9; Vondrák 1908:363); in addition to OCS, the dative PPC is also attested in several other PIE daughter languages, such as Greek and Latin, e.g. Latin *mihi est*, literally ‘to me is’.

Another encoding strategy for predicative possession in OCS was the *u* + genitive prepositional construction shown in (3), with *u* ‘at’ or ‘near’ governing the genitive case.<sup>2</sup> Though some scholars (e.g. Veenker 1967) assume that this PPC developed only in Russian or East Slavic, textual evidence from not only East Slavic, but also OCS (Xodova 1966, Mirčev 1971), Old Czech (McAnallen 2010), Old Serbian and Croatian (Vasilev 1973), and Middle Bulgarian (Mirčev 1971), demonstrate that *u* + genitive was already used to encode predicative possession throughout the dialects of Late Proto-Slavic, though it was a peripheral construction that was restricted in its usage.

- (1) ašte biste imě-li věřo ěko zrūno gorjušeno...<sup>3</sup>  
 if COND.2PL have-PTCP.PL faith-ACC.SG as grain.ACC.SG mustard.ACC.SG  
 ‘if ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed’

<sup>1</sup> A version of this chapter will appear in a special edition of *Oslo Studies in Language* designated for papers from the workshop “Pragmatics and Syntax of Early Indo-European Languages” held in Athens, GA in May 2009. I am grateful to the workshop participants and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments.

<sup>2</sup> Stassen (2009) puts both dative PPCs and location-based PPCs of the type *u* + genitive together under the category “Locational Possessives.” I understand the reasoning behind this grouping for a large-scale typological survey, but find it necessary to analyze the two constructions separately in a fine-grained analysis of predicative possession within one language or language family.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex Marianus*, Luke 17:6; ‘have’ verb also in Greek original, cf. (5a)

- (2) ašte bōdetŭ eter-u člověk-u 100 ovecī...<sup>4</sup>  
 if be.FUT.3SG certain-DAT.SG person-DAT.SG 100 sheep.GEN.PL  
 ‘if a man have an hundred sheep...’
- (3) ašte bōdetŭ ou eter-a člověk-a 100 ovecī...<sup>5</sup>  
 if be.FUT.3SG at certain-GEN.SG person-GEN.SG 100 sheep.GEN.PL  
 ‘if a man have an hundred sheep...’

Both NT Greek and Latin of the Vulgate employ a ‘have’ verb and a dative PPC, i.e. constructions parallel to (1) and (2) in OCS, for predicative possession. Greek and Latin, however, have no location-based encoding strategy comparable to *u* + genitive in (3).

In many areas of syntax, including predicative possession, OCS Bible translations preserve the source syntax of New Testament (NT) Greek quite faithfully. Consequently, examples of predicative possession that deviate from the NT Greek source syntax are not numerous. However, the fact that divergent examples occur and, perhaps more importantly, that certain consistencies arise among the divergences shows that the texts were not translated slavishly, and furthermore validates their relevance for studying early Slavic semantics and syntax. There is no doubt that NT Greek influenced early Slavic writing (Mrázek 1963:243); in the domain of predicative possession, however, Greek influenced the frequency of Slavic constructions but did not dictate the full range of encoding strategies in OCS. In the cases where Slavic diverges from the Greek, it is possible to make some determination about the functional domains of the Slavic constructions as distinct from Greek. As I argue below, the motivations for the deviations can be attributed primarily to the different semantic range of the encoding strategies in OCS versus Greek. That is, OCS carved out the semantic space of predicative possession somewhat differently than NT Greek. Not only semantic, but also syntactic differences emerge in the OCS divergences from the Greek original. This is especially clear when Slavic uses a PPC where Greek does not, which consistently results in an increase in the number of arguments in the Slavic construction (two in OCS versus one in Greek). This is addressed in §2.4 below.

## 2. Examples of Predicative Possession in OCS Bible Translations

The OCS Bible translations used in this analysis are the first four books of the New Testament from *Codex Marianus*. Examples from other codices – in particular other Glagolitic codices: *Assemanianus* and *Zographensis*, and the somewhat later OCS codices written in Cyrillic: the *Ostromir Gospel* and the *Savvina Kniga* – are used when they differ significantly from *Codex Marianus*. All texts are compared to the NT Greek source text.

The majority of PPCs in OCS match NT Greek. As (4) shows, there are dative PPCs in both Greek and OCS in Luke 1:7, and OCS *iměti* ‘have’ corresponds to Greek *ekho* in (5) from Luke 17:6.<sup>6</sup> Note that for examples in all the tables below, the relevant PPC is boldfaced, and

<sup>4</sup> *Codex Marianus*, Matthew 18:12; non-PPC construction in Greek original, cf. (9a)

<sup>5</sup> *Codex Assemanianus*, Matthew 18:12, from Xodova (1966); non-PPC construction in Greek original, cf. (9a)

<sup>6</sup> All subsequent OCS examples correspond to *Codex Marianus* unless indicated otherwise.

the possessum is italicized where relevant. Passages not containing a PPC that correlate to passages containing a PPC are underlined>.

- (4) a. καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον καθότι ἦν ἡ  
and NEG was.IMPF.3SG them.DAT.PL child because was.IMPF.3SG ART  
  
Ἐλισάβετ στεῖρα καὶ ἀμφότεροι προβεβηκότες ἐν  
Elisabeth.NOM.SG barren.NOM.SG and both advanced.PTCP in  
  
ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν  
the.DAT.PL day.DAT.PL them.GEN.PL were.IMPF.3PL
- b. i ne bě ima čęda poneže bě elisavetĭ  
and not was.AOR.3SG them.DAT.DU child for was.AOR.3SG elisabeth  
  
neplody i oba zamatorĕnĕša vĭ dĭnecĕ  
fruitless.NOM.SG and both advanced.NOM.DU in day.LOC.PL  
  
svoixĕ bĕašete  
REFL.LOC.PL were.IMPF.3DU  
  
'And **they did not have a child** for Elisabeth was infertile and both were advanced in their days.' [lit. 'there was no child to them']
- (5) a. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς  
say.AOR.3SG and ART Lord if have.PRS.2PL faith.ACC.SG as  
  
κόκκον σινάπεως ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ  
grain.ACC.SG mustard.GEN.SG say.IMPF.2PL if ART.DAT.SG  
  
συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ ἐκριζώθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν  
sycamine\_tree.DAT.SG this.DAT.SG uproot.IMP.AOR and plant.IMP.AOR in  
  
τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.  
ART.DAT.SG sea.DAT.SG and obey.AOR.3PL if you.DAT.2PL
- b. reče že gŭ ašte biste imĕli  
say.AOR.3SG thus Lord.NOM.SG if COND.2PL have.PTCP.PL  
  
vĕro ěko zrŭno gorjušino gĭali biste  
faith.ACC.SG as grain.ACC.SG mustard.ACC.SG speak.PTCP cond.2PL

oubo sükamině                    sei                    vřzderi    se    i    vřsadi  
 even sycamine\_tree.DAT.SG this.DAT.SG pluck.IMP REFL and plant.IMP

se    vř more            i    poslouřala    bi                    vasř  
 REFL    in sea.ACC.SG and    obey.PTCP    COND.3SG    you.ACC.PL

‘The Lord said, “If you **have faith** as a grain of mustard, you would say to this sycamine tree: ‘pluck yourself and plant yourself in the sea,” and it would obey you.’”

Table 1 gives all occurrences of PPCs in the Book of Luke for OCS *Codex Marianus* and NT Greek. Since NT Greek is the source language for the Bible text, the table is structured to display this directionality: from source text to translated text.

Table 1. Inventory of PPCs in the Book of Luke

PPC in source text	NT Greek	→	PPC in OCS Codex Marianus
‘HAVE’ PPC	77	→	67 HAVE (+1 AMBIG.)
		→	9 NO PPC
DATIVE PPC	16 (+4 AMBIG.)	→	14 DATIVE (+4 AMBIG.)
		→	1 HAVE
		→	1 NO PPC
No PPC	NA	→	7 HAVE
		→	2 DATIVE (+2 AMBIG.)
		→	1 U+ GEN. (+1 AMBIG.)

Despite the large number of constructions in OCS that match the NT Greek source text, divergences do occur. These divergences fall into one of the following three groups:

- A. Greek PPC → no PPC in OCS
- B. Greek PPC → different PPC in OCS
- C. No PPC in Greek → PPC in OCS

In §2.1-2.3 below I discuss examples from each of these three groups in turn.

### 2.1. Divergence Type A: Greek PPC → No PPC in OCS

In divergence type A Greek uses a PPC, but Slavic does not. There are nine instances of this type of divergence in *Codex Marianus*. Five of the nine divergences in *Codex Marianus* are accounted for by one systematic replacement: the verb *treřbovati* ‘need, require’ in OCS for the construction ‘have need’ in NT Greek. E.g. Luke 5:31 in (6).

- (6) a.            καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν                    πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐ  
 and answer.PTCP art Jesus.NOM.SG say.AOR.3SG to    them.ACC.PL NEG



χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ  
need.ACC.SG have.PRS.3PL the\_ones.NOM.PL

ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ  
being\_healthy.PTCP.NOM.PL doctor.GEN.SG but the\_ones.NOM.PL

κακῶς ἔχοντες  
ill.ADV have.PTCP.NOM.PL

‘And answering Jesus said to them, “The one who are healthy do not **have need** of a doctor, but rather the ones **having** illness.”’

b. i otŭvĕštavŭ isĭ reĉe kŭ nimŭ ne  
and answering.PTCP Jesus said.AOR.3SG to them.DAT NEG

trĕboujotŭ sŭdravii vraĉa nŭ  
require.PRS.3PL healthy\_ones.PTCP.NOM.PL doctor.ACC.SG but

bolĕšĉei  
sick\_ones.PTCP.NOM.PL

‘And in reply Jesus said to them, “It is not the healthy that require a doctor, but the sick.”’

Another systematic replacement is exemplified by the second occurrence of ‘have’ in (6): OCS substitutes the verb *bolĕti* ‘be ill’ for Greek *kakos ekho* ‘have ill/poor’ (also in Luke 7:2).

## 2.2. Divergence Type B: Greek PPC → Different PPC in OCS

Group B is the least frequent divergence type in OCS. The single example from *Codex Marianus* is from Luke 9:13 (7), where a Greek dative PPC is translated with the Slavic verb ‘have’.

(7) a. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς δότε αὐτοῖς  
say.AOR.3SG and to them.ACC.PL give.IMP.AOR them.DAT.3PL

φαγεῖν ὑμεῖς οἱ δὲ εἶπαν οὐκ εἰσὶν  
eat.INF.AOR you.2PL they.NOM.PL but say.AOR.3PL NEG be.PRS.3PL

ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἢ ἄρτοι πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες δύο εἰ  
us.DAT.1PL more than loaf.NOM.PL 5 and fish.NOM.PL 2.ACC.PL if

μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα  
not go.PTCP.AOR.PL we.NOM.2PL buy.SBJV.AOR.1PL for all.NOM.PL

τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον βρώματα  
 art.ACC.SG people.ACC.SG this.ACC.SG food.ACC.PL

‘He said to them, “Give them something to eat,” and they said, “We **have** here **no more than five loaves of bread and two fish**, unless we are to go and buy for all these people foods.”’ [lit. ‘to us there is no more than...’]

b. řeče že ků nimů dadite imů vy ěsti oni že  
 said.AOR thus to them.DAT give.IMP them you.PL to-eat.INF they but

rěšě **ne imamů** sůde **věšte pěti xlěbů** **i rybou**  
 saying NEG have.1PL here more 5.GEN bread.GEN.PL and fish.GEN.DU

**důvojě** ašě oubo ne my šidůše vo všě ljudi  
 two.GEN.DU if for NEG we going.PTCP in all.ACC people.ACC

sijě koupimů brašůna  
 these.ACC.PL buy.1PL food.ACC.PL

‘He said to them, “Give them something to eat,” and they said, “We **have** here **no more than five loaves of bread and two fish**, unless we are to go and buy for all these people foods.”’

### 2.3. Divergence Type C: No PPC in Greek → PPC in OCS

In still other examples, OCS uses a PPC where Greek does not, corresponding to type C in the list above. In *Codex Marianus* there are ten cases of this type of divergence in the Book of Luke, most often when *iměti* ‘have’ in OCS is used to translate a non-PPC construction in Greek. This type of divergence is exemplified by Luke 14:2 (8).

(8) a. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν ὑδροπικῶς  
 and behold man.NOM.SG ART.NOM.SG was.IMP.3SG dropsical.NOM.SG

ěμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ  
 before him.GEN.SG

‘And behold, a man was dropsical before him.’

b. i se ělvku edinů imy vodůnyi troďů bě  
 and here person single has.PTCP water.ACC.SG illness.ACC.SG was.AOR

prěďů nimě  
 before him.INS.SG

‘And behold, a man **having a water illness** was before him’

The predicate in the Greek example ‘was dropsical’ is translated into OCS using a PPC with *iměti*: ‘having water illness’.

This last example and set of divergences in group C as a whole exhibit an important point: OCS readily uses *iměti* ‘have’ in multiple contexts, even in passages where it is not dictated by the Greek original. This clearly shows that *iměti* was not only a well-developed construction for expressing predicative possession in LPS, but that it was also the most semantically and syntactically flexible PPC in OCS.

In Matthew 18:12 (9), a Greek non-PPC<sup>7</sup> is consistently translated in OCS with a PPC, but not always with the same PPC. The rare *u* + genitive construction appears in OCS *Codex Assemanianus* (9b) and a dative PPC appears in OCS *Codex Marianus* (9c)

- (9) a. Τί                    ὑμῖν                    δοκεῖ                    ἐὰν γένηται  
 What.ACC.SG    you.DAT.2PL    think.PRS.3SG    if    happen.SBJ.AOR.3SG
- τινι                    ἀνθρώπῳ                    ἑκατὸν πρόβατα                    καὶ  
 ART.DAT.SG    man.DAT.SG    100    sheep.NOM.PL    and
- πλανηθῆ                    ἐν                    ἐξ αὐτῶν                    οὐχὶ  
 wander.SBJ.AOR.3SG    one.NOM.SG    of them.GEN.3PL    NEG
- ἀφείς                    τὰ                    ἑνεήκοντα ἑννέα ἐπὶ τὰ  
 leave.PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG    ART.ACC.PL    ninety                    nine    on ART.ACC.PL
- ὄρη                    πορευθεὶς                    ζητεῖ                    τὸ  
 mountain.ACC.PL    go.PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG    seek.PRS.3SG    ART.ACC.SG
- πλανώμενον  
 wandering\_one.ACC.SG

‘What do you think: if there happen upon any man one hundred sheep and one of them wanders away, should he leave ninety nine in the mountains and go look for the one that wandered?’

- b. čito se vamŭ                    mĭnitŭ ašte **bŏdetŭ**                    **ou etera**  
 what REFL you.DAT.PL    think    if    be.FUT.3SG    at    certain.GEN.SG

<sup>7</sup> This interpretation of the Greek syntax is based on published translations and interlinears, e.g. in the PROIEL (Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages) database at <http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/proiel/>; that is, nominative ‘sheep’ is interpreted as the subject of the verb ‘happen/become’ and dative ‘man’ is its object, as opposed to the alternate interpretation with the verb ‘happen’ as the main verb with a complement clause consisting of the nominative ‘sheep’, dative ‘man’ and a zero copula, or: ‘if it happens that a man has a hundred sheep’.

člvka p̄ ovečī i zablōditū edina otū  
 person.GEN.SG 100 sheep.GEN.PL and lose.PRES.3SG one from

nixū ne ostavitū li devēti dešetū i devēti na  
 them.GEN NEG remain.INF Q 9.GEN.SG 10.GEN.PL and 9.GEN.SG in

goraxū i šedū išetū zablōždīšeje<sup>8</sup>  
 mountain.LOC.PL and go.PTCP look.PRS.3SG lost\_one.PTPL.GEN.SG

‘What do you think, if **a certain man has** one hundred sheep and one of them is lost, should he not leave ninety nine in the mountains, and go out to look for the lost one?’ [lit. ‘if by a certain man are one hundred sheep’]

c. ...ašte **bōdetū eter-u člověk-u** 100  
 ...if be.FUT.3SG certain.DAT.SG person.DAT.SG 100

ovec'...<sup>9</sup>  
 sheep.GEN.PL...

‘...if **a man has** 100 sheep...’ [lit. ‘if to a certain man are 100 sheep’]

These examples suggest that OCS consistently interprets this as a relevant context for predicative possession, even when predicative possession is not encoded in the Greek source text.

A frequently reoccurring sub-construction that falls within the realm of the dative PPC is the construction for designating an individual’s name. The dative PPC for naming is attested in OCS, Old Czech, Old Russian and also in NT Greek and Latin (see Chapter 2 for Czech examples and Chapter 3 for Early East Slavic examples). Occasionally this construction is used in OCS when a different construction is used in NT Greek, thus falling into group C. Such an example is Luke 1:63, example (10), where OCS uses the dative naming PPC, but Greek instead uses genitive *αὐτοῦ* ‘him.GEN’ for the pronominal “possessor” of the name.

(10) a. ...Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ...  
 John.NOM.SG is.PRS.3SG ART.NOM.SG name.NOM.SG him.GEN  
 ‘John is the name of him’

b. ...**ioanū estū ime emou**...  
 John.NOM.SG is.PRS.3SG name.NOM.SG him.DAT.SG  
 ‘...**He has the name John**...’

<sup>8</sup> *Codex Assemanianus*

<sup>9</sup> *Codex Marianus*

All type C divergences display contexts where predicative possession is appropriate in Slavic even when it is not formally encoded in the Greek original.

#### *2.4. Syntax of PPC Divergences*

Divergences in the OCS translations of Greek passages reveal both semantic and syntactic information about predicative possession in Slavic. The semantic space carved out by each possessive construction is discussed in §3, focusing in particular on the two existential types of encoding for predicative possession.

Here I will briefly summarize the syntactic significance of the divergences. But first I must introduce Xodova's idea of "semantic shifts" that facilitate concomitant syntactic reinterpretations (1966:107). In particular for predicative possession she argues that the the *u* + genitive PPC matches the general meaning of *iměti* 'have', which prompts a syntactic change whereby the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase becomes the oblique subject argument of the impersonal existential construction, paralleling the nominative possessor of *iměti*. The change in status from a canonical prepositional phrase to an oblique subject argument is syntactically important, since oblique subject arguments often exhibit control properties normally associated only with direct arguments and never with arguments in prepositional phrases (e.g. Aikhenvald et al. 2001). For the present discussion, this change in status is most relevant when addressing divergence type C discussed in §2.3 above. In most of the cases where a Greek non-PPC is translated with a Slavic PPC, the number of arguments in the construction simultaneously increases. Most frequently an OCS PPC with two arguments replaces a Greek copular or comitative construction with one argument. This suggests that Slavic has come to rely on two-argument constructions, such as PPCs, where one-argument constructions are sufficient in the Greek original. Examples are (8), (9), and (10) above and (11) and (12) in §3.1 below.

### **3. Semantics and Pragmatics of PPCs in Early Slavic Bible Translations**

What can be inferred about predicative possession in LPS from early Slavic Bible translations? Some information about the semantic environments and pragmatics of the constructions can be gleaned from the texts by isolating each construction and analyzing both the contexts in which it occurs and, crucially, where it diverges from the Greek original. It will be shown that certain semantic consistencies arise from each encoding strategy for predicative possession.

#### *3.1. U + genitive PPC*

The *u* + genitive construction – the rarest of the PPCs in the early Bible texts – always represents a deviation from the Greek original, since a location-based PPC was not available in Greek. The *u* + genitive PPC is often tied to its locative origin, appearing in passages where the sense of possession overlaps considerably with the locative meaning of the *u* preposition (*u* 'at/near'). In a discussion of *u* + genitive PPCs in OCS, Xodova (1966) describes this property of the *u* + genitive construction as follows:

Специфическая ситуация, создаваемая соотношением лексических компонентов, приводит здесь к возможности присоединения к локальному значению значения владения, обладания

предметом, находящимся в близости к лицу. В некоторых же случаях название лица становится названием владельца, т.е. локальное значение исчезает (106).

The specific situation created by the correlation of lexical components [i.e. *u* + genitive and ‘be’ verb] results here in the possibility of adding to the locative sense a sense of possession, of ownership of an object situated in proximity to a person. In some cases, designation of the person becomes designation of the owner and the locative sense disappears.

This fact about the *u* + genitive PPC can make examples ambiguous and thus difficult to interpret. In Luke 10:7 (11) there is a strong locative reading for the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase (as opposed to an exclusively possessive reading); the NT Greek original uses the comitative preposition *par* ‘with’. In Matthew 15:33 (12) there is a somewhat ambiguous dative PPC in NT Greek, which is translated in OCS *Savvina Kniga* using an *u* + genitive PPC with an ablative shading (12b); cf. OCS *Codex Marianus*, where the verb *vŭzŭmati* ‘take/get’ (12c) is used instead and (12d) where the *Ostromir Gospel* stays faithful to the Greek original by using a dative PPC.

- (11) a. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε  
 in same.DAT.3SG and ART.DAT.SG house.DAT.SG stay.IMP.2PL
- ἔσθοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ’  
 eat.PTCP.NOM.PL and drink.PTCP.NOM.PL ART.ACC.PL with
- αὐτῶν ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης  
 them.GEN.PL worthy.NOM.SG for ART.NOM.SG workman.NOM.SG
- τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ  
 ART.GEN.SG pay.GEN.SG him.GEN.SG NEG move.IMP.2PL from
- οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν  
 house.GEN.SG to house.ACC.SG

‘And stay in the same house, eating and drinking the things with them, for the laborer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house.’ [lit. ‘that which is among them’]

- b. vŭ tomĭ že domou přebyvaite ědŏšte i pijŏšte  
 in this.LOC.SG very house.LOC.SG remain.IMP eat.PTCP and drink.PTCP
- ěže sŏtŭ ou nixŭ dostoinŭ bo  
 which.ACC.PL is.PRS.3PL by them.GEN.PL enough.NOM.SG for
- estŭ dělateljĭ mĭzdy svoeĵe ne přexodite  
 is.PRS.3SG laborer.NOM.SG reward.GEN.SG REFL.GEN.SG NEG go.IMP

iz domou vŭ domŭ<sup>10</sup>  
from house.GEN.SG to house.ACC.SG

‘Stay in the same house, eating and drinking *the things they have*, for the laborer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house.’

(12) a. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ πόθεν  
and say.PRS.3PL him.DAT.SG ART.NOM.PL disciple.NOM.PL whence

ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἄρτοι τοσοῦτοι ὥστε  
us.DAT.PL in desert.DAT.SG loaf.NOM.PL many.NOM.PL so\_that

χορτάσαι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον  
satisfy.INF.AOR crowd.ACC.SG great.ACC.SG

‘And the disciples said to him, “Whence in the desert **have we so many loaves** so as to satisfy a crowd so great?”’ [lit. ‘are there to us’]

b. i gŭŝe emou oučenici ego otŭ kŭde ou  
and said him.DAT.SG disciple.NOM.PL his.GEN.SG from where by

nasŭ vŭ poustě měště *xlěbŭ* *toliko* jako  
us.GEN.PL in empty.LOC.SG place.LOC.SG loaf.GEN.PL so\_many as

nasytiti narodŭ kolikŭ<sup>11</sup>  
satisfy.INF crowd.ACC.SG such.ACC.SG

‘And his disciples said to him, “whence in the desert **have we so many loaves** so as to feed such a crowd?”’ [lit. ‘are there among us’]

c. ...otŭ kŭdě vŭzŭmemŭ na poustě měště *xlěby*  
from where take.PRS.1PL on empty.LOC.SG place.LOC.SG loaf.ACC.PL

nasytiti *toliko* naroda<sup>12</sup>  
satisfy.INF so\_many crowd.GEN.SG

‘...“whence in the desert can we get enough *loaves* to satisfy such a crowd?”’

d. ...otŭkŭdou **namŭ** vŭ poustě měště *xlěbŭ*

<sup>10</sup> Xodova (1966:107)

<sup>11</sup> *Savvina Kniga*; from Xodova (1966:106).

<sup>12</sup> *Codex Marianus*

whence us.DAT.PL in empty.LOC.SG place.LOC.SG bread.GEN.PL

*toliko...*<sup>13</sup>

so\_many

‘...“whence in the desert **have we so many loaves?**”...’ [lit. ‘to us are so many loaves’]

Owing to its origin the the *u* + genitive construction exhibits a restricted semantic range for its possessor and possessum arguments, with the possessor always human and the possessum typically a concrete inanimate object. Possessor and possessum arguments for all *u* + genitive PPCs in OCS Bible translations are in Table 2.<sup>14</sup>

Table 2. Semantics of possessors and possessums: *u* + genitive PPC

Possessors	Possessums
personal pronouns	100 sheep (Matthew 18:12, OCS <i>Assemanianus</i> )
a certain person (Matthew 18:12, OCS <i>Assemanianus</i> )	a lot of bread (Matthew 15:33, OCS <i>Savvina Kniga</i> )
	relative pronoun ‘which...’ referring to things to eat and drink (Luke 10:7, OCS <i>Marianus, Zographensis</i> )
	peace (John 17:5)

The path of grammaticalization of this construction: location > location/possession > possession, is clear from Xodova’s explanation (and is addressed in multiple cross-linguistic studies on the grammaticalization of the location type of predicative possession, cf. Heine (1997) and references therein). But perhaps more could be said of the contexts in which the construction occurs in LPS. After all, only four clear examples of *u* + genitive PPC appears in the Slavic Bible texts, with the remaining examples too ambiguous to be used in making any determination about the semantic domain of the construction.

The possessors in the examples are all human, two of which are pronominal. The possessums are: ‘100 sheep’, ‘a lot of bread’, a relative pronoun referencing ‘things to eat and drink’, and ‘peace’. All examples aside from ‘peace’ are concrete: food/provisions and livestock. But perhaps more importantly all of these examples are temporary, even fleeting, indications of possession. A particularly suitable passage for exhibiting this point is Matthew 18:12 (9), where the translator of OCS *Codex Assemanianus* reinterprets the non-PPC in Greek as a case of possession in Slavic, and uses the marginal *u* + genitive encoding option. The ‘sheep’ are by their very nature as mortal creatures impermanent possessions and in (9) their transitory nature is further reinforced by the focus on the stray sheep who may or may not return to the flock.

<sup>13</sup> *Ostromir Gospel*

<sup>14</sup> Highly ambiguous examples discussed by Xodova (1966) and Mirčev (1971) are not included in the count.



Stassen (2009:19) describes temporary possession as focused on exerting control over an object for some period of time, where ownership is less of a concern than having access to a commodity or having it available to make use of. Stassen (2009:25) identifies ‘have’ and comitative or ‘with’ PPCs as regularly originating in impermanent possession, but it also seems quite probable that this is a common origin for location-based PPCs as well. After all, location (at least for humans with respect to objects) frequently changes, thus inherently impermanent, and so a PPC stemming from a locative existential phrase would seem to naturally encode temporary possession before expanding to encode possession more generally. This accounts for the appearance of ‘peace’ as the possessum in the last *u* + genitive PPC from John 17:5 in Table 2. In the passage, emphasis is placed on the transitory nature of the ‘peace’ and the fact that it did not previously exist and could quite easily cease to exist again in the future.

Additional indirect evidence for the existence of the *u* + genitive PPC in early South Slavic is available from historical South Slavic texts in post-OCS traditions. Vasilev (1973) cites examples of the *u* + genitive PPC from Old Serbian and Old Croatian, such as (13), concluding that it was already a full-fledged encoding strategy in Late Proto-Slavic. He also cites isolated examples of the *u* + genitive PPC from Modern Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (BCS), such as (14), showing that the construction has been retained as a minor encoding strategy for predicative possession in BCS.

(13) A biše u Bogiše tri sinove  
 And be.AOR.3PL at Bogiše three son.NOM.PL  
 ‘And Bogiše had three sons’ (Vasilev 1973:365)

(14) Lisica rekne: [...] U mene dugaček rep.  
 fox.NOM.SG say.AOR.3SG by me long.NOM.SG tail.NOM.SG  
 ‘The fox said: “I have a long tail.”’ (Vasilev 1973:366)

Virtually all of Vasilev’s historical examples are close kinship relations, e.g. (13), and his modern examples are primarily kinship relations or body parts, e.g. (14). For Modern BCS, he took most of his examples from fairy tales or folk songs; thus, the construction in Modern BCS appears to be a folkloric device with, perhaps, folksy connotations (though a more thorough survey is needed to confirm this hypothesis).

For Middle Bulgarian, which was more or less contemporaneous with Old Serbian and Croatian, Mirčev (1971) reports examples of the *u* + genitive PPC, primarily with close kinship relations. The construction has fallen out of usage in Modern Bulgarian, except in a handful of fixed expressions (Vasilev 1973).

### 3.2. Dative PPC

Occasionally examples using the existential PPC types (dative PPC for Slavic, Greek, and Latin, *u* + genitive PPC for Slavic) do not unambiguously express predicative possession. Mrázek (1963:244) asserts that the existential dative (and consequently the existential *u* + genitive) construction is sensitive to the number of elements in the construction, whereas the number of constituents is typically not a concern with the verb ‘have’. Specifically, Mrázek does not count four-constituent dative existential constructions as PPCs, preferring to interpret them as a copular construction with an external possessor. One such example is from the Book of

Luke 6:6: *I rōka desnaa emou bĕ souxa* ‘he had crippled right hand’ /‘his right hand was crippled’ (lit. ‘and hand.NOM right.NOM him.DAT was crippled.NOM’). In most cases I agree that these constructions are not examples of predicative possession and that the dative noun or pronoun is more felicitously interpreted as an external possessor. However, there are exceptions to this generalization, in particular when a change in word order can promote a predicative possessive reading (cf. Chapters 3 and 4).

In contrast to the *u* + genitive PPC discussed above in §3.1, the dative PPC is typically not found with transient and concrete alienable possessions in OCS. This may be a result of the different formal encoding of the construction. Instead of being a location-based construction, the meaning of the dative PPC often overlaps with the recipient (or goal) reading associated with the Slavic dative case. Therefore, several dative + ‘be’ constructions can be interpreted in multiple ways: as a PPC, as a construction where the dative argument is either literally or metaphorically affected by the nominative argument, as a construction where there is some directed purpose or intention to the dative argument, or as a mixture of these senses.

It is instructive to look at examples where the dative PPC occurs in Slavic in order to more precisely determine its range of usage. Table 3 lists the possessors and possessums for dative PPC constructions in OCS (which largely coincide with Greek). Dative PPC examples are more numerous than *u* + genitive (sixteen unambiguous dative PPCs appear in the Book of Luke), therefore ambiguous cases are excluded in the table and fewer details about book and verse are provided. A tally of each semantic type is given after the possessors and possessums for the Book of Luke (possessums are counted as a unit, e.g. ‘joy and gladness’ counts as one abstract possessum). Examples are from the Book of Luke unless otherwise indicated.

Table 3. Semantics of possessors and possessums: dative PPC

Possessors	Possessums
personal pronouns (most frequent by far): 11/16	kinship relations: child, son, daughter, sister: 4/16
relative pronouns: 3/16	debtors (Luke 7:41): 1/16
demonstrative pronouns: 1/16	abstract states and concepts, e.g. joy, gladness, thanks, care, praise, worship, compassion: 5/16
creditor (Luke 7:41): 1/16	places, e.g. room in an inn (Luke 2:7), storehouse, barn (Luke 12:24): 2/16
a certain person (Matthew 18:12)	names (fixed construction): 4/16
	sheep (Matthew 18:12, cf. (9))

The overwhelming majority of possessors are pronominal. Bauer (2000) reports this same tendency for *mihi est* dative PPCs in Latin (non-biblical) texts. All of the possessums in dative PPCs are either human, animate, abstract entities, or places. The most concrete possessums in Table 3 are places and sheep. But note that the example with sheep is the same

example (Matthew 18:12 in (9)) for which *Codex Assemanianus* uses an *u* + genitive instead of the dative PPC.

Thus it can be concluded that the dative PPC in OCS is used primarily with possessums that are kinship relations and abstract states and concepts, and is avoided with concrete, countable possessums.<sup>15</sup> A particularly suitable passage for exhibiting this point is Luke 9:13 in (7), which contains a dative PPC in both the Greek and Latin texts, but neither the OCS *Codex Marianus* nor *Zographensis* use a dative in this passage.<sup>16</sup> OCS avoided the dative PPC, defaulting to *iměti* ‘have’. The reason for this appears to be that OCS resists using the dative PPC in instances where possession is temporary and the possessed item is concrete and alienable.

### 3.3. *Iměti* ‘Have’

The semantics and pragmatics of *iměti* ‘have’ in Slavic are harder to pin down, since it was the most frequent, perhaps even default, construction by the latest period of LPS. This apparent default status of *iměti* is likely due as much to its syntactic flexibility as to its wide semantic range. That is, *iměti* was the only Late Proto-Slavic PPC used in non-finite contexts, such as participles and infinitives. *Iměti* was also more often relied upon in constructions with more complex object phrases, e.g. nouns plus infinitives, such as: ‘have something to say to you’, ‘has the power to forgive sins’, and ‘had nothing to set before him’. Additionally, as LPS and OCS were pro-drop languages, there is often no overt subject with *iměti*. This syntactic flexibility of *iměti* is unknown for the existential PPC types in early Slavic.

Furthermore, the verb *iměti* had a monopoly on a number of frequently occurring fixed expressions in the early biblical language, just as the dative PPC had a monopoly on the naming construction in (10). Such expressions include ‘have power’ and ‘if ye have ears to hear, then hear’. These expressions functioned much like the syntactic flexibility of *iměti* in that they both reinforce and are reinforced by the prevalence of *iměti* in OCS.

### 3.4. Summary of Semantic range of Slavic PPCs

While there was some semantic overlap for the three different PPCs in LPS, their usage was not equivalent. *Iměti* had clearly gained primary status, with both semantic and syntactic flexibility not attested for either the dative or *u* + genitive PPCs. The dative construction was often used for a possessive meaning that overlapped with the role of recipient or goal and the *u* + genitive PPC was often used in contexts where possession had a strong locative sense.

The rise of ‘have’ as the primary construction for predicative possession was not only a trend in early Slavic, but also in the histories of other Indo-European languages. Kulneff-Eriksson (1999) reports that *ekho* in Greek increases in frequency over time, gradually taking over the territory of the older *esti moi* construction. This trend continues into koine Greek of the New Testament where *ekho* is far more frequent than the dative.

The situation was much the same in the history of Latin, according to Bauer (2000) and Löfstedt (1963). *Habeo* increased in frequency at the expense of the older PIE dative PPC. Bauer writes, “...the use of *mihi est* became more restricted over time as the occurrence of

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<sup>15</sup> Note that dative external possessors in most modern Slavic languages also tend to prefer the same types of “possessums” as their predicative possessive counterparts, e.g. kinship relations and other inalienable relations (c.f. Cienki 1993 and references therein).

<sup>16</sup> This passage is missing from *Codex Assemanianus* and the *Ostromir Gospel*.

concrete nominative nouns in that context decreased. Whereas at first only concrete nouns seemed to be no longer used in *mihi est* constructions – with the exception of a few poetic archaisms – abstract nouns in the later period also became less frequent” (186).

Isačenko (1974) argues that PPC types represent broader language types, i.e. ‘have’ vs. ‘be’ languages. European languages – especially Western and Central European languages – have typically shifted to become ‘have’ languages in their histories. It then seems that the rise of *iměti* in Slavic in prehistoric times must be at least partially attributable to areal pressures. A separate but related question is the influence of the source texts on PPCs in the early Slavic Bible texts. The source texts were likely influential in determining the frequency of the different PPCs, perhaps causing *iměti* to be over-represented in the texts (in comparison to its status in the Slavic vernaculars). Nevertheless, it is clear that *iměti* was the dominant construction for predicative possession in OCS, based on its syntactic and semantic flexibility as well as its usage independent of NT Greek and Latin usage.

#### 4. Summary

Old Church Slavic employed three encoding strategies for predicative possession. The verb *iměti* ‘have’ was the most frequently used and least syntactically and semantically restricted strategy by the time of OCS; the dative PPC was prominent in a number of fixed expressions, e.g. the naming construction, and with kinship relations and abstract possessums; and the peripheral *u* + genitive PPC appeared when the focus was on impermanent possession. The *u* + genitive encoding strategy was in fact the germ of a potential PPC: its frequency too low and semantic range too restricted to be called a full-fledged PPC in OCS. Its marginal status in Late Proto-Slavic is certainly one of the reasons why it was not more successful as a PPC outside of East Slavic (where this marginal native Slavic construction expanded as a result of contact influences (cf. Chapters 3-4)).

The language of the Bible is strictly codified, making the study of syntactic and semantic nuances of Biblical examples in the domain of predicative possession a highly philological problem. However, using a multi-pronged methodological approach that is sensitive to both textual and contextual factors, I have been able to use Bible translations to make a number of conclusions about the syntax and pragmatics of predicative possession in Old Church Slavic, and by extension Late Proto-Slavic. In this analysis, I have considered the textual traditions that Slavic inherited from Greek, which nevertheless retain inherently Slavic characteristics. There are a few “quirks” in the Slavic translations that deviate from the original Greek or Latin usage, and which reveal the native Slavic system of constructions for expressing predicative possession. In piecing together information about these quirks – the few instances where Slavic diverges from the source language – it is possible to make some determination about the semantics, and occasionally syntax (e.g. where OCS replaces a single argument non-PPC with a two-argument PPC), of different constructions for predicative possession in early Slavic, in contrast to the Greek system.

As a supplementary argument, I draw on evidence that multiple encoding strategies for predicative possession still existed in later South Slavic traditions. In particular, the *u* + genitive PPCs cited for Old Serbian and Old Croatian attest to the early availability of the construction for encoding predicative possession, at least for temporary possession and in some cases for kinship relations.

**NOT JUST THE STORY OF *MÍT* ‘HAVE’:  
THE HISTORY OF PREDICATIVE POSSESSION IN CZECH<sup>1</sup>**

***1. Survey of Problem***

In this chapter I trace the chronological developments in the history of predicative possession in the form of a case study. This study draws on evidence from early written texts, the historical context, and demographic histories of early Bohemia and Moravia, in order to explain how predicative possession changed from a system fairly close to the one in Old Church Slavic into the system in Modern Czech. Modern Czech uses essentially just one of the LPS PPCs: the verb *mít* ‘have’.

In contrast to Russian, the developments of predicative possession in Czech have not received much scholarly attention. A factor motivating this lack of attention is undoubtedly related to the preconception of naturalness of the European areal type of language, or Standard Average European (SAE) (cf. Whorf 1956, Haspelmath 1998). While predicative possession with the verb ‘have’ is not one of the features listed for SAE by Haspelmath (1998), it is nevertheless the PPC used by all the core SAE languages. Yet, as I discussed in Chapter 1, ‘have’ verbs, while not uncommon, are typologically less common than oblique expressions for predicative possession in the languages of the world (Stassen 2009). Use of a ‘have’ verb is typical for most Western European languages, attested first in Greek (Isačenko 1974), which likely formed the impetus for other European languages to develop ‘have’ verbs using their own lexical repertoires. The etymology of *iměti* in Slavic can be traced to a verb originally meaning ‘to take’. The dative construction in Slavic is almost certainly older than ‘have’, since a dative PPC has been reconstructed for Proto Indo-European, whereas the verb ‘have’ arose in the individual daughter languages after the break-up of PIE (Meillet 1923:9; Vondrák 1908:363). Thus, there is more of a story to tell in the development of predicative possession in Czech than might be apparent at first glance. In order to reveal the whole story, the early linguistic history of Czech must be examined alongside later historical, cultural, and linguistic developments in Czech lands.

The core part of the present case study consists of the presentation and discussion of examples and relies on two opposite and complementary approaches. The first approach is statistical, consisting of counting and presenting examples from early Czech written texts. The second approach is a contextual analysis of chosen examples, including a discussion of why the different PPCs often appear in different contexts in early Czech.

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this chapter were published in a contribution to the 2009 volume *Diachronic Slavonic Syntax: Gradual Changes in Focus* entitled “Developments in Predicative Possession in the History of Slavic.” I am grateful to the workshop participants and an anonymous reviewer for their very helpful comments.

At this point it is relevant to include more information about the system of predicative possession in Modern Czech. Modern Czech uses essentially just one of the LPS PPCs: the verb *mít* ‘have’ (Short 2002). Relics of what was originally the dative possessor remain in fixed expressions, the most frequent being the fixed expression for reporting age, e.g. *Je mu dvacet let* ‘To him is twenty years’, or in more idiomatic English ‘He is twenty years old’. Colloquial varieties of Czech have an additional method for expressing age, which not surprisingly uses the verb *mít* ‘have’, e.g. *(On) má dvacet let* ‘He has twenty years’ or in more idiomatic English ‘He is twenty years old’. In Old and Middle varieties of Czech, it was also possible to use the dative possessor construction when designating a person’s name. (See Table 4 below for an example.)

Before discussing data from early texts, it will be useful to provide a brief excursus of the early literary language of Czech. The earliest texts written in Old Czech were translated from Latin originals, such as the *Alexandreis* and the *Chronicle of Dalimil*. Even texts originally composed in Bohemia, covering Czech history and legends, were often written originally in Latin (Lehár et al. 1988). Thus, for the earliest attestations of the Czech language, we must rely on translated works and all their concomitant problems. One of these problems is the potential influence – stylistic, grammatical, lexical, etc. – from the original texts into the translated Czech. Thus, we cannot automatically claim that the language of the texts represents the actual spoken language at the time of translation. However, this does not preclude any potential usefulness of such texts. My primary goal in working with the texts is to determine the inventory of constructions for predicative possession in different periods of the early Czech language. It will be assumed that constructions occurring in the texts are written in grammatical Czech, thus the syntax will be taken to be native, even if frequency and stylistic features may have been influenced by the Latin.

An additional problem arises when choosing which early texts to harvest examples from. Though predicative possession is usually taken to be a relatively frequent and basic concept in language, many texts have few or no examples, using attributive or external possession instead of predicative possession, or simply not having many tokens of possession at all. Frequency of constructions could be a function of the genre of the text and could also be a result of an author’s own personal preferences. Thus I chose early Czech texts that provide multiple examples of PPCs. The texts surveyed are religious and secular, including two translations of the first four books of the New Testament of the Bible and the epic poem *Život Svaté Kateřiny* ‘The Life of Saint Katherine’.

## ***2. Predicative Possession in Early Czech Bible Translations***

The first texts examined are translations of the Bible into Old Czech. The earliest Czech Bible translation is the *Dráždanská Bible* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, hereafter the Dresden Bible, which was translated from the Latin Vulgate.<sup>2</sup> A new translation of the Bible – the *Kralická Bible* (hereafter Kralická Bible) – appeared in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was translated from the original Greek New Testament (Merrell 1956:85). By comparing verses containing PPCs in both

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<sup>2</sup> When citing examples from the Dresden Bible, I will use a later manuscript of this translation, the *Olomoucká Bible* or the Olomouc Bible from 1417 (Merrell 1956:79). The Olomouc and Dresden Bibles are syntactically and morphologically almost identical, but the Olomouc version uses orthography much closer to Modern Czech. Occasional differences in the content of the two Bibles do not affect my analysis.

Bibles, it becomes clear that in a matter of roughly two centuries predicative possession evolved from a system in early Czech that closely resembled the one in Late Proto-Slavic to a system almost identical to Modern Czech.

There are both benefits and drawbacks to investigating Old Czech using Bible translations. On one hand, there are two independent translations two centuries apart to compare. This is a rare possibility not available for other genres of early Czech writing, and furthermore lacking in the Early East Slavic tradition. However, there is the problem of translation, as discussed above, which had the effect of shaping aspects of the newly emerging Czech literary language after a Latin model. Though the subject matter covered in the Bible is limited, it does contain an abundance of tokens of predicative possession. It must be noted, however, that many of these tokens are fixed expressions that recur repeatedly and represent ideas both culturally and linguistically imported through religious practices and texts. Among such expressions are: *mít věčný život* ‘to have eternal life’, *mít víru* ‘to have faith’, *mit d’ábelství* ‘to have a/the devil’, *mít moc* ‘have power’; and also include sentence-length templates, e.g. *kdo má uši k slyšení, slyš* ‘He that hath ears to hear, let him hear’, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The source language of the Bible translation, be it Latin or Greek, without a doubt influenced the Czech translation. The available PPCs in New Testament (NT) Greek, Latin, and Late Proto-Slavic (also early Czech), were quite similar, likely due to a combination of genetic and historical factors (all languages are Indo-European and all translations and early written systems were based on Greek). In particular, all three languages (NT Greek, Latin, and LPS) used a ‘have’ verb and a dative PPC. In LPS an *u* + genitive construction (similar to Russian (1) above) could also be used to encode predicative possession, which had no parallel in NT Greek or Latin (cf. Chapter 1). The availability of similar inventories of constructions in the languages, especially in Latin and early Czech, facilitated the translation of PPCs across languages (e.g. from Latin into Czech).

As is shown in Table 1, 91% of the PPCs from the Book of Luke in the Dresden Bible correspond to the same PPC type as those in the Latin Vulgate.<sup>4</sup> In the Kralická Bible, 76% match the original Greek PPCs. That is to say, the syntax of the older Dresden Bible matches the Latin syntax more closely than the syntax of the later Kralická Bible matches the New Testament Greek. It appears that this does *not* occur because of any differences in the source languages – Latin and Greek – which both use dative and ‘have’ PPCs, as stated above. This is evident when comparing tokens of the constructions in the two texts (100% matching PPCs from NT Greek into the Latin translation). Instead, the difference is a result of changes in literary Czech in the two-century time span between the two translations.

There are cases where the Dresden Bible uses a ‘have’ verb, but the Kralická Bible does not; however, there are no cases where the Kralická Bible uses a dative possessor (or an *u* + genitive) construction, but the Dresden uses a ‘have’ verb. Thus it appears that Old Czech lost

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<sup>3</sup> Modern Czech *mít* was reduced from Late Proto-Slavic *iměti* as follows: *jьměti > jmieti > míti > mít*. For consistency throughout this chapter the Czech verb for ‘have’ will be referred to in its modern form *mít*, which is taken to represent the lexeme in all its historical varieties.

<sup>4</sup> Though PPCs from each of the first four books of the Bible have been examined, only numbers from the Book of Luke are reported here. This is because the Book of Luke contains the most dative PPCs in the original Greek out of all four New Testament Books. Since the content of the Books of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are almost parallel, it is not necessary to report numbers from all three books. The Book of John was written later and is different both in its style and content in such a way that makes it less useful as a source text for PPCs than the other three books.

the potential to express predicative possession with anything but the verb *mít* by the time the Kralická Bible was translated.<sup>5</sup> *Mít* systematically replaces the Greek dative PPC in the Kralická Bible translation, whereas the earlier Dresden translation was far more likely to follow the Latin syntax, using a dative PPC when it appeared in the Latin Vulgate. The examples in Table 3 from Luke 1:14 and 10:39 exhibit this trend.

Table 1. Translation of PPCs from the Latin Vulgate into the Czech Dresden Bible and Greek New Testament into the Czech Kralická Bible for the Book of Luke

<i>LATIN VULGATE</i> → <i>CZECH DRESDEN</i>	<i>GREEK NEW TESTAMENT</i> → <i>CZECH KRALICKÁ</i>
Latin <i>habeo</i>    Czech matches 95% (72/76)	Greek <i>εχω</i>    Czech matches 89% (63/71)
72 <i>habeo</i> → <i>mít</i> 4 <i>habeo</i> → other construction in Czech (Also: 9 other constructions in Latin → <i>miti</i> in Czech)	63 <i>εχω</i> → <i>mít</i> 8 <i>εχω</i> → other construction in Czech (Also: 15 other constructions in Greek → <i>mít</i> in Czech)
Latin <i>est</i> + dative    Czech matches 73% (11/15)	Greek <i>ειναι</i> + dative    Czech matches 14% (2/14)
11 <i>est</i> +dat. → <i>jest</i> + dat. 1 <i>est</i> +dat. → <i>mít</i> 1 <i>est</i> +dat. → <i>u</i> +genitive 2 <i>est</i> +dat. → possessive pronouns (Also: 1 other construction → <i>jest</i> + dat. in Czech)	2 <i>ειναι</i> + dat. → <i>jest</i> + dat. 12 <i>ειναι</i> + dat. → <i>mít</i>
Overall Latin → Dresden matching PPCs: 91% (83/91)	Overall Greek → Kralická matching PPCs: 76% (65/85)

Table 2. Translation of PPCs from Greek New Testament into the Latin Vulgate (Book of Luke)

<i>GREEK NEW TESTAMENT</i> → <i>LATIN VULGATE</i>
Greek <i>εχω</i>    Latin matches 100% (70/70)
70 <i>εχω</i> → <i>habeo</i> (Also: 4 other constructions → <i>habeo</i> in Latin)
Greek <i>ειναι</i> + dative    Latin matches 100% (14/14)
14 <i>ειναι</i> + dat. → <i>est</i> +dat. (Also: 1 other construction → <i>est</i> +dat. in Latin)
Overall Greek → Latin matching PPCs: 100% (84/84)

In Luke 1:14 and 10:39, the Greek and Latin Bibles both have dative PPCs, as does the early Czech translation of the Dresden Bible. The Kralická translation, on the other hand, replaces the dative PPC in the NT Greek with a ‘have’ PPC in translating the NT Greek. This occurs in all but two examples of predicative possession. The exception is in a fixed construction for designating a person’s name, one of the few dative PPCs that persisted up to the time of the Kralická Bible translation. Table 4 gives one of these examples from Luke 8:41.

<sup>5</sup> This was not the only feature lost between the two translations. For example, the aorist and imperfect tenses are still in use in the Dresden, but not in the Kralická Bible.



Table 3. Dative PPCs in Dresden, but not Kralická Bible translation

	<i>English King James</i>	<i>Czech – Kralická Bible</i>	<i>Greek New Testament</i>	<i>Latin Vulgate</i>	<i>Czech – Dresden Bible</i>
1:14	And thou <b>shalt have</b> joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth.	Z čehož <b>budeš mít</b> radost a veselé, a mnozí z jeho narození budou se radovati.	καὶ ἔσται χαρά <b>σοι</b> καὶ ἀγαλλίας, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ χαρήσονται.	et <b>erit</b> gaudium <b>tibi</b> , et exsultatio, et multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt	a <b>bude tobě</b> radost a utěšení a mnozí se budou radovati jeho narození
10:39	And she <b>had</b> a sister called Mary, which also sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.	A ta <b>měla</b> sestru, jménem Mariji, kterážto seděci u noh Ježíšových, poslouchala slova jeho.	καὶ <b>τῆδε ἦν</b> ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη Μαριάμ, ἣ καὶ παρακαθισθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ	et <b>huic erat soror</b> nomine Maria, quæ etiam sedens secus pedes Domini, audiebat verbum illius.	a <b>tej bieše sestra</b> , jménem Maria, jenž také seděci u noh hospodinových posloucháše jeho slova,

Table 4. Dative PPC for naming

	<i>English King James</i>	<i>Czech – Kralická Bible</i>	<i>Greek New Testament</i>	<i>Latin Vulgate</i>	<i>Czech – Dresden Bible</i>
8:41	And, behold, there came a man <u>named</u> <u>Jairus</u> , and he was a ruler of the synagogue: and he fell down at Jesus' feet, and besought him that he would come into his house:	A aj, prosil ho, aby všel přišel muž, <b>kterémuž jméno bylo Jairus</b> , a ten byl kníže školy Židovské. I padna k nohám Ježíšovým, do domu jeho.	καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ <b>ὃ ὄνομα Ἰάειρος</b> , καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑπῆρχεν· καὶ πεσὼν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Ἰησοῦ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,	Et ecce venit vir, <b>cui nomen Jairus</b> , et ipse princeps synagogæ erat : et cecidit ad pedes Jesu, rogans eum ut intraret in domum ejus,	A tehdy jeden muž, <b>jemuž jméno bieše Jairus</b> , jenž bieše kníže chrámové, pade před Ježíševými nohami prosě jeho, aby všel do jeho domu,

Apart from this isolated construction, the Kralická Bible replaces dative PPCs in the Greek Bible with *mít*. Therefore, the Kralická Bible has more overall occurrences of the verb *mít* than the Dresden Bible (90 tokens of *mít* in Kralická versus 82 in Dresden). An additional difference between in the Kralická Bible in comparison to the Dresden Bible is that idiomatic usage of ‘have’ increases to some extent in the Kralická translation, e.g. *mít péči* ‘have care’/‘care for’ (also in Dresden, but less frequent), *mít (zdravý) rozum* ‘have (common) sense’, etc.

The Dresden and Kralická Bibles can be viewed as examples of the same text that represent two periods of Czech separated by approximately two centuries. This span of time was enough for Czech to lose the possibility of expressing predicative possession with either a dative possessor or an *u* + genitive construction. In other words, the already frequent ‘have’ verb became the only means of expressing predicative possession in Czech.

One could argue, however, that the changes between the earlier and later inventories of PPCs in the Czech translations were not a result of changes in Czech, but rather in changes in Czech’s reliance on Latin as a model for its literary language. The Kralická Bible was translated after the Hussite movement of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which was a confessional movement that intersected with ethnic / linguistic allegiance. During this period Czechs became concerned with

the social function of the vernacular and the ability of liturgical practices to reach a broader Czech audience (Svejkovský 1984). Perhaps, then, the Kralická Bible translation was motivated as a shift away from the conservative religious language of the past in an attempt to bring the written language closer to the vernacular. However, this assumption places too much emphasis on similarities between the language of the Czech Dresden Bible and the Latin Vulgate. Thus the Dresden Bible was not translated slavishly from the Latin original without regard to the structure of the Czech language. Despite the close correspondence of PPCs used in the Dresden translation to the Latin counterparts, the correspondence is not perfect. Thus the Dresden Bible was not translated slavishly from the Latin original without regard to the structure of the Czech language. It is instructive to examine precisely the cases where the Dresden Bible translations diverge from the Latin original to hone in on the range of usage of the Czech dative PPC. Divergences also lend more credibility to the Czech translation, which can be taken as a more authentic representation of the early Czech language than if the syntax of PPCs matched the Latin original all of the time. Table 5 shows examples from the Latin Vulgate and Czech Dresden Bible with kinship relations in the role of possessum. Kinship relations are one of the most frequent types of possessum for the dative PPC.

Table 5. Comparison of PPCs for kinship relations in Latin and Dresden Bibles

	<i>English King James</i>	<i>Latin Vulgate</i>	<i>Dresden/Olomouc Translation</i>
1:5	There was in the days of Herod, the king of Judaea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia: and <u>his wife</u> was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth.	Fuit in diebus Herodis, regis Judææ, sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de vice Abia, et <u>uxor illius</u> de filiabus Aaron, et nomen ejus Elisabeth.	Byl jest za dnův Herodových, krále židovského, jeden pop, jménem Zachař, z pořada Abiašova, i <b>bieše jemu</b> žena ze dcer Aaronových a jmě jejie Alžběta.
1:7	And they <b>had no</b> child, because that Elisabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.	Et <b>non erat illis</b> filius, eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis, et ambo processissent in diebus suis.	A <b>nebieše jima</b> syn, proto že bieše Alžběta bezdětkyně; a oba biešta proběhla své dni.
8:42	For he <b>had</b> one only daughter, about twelve years of age, and she lay a dying. But as he went the people thronged him.	quia unica filia <b>erat ei</b> fere annorum duodecim, et hæc moriebatur. Et contigit, dum iret, a turba comprimebatur	Že <b>jmějješe</b> jedinkú dceru bezmála ve dvúnácti letech, a ta chtieše jemu umřieti. I přihodi sě, když jdieše a zástupové jej dáviechu.
9:38	And, behold, a man of the company cried out, saying, Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he <u>is mine only child</u> .	Et ecce vir de turba exclamavit, dicens : Magister, obsecro te, respice in filium meum quia <b>unicus est mihi</b>	... Mistře, proši tebe, vzezři na mého syna, jenž <b>mně jest jediný</b>
15:11	And he said, A certain man <b>had</b> two sons:	Ait autem : Homo quidam <b>habuit</b> duos filios :	A opět povědě: „ <b>Jměl</b> jest jeden člověk dva syny.
20:28	Saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, <b>having</b> a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.	dicentes : Magister, Moyses scripsit nobis : Si frater alicujus mortuus fuerit <b>habens</b> uxorem, et hic sine liberis fuerit, ut accipiat eam frater ejus uxorem, et suscitet semen fratri suo.	řkúce: „Mistře, Mojžieš jest napsal nám, když by čí bratr umřel <b>maje</b> ženu a ten byl bez dětí, aby jeho ženu pojal bratr jeho a vzplodil plémě svému bratru.
20:33	Therefore in the resurrection whose wife of them is she? for seven <b>had</b> her to wife.	In resurrectione ergo, cujus eorum erit uxor ? siquidem septem <b>habuerunt</b> eam uxorem.	Protož když přijde vzkříšenie, čie z nich bude žena, když jich sedm <b>jměli</b> sú tuto ženu?“

Table 5 contains examples of PPC with kinship relations in the Latin and Czech Dresden Bibles. The examples express close kinship relations, e.g. son, daughter, or wife. They are instructive because of the divergences that emerge in a handful of the translations. First, it is useful to break the examples into four sub-types: **1)** Latin and Czech use a dative PPC (Luke 1:7, 9:38); **2)** Latin and Czech use a ‘have’ verb (15:11, 20:28, 20:33); **3)** Latin uses attributive possession, but Czech uses a dative PPC (1:5); and **4)** Latin uses a dative PPC, but Czech uses a ‘have’ verb (8:42).

In most of these examples – sub-types (1) and (2) – Czech matches the Latin PPC. Thus the function of the two constructions in at least these examples appears to be parallel in both Latin and Old Czech.

In both Old Czech and Vulgate Latin, the dative PPC most typically functions to increase the prominence of the possessum by promoting it to the nominative case, as in Luke 1:7 and 9:38. The usage of a dative PPC in Luke 9:38: “Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is mine only child,” draws attention not to the father’s role, but rather to the son’s existence. The son is in need of Jesus’ help and the goal of the utterance is to convey this point. The possessive kinship relationship is subordinated in the plea, serving only to emphasize the son’s uniqueness as the man’s only progeny. This construction often conveys regularly recurring information about people. The most frequent types of possessum are kinship relations – *having* a son, daughter, wife, etc. – as well as information such as *having a name* and *having an age*. These latter two constructions are so fixed in the function of presenting data about a person that they continue to appear in dative PPCs in the later Kralická Bible, and using a dative construction for designating age is standard to this day for *spisovná čeština* ‘literary Czech’.

The PPCs *habere* and *mít* ‘have’, conversely, place emphasis on the possessor as the most prominent element of the utterance, e.g. Luke 15:11, 20:28, and 20:33. In Luke 15:11, the clause ‘a certain man **had** two sons’ focuses first on the man as father of the sons while simultaneously signaling that he (the father, not one of the sons) is the anchor of the ensuing narrative. In another set of examples - Luke 20:28 and 20:33 – a connected narrative with two separate ‘have’ PPCs appear. Verses 20:27-20:33 from the King James Bible are given below to provide the full context (verse numbers are excluded for easier reading):

Then came to him certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resurrection; and they asked him, Saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, **having** a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children. And the second took her to wife, and he died childless. And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also: and they left no children, and died. Last of all the woman died also. Therefore in the resurrection whose wife of them is she? for seven **had** her to wife.

In the Latin and Dresden Bibles predicative possession is expressed twice with the verb ‘have’ (in the same clauses as the boldfaced English verbs). Thus, the wife is never the focus of the narrative, but merely important in order to clarify who “possesses” her among a series of brothers in this hypothetical death and marriage scenario. The fact of her existence is not alone important and therefore it is not brought into focus in this passage, which does not employ the dative PPC.

In addition to functional concerns, ‘have’ was more syntactically flexible, appearing in non-finite contexts, e.g. in the participial construction in Luke 20:28. This is due to the fact that only verbs with subjects that control verbal agreement can form infinitives in Slavic languages. Its syntactic flexibility may have promoted its frequency over the dative PPC.

Having established these general similarities in the usage of dative and ‘have’ PPCs in Old Czech and Latin, the question arises: what sets Old Czech apart from the Latin system? In two of the examples in Table 5, the expression of predicative possession in the Latin and Czech versions differs. Luke 1:5 falls into sub-type (3): Latin uses attributive possession (with the phrase *uxor illius* ‘wife of him’), but Czech uses a dative PPC. The use of the dative PPC for Czech in this case is not surprising. The purpose of the utterance is to introduce Zacharias’ wife Elisabeth. While she enters the narrative as one of a number of relevant facts about Zacharias – he is a priest, he is of the order of Abia – the dative PPC shifts attention to Elisabeth, focusing on her as a relevant actor in the narrative.

Luke 8:42 falls into sub-type (4): Latin uses a dative PPC, but Czech uses its ‘have’ verb. Here, the ill daughter’s existence is significant, but only in relation to her father. Since the narrative proceeds about him and not her, it is clear that the daughter is not the focus. This example, especially, reveals where there is divergent behavior between Latin and Czech usage of the PPCs. The dative PPC in Old Czech can only be used when the possessum is the focus; *mít* ‘have’ is used when this condition is not met.

As is the case with many aspects of language, the differences between the Old Czech and Latin systems are a result of graded – not binary – distinctions. There are clusters of functional, syntactic and discourse conditions that guide usage of one PPC over another. This is not surprising considering that Czech and Latin stem from the same ancestral language, Proto Indo-European (PIE), however distant the relation. As mentioned above, the dative PPC has been reconstructed for PIE, but a ‘have’ verb developed only later in its daughter languages (Bauer 2000). Thus, by the time of the Dresden Bible translation, the dative PPC was the older, more archaic construction, likely on its way out, whereas the ‘have’ verb was the relatively new transitive construction, expanding at the expense of the dative PPC. This would have been the case not only for Czech, but also for the language of the Latin Vulgate.<sup>6</sup> In other words, this was not a Bible translation from Latin to Navaho or Warlpiri, but from Latin to a language with relatively similar syntactic structure from a typological point of view. That said, similar syntactic structure does not mean “identical” syntactic structure, nor does it mean identical semantic and pragmatic usage of those structures. In examining the divergences in the examples above it becomes clear that the system of predicative possession in Latin and Old Czech contained notable differences.

An additional encoding strategy for predicative possession was available in Old Czech: the *u* + genitive PPC. In Luke 9:13 from the Dresden Bible a dative PPC in Latin is replaced with the only *u* + genitive PPC in the Czech text.

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<sup>6</sup> I am not claiming that the language of the Latin Vulgate and the Dresden Bible were contemporary with one another, but rather that the languages of the two texts appeared to be at similar stages of development in their systems of predicative possession.

Table 6. Trace evidence for *u* + genitive PPC in Dresden Bible

	<i>English King James</i>	<i>Latin Vulgate</i>	<i>Dresden/Olomouc Translation</i>
9:13	But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We <b>have</b> no more but five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and buy meat for all this people.	Ait autem ad illos : Vos date illis manducare. At illi dixerunt : <b>Non sunt nobis</b> plus quam quinque panes et duo pisces : nisi forte nos eamus, et emamus in omnem hanc turbam escas.	I vecě k nim: „Vy jim dajte jiesti.“ Tehdy oni pověděchu: „ <b>Nenie u nás</b> více nežli pět bohcencův a dvě rybě, jedině ač bychom šli a koupili pokrma tomuto všemu zástupu.“

The replacement of the Latin dative PPC in Luke 9:13 by a Czech *u* + genitive PPC is telling. The possessum in this example, five loaves of bread and two fish, is both a physical (non-human and non-animate) and temporary possession. The *u* + genitive expresses a form of possession that is graded to a meaning bordering on locality, such as “among us” in English. The construction in 9:13 is still, without a doubt, predicative possession, but it is a functionally different type of utterance than those that appear in dative PPCs for this period of Old Czech. The functional difference between the dative and *u* + genitive PPCs is no doubt perceived in part because of their formal difference. As described above, the alignment of these two constructions – though based on a nominative possessum and an oblique possessor argument – is quite different. Since the *u* + genitive originated in a locative and still carries a locative meaning in most of its usage in early Czech at this stage in the written language, these aspects of the prepositional phrase are likely still cognitively salient in the PPC. On the other hand, the dative is an argument of the verb – an indirect object – and has a directional sense, in contrast to the locative sense associated with the preposition *u*.

The typological and general literature on predicative possession diverges on the question of whether the dative and locative types of predicative possessive constructions should be grouped together as one type or separated into two distinct types. Stassen (2009:39-40) chooses to group the two together based on his determination that they represent parallel forms encoding the same function. On the other hand, Heine (1997) puts the two constructions into different groups, since he argues they are based on different schemas: the *u* + genitive is an example of his location schema and the dative is an example of his goal schema. Since my intention is to provide a fine-grained analysis of the constructions’ behavior in context, I also choose to analyze the *u* + genitive and dative PPCs in Old Czech as separate constructions.

The period of Old Czech recorded in the Dresden Bible reflects the last stage of a final turning point in the language when the *mít* PPC gains momentum, increasing in frequency and flexibility, thus becoming less restricted than the dative PPC. At this point, the older construction has less flexibility and range than it once did and becomes fixed in certain contexts in which it has historically been used most frequently. A similar argument is presented in Haspelmath (2008) for attributive possession, where he shows that frequency can often be used to more effectively explain what is customarily attributed to alienable/inalienable distinctions.

The developments in Czech PPCs are comparable to developments in morphology, such as changes in noun declensions in the history of Czech. For example, one of the older noun declensions for genitive singular – the ending *-a* for *o*-stem (usually masculine) nouns – was gradually replaced by the *-u* ending over time. This change spread throughout the nominal system, but a few relics of the *-a* ending remain. These relics are, not surprisingly, in frequently occurring nouns, e.g. *sýr* → *sýra* ‘cheese.NOM’ → ‘cheese.GEN’. The purpose of drawing this

parallel is to show that in language change it is common for an older category to lose its functional and formal flexibility, but still persist in fixed contexts as a relic construction. This is precisely what is occurring with the PPCs in Old Czech. In particular, the dative PPC is no longer as frequent or as flexible as it once was and it becomes fixed in specific, frequently occurring contexts, whereas the ‘have’ verb becomes more flexible and therefore spreads, almost reaching default status by the time of the Dresden Bible translation.

### 3. Comparison of Bible examples with a literary text: *Život Svaté Kateřiny*

As a complement to examples of PPCs from the Bible, I examine tokens of PPCs from the 14<sup>th</sup> century epic poem *Život Svaté Kateřiny* ‘The Life of Saint Katherine’. Though not translated directly from a Latin source, *Život Svaté Kateřiny* was based on legends written originally in Latin. The author gave it a distinctly Czech flavor (Lehár et al. 1998), making it one of the better choices for investigating the early Czech language. Based on its linguistic features, the composition of the original text is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. The oldest existing manuscript is from the late fifteenth century. Thus it was likely composed during the reign of Karel IV at a time when higher culture and literature blossomed in Prague and Bohemia (Demetz 1997, Svejkský 1984).

Lehár et al. (1998) describe the legend *Život Svaté Kateřiny* (ŽSK) as follows:

Český básník protkal příběh, který převzal ze dvou latinských prozaických legend, představami a motivy dvorské poezie a dal mu tím nový smysl: jeho vyprávění o životě pohanské princezny, která dala před sňatkem s císařovým synem přednost lásce ke Kristu, nedala se odvrátit od křesťanské víry ani padesáti učenci a zůstala nebeskému ženichovi věrná i přes nejhroznější mučení... (65).

‘The Czech poet wove the story, which was based on two Latin prosaic legends, with the images and motifs of courtly poetry, and with this gave it a new sense: his own tale of the life of a pagan princess who preferred her love for Christ over marriage to the son of an emperor. Even fifty learned men could not persuade her to turn away from her Christian faith and she remained faithful to her heavenly groom through even the most cruel torture...’

Though not as common as *mít* ‘have’, the dative PPC nevertheless appears quite frequently in ŽSK. A selection of examples with dative and *mít* PPCs are given below. These examples have a possessum that is a kinship relation, specifically a son or daughter. They are discussed in light of the reconstructed functions of the two PPCs that was determined from Biblical data above. First are the dative PPCs:

- (1) [89] V Alexandřii v tom městě [90] Kostis s svú královú ve cti [91] bydlil i s svú dcerú milú; [92] tu milováše vsú silú [93] jakžto s právem bylo z čina,  
[94] neb **mu** **bieše** dci jediná  
for him.DAT was.IMPF daughter.NOM one.NOM

‘In Alexandria, in that town, Kostis lived in honor with his queen and with their beloved daughter; he loved her deeply, rightly and properly, for he **had** just one daughter’

- (2) [145] V tom času sě sta obnova [146] vzvolichu syna Maxencova [147] ciesařem pro ty dědiny,  
 [148] neb **mu** **bieše** syn jediný,  
 for him.DAT was.IMPF son.NOM one.NOM

‘At this time something new transpired, they elected Maxencius’ son emperor, for he [Maxencius] **had** just one son’

As I demonstrate above with the Biblical examples, kinship relations are one of the core areas for dative PPCs. Therefore it is no surprise that dative PPCs appear in these contexts in ŽSK. Moreover, a dative PPC is expected in these particular examples considering the function of the utterances within their broader contexts. Both lines assert a fact about the existence of a daughter (1) and son (2). The dative PPC brings the possessum, the daughter and son, into focus. The parallel construction *neb mu bieše...* ‘for he had...’ that introduces both examples puts emphasis on the causal result of asserting the fact of having one daughter or son. Each is the only daughter or son of the respective emperors and their isolated existence is presented as the purpose for the previous discourse: being loved in the case of Kateřina and being appointed emperor in the case of the Maxencius’ son.

Examples with the daughter also appear in *mít* construction:

- (3) [72] Kostis **nejmějieše** dětí [73] více než **dceru jedinú**, [74] tu bieše nazval Kateřinú.  
 ‘Kostis **had** no children, except for one daughter, who was named Kateřina’.
- (4) [152] I rozesla posly řádně [153] v vše krajě, na vše strany, [154] do všech zemí u pohany, [155] ve všecky vlasti, do všech dál, [156] by který ciesař nebo král [157] **jměl** dceř krásnú z plodu svého, [158] jež by dostožna syna jeho [159] byla, aby mu ji dali.  
 ‘And sent delegates to all corners, all countries, to all lands of pagans, to all kingdoms near and far, to see if an emperor or king **had** a beautiful daughter in his lineage, who would be worthy of his son, in order to give her to him’.

When the fact of the daughter’s existence is less relevant in the text than her existence in relation to her father, or as offspring of her father, as in (3), then the *mít* construction is used instead of the dative PPC. In (4) the daughter’s existence is important, but only as part of the process of finding a wife for Maxencius’ son. In this passage, the daughter is a hypothetical princess, not yet the specific princess Kateřina, who is being sought. This point is even clearer when considering that the daughter referred to is a hypothetical princess being sought and not an individuated person.

Even though ŽSK was not translated directly from Latin, the Czech examples using the dative construction could be evidence of broader stylistic influence from the Latin literary language on early Czech literary language. If this were true, the dative PPC would have belonged to an archaic, higher, poetic genre of Czech, and would not have been typical of the vernacular. One may even go so far as to declare that the construction was not native to Czech at all, but rather a calque of the Latin construction. However, the dative PPC occurs in early Slavic

texts other than Old Czech. In Chapter 1, I reconstructed a dative PPC in LPS, the precursor of Old Czech. Furthermore, as I will show in Chapter 3, the dative PPC *also* appears at the opposite end of Slavdom from Old Czech, that is, in the far reaches of the Russian North in Old Novgorodian birchbark letters. The culture and locale of early Novgorod was far removed from the influences of Latin, yet early vernacular letters and other texts in Old Novgorodian used the dative PPC quite freely. Thus, the dative PPC is clearly native to Slavic (as stated above, it was most likely a carryover from PIE) and though Latin could have had a temporary preserving effect on this construction in the early Czech literary language, it is highly unlikely that the construction was a Latin calque. One additional argument for the nativeness of the dative PPC in Czech is the ease with which the author of ŽSK uses the construction, which provides evidence of its currency in Czech of that era, whether or not it was stylistically restricted.

The ŽSK examples confirm what was shown by the examples of predicative possession in the Dresden Bible. That is, mid to late 14<sup>th</sup> century literary Czech had an inventory of two regularly used PPCs: the verb *mít* and a dative PPC. The *u* + genitive PPC may still have been available as an encoding option for predicative possession, but only marginally and there are no examples in ŽSK. The ŽSK examples confirm what was shown by the examples of predicative possession in the Dresden Bible. That is, mid to late 14<sup>th</sup> century literary Czech had an inventory of two regularly used PPCs: the verb *mít* and a dative PPC. Thus, the dative PPC was an active construction in the early Czech literary language, but fell out of usage by the time of the Kralická Bible translation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

#### ***4. Germans and their language in Czech lands***

Up to this point, I have not raised the question of why the dative PPC (and the *u* + genitive PPC) was lost between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Old Czech. It may seem to be the case that the construction was already on its way out and the passing of two more centuries was ample time for it to disappear completely. However, considering Latin's significant influence on the early Czech literary language, why would the dative PPC not have been preserved in at least the core functions that matched the functions in Latin? The answer lies in a force more powerful than Latin operating on the level of vernacular and bureaucratic language: German. German influence operated from the bottom up. It was first influential at the level of the vernacular and over time it infiltrated written and more formal registers of Czech.

The linguistic situation in Bohemia during the early part of the second millennium was quite complex. During the reign of Charles IV in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (roughly the time of the early Bible translation and *Život Svaté Kateřiny*), not only Czech, but also German was beginning to be used as a written language in Bohemian lands. Svejtkovský (1984) describes the situation as follows:

It should be noted that not only Czech but also German was gradually introduced into the religious and public life of the Bohemian Kingdom. The presence of a German population in medieval Bohemia, the country's political position within the Holy Roman Empire, and intense religious and cultural connections between the two linguistic communities helped to create a unique bilingual situation in which both languages were dependent on the authority of Latin. The similar functions of Czech and German, as well as their interrelations, contributed to both a heightened awareness of their social role and their codification as official languages. In regard to



the use of German, one should remember, for example, that the Prague *Kanzleisprache* and the literary activity connected with it represented a significant fact in German cultural history, which derived from the conditions peculiar to Bohemia in general and Prague in particular in the second half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century (323).

Unlike links between Latin and Old Czech, which can be traced to specific textual sources, links between Czech and German are less straightforward, since most of the language contact occurred not on the level of the literary language, but outside of recorded history. Despite this relatively silent past,<sup>7</sup> contact with German appears to have had an overall much greater and lasting influence on the Czech language than Latin. In spite of Latin's significant influence on Czech's early literary language, German is the contact language that inspired lasting changes in Czech written and spoken registers. In the area of predicative possession, Latin would more likely have had a preserving effect on dative PPCs, which we know did not happen. Instead, it appears that long-term contact with German motivated the almost complete eradication of the dative PPC in favor of *mít*. It is a well-known fact that Germanic languages are strong 'have' languages (Isačenko 1974).

German presence and prominence in early Prague and Bohemia is evident from a number of sources. Wolverton (2001) provides some of this evidence, including the fact that "many churchmen, both secular and monastic, were immigrants of German origin" in at least the earliest centuries of the second millennium (123). By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, there were already special laws and privileges in place for Germans living in Prague (271-2), Germans were allowed to choose their own *plebanus* 'parish' (127), and, furthermore, "Germans were exempted from the universal military service that otherwise fell to all the duke's subjects – itself a sign of their exceptional status within the majority population..." (273). The Germans described here were living in communities alongside ethnic Czechs (and Jews and often other ethnicities), and so the interactions between the Czechs and Germans was likely quite intense in at least Prague, and surely in other areas of Bohemia (and probably in parts of Moravia as well).

Other scholars, e.g. Maur (1996), Boháč (1987), Demetz (1997), also report that German speakers have been settling in Czech and Moravian lands for roughly a millennium. A significant influx of German-speaking populations started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and peaked in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. They did not settle equally over all of the Czech state; there were larger concentrations of German settlers in particular cities and regions. Aside from Prague, districts adjacent to German lands and temporarily belonging to the German state such as Chebsko and Sedlecko were, not surprisingly, heavily settled by Germans as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Maur 1996). Given these population considerations alongside the linguistic changes examined in §2 and §3, it can be concluded that contact with German inspired the development of *mít* 'have' as the only PPC in Czech.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

Though the 14<sup>th</sup> century texts referenced here provide only trace evidence of the existence of the system of the three PPCs of LPS, the fact that this tail end of the system was

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<sup>7</sup> Though by no means completely silent. Demetz (1997) discusses the German poets in the Přemyslid court of Prague.

captured in early Czech writing at all is quite remarkable. By the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, the usage of *mít* in Old Czech is so overwhelming that it is easy to dismiss the dative PPC as peripheral and anomalous, thus insignificant. However, as I have shown above, when these constructions are isolated, compared, and categorized, it becomes evident that they had a clear function and presence in early Czech writing.

To summarize, the dative PPC from LPS still existed in Old Czech, which is proven by 14<sup>th</sup> century secular and religious textual evidence. The dative PPC in Old Czech was not merely a calque of the dative PPC in Latin, despite the strong influence of Latin as the primary secular and religious written language in early Czech lands. Furthermore, the increase in frequency of the verb *mít* at the expense of the dative PPC in early Czech is a result of intense contact with German, since large populations of German speakers resided in Czech lands and had considerable bureaucratic and cultural influence at various points in time.

These conclusions anchor the West Slavic component of my argument for contact-induced developments in the history of predicative possession in Slavic. In particular, the LPS system of predicative possession, which included three separate constructions, was not preserved in any of the modern Slavic languages and each language developed one of the constructions as its primary construction, depending on the language(s) it was in most intense contact with in the course of its independent history. The LPS inventory was present in early Czech, but reduced to just the verb *mít* in a matter of a few centuries, largely as a result of intense linguistic contacts with German. The tail end of the LPS system is recoverable in 14<sup>th</sup> century Czech texts, which provide modest, yet clear, support for this argument.

## PREDICATIVE POSSESSION IN EARLY EAST SLAVIC

### 1. Introduction

The use of the *u* + genitive construction for predicative possession in Russian, anomalous from the perspective of West and South Slavic languages, has attracted considerable attention from scholars over the years. The primary interest of the investigations has been the provenance of the construction, in particular whether or not the *u* + genitive PPC is originally Slavic, developed in the history of Russian out of an original locative expression, or whether its source lies completely outside of Slavic and Russian, instead entering the language via contact or substratal influence from autochthonous Balto-Finnic-speaking populations of the Russian northwest. The Balto-Finnic languages, grammatically similar to closely related Finnish and Estonian, use their adessive case to encode predicative possession; the adessive case is a locative case corresponding in meaning to *u* + genitive in Russian (for examples from Finnish see the Introduction and Chapter 4).

Each of these three explanations for the *u* + genitive PPC has been proposed by different scholars using different combinations of available evidence. Sorting through the different arguments and establishing the actual history of predicative possession in Russian is therefore a complex endeavor: more than would be expected for what boils down to a single construction in the language. A single construction that, nevertheless, represents a broadly applicable and frequently employed linguistic concept. Isačenko (1974) asserts that a language's possession type – that is, 'have' or 'be' – is a diagnostic of the language's typological structure more broadly. Moreover, possession has been claimed to have socially, historically and culturally relevant implications. Stassen (2009:7-9) and Heine (1997:1-2) discuss the bio-cultural or socially situated nature of possession. Stassen writes, "by virtue of its agent-patient syntax, [*have*] was held to represent a more 'active' mode of conceptualization than the earlier 'be' encoding." Consequently, it has sometimes been claimed that 'have' is a later evolutionary development in languages; a linguistic development that reflects broader changes in societal development (Benveniste 1971). However, recent typological research has not confirmed this hypothesis, showing that 'have' languages can and, in fact, do change to 'be' languages (Stassen 2009).

Even discourse outside of linguistics has engaged in analyzing the implications of 'have' versus 'be' modes of expressing possession. Particularly prominent in this respect is Fromm (2005), who examines the purported psycho-social implications of speaking a 'have' versus 'be' language. He argues that a 'be' mode of existence is natural for human beings, and that modern societies which practice a 'have' mode of existence are unhealthy and ego-driven, which he claims is ultimately detrimental to human existence. The goal of the present work is not to engage in this discussion, though I might remark that from a typological point of view there appears to be no correlation between the PPC a language employs and the socioeconomic

structure of its speech community, which casts doubt on Fromm's claims (cf. Stassen (2009) for a typological survey of predicative possession in languages cross-linguistically).

In short, considerable attention within and outside of linguistics has been devoted to the broader implications of a language's possession type. Setting aside linguistic, cultural, psychological, and other potential implications of speaking a 'have' vs. 'be' language, there is one point of agreement in the literature: the concept of linguistic possession itself is a linguistic universal. That is, the linguistic expression of possession is *not* culture-specific (Stassen 2009, Heine 1997).

Despite the attention paid to predicative possession in the literature, especially to the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian, a full account of its historical development is absent. Moreover, most of the literature conspicuously lacks serious discussion of the dative PPC in EES. My textual examination shows that the dative PPC was actively used in the earliest period of EES, appearing in multiple genres of EES texts (though its usage drops off sharply in the subsequent historical periods). (Some exceptions to the neglect of the dative PPC in the literature include Grković-Major (2005) and Marojević (1983).)

In the remainder of this chapter, I address precisely these lacunae in the research on predicative possession in the history of Early East Slavic, paying special attention to the mixture of written traditions that led to the development of the Modern Russian literary language, or Common Standard Russian. I bring together the following four lines of evidence to account for the developments from Early East Slavic to Modern Russian:

- 1) A thorough investigation of predicative possession in the Early East Slavic textual tradition, based on a systematic collection of examples from multiple texts representing different genres, regions, and source texts in Early East Slavdom;
- 2) A proper chronological account of the history of predicative possession, keeping in mind the geographic expanse that early Russian dialects encompassed, as well as the changing sociolinguistic environment of these dialects alongside the emerging standard language;
- 3) A complete account of the dative PPC alongside the investigation of the *u* + genitive construction and the verb *iměti*, since the dative PPC played an important role in the early textual tradition and its usage needs to be accounted for, both in and of itself, and also because its early functions necessarily must have been taken over by other encoding strategies; and
- 4) A detailed examination of the behavior of the roles of the arguments in the *u* + genitive PPC, especially related to the subjecthood properties of the possessor and possessum arguments. In light of claims for contact influence on the Russian *u* + genitive PPC, its argument structure properties are compared with argument structure properties in locative PPCs of neighboring languages, with a special focus on Finnish as a representative of Balto-Finnic languages. This discussion is the primary focus of Chapter 4.

Ultimately I conclude that the present-day Slavic *u* + genitive PPC in Russian is a result of three converging forces in the history of East Slavic. First, Russian inherited the *u* + genitive construction from Late Proto Slavic as a peripheral encoding strategy for predicative possession

with restricted scope and functions. Second, contact with Finnic languages in the northern part of European Russia supported and promoted the use of the construction for predicative possession. And third, the construction expanded dramatically in frequency and semantic scope in the history of Russian, a process instigated by the geographical location of the emerging standard language in a transitional dialect zone and further reinforced by dialect mixing.

The *u* + genitive construction can be said to be a result of contact influence with Finnic languages only indirectly: contact promoted a preexisting construction, allowing it to achieve high frequency in a restricted geographical area, which eventually led to its expansion as the primary PPC in the standard language. I suspect that this more intricate explanation for the history of the *u* + genitive PPC is more the norm than the exception in historical language change and contact not only in Russian, but also in other languages. That is, rarely can episodes of linguistic copying between languages be isolated distinctly and clearly in time and space. This is because languages are the dynamic creations of their speech communities, subject to innumerable pressures pushing and pulling them in multiple directions in both written and spoken forms. I attempt to uncover some of this complex web of history that represents the development of just one domain of the Russian language: the expression of predicative possession. However, I intend for my arguments, methods, and conclusions to be applicable to other aspects of linguistic history in Russian and Slavic, as well as in languages beyond Slavic.

## ***2. Previous Literature***

In this section, I review the primary studies relevant to the diachronic development of *u* + genitive PPC in contrast to other means of encoding predicative possession in Early East Slavic. Thus, I include works, which are recurrently quoted in the literature, which offer detailed discussion of the topic, which report relevant data, or which contribute an important or unique point to the ongoing discussion. Some of this review overlaps with discussion in previous chapters, in particular Chapter 1, where I discussed the status of different strategies for encoding predicative possession in Old Church Slavic (OCS). The second part of this section is devoted almost entirely to a discussion of Safarewiczowa (1964), which is the most extensive study to date on semantic changes in two of the three PPCs in EES – the *u* + genitive PPC and *iměti* – based on textual evidence.

### ***2.1. General Discussion***

Evidence from onomastics and historical records has established beyond a doubt that Finno-Ugric tribes formerly inhabited northwestern and east-central areas of European Russia. The presence of Finno-Ugric tribes in northwestern Russia, specifically speakers of Balto-Finnic languages, is additionally clear as a result of the imprint they made on northwestern varieties of Russian. Starting in roughly the middle of the first millennium CE, speakers of Balto-Finnic languages began to shift to an Early East Slavic dialect of Late Proto-Slavic as a result of societal and economic pressures. A number of linguistic features have been attributed to a Balto-Finnic substratum, with some more robust than others. I discuss a number of these features in §8 below.

In the mid-twentieth century several scholars (Veenker 1967, Décsy 1967) claimed that the Russian *u* + genitive PPC was one of these substratal features from Balto-Finnic. Others, e.g. Xodova (1966), Mirčev (1971), and Vasilev (1973), temper the argument for Finnic influence on Early East Slavic with examples of the *u* + genitive PPC in OCS and other early Slavic

traditions such as Old Serbian, Old Croatian, and Middle Bulgarian. In Chapter 1, these arguments were discussed in detail, and in Chapter 2 and McAnallen (2010), I provided evidence that Old Czech also had the option of encoding predicative possession with an *u* + genitive PPC.

Occasionally accompanying the argument for the nativeness of the *u* + genitive construction in Slavic and Russian is a parallel argument that the verb *iměti* ‘have’ was a Greek calque (and thus entered Russian as a Slavonicism), e.g. Isačenko (1974). Dingley (1995) disagrees with this view, asserting the nativeness of *iměti* in Early East Slavic (EES) with examples from what he deems to be more non-Slavonic passages in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Danylenko (2002) argues the same point, also incorporating data from Old Novgorodian birchbark letters to assert the nativeness of *iměti* in Russian. I also take the stance that the verb *iměti* was native to Russian in its earliest stages, but recognize that its usage was likely enhanced or promoted in texts and bookish language as a result of Slavonic and Greek influence.

Others recognize that the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian could be a result of converging historical factors, i.e. both internal and external factors worked together to bring about the modern linguistic situation. One such view is briefly laid out in Bátori (1980:150-151). He acknowledges that Russian inherited multiple source constructions for predicative possession, in particular the verb *iměti* and the dative PPC (citing Vondrák (1928:261)). However, he deliberately conflates the two existential constructions, i.e. the constructions with oblique possessor arguments with the verb ‘be’ – the dative PPC and the *u* + genitive PPC – to argue that contact with Finnic enhanced the existential type of construction in general. It is not enough, however, to assume that the *u* + genitive PPC is a continuation of the dative PPC merely because both constructions are formed with oblique possessors and the verb ‘be’. Since Bátori offers no explanation his conflation of the two constructions, his argument cannot be pursued further.

Using an argument based in part on typological tendencies, Heine (1997) argues that the path of grammaticalization in the domain of predicative possession moves from an existential type towards a ‘have’ verb and not the reverse. Thus he concludes that the *u* + genitive PPC must have been the initial, widespread construction in LPS, a system retained most faithfully by Russian. However, this argument is not sensitive to the effects of contact, which often serve to skew “natural” tendencies in language change. As I see it, we should recognize this direction of development as the typologically more frequent process and not an invariable rule. Heine’s assumption also leads to the conclusion that we need *not* look for external factors in the development of ‘have’ in Western and Southern Slavdom, since the change follows the “natural” evolutionary progression of language. But as I have already shown in Chapter 3, contact with German in the history of Czech motivated the full development of *mít* ‘have’.

## 2.2. *Studies in the semantics of PPCs in the history of Russian*

Others writing about predicative possession in the history of Russian are less preoccupied with the provenance of the *u* + genitive construction and instead study the semantics of usage of different PPCs in EES texts. Most notable among this work is Safarewiczowa (1964), which is the only wide-scale semantic study of predicative possession in the history of Russian. This section is primarily devoted to recapitulating the arguments and main conclusions from her monograph.

Safarewiczowa was interested in breaking from the tradition of attributing the synchronic variation of the two Modern Russian PPCs – *u* + genitive and *iměti* – to stylistic differences, and

instead explores diachronic changes in the semantics of the two constructions. She did not consider the dative PPC. Her main conclusion is that the *u* + genitive PPC not only became more frequent over time, but also that the two PPCs became more semantically distinct. Specific semantic contexts are given in Table 1.

Safarewiczowa asserts that it is impossible to say how or when the *u* + genitive PPC arose because it is already attested in the earliest EES texts. Instead, she traces the usage of the *u* + genitive PPC in texts from Early East Slavic up through Modern Russian, and ultimately attributes its expansion to an internally motivated process linked to the central meaning of the preposition *u* ‘at/ near’, that is, a meaning of spatial proximity. She explains that senses of location and ownership typically coincide in languages when discussing concrete entities, i.e. concrete objects that one owns are located in one’s proximity. Her conclusions presage later work on the grammaticalization of locative types of possession, e.g. Heine (1997). These frequently coinciding meanings of location and possession enable the extension of the *u* + genitive PPC into cases of possession where the possessum is not proximate, not concrete, and even when the possessum is not strictly “possessable,” e.g. with kinship relations (though other humans, e.g. slaves, were certainly possessable in the strict sense of the word in early periods of Russian history). According to Safarewiczowa, by the beginning of Russian recorded history the concreteness or abstractness of possessum was no longer relevant, i.e. concreteness vs. abstractness of the object did not influence the choice of possession type, i.e. *u* + genitive or *iměti*. This means that human possessors appear in *u* + genitive construction whether or not the possessum is concrete or abstract.

The two PPCs – the *u* + genitive PPC and *iměti* – became concentrated around distinctly different semantic domains. Table 1 lists the main contexts where, according to Safarewiczowa, either *u* + genitive or *iměti* is strongly preferred. All examples are taken from Safarewiczowa (1964). Safarewiczowa emphasizes that *iměti* was not categorically marginalized as *u* + genitive expanded. Rather, the functions of both constructions changed gradually, expanding their usage in some semantic contexts, contracting in others. She reports additional factors that influenced the overall decrease of *iměti*, including its demise as both an auxiliary future tense marker and a modal verb. It also became stylistically marked in many contexts that the *u* + genitive PPC had taken over.

The *u* + genitive PPC never broke its connection with its primary meaning – spatial proximity – thus its prevalence in contexts where spatial proximity is a fundamental element of possession. On the other hand, when the subject is an abstract notion, the *u* + genitive PPC has not had as much success.<sup>1</sup> These are the extreme ends of the semantic spectrum. Other examples are marked by more instability.

Marojević has explored different types of possession in Early East Slavic, including some discussion of historical usage of the *u* + genitive PPC (1983:153-159), dative PPC (1983:59-60), and a brief discussion of *u* + genitive in one EES text: *Slovo o polku Igoreve* ‘The Lay of Igor’s Campaign’. The text contains a single example of an *u* + genitive PPC (1985:113). His conclusions are that the *u* + genitive PPC developed fully as a PPC only in later periods of Russian, but that its source is detectable in examples from Early East Slavic texts. He

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<sup>1</sup> Safarewiczowa finds no EES examples of this type. I have found one in the Moscow Chronicle – see (26) in §6 below.

furthermore concludes that the dative PPC was an active construction in EES and not a Slavonicism.

Table 1. Safarawiczowa's (1964) contexts for *u* + genitive vs. *iměti*

<i>Usage</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
The verb <i>iměti</i> has become obsolete in three contexts:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) When expressing a physical property of an animate subject, e.g. <i>у всех раненых было небритое, позеленевшее лицо</i> 'all those wounded had unshaven, slightly greening faces'</li> <li>2) When expressing illness or sickness, e.g. <i>Сегодня у меня озноб</i> 'Today I have a chill'</li> <li>3) In sentences expressing an activity or action of a human subject or a mental process occurring in the subject, <i>у меня послезавтра совещание</i> 'I have a meeting the day after tomorrow'; <i>у ней было одно желание и право: любить</i> 'she had but one wish and [one] right: to love'</li> </ol>
The verb <i>iměti</i> is well under way to being replaced by the <i>u</i> + genitive PPC in the following two contexts:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To have a certain mental property stand out, e.g. <i>совести нет у людей</i> 'people have no conscience'</li> <li>2) To be connected to another person, e.g. <i>У одних ребят есть папы, у других нет</i> 'Some children have fathers, others do not'</li> </ol>
The <i>u</i> + genitive PPC has an advantage over the verb <i>iměti</i> in two contexts:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To own</li> <li>2) To have something to use, to have at one's disposal, e.g. <i>у ее отца был бельевого магазин</i> 'her father had a linen store'; <i>у каждого из нас санитаров был свой пассажирский поезд</i> 'each one of us janitors had his own passenger train'</li> </ol>
The verb <i>iměti</i> strengthened over time in two contexts where <i>u</i> + genitive is rarely used:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) When the subject is an action/activity or property, e.g. <i>Занятие Украины нашими войсками имеет ближайшую цель</i> 'The occupation of Ukraine by our troops has an immediate purpose'</li> <li>2) When the subject is an inanimate concrete object, e.g. <i>Лососина имела привкус стоялой олифы</i> 'The salmon had an aftertaste of stale drying oil'</li> </ol>

### 3. Special Problems in the Semantics of Predicative Possession in EES

In the remainder of this chapter I draw on textual evidence to describe the usage of the three PPCs in historical periods of EES. But first it is necessary to address some problems that arise when counting and analyzing the three PPCs. Counting examples of existential PPCs can be particularly problematic because they can formally overlap with other constructions, since the



*u* + genitive prepositional phrase in historical and modern periods of Russian could be either the possessor in a PPC, an external possessor modifying nominal, or a prepositional phrase designating a locative relation. Not all of the problems discussed below are unique to EES among Slavic languages, but they are most prominent in EES texts. Examples in this section are taken from EES chronicles: *Povest' vremennyx let* 'Russian Primary Chronicle' (hereafter PVL) and *Moskovskij letopisnyj svod* 'The Moscow Chronicle' (hereafter MLS). This task necessarily serves as a preamble to the later part of the chapter where I explain changes in predicative possession in the historical development of Russian from EES.

The least problematic of the EES PPCs is the verb *iměti* 'have'. Nevertheless, complications occasionally arise with *iměti*, mainly because it is formally similar to *imati* 'to seize, take' and the verb conjugated following two patterns, with one conjugation unique to *iměti* and a second conjugation that overlapped with *imati*. The difficulty is to some degree compounded by the fact that the verb *imati* was quite frequent in EES. Additionally, both verbs were used as future tense auxiliaries in historical periods of Russian (Sreznevskij 1989). In most cases, the usage can be easily disambiguated by the context, but occasionally it is not clear whether a sense of possession or taking is intended by the verb. A more detailed description of morphosyntactic and phonological particulars of the verbs is provided by Danylenko (2002).

A number of more complicated problems arise when analyzing the *u* + genitive PPC. Most prominent is the ambiguity between a locative and possessive sense when both the would-be possessor and possessum arguments are human.<sup>2</sup> Examples of this type are discussed in (1)-(7) below. For this set of arguments, the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase is most frequently used in two contexts: when the relationship between two humans is being established, thus possession, and when two humans are put in physical proximity to one another, thus location. These two senses, however, are not always mutually exclusive of one another and multiple examples arise where it is not possible to say that one sense prevails over the other. It is nevertheless possible to isolate certain factors that tend to motivate one interpretation over the other. The most prominent among such factors is the definiteness of the potential possessum argument. When the possessum is indefinite, especially when being introduced for the first time, the possessive sense typically prevails, as in (1) from the PVL.

- (1) est' muž' v seluni imenem" lev" sut'  
 be.PRS.3SG man.NOM.SG in Salonika.PREP name.INST.SG Lev.NOM be.PRS.3PL
- ou nego sñve razumivi jazyku**  
 by him.GEN.SG son.NOM.PL understand.PTCP.DAT.SG language.DAT.SG
- slověn'sku xitra v̄ s̄na ou nego filosofa.  
 Slavic.DAT.SG smart.NOM.DU 2 son.NOM.DU by him.GEN.SG philosopher.NOM.DU

'there was a man in Salonika, by the name Leo, who **had two sons** familiar with the Slavic tongue, being learned men as well.'

<sup>2</sup> This particular ambiguity also arises with inanimate possessor arguments, but such examples are rare in the historical and modern languages.

Also frequently falling into this category are negated constructions, which often express a lack of a person who fulfills an essential role in a community, such as a prince or a teacher, e.g. (2) from the PVL.

- (2) zemlja naša křšča i ně<sup>s</sup> ou nas" oučitelja  
 land.NOM.SG our.NOM.SG baptized.NOM.SG and NEG by us.GEN teacher.GEN.SG  
 iže by ny nakazal" i poučal" nas"  
 which.NOM.SG COND us.CLITIC.ACC direct.PST.M.SG and teach.PST.M.SG us.ACC

‘Our nation is baptized, and yet **we have no teacher** to direct and instruct us’<sup>3</sup>

The sense in (2) is not that a specific person is lacking, but rather that there is no one currently fulfilling the role in general. Thus the possessum is indefinite.

This contrasts with examples with definite possessums. The clearest examples of definiteness are with proper names. Thus, in most examples in which a potential possessum is a proper name, it is not a possessum at all, but rather part of a locative designation, as in (3) from the PVL.

- (3) volodimeru bo razbolěvšjusia v seže vremja  
 Volodimir.DAT for fall\_ill.PTCP.DAT.SG in this.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG  
 bjaše ou nego boris"  
 be.IMPF.3SG by him.GEN.SG Boris.NOM

‘Volodimir fell ill, and at that time **Boris was with him**’

*not:* \*‘...**he had Boris at that time**’

A possessive interpretation of this example is infelicitous, precisely because of the definiteness of Boris. However, when in one clause a potential possessum is a proper name paired with the person’s professional or personal role, then the sense of possession returns, but the sense of location also remains, as in (4) from the MLS.

- (4) Ljudie že zatvorišasja v gorodě,  
 people.NOM.PL for retreat.AOR.3PL in city.PREP.SG  
 a voevody u nix bjaxu Volodimer" Danilovich',  
 and voevoda.NOM.PL by them.GEN be.IMPF.3PL Volodimer.NOM Danilovich'.NOM,

<sup>3</sup> The form *ně<sup>s</sup>* is the variant of the negated ‘be’ verb in the Laurentian, Hypatian, and several other manuscripts; the form *něst’* is in the *Kommisionyj* manuscript and a few other manuscripts. This also applies to examples (13) and (22) below.

Grigorei Volodimerovič', Ivan Lixor'  
Grigorei.NOM Volodimerovič'.NOM, Ivan.NOM Lixor'.NOM

‘The people retreated into the city, and they had the voevodas Volodimir Danilovič, Grigorej Volodimerovič, and Ivan Lixor’

*or*: ‘...the voevodas Volodimir Danilovič, Grigorej Volodimerovič, and Ivan Lixor were with them’

*or*: ‘...their voevodas were Volodimir Danilovič, Grigorej Volodimerovič, and Ivan Lixor’

When a proper name is accompanied by a broader designation, such as voevoda in (4), both possessive and locative senses of the construction are important for understanding the utterance. Also note that the third possible translation of (4) uses external possession, not predicative possession. This is yet another type of ambiguity that arises with the *u* + genitive construction and is addressed in more detail below.

In examples like (4), the type of relationship between two humans (or groups of humans) is also important for interpreting the example as possession vs. location; one and the same collocation of elements can designate possession for permanent human relations, in particular kinship relations, but location or both for other relations that are inherently transient, e.g. prince, boyar, etc. This is exemplified by (5) and (6) from MLS, where the relationships specified are between fathers and sons, which promotes the possessive interpretation of the construction.

(5) a u mene ediny dva syna, Izjaslav" i Rostislav,  
and by me.GEN single.NOM.PL two son.NOM.DU, Izjaslav.NOM and Rostislav.NOM,

a molodšii est' že  
and young.NOM.PL be.PRS.3SG still

‘I have only two sons, Izyaslav and Rostislav, and they are still young’

(6) bě bo u nego synov" 6, Aleksandr", Andrej,  
be.AOR.3G for by him.GEN son.GEN.PL 6 Aleksandr.NOM, Andrej.NOM,

Kostjantin, Afonasii, Danilo, Mixailo  
Kostjantin.NOM, Afonasii.NOM, Danilo.NOM, Mixailo.NOM

‘For he had six sons, Alexander, Andrej, Kostjantin, Afonasii, Danilo, Mixailo’

Not only is the type of relation important – kinship versus social or political – in interpreting examples (4)-(6), but word order is also relevant. When the would-be possessum in the nominative case is in initial position in the clause, the prepositional phrase has more of a

locative sense, as in example (4); but when the *u* + genitive PP is in initial position in the clause as in (5), the possessive reading is stronger.

The frequently overlapping senses of possession and location in *u* + genitive constructions with two human arguments is related to its origin in temporary possession, a topic I addressed in previous chapters. Stassen (2009) explains that it is cross-linguistically common for the locative type of predicative possession to first encode temporary possessive relations and later to expand to encode permanent and abstract possession. The coinciding meanings are based on a prototypical scenario of possession, i.e. when an object is with me or near me, it is mine, and when it is not with me or near me, it is not mine. Since most concrete possessions are potentially mobile entities, location and temporary possession are often highly correlated in languages. A clear sense of temporary possession is found in example (7) from the MLS.

- (7) i ne bĕ u nix v Novĕgorodĕ knjazja  
 and NEG be.AOR.3SG at them.GEN in Novgorod.PREP prince.GEN.SG
- vsja zima  
 all.NOM.SG winter.NOM.SG

‘and in Novgorod they did not have a prince all winter’

The temporal adverb ‘all winter’ emphasizes a temporary, not permanent, lack of a prince. In EES, the *u* + genitive PPC is frequently used to indicate something or someone that is temporarily not possessed.

The originally locative *u* + genitive construction can only fully emerge as a PPC when it can be used in cases where the physical position of the possessum in relation to the possessor becomes irrelevant. In many of the examples from Old Russian texts, it is not possible to determine if the potential possessum is physically near the possessor, the factor allowing the possessive sense of the construction to separate itself from its locative origin. The clearest examples of possession without a locative shading in my corpus are with kinship relations as the possessums.

As just mentioned, in Old Russian it was also possible to use the *u* + genitive PPC for expressing permanent possessive relationships, such as kinship relationships, which is yet another example of the entrenchment of the PPC in EES. This aspect of early Russian is a departure from the behavior of other early Slavic writing traditions, where the few examples that use the *u* + genitive construction to encode predicative possession are decidedly within the confines of temporary possession with physical commodities as possessums. Even though the *u* + genitive construction increasingly behaved as a full-fledged PPC in the history of Russian, in EES the construction was still associated with temporary possession.

Another ambiguity arose in interpreting (7), that is, between predicative possession and external possession. In these cases the two arguments need not be human, as was necessary for ambiguity to arise between predicative possessive and locative readings. However, there does need to be an additional complement in the clause: an adjective or noun, so that the verb *byt'* (or its null counterpart) is interpreted as a copula rather than part of an *u* + genitive PPC. Many of these examples are ambiguous, as with (4). An example with an inanimate possessum

(specifically an inalienable possessum, a body part) from MLS is given in (8), which could be interpreted as either predicative or external possession.

- (8) Marta 9 proščen" byst' někyi čelověk" ot  
 March 9 leave.NOM.SG be.AOR.3SG certain.NOM.SG person.NOM.SG from  
 groba svjatago čjudotvorca Petra na Moskvě.  
 grave.GEN.SG holy.GEN.SG miracle\_worker.GEN.SG Peter.GEN.SG on Moscow.PREP  
**Bě u nego noga prikorčena, i v toi den'**  
 be.AOR.3SG by him.GEN leg.NOM.SG crippled.NOM.SG and in that.ACC.SG day.ACC.SG  
 prostresja i ot'ide zdrav" v dom svoi  
 cure.AOR.3SG and leave.AOR.3SG healthy.NOM.SG in house.ACC.SG REFL.NOM.SG

‘On March 9<sup>th</sup> a certain person was leaving the grave of the Holy Miracle-worker Peter in Moscow. **He had a crippled leg**, and on that day he was cured and left for his house healed.’

or: ‘...**His leg was crippled**...’

This duality of interpretation is still present in Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPCs. Holvoet (2005) addresses possessive versus copular readings of sentences in Modern Russian such as *Glaza u nee byli zelenye*, which could be translated into English as either ‘She had green eyes’ or ‘Her eyes were green’ (literally, ‘Eyes by her were green’). As I have already argued in Chapter 3, the ambiguity between external and predicative possession is to a large extent related to word order, with context also playing an important role. Thus the same sentence with a different word order, i.e. *U nee byli zelenye glaza*, literally ‘By her were green eyes’, quite clearly renders a possessive reading. These same complications arise in EES texts, and in many cases ambiguities in examples cannot be resolved. I opted to be generous in counting examples. In all cases where a sense of predicative possession overlaps with either location or external possession to such an extent that no single clear interpretation emerges I counted the example as ambiguous and put it in a separate column in the table.

In EES, as in Modern Russian, external possessors could also be encoded as datives, and in clauses with an additional adjectival or nominal complement predicative possessive versus external possessive reading is associated with different word orders. In particular, Possessor-Verb-Possessum order most often gives a predicative possessive reading, while other orders open up the possibility of multiple interpretations. An example that could be either predicative or external possession is in (9) from the PVL.

- (9) i bě že volodimer" poběžen" poxot'iu  
 and be.AOR.3SG PART Volodimer.NOM overcome.PTCP.NOM.SG lust.INS.SG  
 žen'skoiu i byša emu vodimya rog"něd'  
 female.INS.SG and be.AOR.3PL him.DAT lawful\_wife.NOM.SG Rogned.NOM.SG

iuže            posadi            na lybedi            ideže nyne stoit'  
 who.ACC.SG    seat.AOR.3SG    on Lybed.NOM.SG    where now    stand.PRS.3SG

sel'ce            pred"slavino  
 village.NOM.SG    Predslavino.NOM

‘Vladimir was overcome by lust for women. **His** lawful wife was Rogned, whom he settled on the Lybed’, where the village of Predslavino now stands.’

or: ‘...He **had** a lawful wife, Rogned...’

In other cases, ambiguities unique to the dative construction arise. Often it is the case that a person’s designation blends into a meaning of possession, where there can be overlapping meanings of possession and designation, as in (10), also from the PVL.

(10) i    poslušav"            ix"            predast'            im"            stefana  
 and heed.PTCP.NOM.3SG    them.GEN    appoint.AOR.3SG    them.DAT    Stefan.GEN

da **budet'**    im"            igumen"    i    bĭgsvi            stefana  
 for be.FUT.3SG    them.DAT    prior.NOM.SG    and    bless.AOR.3SG    Stefan.GEN

‘Listening to them he appointed Stefan **to be their prior**, and blessed Stefan...’

or: ‘...to **have** as their as a prior...’

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the dative PPC in Slavic is a carryover from Proto Indo-European (PIE). This, however, does not mean that the semantics of the dative PPC in both LPS and in the separate Slavic languages matched PIE. Within even just the Old Russian written tradition the dative PPC exhibits different behavior in different texts and in different locales. In the chronicles it appears most frequently in a few particular contexts: with abstract possessums, in a construction for naming, e.g. ‘name to him is Ivan’=‘his name is Ivan’, and with kinship relations. However, in the Old Novgorodian birchbark letters, the dative PPC is also found with concrete and tangible possessums, a departure from the preferred usage in both the Russian chronicles and non-Russian traditions, such as OCS and Old Czech. The dative PPC was distinct from the *u* + genitive PPC, largely because the dative case is linked with directionality or intention, as in example (10), as opposed to the *u* + genitive, which is associated with location, as in (3) and (4). Thus the underlying source of the dative PPC is different than the *u* + genitive PPC, a factor that accounts for sometimes subtle differences in the two existential PPCs in EES.

#### ***4. Survey of Predicative Possession in Early East Slavic Texts***

As I showed in Chapters 1 and 2, early South and West Slavic texts, as represented by Old Church Slavic (and Old Serbian and Bulgarian) and Old Czech, exhibit a clear preference for

*iměti* in expressing predicative possession. However, the Early East Slavic textual tradition is mixed. Some EES texts show a strong preference for *iměti* ‘have’, while other texts rely more heavily on the existential PPCs. This is a function, on one hand, of the geographic expanse over which the dialects of early East Slavic are spoken, from Galicia in the far west of Ukraine to Novgorod in the northwest of Russia to Vladimir in central Russia. But on the other hand, the disparities are also a function of the different textual genres represented by Early East Slavic textual history.

The tradition of writing in Russia is vast, varied, and abundant, providing a promising resource for scholars hoping to uncover information about diachronic aspects of the language. This of course makes it impossible to survey all of Russian’s historical literary tradition. I have chosen a selection of Russian texts to examine for tokens of predicative possession that represent the scope and range of Russian literary language; the choices aim to fulfill the following three goals: 1) to allow us to trace the diachronic development of predicative possession in Old Russian by using texts from different historical periods, 2) to represent a wide range of locales that used varieties of Early East Slavic, and 3) to cover a wide range of textual genres. The chosen texts include two chronicles: the *Povest' vremennyx let* ‘Russian Primary Chronicle (PVL) (§5) and the later *Moskovskij letopisnyj svod* ‘Moscow Chronicle’ (MLS) (§6); Russian legal texts: the *Russkaja Pravda* ‘Russian Truth’ and the *Sudebnik of 1497* ‘Legal code of 1497’ (hereafter *Sudebnik*) (§7); the Old Novgorodian Birchbark Letters (§8); and texts from a later period of EES or “Middle Russian” (§9): the *Domostroj*: a 15<sup>th</sup> century Central Russian almanac (§9.1); *Akty social'no-ekonomičeskoj istorii Severo-Vostočnoj Rusi*: 15<sup>th</sup> century Central Russian bureaucratic documents (hereafter *Akty*) (§9.2); *Tönnies Fenne’s Low German Manual of Spoken Russian, Pskov 1607* (hereafter *Fenne*) (§9.3); writings by Archpriest Avvakum (§9.4); and *Sobornoe Uloženie 1649 goda*, or *The Muscovite Law Code of 1649* (hereafter *Uloženie*) (§9.5).

Comprehensive accounts of PPCs are offered for the PVL, MLS, legal texts, and birchbark letters. Counts of the examples are provided in each sub-section.<sup>4</sup> Selected examples of PPCs from *Domostroj*, *Akty*, *Fenne*, *Avvakum*, and *Uloženie* are used to refine the characterization of predicative possession in vernacular EES from the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It should be noted that no early Bible translation is available in Early East Slavic, largely because Russian relied on the Slavonic Bible throughout its early textual period, therefore no parallel texts exist for all of the early Slavic traditions examined here.

## **5. Predicative Possession in *Povest' vremennyx let* ‘The Russian Primary Chronicle’**

The *Povest' vremennyx let* ‘Russian Primary Chronicle’ (hereafter PVL) is a composite document used as the basis of multiple chronicles in different East Slavic locales. The core part of the PVL is roughly the same in each separate EES chronicle. However, later chronicle entries beyond the PVL are specific to the locales in which they were written. I first examine the language of the PVL in search of examples of predicative possession. Then in the next section I look at selected excerpts of chronicle traditions beyond the PVL Moscow Chronicle. The

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<sup>4</sup> The counts for *iměti* and the *u* + genitive PPC are comprehensive. Counts of dative PPCs are close to comprehensive, though there are some gaps, since systematic searches for the dative PPC are more difficult to carry out since no unique morpheme is associated with the dative PPC.

language of the PVL is quite formal, the high style looking toward Slavonic as its model rather than East Slavic vernacular. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly an East Slavic creation. Most of the examples cited here are from the Laurentian manuscript of the PVL; in cases where a passage is missing in the Laurentian manuscript, I use an example from the Hypatian manuscript in its place.

According to Vlasto (1986), Dingley (1995) and others, the verb *iměti* was clearly the preferred PPC in the PVL. As I mentioned in §2 above, Dingley argues quite convincingly that *iměti* is not a Slavonicism in Early East Slavic, and is instead represents a full-fledged construction in the vernacular. He argues this point by referring to passages with secular and commonplace themes that are not translations from other Slavic source texts, but composed by East Slavs to describe events unique to East Slavdom. In these more vernacular passages in the PVL the verb *iměti* is used not only more freely, but also more frequently than the *u* + genitive (or dative) PPC.

Table 2 gives the number of tokens of the PPCs in the PVL. In §§4.2-4 I provide examples of all three PPCs in the PVL, examining both their range of usage and discussing the difficulties in interpreting ambiguous examples in each of the three different syntactic types of PPCs. This discussion is accompanied by a discussion of the semantics and pragmatics of the three different constructions.

Table 2. PPCs in the PVL

<i>PPC construction</i>	<i>Tokens in PVL</i>	<i>% of each type</i>	<i>Ambiguous examples</i>
<i>Iměti (imati)</i>	85	70%	-
<i>u</i> + genitive	15	12%	5
Dative	21	17%	8

Table 2 shows an overwhelming preference for *iměti* in the PVL. Both existential PPCs – the dative and *u* + genitive PPCs – have much lower counts in the PVL, hovering around 20, which is at more than four times less than *iměti*. Thus, while the existential PPCs are well represented in the PVL, they are nevertheless not as common or as flexible as *iměti*. Thus, EES as it is represented in the PVL is similar to other early Slavic languages in its preference for using a ‘have’ verb to express predicative possession.

### 5.1. *Iměti* in the PVL

As in the other early Slavic texts (OCS, Old Czech), the verb *iměti* is clearly preferred for predicative possession over the existential PPCs. The range of its usage in Early East Slavic attested in the PVL is both syntactically and semantically broad. Its usage as a future tense auxiliary verb (with some modal flavoring) further exemplifies its entrenched status in EES.

- (11) Poljane                    bo svoix      oč'                    obyčai                    **imut'**  
 Polyanian.NOM.PL    for their.GEN    father.GEN.PL    custom.ACC.SG            have.PRS.3PL  
 ‘For the Polyanians **have** the customs of their fathers’



In the PVL the verb *iměti* is attested in all of the same semantic contexts as both of the existential PPCs. It appears with possessums that are abstract, concrete, kinship relations, temporary, and permanent; it appears as part of several fixed constructions, such as ‘have the power’, ‘have war’ (‘wage war’), etc. Additionally, *iměti* is attested in contexts where neither of the existential PPCs appears, most notably as an infinitive and in other non-finite verbal constructions. This syntactic flexibility, in addition to the semantic flexibility, of *iměti* is due to its canonical argument structure with the possessor encoded in the nominative case and the possessum in the accusative case (or in the genitive case when negated). Only verbs in construction with canonical argument structure can produce non-finite forms in Russian and other Slavic languages.

### 5.2. *U + genitive PPC in the PVL*

In the PVL, the *u + genitive PPC* is found most frequently with the following types of possessums: concrete, temporary possessums, kinship relations, and other non-kinship human relations. Examples with the last two types of possessums, which are human possessums, frequently shade into a locative reading or an external possession reading. Difficulties in distinguishing between these various interpretations were discussed in §3 above.

A number of clear examples of *u + genitive PPCs* appear in the PVL. One such example is in (12) (repeated from (1)).

- (12) est' muž' v seluni imenem" lev" sut'  
 be.PRS.3SG man.NOM.SG in Salonika.PREP name.INST.SG Lev.NOM be.PRS.3PL
- ou nego sñve razumivi jazyku**  
 by him.GEN.SG son.NOM.PL understand.PTCP.DAT.SG language.DAT.SG
- slověn'sku xitra v̄ šna ou nego filosofa.  
 Slavic.DAT.SG smart.NOM.DU 2 son.NOM.DU by him.GEN.SG philosopher.NOM.DU

‘there was a man in Salonika, by the name Leo, who **had two sons** familiar with the Slavic tongue, being learned men as well.’

In (12) the *u + genitive construction* must be interpreted as predicative possession, because there is no locative sense here (the sense is that he has two sons and not that his sons are physically near him), and there is also not the possibility of this being interpreted as a copular construction with an external possessor, since no modifier accompanies the noun ‘sons’ in the clause.

Many *u + genitive examples* in the PVL encode temporary possession, which is the case for (13) and (14).

- (13) ona že reče im" nyně **ou vas"** ně<sup>s</sup> medu  
 she.NOM PART say.AOR.SG them.DAT now at you.GEN NEG honey.GEN.SG
- ni skory  
 neither fur.GEN.SG

‘Olga said to them that at the moment you **have neither honey nor fur...**’

- (14) i sta zimovati v běloberež'i i ne bě ou nix  
 and start.AOR.3SG winter.INF in Beloberg.PREP and NEG be.AOR.3SG by them.GEN
- brašna ouže i bě glad" velik"  
 rations.GEN.SG already and be.AOR.3SG hunger.NOM.SG great.NOM.SG
- jako po polugrivně glava konjača  
 as by half\_grivna.DAT.SG head.NOM.SG horse.ADJ.NOM.SG

‘So the Prince decided to winter in Beloberg, but they **had no rations** and there was a severe famine, and they paid as much as half a grivna for a horse’s head.’

In both (13) and (14) the emphasis is a temporal lack of something, in particular necessary commodities. This is clear in (13) from the temporal adverb *nyně* ‘now’ and in (14) from the broader context of the passage, which describes a food shortage as characteristic of a particularly harsh winter, and not as a general state of affairs. Again, as is the case with many of these examples, a locative sense coexists alongside the possessive sense, which is not unrelated to the sense of temporal possession associated with the construction.

In other cases, temporality does not appear to be part of the meaning of the construction, which shows a departure from other early Slavic textual traditions. Such examples include both concrete and abstract or intangible possessums. Both (12) above and (15) below are examples of permanent possessive relations.

- (15) bě bo reče ou solomana žen" p̄si a  
 be.AOR.3SG for say.AOR.3SG by Solomon.GEN wife.GEN.PL 700 and
- naložnic' t̄ mudr" že bě a na konec'  
 concubine.GEN.PL 300 wise.NOM.SG yet be.AOR.3SG and in end.ACC.SG
- pogibe  
 be\_killed.AOR.3SG

‘For it is said that Solomon **had** 700 wives and 300 concubines. He was wise, yet in the end he came to ruin’

In (15) the *u* + genitive construction is not used to focus on the fact that 700 wives and 300 concubines were in Solomon’s physical proximity, but rather that he possessed and was in control of this large number of women. Example (12) also falls into this category, since kinship relations by blood are presumably permanent. This type of example does not appear in my Old Czech and OCS corpora, which could either mean that EES had a wider range of usage for the *u*

+ genitive PPC, or that the textual genre – largely secular, not religious prose – was somehow more supportive of this context for the *u* + genitive.

The last set of cases are *u* + genitive PPCs with possessums that are abstract or intangible, as in (16).

- (16) *i braka ou nix" ne byvaše no oumykivaxu*  
 and marriage.GEN.SG by them.GEN NEG be.IMP.F.3SG but seize.IMP.F.3SG
- ouvody d̄vcia*  
 capture.INST.PL maiden.GEN.PL

‘...and they did not **have** marriage [customs], but instead they seized maidens by capture.’<sup>5</sup>

The example is clearly a case of predicative possession with a permanent abstract possessum. This assertion is based largely on parallel constructions with the verb *iměti* in the same passage, cf. (17).

- (17) *bračnyi obyčai imjaxu ne xožšee*  
 marital.ACC.SG custom.ACC.SG have.IMP.F.3PL NEG go.PTCP.NOM.3SG
- ziat' po nevěstu no privodjaxu večer" a zav"tra*  
 brother-in-law.NOM.SG by bride.ACC.SG but lead.IMP.F.3PL evening and tomorrow
- prinošaxu po nei čto vdaduče*  
 bring.IMP.F.3PL by her.DAT that give.PTCP

‘They **had** a marital custom whereby the groom’s brother did not fetch the bride, but she was brought to the bridegroom in the evening, and on the next morning her dowry was turned over.’

The possessive clause in (17) is parallel to (16), in that it explains the marriage customs that various early tribes did or did not have. These examples show that there was some degree of

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<sup>5</sup> Another difficulty in interpreting a handful of *u* + genitive PPCs that is unique to EES is the occasional mixing of *u* ‘at near’ and *v* ‘in’ prepositions in the language. The constructions were (probably) still phonologically distinct at this stage, but were nevertheless occasionally jumbled in texts. This occasional interchange is less likely attributable to any phonological ambiguity than it is to the fact that the domains of usage for some of the prepositions slightly overlapped, since both are locative prepositions. Sreznevskij’s Old Russian dictionary (1989:325) notes this point for *v*: “*Vъ* is sometimes used instead of the preposition *u*,” and *u* (1108): “*U* instead of *vъ*” (my translations). One such example is parallel to (16): *braci ne byvaxu v" nix iigriša mežju sely* ‘There were no marriages among them, but simply festivals among the villages.’ This alternation within the Introduction to the PVL is evidence of the interchangeability of the *u* and *v* prepositions. It is the variant in all Chronicle editions used for the Ostrowski (2003) paradigm. I do not consider these to be two separate constructions, but rather just the *u* + genitive construction expressed with two different orthographic and/or phonological variants of *u*: *u* or *v*.

overlap in the usage of different PPCs in EES and that the scope of the *u* + genitive PPC extended beyond temporary possession in the language.

There are no clear examples of inanimate possessors in the *u* + genitive PPC in historical periods of Russian, neither in my own corpus nor in other studies, e.g. Safarewiczowa (1964). The closest candidate for an inanimate possessor in an *u* + genitive PPC is given in example (18) from the PVL. The object of the preposition *u* in the subordinate clause – ‘whose fortress’ – could be interpreted as a possessive relation, e.g. ‘the city has golden gates’, or as a purely locative designation, e.g. ‘by the city are golden gates’. Thus, no unambiguous examples are attested in historical texts.

- (18) V" lěto            6545 Založi            Jaroslav"        grad"  
 in year.ACC.SG 6545 establish.AOR.3SG Jaroslav.NOM city/fortress.ACC.SG
- velikiyi,        u nego-že        grada            sut'        Zlataja  
 great.ACC.SG by him.GEN.SG-REL city/fortress.GEN.SG be.PRS.3PL golden.NOM.DU
- vrata            (Ostrowski et al. 2003:1198)  
 gates.NOM.DU

‘In the year 6545 Jaroslav founded a great city, which had golden gates’ / ‘...by which are golden gates’

### 5.3. Dative PPC in the PVL

Very little attention has been paid to the dative PPC in Early East Slavic. In some sources it is recognized implicitly as an equivalent to either *iměti* or *u* + genitive, judging by its translation into *u* + genitive in Modern Russian, but its status as a PPC is not discussed overtly. The dative PPC is directly discussed in a handful of works, specifically Grković-Major (2005) for Slavic and Marojević (1983) for Early East Slavic, but it has yet to be situated in its broader context of the historical development of predicative possession in Early East Slavic.

The lack of attention paid to the dative PPC in EES cannot be attributed to its scarcity: it is found at approximately the same frequency as the *u* + genitive PPC in the PVL (a fact which is not recognized by Safarewiczowa (1964)). Some typical uses of the dative PPC include a construction for naming, which is also attested in OCS and Old Czech, and with possessums that are kinship relations, body parts, and abstract entities. The dative is also used when the possessum is serving a purpose, its meaning shading into possession, which is represented by two sub-types: 1) intention for and/or goal, and 2) serving in a role or acting in a role for a person or group of people. Moreover, the dative PPC can have an inanimate possessor, which does not seem to be an option for the *u* + genitive PPC in this period. The dative PPC, however, does not appear with concrete and tangible possessums, one of the core domains of the *u* + genitive PPC.

The PVL contains a number of clear examples of the dative PPC, such as (19) and (20).

- (19) i vidě            tu ljudi            suščaja        kako est'  
 and see.AOR.3SG here people.ACC.PL be.PTCP.ACC.PL as    be.PRS.3SG



(22) i poslušav" ix" predast' im" stefana  
 and heed.PTCP.NOM.3SG them.GEN appoint.AOR.3SG them.DAT Stefan.GEN

da budet' im" igumen" i bĭgsvi stefana  
 for be.FUT.3SG them.DAT prior.NOM.SG and bless.AOR.3SG Stefan.GEN

‘Listening to them he appointed Stefan **to be their prior**, and blessed Stefan...’

or: ‘...to **have** as their as a prior...’

An example of a dative PPC with an inanimate possessor is given in (23).

(23) velika vlast' ego i miru ego ně<sup>s</sup> konca  
 great.NOM.SG power.NOM.SG his and peace.DAT.SG his NEG end.GEN.SG  
 ‘Great is his might, and his peace **has** no end.’

or: ‘...there is no end to his peace.’

This example is parallel to some biblical examples from OCS, e.g. (24).

(24) i v"česarit" sja v" domou jěkovli v" věky  
 and reign.PRS.3SG REFL in house.PREP.SG Jacob.ADJ.PREP.SG in time.ACC.PL

i c̣srstviju ego ne bōdet" kon'ca  
 and kingdom.DAT.SG his NEG be.FUT.3SG end.GEN.SG

‘And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and his kingdom **has** no end.’

Grammatically, the dative possessor of the dative PPC exhibited syntactic control behavior typically associated with subjects. In particular, the dative possessor argument could control reflexivization, such as in (25), where the dative possessor is bodlfaced and the reflexive pronoun is italicized. There is some evidence that reflexives functioned differently in EES than in Modern Russian in that they were able to refer to non-subject elements, which is suggested by usage in some birchbark letters, e.g. Zaliznjak (2004:515, Pskov #6). Differences in the usage of reflexives between EES and Modern Russian deserve more attention, but for the current discussion suffice it to say that in EES reflexive control is attested for dative possessors in dative PPCs, but not until about the 17<sup>th</sup> century for *u* + genitive possessors in *u* + genitive PPCs (cf. §9).

(25) sĕdjaščju bo jemu kyjevě pečal' bys jemu  
 sit.PTCP.DAT.SG for him.DAT Kiev.LOC.SG sorrow.NOM.SG was.AOR.3SG him.DAT

ot ṣnovec' svoix"  
 from nephew.GEN.PL REFL.GEN.PL

‘when he was ruling in Kiev he had woe from his nephews’

The dative PPC is frequently attested in this early stage of EES, but it gradually dropped out of usage in subsequent centuries. The reason for its significant decline is not clear. The dative PPC is rarely used in Modern Russian, and with its decline in usage over time it has lost control properties such as reflexive control exhibited in (25). It is unknown whether reflexive control and other subjecthood properties of the dative possessor were lost before the decline of the dative PPC.

The PPCs in the PVL pattern similarly to PPCs in other early Slavic traditions, with some differences based largely on the genre of the text. Differences in frequencies between PPCs in the PVL versus Old Czech or OCS – specifically, the higher percentage of existential PPCs – can be attributed largely to the different genres represented by the early textual traditions. Early on in EES, the verb *iměti* was restricted to bookish and religious texts and the *u* + genitive PPC appeared in more everyday contexts. Thus, in the PVL, the *u* + genitive is attested, but as in other early Slavic linguistic traditions it is closely tied to temporary possessive relations.

### 6. Predicative Possession in *Moskovskij Letopisnij Svod* ‘The Moscow Chronicle’

In the *Moskovskij Letopisnij Svod* ‘The Moscow Chronicle’ (MLS), much like its predecessor the PVL, the verb *iměti* is the most frequent encoding strategy for predicative possession, but the existential PPCs also occur with sufficient frequency in the text.

Table 3. PPCs in the MLS

PPC construction	Tokens in MLS	% of each type	Ambiguous examples
<i>Iměti (imati)</i>	128	51%	14
<i>u</i> + genitive	42	17%	32
Dative	83	33%	27

One of the few areas where the verb *iměti* expanded from EES into Modern Russian is in constructions with an inanimate, especially abstract, possessor, according to Safarewiczowa (1964) (cf. §2). Safarewiczowa did not find any examples of inanimate possessors in her study, but examples from the MLS already display this tendency, e.g. (26), where the verb is boldfaced and the inanimate possessor is *zemlja* ‘land’.

- (26) a zemlja ix mnogi vody **imat'** okolo sebja i  
 and land.NOM.SG their many water.ACC.PL have.PRS.3SG nearby REFL.GEN and  
 ozera velikie i reky i bolota mnogi  
 lake.ACC.PL great.ACC.PL and river.ACC.PL and swamp.ACC.PL many

‘and their land **has** a lot of water nearby it and great lakes and rivers and many swamps’

The behavior of the *u* + genitive PPC in the MLS is comparable to its behavior in the PVL, but with a greater number of overall examples in MLS. The discussion of ambiguities in §3 above is relevant for many of the MLS *u* + genitive PPCs. A particularly frequent collocation with the *u* + genitive PPC that presents ambiguity has *voevoda* as the possessum, e.g. (27). In such cases, it is often not clear whether the location of the boyar is being specified, or if that boyar’s (often temporary) relation with respect to a prince or population is being described.

- (27) gražane            že    izydoša            protivu ix'            na boi,  
 citizen.NOM.PL PART went.AOR.3PL against them.GEN in battle.ACC.SG  
 a voevoda            **bě**            **u nix**            Pleschěi  
 and voevoda.NOM.SG is.AOR.3SG by them.GEN Pleschěi.NOM  
 ‘The citizens went against them in battle, and they **had** the voevoda Pleschěi.’  
 or : ‘...the voevoda Pleschěi **was with them.**’

The dative PPC still represents a high percentage of overall PPCs in the MLS, accounting for over 30% of total examples. Sometimes the examples are linked to religious language, perhaps modeling Slavonic (or perceived Slavonic) usage. There are, furthermore, a handful of regular idiomatic expressions with the dative PPC, including the naming construction (also in the PVL and OCS), and a handful possessums appear repeatedly in the construction, e.g. ‘(no) help’, ‘battle’, and ‘news’. Just as in the PVL, the dative PPC does not appear with concrete possessums in the MLS.

In MLS, the dative possessor of the dative PPC could still control reflexivization, e.g.

(28).

- (28) a korol'            sam"    k nemu    ne poide,            ni sily  
 but king.NOM.SG himself to him.DAT NEG come.AOR.3SG neither force.ACC.PL  
  
 svoeja            ne    posla,            pone že bo byša            **emu**  
 REFL.ACC.PL neg send.AOR.3SG because for had.AOR.3PL him.DAT.SG  
  
 svoi            usobici  
 REFL.NOM.PL internecine\_war.NOM.PL

‘the king himself did not come to him, nor did he send his forces, because **he had his own** internecine battles’

Apart from the minor differences outlined above, the PPCs in the MLS behave both syntactically and semantically quite similarly to PPCs in the PVL. One notable difference between the earlier chronicle – the PVL – and the later chronicle – the MLS – is the change in frequency of the two existential PPCs. They represent a higher percentage of overall PPCs used in the MLS than in the PVL. Since the PVL is an older chronicle than the MLS, these differences in frequencies reveal that a change has occurred in the system of predicative possession.



## 7. Early East Slavic Legal texts: *Russkaja Pravda* and *Sudebnik of 1497*

Moving beyond the chronicles, EES legal codes also contain examples of predicative possession, though with far fewer examples. The oldest legal code is the *Russkaja pravda*. Its provenience is unclear, but it contains linguistic features, such as the nominative object construction (Timberlake 1974), that suggest it was written in a North Russian dialect. It originally stems from a code passed on orally, which was probably first written down in Novgorod and later recopied in Central Russia. The relatively short text contains a handful of examples of predicative possession, with the only clear cases of predicative possession existential PPCs, the *u* + genitive PPC more popular than the dative PPC. This represents a departure or a different stylistic tradition from the language of the chronicles, where *iměti* was clearly the preferred means of encoding predicative possession. See Table 4 for the total count.

While some tokens of the verb *imati* in the *Pravda* are ambiguous and could be interpreted as either ‘to take’ or ‘to have’, there are no clear examples with *iměti* ‘to have’. Below I provide examples of *u* + genitive with a copula (29) and without a copula (30) and a dative PPC (31) (all citations are from the *Troickaja* version of the *Pravda*).<sup>7</sup>

Table 4. Count of PPCs in the *Russkaja Pravda*

PPC construction	Tokens in <i>Pravda</i>	% of each type	Ambiguous examples
<i>Iměti (imati)</i>	-	-	-
<i>u</i> + genitive	3	75%	-
Dative	1	25%	3

- (29) Ašče boudut'      **robyi**      **děti**      **ou mouža,**  
 If      be.FUT.3PL      slave.NOM.PL      children.NOM.PL      by      man.GEN.SG
- to      zadnica      im      ne imati,      no svoboda  
 then      inheritance.NOM.SG      them.DAT.PL      NEG have.INF      but freedom.NOM.SG
- im      s      mater'ju.  
 them.DAT.PL      with      mother.INS.SG

‘If a man has children by his slavewoman, then they are not to receive anything from his estate, but [when the man dies] they [together] with their mother [receive their] freedom.’  
 (Line 98)

In (30) is an example with the *u* + genitive PPC without a copula.

<sup>7</sup> English translations from Kaiser (1992).

- (30) Aže **ou** **gospodina** **roleinyi** **zakup"**... (Line 58)  
 if at master.GEN.SG indentured.NOM.SG laborer.NOM.SG  
 'If a lord has an indentured laborer...'
- (31) Ne *terpja* li protivu tomu oudarit' mečem',  
 NEG withstand.PTCP COND against that.DAT.SG strike.PRS.3SG sword.INST.SG  
 to viny **emu** v tom' nětut'.  
 then fault.GEN.SG him.DAT.SG in this.PREP.SG NEG.be.PRS.SG

'If [the victim is unable] to bear it [the blow], and strikes back with a sword, he does not have fault.'

Example (31) is also notable in that the dative possessor *emu* 'him' controls the adverbial participle *terpja* 'withstanding' in the subordinate clause. Control of adverbial participles is yet another syntactic control property – in addition to control of reflexivization – attested in this early group of EES texts for the dative possessor, but not for the *u* + genitive possessor.<sup>8</sup> Control of adverbial participles by the *u* + genitive possessor in Modern Russian is marginally acceptable; this behavior is addressed in Chapter 4, §3.2.2. Meanwhile, the dative possessor in the dative PPC no longer controls adverbial participles in Modern Russian.

The *Sudebnik* of 1497 was also examined for examples of predicative possession. In keeping with the tradition of Russian legal language established in the *Pravda*, the *Sudebnik* also preferentially encodes predicative possession with the *u* + genitive construction. Likewise, in the *Sudebnik* there are no clear examples of *iměti* (see Table 5) and furthermore no clear examples of the dative PPC. By 1497 it is perhaps not surprising that the *Sudebnik* lacks tokens of the dative PPC, but it is notable that it does not employ the verb *iměti*. The similarities between the language in the *Pravda* and *Sudebnik* can be attributed in part to the fact that the *Sudebnik* used the *Pravda* as one of its source documents.

Table 5. PPC Count in the *Sudebnik* of 1497

PPC construction	Tokens in <i>Sudebnik</i>	% of each type	Ambiguous examples
<i>Iměti (imati)</i>	-	-	-
<i>u</i> + genitive	7	100%	
Dative	-	-	3

A repeated context with the *u* + genitive PPC in the *Sudebnik* appears in Articles 8, 10, 11, and 39. The example from Article 11 is given in (32).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Though there is evidence that participles were more loosely controlled in EES than in Modern Russian.

<sup>9</sup> English translations from Dewey (1966:7-21).

(32) A **ne budet** u **togo** **tatja** **statka** s yscevu  
 and NEG be.3SG.FUT at that.GEN.SG thief.GEN.SG goods.NOM.SG from recovery.GEN.SG

gybel', ino ego iscu v gibeli ne  
 damages.GEN.PL then his.GEN.SG claimant.DAT.SG in damages.ACC.PL neg

vydati, kazniti ego smertnjuju kazn'ju  
 give.INF punish.INF him.GEN.SG death.INS.SG punishment.INS.SG

‘And if he has no property sufficient for the satisfaction of the plaintiff’s loss, he shall [nevertheless] not be given up to the plaintiff [in slavery] to cover his damages, but shall be put to death.’

Example (33) from Article 60 in the *Sudebnik* is an *u* + genitive PPC in a context familiar from the *Pravda*, i.e. a statement indicating kinship relations.

(33) A **kotoroi** **čelovek** **umret** **bez** **duxovnye**  
 and which.NOM.SG person.NOM.SG die.3SG.FUT without sacred.GEN.SG

gramoty, a **ne budet** u **nego** **syna**, ino  
 document.GEN.SG and NEG be.3SG.FUT by him.GEN.SG son.GEN.SG then

statok ves' i zemli dočeri;  
 inheritance.NOM.SG all.NOM.SG and lands.NOM.PL daughter.DAT.SG

a **ne budet** u **nego** **dočeri**, ino vzjati bližnemu  
 if NEG be.FUT.3SG by him.GEN.SG daughter.GEN.SG then take.INF close.DAT.SG

ot ego roda  
 from him.GEN.SG relative.GEN.SG

‘And if a person dies without a will and has no son, then all his personal property and lands [shall pass] to the daughter; and if he has no daughter, then his closest of kin shall inherit.’

The *Pravda* and *Sudebnik* texts provide potential insight into the demise of the dative PPC. The dative case abounds in the text, but it is used most frequently with a construction specific to legalese, i.e. dative + infinitive with a modal meaning related to necessity. It is possible that in this particular genre the dative PPC was eschewed in favor of the *u* + genitive PPC to make the possessive relation more explicit and clear. It could also be the case that the *u* + genitive PPC acquired default status for encoding predicative possession in Russian legal texts. The choice, while perhaps to some degree arbitrary, is also revealing in that it was the construction able to most clearly, explicitly, and unambiguously express possessive relations, which were, while not abundant in early legal language, nevertheless a key component of the discourse.

## 8. Predicative Possession in Old Novgorodian Birchbark Letters

The birchbark letters of Velikij Novgorod, as described and analyzed by Zaliznjak (2004), present a language that developed independently from Late Common Slavic and was not merely part of the Greater Russian dialect. They are a unique set of documents that provide an unparalleled window into vernacular language of early Novgorod inhabitants. The letters are mainly business documents and everyday correspondence that felicitously survived as a result of unique environmental conditions, described by Yanin (2001):

The town was originally built on an impervious clayey soil hampering the vertical flow of rain, flood waters, or melting snow. Moisture saturated the surface layer of the soil and cultural deposits as they started being generated and prevented the penetration of oxygen. These anaerobic conditions made micro-organism activity virtually impossible and prevented the decay of organic materials and the emergence of oxides on metals. In Novgorod's cultural layers, therefore, objects made of leather, textiles, bone, antler, wood, metal, pottery, glass, and amber are exceptionally well-preserved (11).

Birchbark letters written between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries have been compiled and analyzed in one volume (Zaliznjak 2004).<sup>10</sup> The letters have contributed immensely to the understanding of EES dialect diversity, showing that language of the early Novgorod territory was quite distinct from other more southerly dialects of East Slavic. This is evidenced by the preservation of a number of archaic features in *Drevnenovgorodskij jazyk* 'Old Novgorodian' (hereafter DND) that are not found in other dialects of Russian, e.g. failure to undergo 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> velar palatalizations including initial *kv-* and *gv-* clusters that changed to *cv-* and *zv-* elsewhere in East Slavic, clitic strings, and innovations not found (or rare) elsewhere in East Slavic, e.g. *cokan'e*: the non-differentiation of *c* and *č* phonemes, the *-e* ending of nominative singular *o-* stem nouns, nominative object constructions, and perhaps serial verb constructions.

Table 6. PPC Count in the Novgorodian Birchbark Letters

PPC construction	Tokens in Birchbark Letters	% of each type	Ambiguous examples
<i>Iměti (imati)</i>	2	8%	1
<i>u + genitive</i>	17	65%	3
Dative	7	27%	6

A number of these features have been attributed to a Finnic substratum, such as *cokan'e*: the non-differentiation of *c* and *č* phonemes (Veenker 1967), the nominative object construction, e.g. *zemlja paxat'* '(one) has to plow the land' (Timberlake 1974), and partitive genitive subjects and objects in non-negated contexts, e.g. *u nego est' synovej* 'he has (some) sons' (Markova 1989, 1991; see also Chapter 4), etc. Other features are attributed to a combination of internal

<sup>10</sup> Excavations take place every summer in Novgorod and contents of newly excavated birchbark letters are added to the online corpus at <http://www.gramoty.ru>.

and external linguistic factors, such as serial verb constructions, especially *žili-byli* ‘once upon a time’ (lit. ‘(they) lived-were’) (Petrušin 2007)<sup>11</sup> and *okan'e*: broadly defined as the non-reduction of *o > a* in unstressed syllables (as a preserving feature).

Another linguistic feature of DND that can be attributed to both internal and external linguistic factors is the *u* + genitive construction for predicative possession. In contrast to the language of the EES chronicles, the *u* + genitive PPC is the most frequent PPC in DND even among the earliest birchbark letters from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. In the DND corpus, there are seventeen clear examples of the *u* + genitive PPC, seven clear examples of the dative PPC, and only two clear examples of *iměti* (see Table 6). The tokens of *iměti* all appear in the earliest cluster of letters (12<sup>th</sup> century) and are stylistically marked (Zaliznjak 2004). Examples of the three constructions from DND are in (34)-(36) below.

- (34) gramota ot" žiznomira k" mikoule koupil" esi  
 gramota.NOM.SG from Žiznomir.GEN to Mikula.DAT buy.PST.M.SG be.PRS.2Sg
- robou pl"skove [...] a nyne ka pos"li k"  
 slave\_woman.ACC.SG Pskov.LOC.SG and now PTCL send.IMPER to
- tomou mouževi gramotou eli **ou nego roba**  
 that.DAT.SG man.DAT.SG gramota.ACC.SG if by him.GEN slave\_women.NOM.SG

‘Letter from Žiznomir to Mikula: You bought a female slave in Pskov. [...] So now send a letter to that man and ask him whether **he has another a female slave.**’<sup>12</sup>  
 (DND:257-259, #109; early 12<sup>th</sup> century)

- (35) poklananie ot igoumenie k" ofrosenie prisli privit"kou  
 bow.NOM.SG from Igumeniia.GEN to Ofroseniia.DAT send.IMPER headdress.NOM.SG
- i povoi **ci ti mnogi povoi** a prisli  
 and scarf.GEN.PL if you.DAT.SG many scarf.GEN.PL then send.IMPER
- i do ēti povoi  
 and to five.GEN scarf.GEN.PL<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> But See Tkačenko (1989) and Weiss (2003) for arguments for the source of this construction from contact with Volga Finnic languages.

<sup>12</sup> Zaliznjak (2004:258) discusses two alternative interpretations of the *u* + genitive phrase in this example. One is reflected in the given translation, which refers to a second slave, another interpretation is that the *u* + genitive is part of an inquiry as to the whereabouts of first slave mentioned.

<sup>13</sup> An ambiguity unique to DND is related to the polysemy of the high-frequency word *ti*. *Ti* can be either the dative 2nd person singular pronominal clitic or a particle. In this letter I interpret *ti* as the pronoun. (See Zaliznjak’s discussion of letters #8 (2004:434) and #731 (2004:392).)

‘Greetings from Igumen’ to Ofrosenija. Send the headdress and headscarf (scarves). If you have a lot of headscarves, then send up to five of them.’ (DND:396-397, #717; late 12<sup>th</sup> century)

(36) (k)["] tobě triš'd" a v" sju neděliu c't" do  
to you.DAT three\_times and in this.ACC.SG week(Sunday?).ACC.SG what to

m'n' z"la imeeši ože e[s]i k" m"ně  
me.DAT evil.GEN.SG have.PRS.2SG which be.PRS.2SG to me.DAT

n['] pri]xodil" a iaz" tja esměla aky brat"...  
NEG come.PST.M.SG and I.NOM you.ACC take.PST.F.SG as brother.NOM

‘(I wrote) to you three times. What ill do you **have** against me, so that you did not visit me this week (this Sunday)? And I treated you like a brother!’ (DND:249-254, #752; early 12<sup>th</sup> century)

All the above examples are from the earliest century of recovered letters (12<sup>th</sup> century); however, examples of predicative possession are found in letters from the corpus from the 12<sup>th</sup> through 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Only *iměti* is restricted in its usage, appearing only in 12<sup>th</sup> century letters. Examples of both existential constructions – the *u* + genitive PPC and the dative PPC – appear in letters from the 12<sup>th</sup> through 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Zaliznjak (2004) writes the following about *iměti* in the birchbark letters:

...[C]ам глагол *имѣти*, по–видимому, носил оттенок книжности: подавляющая часть примеров этого глагола, собранных в словарях, происходит из книжных памятников; в берестяных грамотах, кроме этой, он встретился только в монашеском письме No 503 (Б8) и в фрагменте (возможно какого–то официального послания) No 886 (250).

‘... The verb *iměti*, evidently, carried a shade of bookishness: an overwhelming number of examples of this verb in dictionaries come from bookish texts; in the birch bark letters, besides this letter [#752], it is only encountered in monastic letter #503 and in a fragment (possibly of some official correspondence), #886.’

Thus, according to Zaliznjak, in the early letters, *iměti* was both rare and marked as a bookish element. And in the later birchbark letters, it does not appear at all. Note that this is in contrast to the Russian Primary Chronicle, where the verb *iměti* is apparently less marked, and certainly more frequent. Danylenko (2002:114-115) disagrees with Zaliznjak and argues that *iměti* was not bookish, but fully part of the vernacular in DND. However, the association of *iměti* with a bookish register is further emphasized in example (36) by other bookish elements in the full letter, including orthographic features, vocabulary in addition to the verb ‘have’, and textual formulas that closely parallel Chronicle passages (Zaliznjak 2004:250).

The *u* + genitive PPC occurs at a higher frequency in DND from other EES or Slavic written traditions, but is it any different semantically? The answer appears to be no. The *u* + genitive PPC in DND abides by the same parameters of usage as it does in other EES texts,

expressing primarily temporary possessive relations and occurring frequently with a commodity as the possessum. The genre of birchbark letters – documents often related to trade and economic matters – is particularly supportive of the central context of the early *u* + genitive PPC. Thus the frequency of the *u* + genitive PPC in DND might be accounted for by the difference between the genres of birchbark letters and chronicles and not by substratal influence from Balto-Finnic. I think, however, that both the genre and contact influence contributed to the expansion in frequency of the *u* + genitive PPC in DND; a conclusion I draw in part based on syntactic behavior of the construction in the following discussion of example (35).

The semantic scope of the dative PPC, however, is significantly different from other EES and early Slavic written traditions. Notably, the dative PPC is used with concrete and tangible possessums in Old Novgorodian, as in (35) with the possessum ‘head scarves’, which did not seem to be a possibility in OCS, Old Czech, or the language of EES chronicles. Thus dative PPCs could appear in DND with a broader spectrum of possessums than in other written varieties of early Slavic. I have emphasized that the dative PPC and *u* + genitive PPC were two separate constructions in early Slavic, despite the tendency in the literature to conflate them into one construction. Thus, the dative PPC appears to be an archaism in DND, whereas the *u* + genitive PPC was influenced by the Balto-Finnic adessive PPC.

The relatively small size of the DND corpus, in addition to the typically short and concise nature of the texts, increases the difficulty of analyzing DND syntax in comparison to other EES genres. However, a number of observations can be made about the syntactic information that is accessible in the letters. One feature of the existential PPCs is the presence or lack of the overt copula or ‘be’ verb in the present tense. It is clear from the examples above, (34) and (35), that the copula is optional; however, it is not always absent, e.g. letter #657 (Zaliznjak 2004:397). The negative *nět*“ absorbs the copula in all examples in the present tense (as in Modern Russian).

The possessum in the *u* + genitive PPCs appears in the genitive case under negation in DND, as it does in all periods and varieties of Russian and in OCS. An example with a non-negated genitive possessum also appeared in a birchbark letter from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which is shown in (37). Similar non-negated genitive possessums are marginally attested in Modern Russian with a partitive meaning, but they are quite common in northwestern Russian dialects and can have a partitive or indefinite sense (Markova 1980, 1991). The frequency and scope of non-negated genitive possessums in northwestern Russian dialects is strikingly similar the usage of the Finnish partitive (parallel to Russian genitive) in object position (Hakulinen 1961). Thus the usage of a genitive possessum in (37) strongly suggests contact influence from Balto-Finnic on this construction.

- (37) U tebe            **solod-*u***    byl-o  
       by you.GEN    malt-GEN    was.PST-N.SG  
       ‘You had (some) malt’ (DND:606-607, #363; late 14<sup>th</sup> century)

Zaliznjak (2004:607) analyzes the noun *solod* ‘malt’ as an *u*-stem noun, which has a genitive ending in *-u*. Therefore the *-u* ending here is not the special partitive-genitive *-u* ending that a handful of *o*-stem nouns later developed in addition to their usual *a*-ending in the genitive singular.

PPCs in the birchbark letters exhibit markedly different usage from PPCs in the EES chronicles. Differences include the frequencies of the PPCs in the letters, the bookish nature of

*iměti*, different semantic scope of the dative PPC, and syntactic differences in the *u* + genitive PPC. But PPCs in DND also share significant parallels with PPCs in the chronicles, since in both traditions all three PPCs are attested and the *u* + genitive PPC has roughly the same semantic scope. It can thus be said that the language of the birchbark letters represents a continuation of the Slavic past, sharing much with other early traditions of Slavic writing, but at the same time reflect the sociolinguistic situation specific to Novgorod, where historically non-Slavic speaking groups, largely speakers of Balto-Finnic languages, shifted to Slavic, carrying over aspects of their earlier linguistic affiliation in the process.

## 9. The Muscovy or “Middle Russian” period

Here I survey texts from the Central Russian linguistic area from the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to characterize changes that occurred in Russian after Moscow rose to prominence as the capital of Russia. The language of this period, which I refer to as Middle Russian, was characterized by increased dialect mixing, which shaped the emerging standard language. Features stemming from both North and South Russian dialects contributed to the formation of the language that was to become Common Standard Russian. In the Middle Russian period a negotiation process of sorts was underway, where different texts contained different sets of features, some of which would be selected and enter Standard Russian, others which would not and would instead be restricted to dialectal usage.

As I have shown in the previous sections of this chapter, the *u* + genitive PPC was a marginal encoding strategy for predicative possession in EES, and only in EES texts of northern provenance (i.e. legal texts and birchbark letters) was its usage more frequent and flexible than the other two encoding strategies: *iměti* or the dative PPC. However, before leaping forward to Modern Russian and claiming that the current widespread usage of the *u* + genitive PPC is a continuation of the early northern dialect tradition, it is relevant, indeed necessary, to examine Middle Russian texts. In the following sections, behavior of representative examples of PPCs is examined alongside additional morphosyntactic features associated with North Russian dialects. Following the discussion of representative examples from each of the five texts (§§9.1-5), I discuss implications for the overall picture of the language presented by the Middle Russian period of Muscovy/Central Russian (§9.6).

### 9.1. *Domostroj*

The *Domostroj* is a 16<sup>th</sup> century manual or almanac that provides rare insight into Russian of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in that it includes both bookish religious passages and vernacular secular sections. While it cannot be said that all articles of the text fall neatly into one of these two categories, the division is nevertheless quite pronounced. The text is generally associated with central Muscovy Russian, e.g. Sokolova (1957:190), who does not see any reason to postulate a northern provenance, specifically a Novgorodian provenance, for the *Domostroj* based on its linguistic features.

According to Sokolova, the vernacular sections of the *Domostroj* continue a tradition established in early legal texts. While the *Domostroj* is not oriented toward legal codes and behaviors, it nevertheless employs the same style of language in its discussion of moral behavior, familial norms, and guidelines for daily household life. In this way, it is a continuation of writing with a vernacular style of language not found in the chronicles.



By the time the *Domostroj* was written, the parameters of usage of the two main PPCs in Russian – *u* + genitive and *iměti* – had been delineated. *Iměti* is decidedly bookish in its predicative possessive meaning (it appears in a modal sense in the more vernacular articles) and the *u* + genitive was a marker of vernacular language. The distinction is exemplified by comparing examples (38) and (39). In (38), the verb *iměti* appears regularly with ‘God’ as a subject or object and is embedded in religious discourse. But in (39) the *u* + genitive PPC appears with more day-to-day secular subjects and objects.

- (38) A kto bezstrašen" i besčinen", straxu Božiiu  
 and who.NOM fearless.NOM.SG and lawless.NOM.SG fear.GEN.SG God.ADJ.GEN.SG  
 ne iměet" i voli Božii ne tvorit [...]  
 NEG have.PRS.3SG and will.GEN.SG God.ADJ.GEN.SG NEG fulfill  
 tuto ž pročti i 24 glavu.  
 here PTCL read.IMP.2SG and 24 chapter.ACC.SG

‘And one who is fearless and lawless, who does not have fear of God and does not fulfill the will of God [...] then that one should read chapter 24.’

- (39) A u kotorogo človeka ogorodec" est', i, kto  
 and at which.GEN person.GEN.SG garden.NOM.SG is.3SG.PRS and who  
 pašet" ogorod" [...] pervoe gorodba perekrepiti...  
 plow.3G.PRS garden.ACC.SG first fence.NOM.SG fortify.INF

‘And for the person who has a garden and who tills the garden, [he] must first fortify the fence...’

The content of the passage in (39) is everyday household matters and it uses an *u* + genitive PPC to encode predicative possession in contrast to earlier religious sections of the *Domostroj* that rely on the ‘have’ verb *iměti*. The example in (39) reflects a conversational style that diverges from the earlier, bookish section of the text, evidenced, in part, by the second clause of the example containing a nominative object construction, which is known to be associated with vernacular and northern varieties of Russian (Timberlake 1974). Thus it appears that by this period of the language distinct semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic conditions had been established for the two PPCs.

Example (40) appears later in the same passage and employs the same formula as example (39): an *u* + genitive PPC followed by the nominative object construction.

- (40) A u kotorogo človeka ogorodec" est' [...] i kapusta  
 and by which.GEN.SG person.GEN.SG garden.NOM.SG is.PRS.3SG and cabbage.NOM.SG  
 ot čer'vja i ot bloxi bereči  
 from worm.GEN.SG and from flea.GEN.SG preserve.INF

‘And for the person who has a garden [...] he must protect the cabbage from worms and fleas’

The presence of the nominative object construction in (39) and (40) is interesting for two reasons: 1) it provides additional evidence of the colloquial nature of the passage and 2) it is evidence of a feature from northwestern Russian dialects that has penetrated Moscow vernacular language. The second point is important, because it is support in favor of the hypothesis that the emerging Moscow standard was a mixed, transitional dialect composed of features from various EES dialects, including originally northern substratal features such as the nominative object. This lends weight to interpreting the expansion in frequency of the *u* + genitive PPC in Moscow Russian as a feature imported from the north. The *u* + genitive PPC was adopted by the emerging standard language, whereas the nominative object construction was not, but in early Moscow Russian the two constructions were contemporaneous with one another and both were stylistically appropriate for text with secular content.

### 9.2. Bureaucratic texts: Central Russian *Akty*

The Central Russian *Akty* are 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century EES bureaucratic texts. The text contains overall more examples of the *u* + genitive PPC than either the verb *iměti* or the dative PPC. This is expected, since the language in the *Akty* represents secular everyday Russian and not bookish or religious language, thus it would pattern with the more vernacular sections of the contemporaneous text *Domostroj* rather than the religious sections. Of additional interest are a handful of examples of *u* + genitive PCCs with a non-negated genitive possessum in the *Akty*, such as (41).

- (41) A u Ivan-a u Xlam-a byl-o **det-ej**...  
And at Ivan-GEN.SG at Xlam-GEN.SG were.PST-N.SG children-GEN.PL  
‘And Ivan Xlam had children’

Example (41) is contemporaneous with the DND example in (37) that also contains a non-negated genitive possessum. Thus in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, non-negated genitive possessums were not regionally restricted to Novgorod or northwestern regions, but were also used in the language of some Central Russian documents.

Though relatively rare by this period of Russian, dative PPCs are attested in the *Akty*, e.g. (42), which is from the same document as (41).

- (42) A ženy byli **Voroninu** **otcu** dve  
And wife.GEN.SG be.PST.PL Vorona.POSS.ADJ.DAT father.DAT two.F  
‘And Vorona’s father had two wives’

### 9.3. Tönnes Fenne’s Low German Manual of Spoken Russian, Pskov 1607

Next, I examined Tönnes Fenne’s Low German grammar of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century Pskov spoken dialect (hereafter Fenne). Examples with *u* + genitive were also more abundant in Fenne than the other two PPCs, which is not surprising given the location and the date of the dialect.

Only two examples with *iměti* appeared in Fenne, and both appear with objects that are abstract concepts, such as in (43).

- (43) **Imes-li** vieru ili ne **imes,** ias tebe ne bosit-zu [sic]  
 have.PRS.2SG-if faith.ACC or NEG have.PRS.2SG I.NOM you.DAT NEG swear-REFL  
 ‘Whether you believe (me) or not, I shall not swear to you.’ (Fenne 218,1)

An example of a non-negated genitive possessum also appears in Fenne, which is shown in (44).

- (44) **iest-li v-tebe** solon-ich mech-ov prodasn-ich  
 be-Q at-you.GEN salt.GEN.PL sack-GEN.PL selling.PTCP-GEN.PL  
 ‘Have you any salt-bags for sale?’ (Fenne 376,4)

Fenne occasionally makes mistakes in his case usage, but the editors of his grammar consider (44) to faithfully represent early 17<sup>th</sup> century Pskov vernacular.

One of the earliest examples of reflexive control by the possessor in the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in my corpus is from Fenne; it is in (45).

- (45) ...ias tzuszim torgum ne szivu, ia sa sebe torguiu,  
 I.NOM other.INS.SG ware.INS.SG NEG live.PRS.1SG I.NOM for self.DAT trade.PRS.1SG  
 denga [sic] **v-mena** *suoi...*  
 money.NOM.PL at-me.GEN.SG refl.NOM.PL

‘I do not live for other people’s bargains, I bargain for myself, I have my own money’  
 (Fenne 314,1)

The possessor in the *u* + genitive PPC was not the only non-nominative argument that could control reflexive pronouns in the Pskov dialect recorded by Fenne. The dative in dative + infinitive constructions could also control reflexives; however, dative control of reflexives was not a new phenomenon in Middle Russian, since it was also attested in earlier periods of EES, e.g. example (25) from the PVL and (28) from the MLS, whereas control of reflexive pronouns by the *u* + genitive possessor appears to have arisen only by the Middle Russian period.

#### 9.4. Avvakum

Archpriest Avvakum’s writings from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century display a mixture of linguistic features similar to those exhibited by other texts from the Middle Russian period. In his writings, the *u* + genitive PPC is used for everyday subject matter, as in (46), whereas the verb *imet’* is most often embedded in a religious context, as in (47), and appears with abstract objects.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The English translation by Harrison and Mirrlees (Avvakum 1963) was consulted for the glosses.

(46) U protopopicy moej odnarjadka moskovskaja byla  
 by wife\_of\_archpriest.GEN my.GEN gown.NOM.SG moscow.ADJ.NOM.SG be.PST.SG.F  
 ‘Dame Avvakum had one Moscow gown.’ (*The Life of Archpriest Avvakum*)

(47) U menja že v domu byl brat moj rodnoj,  
 At me.GEN PTCL in house.PREP be.PST.M.SG brother.NOM my.NOM related.NOM

imenem Evfimej [...] o cerkve veliko priležanie imel  
 name.INS Evfima.NOM about church.PREP great.ACC diligence.NOM have.PST.M.SG

‘In my house at that time was my own brother, by the name of Euphimy [...] he gave great diligence to the church’; literally ‘...he had great diligence for the church’ (*The Life of Archpriest Avvakum*)

Additionally, reflexive control by the possessor in an *u* + genitive PPC is attested in Avvakum, shown in (48).

(48) Gorazdo Eremej razumen i dobr čelovek:  
 very Eremy.NOM wise.NOM and good.NOM person.NOM

už u nego i svoja seda boroda,  
 already by him.GEN PTCL REFL.NOM gray.NOM beard.NOM

a gorazdo počitaet otca i boit-sja ego.  
 and very honor.PRS.3SG father.ACC and fear-REFL him.GEN

‘Eremy is a very wise and good person; he already has his own gray beard, and yet he honors his father very much and fears him.’ (*The Life of Archpriest Avvakum*)

Avvakum also uses the nominative object construction. One example is in (49).

(49) umiloserdit-li-sja vladyka i dast li nam ta že  
 soften\_heart.PRS.3SG-if-REFL lord.NOM.SG and give.PRS.3SG if us.DAT that PTCL

čaša pit'  
 cup.NOM.SG drink.INF

‘whether our lord will soften his heart and let us drink this cup.’ (*Beseda pervaja*; from Timberlake 1974:46)

### 9.5. *The Muscovite Law Code (Uloženie) of 1649*

The *Uloženie*, or Muscovite Law Code of 1649, was a comprehensive legal code composed to replace the *Sudebnik* of 1497 (cf. §7). The *u* + genitive PPC frequently occurs in the *Uloženie*, but no clear examples with *iměti* were found in my search. An example of an

article with *u* + genitive PPC that covers familiar semantic context – kinship relations – is in (50), and an example expressing material possession is in (51).<sup>15</sup>

- (50) A budet ta beglaja devka vyjdet замуž'  
 and be.FUT.3SG DEM.3SG runaway.3SG maiden.3SG exit.PRS.3SG married
- za č'ego čeloveka, ili za krest'janina za vdovca,  
 to which.GEN.SG person.GEN.SG or to peasant.GEN.SG after widow.GEN.SG
- a do neja u **togo muža eja** budut deti s  
 and before her.GEN by DEM.GEN.SG husband.GEN her be.FUT.3PL children.NOM with
- pervoju ego ženoju, i tex muža eja pervyx  
 first.INS.SG his wife.INS.SG i DEM.GEN.PL husband.GEN.SG her first.GEN.PL
- detej iscu ne otdavati, a byti im u togo,  
 children.GEN.PL claimant.DAT.SG NEG give.INF then be.INF them.DAT by DEM.GEN.SG
- u kogo oni v xolopstve ili vo krest'janstve rodilisja.  
 by REL.GEN.SG they.NOM in servitude.PREP.SG or in peasantry.PREP.SG be\_born.PST.3PL

‘And if that fugitive unmarried woman marries someone’s slave or peasant who is a widower; and prior [to his marriage] to her, that husband of hers had children by his first wife: do not return those first children to the plaintiff. They shall remain with that person in whose possession they were born into slavery or peasantry.’ (Chapter XI, §13)

- (51) ...i životy u **nix** i votčiny byli  
 And movable\_property.NOM.PL by them.GEN and hereditary\_estate.NOM.PL be.PST.PL
- svoi osobnye: i u tex ego detej  
 REFL.NOM.PL own.NOM.PL and by DEM.GEN.PL his children.NOM.PL
- životov ix i votčin ne ot'imati.  
 movable\_property.GEN.PL their and hereditary\_estate.GEN.PL NEG take\_away.INF

‘...and they had their own movable property and their hereditary estates were separate from his: do not confiscate from those children of his their movable property and hereditary estates’ (Chapter II, §8)

Example (51) is of further interest because the possessor in the *u* + genitive PPC controls the reflexive pronoun *svoi*. This is in contrast to the second clause of (51), in which another *u* + genitive prepositional phrase does not contain the logical subject and therefore does not trigger a

<sup>15</sup> English translations in (50) and (51) from Hellie (1988:89).

reflexive pronoun.<sup>16</sup> In the second clause, the non-reflexive third person plural pronoun *ix* ‘their’ is used instead of the reflexive pronoun *svoi* used in the preceding clause. While the *u* + genitive phrase in the second clause is parallel in form to the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in the first clause, it is not part of an *u* + genitive PPC, but rather an external possessor modifying ‘movable property’ and ‘hereditary estates’; for this reason it appears to be unable to control reflexivization.

The *Uloženie* is yet another text based on the Middle Russian of Moscow with not only expanded usage of the *u* + genitive PPC, but also the nominative object construction, such as (52).

- (52) a   promež   sel                                    i   dereven'            votčinnikom            i  
 and between settlement.GEN.PL and village.GEN.PL landholder.DAT.PL and  
  
 pomeščikom    velěti    gorod'ba    goroditi    popolam  
 landlord.DAT.PL order.INF wall.NOM.SG construct.INF by\_halves

‘and between the settlements and villages it is necessary to order the landholders and landlords to construct a wall by halves.’ (Chapter X, §230; from Timberlake 2004)

Example (52) once again shows that North Russian features such as the nominative object were used in texts written in a variety of genres of Middle Russian, suggesting that the widespread usage of the *u* + genitive PPC can also be considered a feature carried over from North Russian dialects into Central Russian texts.

### 9.6. Summary of “Middle Russian” period

In Central and Northern Russian dialects of the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the *u* + genitive PPC was well on its way to becoming the preferred PPC in Russian, surpassing *iměti* and the dative PPC in both frequency and semantic flexibility. Widespread use of the *u* + genitive PPC was originally a feature of the North Russian dialect area, which formed on Finnic substratum and continued to be influenced by contacts with Finnic speakers on its peripheries over time; the subsequent spread of the *u* + genitive PPC into Middle Russian is probably a continuation of the North Russian behavior. This scenario is supported by the fact that other, more patently northern, features were being used in texts centered in Central Russia/Moscow in the Middle Russian period. Two features in particular: the nominative object construction and regular usage of non-negated genitive subjects with a partitive or indefinite sense, are of North Russian provenance and both are regularly found in Middle Russian texts, even though neither of these two features survived in the standard language. The nominative object construction fell out of use in the literary language in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Timberlake 1974) and is now restricted to North Russian dialects. It is unclear when the non-negated genitive subject with a partitive or

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<sup>16</sup> It may be the case that factors in addition to coreference motivate the use of the reflexive pronoun in (51); for example, it has been shown for Modern Russian that reflexive pronouns are more likely to occur in the context of set reference, when each of an isolated set of objects is correlated with the possessor, and also that third person referents more often control reflexive pronouns than first or second person referents (Timberlake 1980b).

indefinite sense ceased to be used regularly; currently it is also restricted to North Russian dialects.

The new standard language that emerged in Russia during the Muscovy period was subject to a negotiation and selection process. Speakers from a wide array of originally distinct dialect areas contributed to the formation of the language as it is spoken today. Many features that were originally present in one dialect area, but not in others, or were present to varying degrees in different dialect areas were in a sense competing for full-fledged status in the emerging standard language. Some features proved victorious, others fell out of usage. Some features may have acquired a sort of marked status, rendering them substandard or folksy and provincial, which was likely the fate of the nominative object construction; other features were perceived as neutral and fell below most speakers' radars, thus able to spread quite freely through the language, which seems to have been the fate of the *u* + genitive PPC. There is already evidence that the *u* + genitive PPC was controlling reflexivization by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which not only shows that the construction had gained momentum and was well on its way to becoming the standard PPC in Russian, but also shows that syntactic reanalysis had taken place and that the *u* + genitive possessor became a legitimate (logical) subject.

In Chapter 4, §6, I discuss socio-historical and demographic processes that contributed to the linguistic ecology of the Middle Russian period.

### ***10. Summary of Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics of Predicative Possession in EES***

The behavior of the *u* + genitive PPC is the most remarkable difference in the system of predicative possession between EES and other early Slavic traditions. In OCS, early South Slavic, and early Czech traditions, the *u* + genitive PPC is no more than a minor encoding strategy for expressing predicative possession and cannot be said to be a full-fledged PPC. But in EES, the *u* + genitive PPC is used regularly in the earliest textual traditions. However, the *u* + genitive PPC in EES is not completely anomalous from the perspective of the other early Slavic written traditions, since the semantic domain of the construction was largely the same as it was elsewhere, especially insofar as it was used to express primarily temporary possessive relations in the earliest period of EES texts. The greater frequency of examples in the earliest EES texts is thus partially attributable to the genres of texts represented, in particular texts that are secular and not religious. This is in sharp contrast to the core texts available for Old Czech and OCS – New Testament Bible translations – that are not available for EES. Furthermore, even though the *u* + genitive PPC is well attested in the earliest EES texts, it is not the most frequent PPC in the chronicles, where *iměti* is the preferred PPC much as in the other early Slavic written traditions. For EES, we have insight into vernacular varieties of the language, through the birchbark letters (DND), and also into bureaucratic language, through the *Pravda* and *Sudebnik*, where the *u* + genitive PPC is preferred and *iměti* is marginal or unattested. A similar juxtaposition of texts is available later in EES for the Muscovy period, where the division of labor between *iměti* and the *u* + genitive PPC has become even more pronounced: *iměti* a feature of religious and bookish language and the *u* + genitive PPC a feature of secular and everyday language.

By the Muscovy period of Early East Slavic, the *u* + genitive PPC appeared to have gained momentum as the primary PPC in northern and even central dialects. While the *u* + genitive PPC itself is not a northern Russian feature, usage of the *u* + genitive PPC as the primary PPC in the language is associated with early northern dialects. This usage was inspired

by contact with Balto-Finnic languages. Thus, the construction is attested from the earliest periods of EES, but its expansion into the prominent position as the primary PPC in Modern Russian is a feature imported from the north. Other morphosyntactic features of northern dialects, such as non-negated genitive possessums and nominative objects, also penetrated vernacular varieties of Muscovy Russian in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, but these features did not fully enter the standard language. The central transitional dialect would become the basis for the emerging standard language, which employed the *u* + genitive PPC – a feature of the northern dialect – as its primary PPC, but did not standardize the other northern morphosyntactic features, even though they are attested in Central Russian in the 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

There were two chronological stages to the development of *u* + genitive PPC in EES. First, the *u* + genitive PPC, which started out as a rare encoding strategy for predicative possession in Late Proto-Slavic, expanded dramatically in Northwestern Russian dialects as a result of contact with Balto-Finnic languages, which use a parallel construction with an adessive possessor for encoding predicative possession. Second, the construction entered the emerging standard language during the Muscovy period as a result of dialect mixing of northern, central and southern Russian dialects in the center of a transitional dialect zone.

The history of the dative PPC is murkier than either *iměti* or the *u* + genitive PPC. In the chronicles, the dative PPC was more frequent than the *u* + genitive PPC. This can be largely attributed to its occurrence in a number of fixed constructions, including a naming construction, kinship relations, and with possessums such as ‘help’ and ‘battle’, cf. §§5-6 above. The dative PPC is also quite frequent in the birchbark letters, where both the *u* + genitive PPC and the dative PPC occur at a higher frequency than *iměti*, and where the dative PPC exhibits a much broader semantic scope than in any other early Slavic documents. But by the Muscovy period, the dative PPC is all but lost, appearing only sporadically in bookish and vernacular texts. Its demise may be due in part to the fact that it was semantically restricted in the earliest periods; what may have been a semantic expansion in DND was not enough to promote its retention in the emerging standard language of Central Russia.



## THE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN *U* + GENITIVE PPC IN A SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND AREAL PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

### *1. Introduction*

Evidence from historical texts examined in Chapter 3 suggests that the expansion of the *u* + genitive predicative possessive construction (PPC) in the history of Russian was influenced in part by contacts (especially substratal) with Balto-Finnic languages. In this chapter, I examine this account more closely by analyzing the argument structure of the possessum and possessor arguments in the Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPC, then compare the behavior of the arguments in the Russian PPC to the Finnish adessive PPC, with Finnish representing Balto-Finnic languages more generally, and finally compare behavioral properties exhibited by the Russian PPC with locative PPCs in other areal languages with a special focus on Finnish.

The purpose of the synchronic analysis of the argument structure of *u* + genitive PPCs in this chapter is twofold. First, a detailed analysis of the argument structure makes it possible to identify both developments in the *u* + genitive construction and in the encoding of predicative possession from a diachronic perspective. Second, the analysis makes it possible to carry out a detailed comparison of the construction in Russian with Balto-Finnic languages to avoid reliance on superficial examination of the morphosyntax of the PPCs to assert contact-induced influence.

The system used for predicative possession in Modern Russian can be described as split possession (Stolz et al. 2008), since more than one encoding strategy is used for what is considered the single linguistic category predicative possession. This is not to say that the two PPCs in Modern Russian are an exact minimal pair; in fact, they are stylistically different, occur at different frequencies, and consistently appear with possessor and possessum arguments from different semantic categories. More specifically, while the *u* + genitive PPC is the primary method for expressing predicative possession in Modern Russian, *imet'* 'have' is used in several fixed expressions (especially with abstract possessums), non-finite syntactic contexts, high-style and bureaucratic prose, and frequently with inanimate possessor arguments. A general discussion of the *imet'* can be found in Timberlake (2004:311-12) and Mikaelian (2005). The two PPCs used in Modern Russian are given in (1) and (2), with special emphasis on the differences in their argument structure.

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<sup>1</sup> I presented preliminary versions of this chapter at the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea in Vilnius, Lithuania, September 2010, and to the Division of Typology and Comparative Linguistics at the Institute of Slavic Studies (*Otdel tipologii i sravnitel'nogo jazykoznanija, Institut slavjanovedenija*) in Moscow, Russia, March 2011. I am grateful to the conference participants and audience members for many helpful comments and suggestions.

- (1) **POSSESSOR** *ime-ju* **POSSESSUM** *vozmožnost'*  
 I.NOM have.PRES-1SG possibility.ACC.SG  
 'I have the possibility'
- (2) **POSSESSOR** *u menja byl-a* **POSSESSUM** *knig-a*  
 at me.GEN be.PST-F.SG book.F-NOM.SG  
 'I had a book', lit. 'at me was book'

In (1), the possessor *ja* 'I' is in the nominative case and controls verb agreement and the possessum *vozmožnost'* 'possibility' is in the accusative case, thus (1) has accusative alignment, which is typical of the majority of Russian transitive verbs. In contrast, in (2) the possessum *kniga* 'book' is in the nominative case and controls the past tense verb agreement of *byla* 'was', and the first person singular possessor is in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *u* 'at/near'. It has been called an ergative pattern in Russian (cf. Moravcsik 1978). A more detailed set of the behavioral contrasts between the two Modern Russian PPCs is laid out in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of behaviors of Modern Russian PPCs: *u* + genitive and *imet'*

<i>imet'</i>	<i>u</i> + genitive
fully inflecting verb	frozen <i>est'</i> copula in present tense (non-agreeing), e.g. <i>u menja est' sobaka</i> 'at me.GEN is dog-NOM.SG', can be null since Russian is a copula-drop language; under negation replaced by negative "copula" <i>net</i>
accusative alignment with nominative subject and accusative object, e.g. (1) above	past and future tense copula agree with possessum, e.g. example (2) above
can be pro-drop, i.e. no overt possessor required, e.g. <i>imejut vozmožnosti</i> (have-3PL possibilities-ACC) 'they have possibilities'	overt possessor required in <i>u</i> + genitive prepositional phrase
appears in non-finite contexts, e.g. infinitives and participles	not possible in non-finite contexts
appears in imperative mood, e.g. <i>imej v vidu</i> 'keep.IMPER in mind'	not possible in imperative mood
obligatory genitive object (possessum) under negation, e.g. <i>ja ne imeju prav-a</i> 'I.NOM not have right-GEN.SG'	obligatory genitive possessum under negation, e.g. <i>u menja net sobak-i</i> 'at me.GEN not dog-GEN.SG';

The bulk of this chapter is devoted to an analysis of the *u* + genitive PPC of the type shown in (2), because it is the main PPC in Modern Russian and has received the most attention in the literature on predicative possession in Russian. Hereafter, I refer to the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in the *u* + genitive PPC as the **possessor** or the ***u* + genitive possessor** and to the nominative (or genitive) argument of the PPC the **possessum**. The *u* + genitive PPC is independent of and unrelated to the dative PPC that was used in early periods of Slavic, which

was likely inherited in Slavic from Proto Indo-European, cf. Meillet (1923).<sup>2</sup> Both the dative and *u* + genitive PPCs have non-canonical argument structure, with the logical object in the nominative case controlling verb agreement and the logical subject in an oblique case or prepositional phrase. However, the constructions evolved from different source constructions and covered different semantic scopes in early periods of Slavic (cf. Chapter 3).

Locative constructions for predicative possession are quite common cross-linguistically (Stassen 2009). As I discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 3, neighboring Balto-Finnic languages, such as Finnish and Estonian, also use a locative construction for predicative possession. An example of predicative possession in Finnish is in (3), where the possessor is in the adessive case – a locative case meaning ‘at/near’ someone or something – and the possessum is in the nominative case. The Finnish verb invariably appears in a frozen non-agreeing form in its PPC.

- (3)    Minu-lla        oli                koira  
       me-ADESS    be.PST.3SG    dog.NOM  
       ‘I had a dog’

In the *u* + genitive PPC in (2) and the Finnish adessive PPC in (3), the properties typically associated with subjects are split between two arguments in the construction. Additional constructions in Russian also have subjecthood properties split between two arguments, most often with a dative “subject” argument in dative experiencer and dative + infinitive constructions. An example of a dative experiencer is given in (4), where the human experiencer argument *mne* ‘me.DAT’ is in the dative case, while the stimulus *sobaka* ‘dog’ is in the nominative case and controls verb agreement.

- (4)    Mne                ponrav-il-a-s'                sobak-a.  
       me.DAT        like/please.PFV-3SG-F-RFL    dog.F-NOM.SG  
       ‘I liked the dog.’ (‘The dog was pleasing to me.’)

Constructions such as the *u* + genitive PPC, the dative experiencer construction, the dative + infinitive construction, etc. have drawn the attention of scholars over the years for their “deviant” argument structure. Special attention has been paid to identifying whether the subject of these constructions is the logical subject, i.e. the obliquely marked human (or animate) argument with a more prominent semantic role, or the morphological subject in the nominative case that controls verb agreement. The logical subject in these constructions is often called a non-canonical subject. Such constructions have also been analyzed as exhibiting ergative alignment patterns in a language with largely accusative alignment. The literature on these topics is vast and not always in agreement on how to analyze such constructions. Therefore I devote the next section (§2) to a discussion of issues surrounding subjecthood and objecthood,

<sup>2</sup> The dative PPC is still regularly used in one context in Modern Russian, i.e. in the fixed construction for reporting age, e.g. *mne 20 let* ‘I am 20 years old’, literally ‘to me 20 years’. Occasionally other examples with a dative PPC appear in varieties of Modern Russian, such as the following example from the entry for *byt'je* in the *Arxangel'skij oblastnoj slovar'*, which has dative PPCs paralleling *u* + genitive PPCs: *U jej žyt'jo da u jej byt'jo. Mne uš ni žyt'ja, ni byt'ja* ‘She has a good life. I no longer have a good life’. See Weiss and Raxilina (2002:179-180) for a discussion of other possible dative PPCs in Modern Russian.

grammatical relations, alignment types, etc. especially insofar as they aid in the analysis of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. In §2 I review problems in the cross-linguistic discussion of grammatical relations, focusing especially on problems relevant to Russian and the *u* + genitive PPC. Then in §3 I examine subjecthood and objecthood properties of the possessor versus possessum argument in the Russian *u* + genitive PPC, and in §4 I bring together the historical and modern analyses of Russian. In §5, I compare properties of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC with other areal languages that employ a locative PPC with special focus on the Finnish adessive PPC. In §6, I bring the linguistic arguments together with extra-linguistic considerations to identify the most probable historical developmental scenario for the *u* + genitive PPC, especially regarding the role of contact with Balto-Finnic in its development. Conclusions are summarized in §7.

## ***2. What is a Subject?***

It seems intuitively obvious what the subject of any given utterance is, and that intuition is regularly born out in the grammatical relations of languages. Those intuitions are largely the result of conceptualizations of the structure of events in the world, which have participants that are in a hierarchical relationship with one another. These relationships, or roles, often occur in pairs such as giver and receiver, hitter and hittee, possessor and possessum, and are called semantic or thematic roles. Speakers share intuitions about which role is more agent-like in multi-role events, and this more agent-like role is most often chosen as the subject of the predicate. However, the category of subject is a deceptively complex notion. As will become clear in the remainder of this section, the semantic notion of a subject and its formal realization do not always neatly correspond in constructions in Russian and in other languages. In fact, a number of construction types frequently exhibit deviant behavior cross-linguistically, where the argument with the semantic role that “should” be subject does not carry the usual formal marking of a subject argument.<sup>3</sup>

In case-marking languages, the conventional practice is to equate the subject with nominative case marking. But in addition to nominative case marking a whole host of other properties are also associated with subjects. Some are linked to, or dependent upon, nominative case marking, such as verb agreement (however, this is not a steadfast rule cross-linguistically), but other properties associated with subjects are tenuously or not at all linked to morphological marking, such as the semantic properties of animacy and agency.

Keenan (1976) divided the properties associated with subjecthood into three categories: coding properties, behavioral properties, and semantic properties. Coding properties include case marking, verb agreement and preverbal word order; behavioral properties include control of syntactic processes such as reflexivization and coreferential deletion; and semantic properties include animacy and agency. Canonical subjects are expected to display all (or most) relevant coding, behavioral and semantic properties of subjects, whereas non-canonical subjects display some, but not all, of those subjecthood properties. In particular, non-canonical subjects usually lack the coding properties associated with subjects, which for Russian means nominative case

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<sup>3</sup> Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005) provide a useful survey of these problems, including discussion of various approaches and current thinking on different aspects of grammatical relations.

marking and control of verb agreement,<sup>4</sup> but they display several of the behavioral and semantic properties associated with subjects.

Russian arguments in the dative case have frequently been considered as candidates for non-canonical subjects in Modern Russian, e.g. Moore & Perlmutter (2000), Perlmutter & Moore (2002), Sigurðsson (2002), etc. Sigurðsson (693) writes:

As pointed out by Blake (1994, 148f.), dative I-nominals or ‘indirect subjects’ of this sort are ‘subject-like’ in the sense that they bear a thematic role that is normally encoded as subject and, in some languages, they also exhibit syntactic properties associated with subjects. [...] Thus, these ‘quirky NPs’ behave like subjects and not like fronted objects with respect to a host of syntactic phenomena that have come to be known as ‘subjecthood tests’...

The subjecthood tests mentioned by Sigurðsson correspond largely to the behavioral properties first laid out by Keenan (1976).

In more recent work, Onishi (2001) focuses on non-canonical subjects by listing some of the primary syntactic properties used to identify non-canonical subjects, including formation of imperatives, control of reflexivization, and constraints on relativization. Following this list he remarks that “[n]ot all criteria listed here are relevant to every language. And there are of course other criteria which are language-specific. In general, the importance of each criterion differs from language to language” (8). In short, there is not one set of criteria that can be used to establish subjecthood for either canonical or non-canonical subjects for languages in general, nor is there one set of criteria that can be used to establish subjecthood for all constructions, whether they be canonical or non-canonical, within any given language.

Work on Russian non-canonical subjects has pinpointed a number of subjecthood tests particularly relevant for analyzing Russian non-canonical subjects, e.g. Nichols (1979), Rappaport (1980, 2984), Testelec (2001), Guiraud-Weber (2002). Tests include control of reflexivization (Nichols, Testelec, Guiraud-Weber), adverbial participle control (Nichols, Rappaport, Testelec), *čtoby* control (Nichols, Testelec), and several others. All the traits are syntactic, except for the semantic traits agency and animacy used by Guiraud-Weber.

Cross-linguistic work on grammatical relations has made it possible to move away from thinking only in terms of subject and object. This has been motivated in part by the existence of two primary alignment patterns in languages: accusative and ergative (cf. Dixon 1979, Bickel and Nichols 2009). Most Russian predicates have accusative alignment, where the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb, which Dixon (1979) termed A, is nominative-marked, as is the single argument of an intransitive verb, which he calls S. The object of the transitive verb, termed O, is then marked differently, in the accusative case. This can also be written A=S≠O. In an ergative language, on the other hand, the S and O arguments share the same marking, but the A argument is distinct, so that A≠S=O.<sup>5</sup>

Within the framework of lexical typology (cf. Bickel and Nichols 2009), arguments are not strictly dependent on case marking or on traditional notions of transitivity, and instead “A

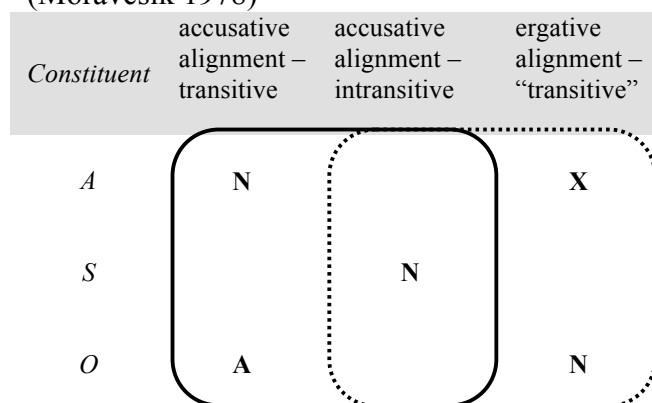
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<sup>4</sup> Though non-canonical Russian subjects typically do display one coding property associated with subjects: preverbal word order.

<sup>5</sup> Bickel and Nichols (2009) furthermore uniquely characterize the objects (and sometimes the subject) of ditransitive verbs, but these argument roles are not relevant for analysis of the *u* + genitive PPC.

and O apply not only to the arguments of transitive verbs but also to oblique subjects and/or objects” (Nichols 2008:122). Using this approach, I interpret the *u* + genitive possessor argument in the *u* + genitive PPC as an A argument and the nominative (or genitive) possessum argument as an O argument. In this way, the *u* + genitive PPC resembles an ergative pattern, because its O argument is formally marked like an S argument in the majority of Russian clauses. (The construction patterns even more like an ergative when the possessum is in the genitive case; this will be discussed in more detail in §3.1.1.) This interpretation parallels an earlier analysis by Moravcsik (1978:242), who identifies the *u* + genitive PPC as an ergative pattern in Russian.

Figure 1. Diagram of a potential ergative case-marking pattern in accusative languages (Moravcsik 1978)<sup>6</sup>



*N*=nominative case marking; *A*=accusative case marking; *X*=case marker distinct from both *N* & *A*; *I* consider obliques and prepositional phrases to be potential *X* arguments

Jung (2009a, 2009b) argues that the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase has been reanalyzed as an ergative marker in North Russian ‘be’-perfects (also called possessive perfects in other literature). Jung’s analysis shows a close link between the development of the North Russian ‘be’-perfect as an ergative pattern and the salience of the *u* + genitive possessor as a subject (“external argument”) alongside the possibility of nominative objects in a number of North Russian constructions. This suggests that the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase became an ergative marker in the history of Russian, at least in certain constructions in northern dialects of Russian. This development fits into one of the regular development scenarios for ergative patterns schematically depicted by Moravcsik (1978:241), which I have reproduced (with some modifications) in Figure 1. Most of Russian patterns with the accusative alignment columns in Figure 1, but the *u* + genitive PPC and North Russian ‘be’-perfect construction pattern with the ergative alignment column, where the ergative *X* element is the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase. Other constructions in Russian also have an ergative pattern, but with a formally different *X* argument.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> I modified Moravcsik’s naming of argument roles, or constituents, to match those used by Bickel and Nichols (2009).

<sup>7</sup> See also Kuteva and Heine (2004) and Danylenko (2005) for additional discussion of the North Russian possessive perfect construction, including suggested developmental scenarios. Lindström and Trigel (2010) examine the

In other work on grammatical relations, a number of scholars have come to view subjecthood and objecthood as collections of properties not necessarily shared by the same argument, e.g. Haspelmath (2001), Van Valin (2005), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), etc. Haspelmath examined primarily European dative experiencer arguments, concluding that they are neither canonical subjects, nor wholly un-subject-like. He further concludes that we should perhaps “conceive of grammatical relations as continua rather than given fixed points” (80).

Van Valin provides a useful apparatus for analyzing grammatical relations in both canonical and non-canonical constructions (e.g. Van Valin 2005). His and others’ work in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) introduced the term *Privileged Syntactic Argument* (PSA), which is in many ways comparable to a subject, but with a few key differences. The most important difference between a PSA and a subject is that a PSA is not a constant concept throughout a language or even within a single construction in a language. A PSA can vary for different syntactic processes so that one and the same construction can have multiple PSAs for different syntactic processes. *Syntactic process* (Van Valin 2005) is a concept referring to each of the different control properties exhibited by a construction. Instead of collecting control properties as evidence for the subjecthood of a single argument in a construction, each control property or syntactic process is assessed independently. This multivariate approach makes PSAs particularly useful for analyzing non-canonical arguments, since different syntactic processes may have different “subjects” based on the particular control features they exhibit. Icelandic has received special attention for its prolific use of non-canonical subjects marked in either the dative, accusative, or genitive case. Van Valin (2005:120; my emphasis) writes: “[t]he nominative NP and the controller of finite verb agreement will coincide in Icelandic, *even though the privileged syntactic argument for syntactic processes like matrix-coding and reflexive controller may be a different NP.*” Canonical constructions, such as Russian *imet’*, have a canonical PSA. In example (1) above, the subject argument *ja* ‘I’ is in the nominative case controlling verb agreement and has the thematic role of possessor. But in the Russian *u* + genitive PPC and dative experiencer constructions, the constructions have different PSAs depending on the syntactic process.

A discussion of subject- and objecthood of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC, especially regarding different PSAs that emerge for different syntactic processes, provides a way to more effectively and systematically characterize the synchronic behavior of the construction for the purpose of making comparisons, both with earlier periods of East Slavic and with PPCs in other languages. Analyzing the *u* + genitive PPC in such a way reveals that the construction is not merely a collocation of words in the language, but that it encompasses a set of contextually motivated behaviors, which as a whole can be used to better understand historical developments to recognize motivations for the developments. Such an approach also makes it possible to avoid using a technique that is too superficial when comparing constructions cross-linguistically by relying too heavily on only the formal encoding of the construction without taking into account the behavior of the construction in different grammatical and pragmatic contexts.

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development of a parallel possessive perfect construction in Modern Estonian. For a survey of the development of perfect constructions in a European areal perspective see Drinka (2003) and references therein.

### 3. Subject Properties of Arguments in the Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPC

While the question of subjecthood of Russian constructions with plausibly dative subjects, such as Russian dative experiencer constructions and dative + infinitive constructions, is often addressed in the literature on subjecthood, the question of the subjecthood of the possessor in the Russian *u* + genitive PPC is far less frequently considered. This is despite the fact that subjecthood considerations relevant for the dative + infinitive and other dative subject constructions are also relevant for the *u* + genitive construction. For example, dative subjects and the *u* + genitive possessor have the semantic role normally encoded as subject, while lacking the most salient characteristic of subjecthood: nominative case marking.

The set of tests or indicators of subjecthood that I use for the *u* + genitive PPC are listed here. It is not meant to be an exhaustive list of properties. The tests include morphological, syntactic, and semantic behaviors.

Coding properties (§3.1):

- Case marking (§3.1.1)
- Verb agreement (§3.1.2)
- Preverbal word order in neutral utterances (§3.1.3)

Behavioral properties (§3.2):

- Control: reflexivization (§3.2.1)
- Control: adverbial participles (§3.2.2)
- Prepositional phrase (PP) doubling with an additional locative *u* + genitive PP (§3.2.3)
- Control: subject in subordinate clauses with conjunction *čtoby* ‘in order to’ + infinitive (§3.2.4)

Semantic properties (§3.3):

- Animacy (§3.3.1)

Not all of the properties or tests are mutually exclusive. In fact, features frequently influence one another, forming a chain or network of influence. For example, animacy of the *u* + genitive possessor argument influences the interpretation of word order, and word order influences the likelihood of the *u* + genitive possessor controlling adverbial participles and *čtoby* clauses. The type of possession, in particular permanent/basic possession versus temporary possession, also proves to be a relevant factor in the realization and interpretation of properties, especially word order, of the *u* + genitive PPC. Possession type is addressed in more detail in §3.1.3.

Tests for objecthood are also relevant in a discussion of arguments in the *u* + genitive PPC. However, objecthood has received less attention in the literature on grammatical relations, and objecthood proves to be a more elusive concept for both canonical and non-canonical objects. In §3.1.1, I discuss some of the problems with objecthood tests in both standard and dialectal varieties of Russian.



### 3.1. Coding Properties

#### 3.1.1. Case marking

In Modern Russian, the morphological marking of the possessum in the nominative case is its most salient subjecthood property. The nominative case ending is italicized in example (5) (repeated from (2) above).

- (5) u menja      byl-a      **knig-a**  
at me.GEN      is.PST-F.SG      book.F-NOM.SG  
'I had a book'

But the nominative possessum is not always nominative; sometimes it is genitive. For example, in all periods of Russian the possessum is obligatorily genitive under negation, as in example (6).<sup>8</sup>

- (6) u menja      ne      byl-o      **knig-i**  
at me.GEN      NEG      was.PST-N.SG      book-GEN.SG'  
'I didn't have a/the book'

In Northwestern Russian dialects, genitive possessums also appear in non-negated contexts, such as in (7).<sup>9</sup>

- (7) byl-o      li      u      tebj-a      **det-*ej*?**      (dialectal) (Markova 1991:139)  
be.PST-N.SG      PTCL      at      you.GEN      child-GEN.PL  
'Did you have (any) children?'

And in the 15-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, non-negated genitive possessums are attested in EES texts in contexts with a partitive or indefinite sense. Examples from 15<sup>th</sup> century texts are discussed in Chapter 3, §9.

When the possessum appears in the genitive case, such as in examples (6)-(7), it no longer exhibits the most salient coding feature of subjects in Russian, that is, nominative case marking. Chvany (1975:108) argues that the possessum behaves as a direct object in part because it bears genitive case marking when negated (a feature of Russian direct objects). Just like the possessum in the *u* + genitive PPC, non-individuated Russian objects in other constructions are often genitive and not accusative under negation, e.g. (8).

- |     |   |     |             |  |                |
|-----|---|-----|-------------|--|----------------|
|     | S   |     | V           |  | O              |
| (8) | Ja  | ne  | viž-u       |  | <b>sobak-i</b> |
|     | I-NOM   | not | see-PRS.1SG |  | dog-GEN.SG     |
|     | 'I don't see a (any) dog' / ( <i>not</i> : 'I don't see the dog') |     |             |  |                |

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions to this rule are encountered in historical EES texts that reflect vernacular language, cf. Chapter 3, §9 for discussion.

<sup>9</sup> This usage is also marginally attested in Standard Russian; a well-known example is a line from an Odessan Russian song that has turned into a popular quotation: *Vam xočetsja pesen? Ix est' u menja!* 'Do you want some songs? I've got 'em!' (lit. 'You.DAT want.3SG.PRS.REFL song.GEN.PL? **They.GEN** be.3SG.PRS by me.GEN').

But objects are not the only arguments that can appear with genitive case marking under negation. Existential subjects, primarily with the verb *byt'* 'be', but also with other unaccusative predicates, may also be genitive under negation (Timberlake 1975), e.g. (9) from Timberlake (2004:302).

- |     |  |                    |                |
|-----|--|--------------------|----------------|
|     | V  |                    | S              |
| (9) | Na planet-e  | bol'she ne bud-et  | <b>ljud-ej</b> |
|     | On planet-LOC.SG                                   | more no be.FUT-3SG | people-GEN.PL  |
|     | 'On the planet there will no longer be any people' |                    |                |

For this reason, Markova (1989, 1991) and others differ from Chvany and interpret genitive possessums in the *u* + genitive PPC as subjects and not objects.

Another interpretation is also possible. Moravcsik (1978) identifies the genitive of negation as an ergative pattern in Russian, since it affects only S and O arguments, but never A arguments. Thus, genitive marking is possible for the single argument (S) of the predicate in (9) and for the direct object (O) argument of the predicate in (8). In no construction is the more agent-like argument (A) of sentences like (8) in the genitive case. This analysis bypasses the question of whether the genitive possessum is a subject or object, since it is instead the absolutive in a construction with ergative alignment.

However, it has been shown for Standard Russian that different constraints apply to genitive subjects versus genitive objects under negation, which suggests that the genitive subject and object of negation are not part of one unified ergative pattern or system. In Timberlake (1975), the choice of a genitive versus accusative object follows a collection of hierarchical constraints that depend on an array of factors, including pragmatic, morphological, stylistic, and other considerations. In keeping with the spirit of Timberlake (1975, cf. also 2004), Perelmutter (2008) identifies sets of factors that motivate usage of a genitive versus nominative object in negated existential constructions, which she calls absence constructions. A comparison of Timberlake and Perelmutter's studies shows that the considerations relevant for choosing a genitive object instead of an accusative object, on one hand, and a genitive subject instead of a nominative subject, on the other, do not always coincide. Perhaps the most striking difference between the potential referents is the importance of animacy. Only subjects that are animate can be marked either genitive or nominative under negation; inanimate subjects are obligatorily genitive under negation (Perelmutter 2008:32). However, both inanimate and animate objects participate in variable genitive versus accusative marking under negation.

Case marking for both objects and subjects under negation in Standard Russian is influenced by the degree of individuation of the argument. In contexts where the arguments are highly individuated, i.e. a specific individual or group of individuals is the referent and his/her/their properties as an individual are the focus of the utterance, then the non-genitive (accusative object and nominative subject) argument predominates. However, as Perelmutter shows, genitive subjects can also be highly individuated entities, especially in emotionally motivated utterances, a consideration that does not appear to be relevant for genitive objects.

According to Moravcsik's (1978) logic, genitive subjects and objects in non-negated constructions, including the *u* + genitive construction, in northern varieties of Russian also follow an ergative alignment pattern. However, in this case different constraints also apply to the usage of non-negated genitive subjects and objects in dialects. In North Russian dialects

spoken in the Onega region of Arkhangelsk oblast, genitive subjects in affirmative contexts are quite common; they can be broken into two categories: 1) the noun phrase refers to a divisible or countable entity with a partitive sense, and 2) the noun phrase designates an indivisible object/entity (Markova 1989, 1991). The first context also appears in Standard Russian, also with a partitive meaning, but is not as frequent as in northern dialects; the second context is attested only in North Russian dialects, not in Standard Russian, and appears most often in interrogative contexts.

The genitive object that occurs in affirmative contexts in Russian dialects is commonly used with a partitive meaning. Such usage is also attested in Standard Russian, though does not appear as frequently or as freely as in Arkhangelsk dialects (Timberlake 2004, Malyševa 2010). In Standard Russian the partitive genitive object is primarily restricted to mass nouns, or items that can easily be conceptualized as a mass, which most frequently applies to foodstuffs, e.g. *kupit' xleba* 'buy some bread' (lit. 'buy.INF bread.GEN.SG') (Malyševa 2010:1), but in Arkhangelsk dialects, the genitive encompasses a wider range of partitive objects. The genitive objects appears to differ from the genitive subject, as described by Markova (1991), in that the latter can appear with indivisible entities, but the former cannot.<sup>10</sup> In the Arkhangelsk dialect genitive objects in affirmative contexts also occur when the quantity of the object itself is not at issue, but rather when a quantitative aspect of the verb exerts influence on the object, in particular when the verb expresses intensity or degree of action or influence. Malyševa shows that this latter usage is also attested in historical periods of Russian, but not in Standard Russian. This factor does not appear to be relevant for the affirmative genitive subjects in the Onega dialect (Markova 1991).

### 3.1.2. Verb Agreement

Directly related to nominative marking of the possessum is control over verb agreement. Only arguments in the nominative case in Russian can control verb agreement. (For discussion of predicates with null subjects and their agreement properties in Russian see Guiraud-Weber (2002) and Testelec (2001).) The example in (10) shows the nominative possessum controlling agreement over the past tense of the verb *byl'*.

- (10) u menja            byl-*a*            **knig-a**  
 at me.GEN        is.PST-F.SG     book.F-NOM.SG'  
 'I had a book'

Russian past tense verbs require gender and number agreement with the nominative argument. Therefore, *byla* 'was' in (10) is singular and feminine to agree with the nominative marked possessum *kniga* 'book'. Therefore, the possessum fails to control verb agreement when it is marked in the genitive case, as in (11).

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<sup>10</sup> Markova's and Malyševa's surveys address the same dialect sub-grouping in Arkhangelsk oblast and so can more or less be taken to represent the same variety of Russian. However, it is unclear whether or not the twenty years separating the two surveys is significant enough to represent changes in the usage of genitives in this dialect; in the present discussion, I assume the difference is insignificant.

- (11) u menja ne byl-o knig-i  
 at me.GEN NEG was.PST-N.SG book-GEN.SG  
 ‘I don’t have a book’

The possessum also fails to control verb agreement in another context. In the present tense the Russian verb ‘be’ only appears in the frozen non-agreeing form *est’*,<sup>11</sup> or is null. As a consequence, the possessum does not control agreement of the present tense verb, as shown in (12).

- (12) u nego (est’) knig-a / knig-i / my / ty  
 at him.GEN (is.PRS) book-NOM.SG / book-NOM.PL / we.NOM / you.NOM  
 ‘He has a book / books / us / you’

Of course, the erosion of the ‘be’-verb paradigm occurred independently of its usage in the *u* + genitive PPC; the ‘be’-verb conjugation ceased to be used in all contexts in the history of Russian, dropping out of speech in the late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both of the instances where the possessum fails to control agreement of the verb ‘be’ in the *u* + genitive PPC – with a genitive possessum and in the present tense – are language-wide phenomena and not construction-specific phenomena.

### 3.1.3. Word order: first position in declarative clauses

Word order has been identified as one of the coding properties for subjects (cf. Keenan 1976, Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 2005). In languages with strict word order restrictions, word order is more clearly a coding property of subjects. The basic word order for Russian declarative clauses with transitive verbs is SVO, while for other clause types, such as clauses with intransitive existential verbs, the more frequent word order is VS (see, for example, Timberlake (2004:449-460) for discussion). And while Russian can be said to have basic SVO word order, subjects do not obligatorily appear in preverbal position and word order can be altered for semantic and pragmatic reasons.

It has been noted that the basic word order for the *u* + genitive PPC parallels that of clauses with transitive verbs, e.g. Isačenko (1974). Chvany (1975) analyzes *u* + genitive PPCs as “transitive” be-sentences, in contrast to be-sentences with a strictly locative *u* + genitive PP. In keeping with the SVO word order pattern for Russian transitive sentences, the subject of the be-sentence appears in first position. Chvany (1975:102-107) argues that possessors in both the *u* + genitive and *imet’* PPCs originate as indirect objects that are promoted to initial position, thus becoming surface subjects. The difference between the morphological marking of the subject of *imet’* (with canonical subject marking in the nominative case) and the *u* + genitive oblique possessor (bearing non-canonical marking in a locative prepositional phrase) is that *imet’* allows case neutralization for its arguments while *byt’* ‘to be’ (the copula of the *u* + genitive PPC) does not and therefore the *u* + genitive possessor is in a prepositional phrase. The importance of initial position for the possessive vs. locative interpretation of the *u* + genitive PP is shown by Chvany’s examples (13) and (14):

<sup>11</sup> *Est’* is occasionally replaced by the stylistically bookish form *sut’*, a relic from the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural form.

(13) U **Ivan-a** est' samovar  
 At Ivan-GEN.SG is samovar.NOM.SG  
 'Ivan has a samovar'

(14) **Samovar** u Ivan-a  
 samovar.NOM.SG at Ivan-GEN.SG  
 'The samovar is at Ivan's'

In (13), the initial position of the *u* + genitive PPC forces the predicative possessive interpretation (when the sentence stands alone, out of context). Thus, in (13) the default interpretation is with *u Ivana* as the subject argument. The *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in (14), in contrast, is more felicitously interpreted as a locative prepositional phrase, where *u Ivana* means 'at Ivan's house', and not necessarily that Ivan owns the samovar. Word order influences the grammatical interpretation, because the preverbal position is both prominent and the default location of the subject in neutral utterances. Thus the subject in (13) is the possessor in the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase, whereas in (14) it is the nominative inanimate object. Chvany also uses word order to account for the oblique possessor's ability to control reflexives: "the uNP of possessive sentences is in subject position at the time reflexives are interpreted" (119).

Isačenko (1974) compares a set of Russian *u* + genitive PPCs similar to those from Chvany (1975), but provides a somewhat different interpretation. He argues that the word order of simple declarative utterances can significantly alter the interpretation of possession by producing a definite vs. indefinite reading. He argues his point with the examples in (15) and (16). In (15), the *u* + genitive possessor argument is preverbal and produces an indefinite reading; in (16) the *u* + genitive possessor is post-verbal and produces a definite reading. Similar observations are echoed in Clark's (1978) cross-linguistic study of word order, which I discuss in greater detail below.

(15) U **Peti** est' mašina  
 at Peter-GEN.SG is car.NOM.SG  
 'Peter has a car'

(16) **Mašina** u Peti.  
 car.NOM.SG at Peter-GEN.SG  
 'Peter has the car' / 'The car is at Peter's'<sup>12</sup>

Yet another difference between (13) and (15), on one hand, and (14) and (16), on the other, is the type of possession expressed, in particular permanent/basic possession ((13) and (15)) versus temporary ((14) and (16)) possession. (Where permanent possession is defined loosely as possession without dependence or reference to time, as opposed temporary possession where a temporal restriction is of central concern to the possessive relationship.) As I discussed in Chapter 3, the original scope of the *u* + genitive PPC in early periods of Slavic encompassed temporary possession, but rarely permanent possessive relations, as is often the case for locative PPCs cross-linguistically (Stassen 2009). The use of the *u* + genitive PPC for temporary

<sup>12</sup> Isačenko translates (14) as follows: 'The car is with/at Peter'.

possession has carried over into Modern Russian, most clearly by means of the word order alternation exhibited by (13) and (15) versus (14) and (16). In §5.1.3 I discuss parallel behaviors for the expression of permanent and temporary possession in Finnish, Latvian, and Polish.

Word order is not the only relevant factor in these sentences. Another difference in their syntax is the presence or absence of copular *est'*. When establishing possession, as in (15), the copula is necessary and the construction is a PPC. On the other hand, in (16), which lacks the copula, the goal is not to establish a possessive relationship, but rather to indicate a locative relation for an item whose existence has already been established.

Clark (1978) reports a cross-linguistic word order study on connections between word order, possession, and definiteness. She compares patterns of existential, locational and indefinite versus definite possessive sentences across multiple languages. Her conclusion is that these four types of sentences form a related network, typically relying on the verb 'be'. When a verb other than 'be' is used in any of the sentence types, it is always for indefinite possession, which uses a separate lexeme meaning 'have'. She shows cross-linguistic patterns in word order based on two factors: definiteness and animacy (i.e. whether there is an animate argument in the clause). A tabular representation of these constructions in relation to definiteness and animacy is in Table 2. Table 3 lists the constructions alongside their features, their most basic/common word order, and examples from English and Russian.

Table 2. Features of existential, locative and possessive sentences

	<i>Inanimate</i>	<i>Animate</i>
<i>Indefinite</i>	Existential	Possessive <sub>1</sub>
<i>Definite</i>	Location	Possessive <sub>2</sub>

Table 3. Expanded features of existential, locative and possessive sentences<sup>13</sup>

<i>Construction type</i>	<i>Definiteness</i>	<i>Animacy</i>	<i>Basic Word Order</i>	<i>Alignment</i>	<i>English Example</i>	<i>Russian Example</i>
Existential	Indefinite	Inanimate	Loc Nom V ( <i>also</i> : Loc V Nom)	Theme is subject	<i>There is a book on the table.</i>	<i>Na stole ležít kniga.</i>
Location	Definite	Inanimate	Nom Loc V ( <i>also</i> : Nom V Loc)	Theme is subject	<i>The book is on the table.</i>	<i>Kniga (ležít) na stole.</i>
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	Indefinite	Animate	Pr V Pd ( <i>also</i> : Pr Pd V)	Theme is subject / Possessor is subject (where separate verb is used)	<i>John has a book.</i>	<i>U Ivana est' kniga.</i>
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	Definite	Animate	Pr V Pd ( <i>also</i> : Pr Pd V); Pd V Pr where there is a separate verb for 'have', e.g. English	Theme is subject	<i>The book is John's.</i>	<i>Eto kniga Ivana. / Eta kniga prinadležít Ivanu.</i>

<sup>13</sup> Tables 2 and 3 are based on data from Clark (1978), including modifications of her English examples; I provided the Russian equivalents in each category.

Clark argues that SVO languages with the existential type of indefinite (=predicative) possession (as opposed to a separate ‘have’ verb as in English, Czech, German, etc.), the basic word order is Possessor Verb Possessed, where the possessor is an oblique argument and the possessed is in the nominative case. Her explanation is that the possessor is usually animate, and animacy takes precedence over subject status in this construction (using the traditional definition of subject as the argument in the nominative case controlling verb agreement). It is clear from this cross-linguistic study (in addition to more recent work by Stassen (2005, 2009)) that Russian is not unique in having an oblique *u* + genitive possessor with subject properties; in many languages, oblique possessors are subject-like, despite having morphological marking and agreement properties uncharacteristic of subjects.

An additional point supporting the interpretation of the oblique *u* + genitive possessor as a subject with respect to word order can be found in intonation contours. It is possible to compare the basic word order of the *u* + genitive PPC with intonation contours for canonical declarative sentences to firmly establish that the *u* + genitive PPC in (17) patterns with the transitive stative utterance *Ja obožaju sobaku* in (18), as opposed to presentational or existential patterns in VS order.

(17) U **menja** est' sobak-a  
 at me.GEN is dog-NOM.SG  
 ‘I have a dog’

(18) **Ja** oboža-ju sobak-u  
 I.NOM adore.PRS-1SG dog-ACC.SG  
 ‘I adore the dog’

A parallel argument has been made by Barðdal (2006) and Lenerz (1977) for German oblique subject constructions. In particular, the oblique subjects in German share word order and intonation properties with canonical SVO sentences and not with OVS sentences with topicalized objects (Barðdal 2006:49). This suggests that the oblique arguments have some status as subjects and not merely topics.

Word order of the *u* + genitive PPC is, furthermore, relevant for a number of the control properties discussed further below. In particular, the *u* + genitive possessor only exhibits control of adverbial participles and *čto*by clauses when it is in preverbal (or perhaps even clause-initial) position.

### 3.2. Behavioral Properties

#### 3.2.1. Control of reflexivization.

The most frequently cited subjecthood test in the literature for the *u* + genitive possessor is reflexive control. Chvany (1996:34) writes, “Russian reflexives can serve as a test for subjects, since an NP in another position cannot be the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun in an active simple sentence (there are no Russian analogs to English sentences like *I told Ivan about himself*.” The example in (19) from Corbett (2006:194) shows the *u* + genitive possessor argument controlling the reflexive pronoun *svoj*; examples in (20) and (21) from Chvany (1975:99; 1996:34) show *u* + genitive possessor argument controlling the reflexive pronoun

*sebja*. In all examples, the controller – the *u* + genitive oblique possessor – is italicized, and the noun phrase with the controlled reflexive is italicized.

- (19) Mož-et byt', kogda u **menja** bud-et sv-*oj* milliard  
 may-3SG be.INF when at 1SG.GEN be.FUT-3SG REFL-M.SG.NOM billion.M.SG.NOM  
*dollar-ov, ja...*  
 dollar-PL.GEN 1SG.NOM

‘Maybe, when I have my (own) billion dollars, I...’

- (20) U **Ivan-a** byl-i den'gi s *soboj*  
 At Ivan-GEN.SG were-PL money-NOM.PL with self.INSTR  
 ‘Ivan had money with him/on him’

- (21) U **turist-a** ne byl-o dokument-ov pri *sebe* (\*pri *nem*)  
 At tourist-GEN.SG not were-N.SG document-GEN.PL on self.PREP (\*on him.PREP)  
 ‘The tourist had no documents on him’ (Cf. English \*on himself)

The controller/antecedent for the reflexive pronouns in examples (19)-(21) is the noun or pronoun in the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase. Chvany (1975), Perlmutter (1978), and others assert that in order to control reflexivization, the oblique *u* + genitive possessor must be a subject at some level of representation, and since oblique possessors control reflexivization but are not surface subjects, they must be derived subjects (Timberlake 1980a:247).

Timberlake (1980a:255) entertains possessor ascension as an explanation for the *u* + genitive possessor argument’s ability to control reflexivization. In ascension analysis, as shown in (22), the oblique possessor originates within the possessum noun phrase as an adnominal possessor, but is subsequently raised or promoted out of the noun phrase to become an oblique argument of the verb. This accounts for its control of the adjectival reflexive pronoun *svoj* ‘own-ADJ’, which can then simply be analyzed as evidence of the possessor’s origin as an adnominal. In (22), the raised possessor is in boldface and the reflexive *svoj* is in italics.

- (22) est' [**mo-ja** knig-a] >> u **menja** est' [*svo-ja* knig-a]  
 is my-F.NOM.SG book.F-NOM.SG at me-GEN is own-F.NOM.SG book.F-NOM.SG  
 ~‘It is my book’ >> ‘I have (my own) book’

However, as Timberlake goes on to explain, this analysis does not account for the oblique possessor’s control of other syntactic processes, including control of the non-adjectival reflexive pronoun *sebja* ‘own-NADJ’ and control of adverbial participles.

Others do not consider reflexive control to be a reliable test for determining subjecthood of arguments, since patently non-subject arguments, e.g. direct objects marked in the accusative case, can also be shown to control reflexives, albeit somewhat exceptionally (Timberlake 1980a, Franks 1995). Nichols, Rappaport, and Timberlake (1980a) argue that control is dictated both by grammatical relations and topicality (385, fn. 5), i.e. grammatical and functional relations can influence control in Russian.



Timberlake (2004) establishes the canonical domain of reference for reflexive pronouns *sebj*a and *svoj* to be the nominative subject, but then shows a series of special, but hardly exceptional cases where the reflexive pronouns do not have a nominative subject as an antecedent, and instead rely on contextual, semantic and pragmatic factors in their usage. The usage of the reflexive pronouns in Modern Russian is summarized in Timberlake (2004:255). There are, however, contexts where a reflexive pronoun is obligatory when an *u* + genitive possessor is the antecedent, and a non-reflexive personal pronoun cannot be used. This is especially true for third person referents, such as (21) above.

In short, syntactic considerations do not exclusively determine the usage of the reflexive pronouns, and reflexive control is not a property unique to subjects in Modern Russian. But for the purpose of the present investigation of the Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPC, a number of factors related to control of reflexive pronouns by the *u* + genitive possessor argument are relevant. One important factor is diachronic changes in control behaviors of the *u* + genitive possessor in the history of Russian, which were introduced in Chapter 3. Examples of reflexive control by *u* + genitive possessors is attested in my EES corpus only towards the end of the Middle Russian period, in particular starting around the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Before this time, dative possessors in PPCs, but not *u* + genitive possessors in PPCs, are shown to control reflexive pronouns. This suggests that there was a shift in the salience of the *u* + genitive possessor as a subject in the history of Russian.

It is furthermore significant that in Modern Russian the *u* + genitive possessor consistently controls reflexive pronouns, especially when the antecedent is a third person referent, whereas the possessum argument appears to be unable to control reflexive pronouns in both historical and modern periods of Russian (I have yet to find diachronic evidence of possessum arguments controlling reflexive pronouns in EES, nor have I not encountered any examples in Modern Russian). In other words, the *u* + genitive possessor can control reflexivization in the *u* + genitive PPC, though not obligatorily, whereas the possessum argument cannot control reflexivization. Thus the oblique possessor argument patterns more like a subject for the behavioral property of reflexivization control.

### 3.2.2. *Control of Adverbial Participles*

In Modern Russian, adverbial participles are fairly strictly controlled by the nominative subject argument. However, non-nominative arguments, including the *u* + genitive possessor and dative subjects, have also been shown to control adverbial participles. Such examples are most typically interpreted as deviations from the standard or literary language, evaluated as stylistically marked or ungrammatical depending on the author and/or specific example under question (cf. Ickovič (1982:129-153), Yokoyama (1983), Kozinskij (1983:16-18), Testelec (2001:331-333), Timberlake (2004:361-363)). Nichols (1979) reports that *u* + genitive possessors as unable to control adverbial participles, but her analysis is restricted to gerunds as secondary predicates, which are not examined here. A general discussion of the scope and parameters of non-canonical subjects as antecedents for adverbial participle can be found in Babby and Franks (1998).

Rappaport (1980, 1984) and Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001) are among the few who argue that an *u* + genitive possessor can be the antecedent for an adverbial participle, albeit stylistically restricted to colloquial registers of the language. Examples (24) and (25) are from

Rappaport (1980:279)<sup>14</sup> and (26) is from Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001:679). The oblique *u* + genitive controller is italicized and the adverbial participle it controls is italicized.

- (24) U **menja** xoroš-ie perspektiv-y živ-ja v Boston-e  
 at me.GEN.SG good-M.NOM.PL opportunities.M-NOM.PL live-PTCP in Boston.M-SG.PREP  
 ‘I have good opportunities living in Boston’
- (25) *Slušaja* muzyk-u – preljud-y i ballad-y Šopèn-a –  
 Listen.PTCP music-ACC.SG prelude-ACC.PL and ballad-ACC.PL Chopin-GEN.SG
- u **nego** slez-y byl-i na glaz-ax  
 at him.GEN tears-NOM.PL were-PL in eye-PREP.PL

‘(While) listening to music, the preludes and ballads of Chopin, he had tears in his eyes.’

- (26) *Pereexav* v gorod, u **menja** dolgo ne bylo svoej  
 move.PTCP in city.ACC.SG by me.GEN long NEG is.PST.N.SG REFL.GEN.SG
- kvartiry.  
 apartment.GEN.SG

‘Having moved to town, I did not have my own flat for a long time.’

However, native Russian speakers overwhelmingly evaluated examples (24)-(26) as either ungrammatical or awkward. (Example (24) was consistently the most unacceptable of the three.) Other examples with an *u* + genitive possessor controlling an adverbial participle from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) are more consistently evaluated as grammatical by native Russian speakers. Examples are given in (27) and (28).

- (27) Ne *imeja*<sub>i/\*j</sub> konstitucii, ne *imeja*<sub>i/\*j</sub> zakonodatel'nogo sobranija,  
 NEG have.PTCP constitution.GEN.SG NEG have.PTCP legislative.GEN.SG assembly.GEN.SG
- u **nas**<sub>i</sub> est' tol'ko odna vetv'<sub>j</sub> vlasti<sup>15</sup>  
 by us.GEN be.PRS only one.NOM.SG branch.NOM.SG power.GEN.SG

‘Not having a constitution, not having a legislative assembly, we have only one branch of power’

- (28) Krome toga, *proživaja*<sub>i/\*j</sub> v portovom gorode, u **avtora**<sub>i</sub> byla  
 furthermore live.PTCP in port.ADJ.PREP.SG city.PREP.SG by author.GEN.SG be.PST.F.SG

<sup>14</sup> Example (10) is from the journal *Nauka i žizn'* (1967, No. 1); it is also cited in Ickovič (1982:130).

<sup>15</sup> Russian National Corpus: Evgenij Čubarov. Repeticija konstitucii. Proekt Osnovnogo zakona Čečni postupil v administraciju prezidenta. *Izvestija*, 2001.12.13.

vozmožnost'j;            obščat'sja            so    starymi    morjakami...<sup>16</sup>  
 possibility.F.NOM.SG    communicate.INF with old.INS.PL    sailor.INS.PL

‘Moreover, by virtue of living in the port city the author had the opportunity to talk with old sailors...’

A number of factors contribute to the perceived grammaticality of examples from the RNC, such as (27) and (28), versus those in (24)-(26). The RNC examples have more complex sentence structures, in particular they are embedded in longer and most often multi-clausal sentences, whereas the examples in (24)-(26) are shorter and have simpler sentence structures with two clauses. Clause order is also relevant to perceived grammaticality of the utterances; in most of the RNC examples the adverbial participle precedes the *u* + genitive controller. Lastly, the examples are semantically differentiated. Examples (24)-(26), which are considered less grammatical by native Russian speakers, all emphasize temporal relations. The more acceptable example in (27) and (28) are instead a reason and condition subordinates.

The infrequency of these constructions in the RNC is certainly also influenced by the conflicting register of languages required to produce the examples. The usage in examples (24)-(28) is most often associated with more colloquial or conversational usage of Russian, but adverbial participles are typically part of a bookish or higher style language, which is highly prescriptive in requiring that only nominative subjects exhibit control properties. These factors collide most often in journalistic prose, in cases where the *u* + genitive possessum and gerund are separated by a sufficiently large buffer.

Thus I conclude that control of adverbial participles by the *u* + genitive possessor argument is not a well-developed control feature in Modern Russian, and its usage depends on a number of stylistic and contextual features that serve to weaken the perceptible link between the adverbial participle and the *u* + genitive possessor as its antecedent. In spite of restrictions on its usage, it is nevertheless notable that the *u* + genitive possessor argument, and never the nominative (or genitive) possessum argument, controls adverbial participles in Modern Russian.

### 3.2.3. *U* + genitive doubling

Chvany (1975) gives examples of the *u* + genitive PPC which have an additional *u* + genitive locational adverbial in the same clause. She argues that their co-occurrence in the same sentence shows that the oblique *u* + genitive possessor has synchronically lost any locative sense. The oblique *u* + genitive possessor is semantically the subject, and the additional *u* + genitive prepositional phrase is a strictly locative adverbial, even when human, e.g. (29) and (30) reproduced from Chvany (1996:35) with the oblique possessors italicized and the location adverbials italicized.

(29) U **Ivan-a**        est' svo-ja        mašin-a        u *roditel-ej*        v garaž-e  
 at Ivan-GEN.SG is    own-F.NOM.SG car.F-NOM.SG at parent-GEN.PL    in garage-PREP.SG  
 ‘Ivan has a car of his own in his parents’ garage’

<sup>16</sup> Russian National Corpus: Taktičeskij boevoj nož školy Mako, *Boevoe iskusstvo planety*, 2004.06.11.

- (30) U **Ivana** est' den'gi u *Rotšil'da* v banke  
 at Ivan-GEN.SG is money-NOM.PL at Rothschild-GEN.SG in bank-PREP.SG  
 'Ivan has his money in Rothschild's bank'

The key disambiguating factor between the *u* + genitive prepositional phrases in these sentences is word order, with the oblique possessor *U Ivana* in clause-initial position and the locative PPs following the verb and nominative possessum. Their co-occurrence in the same clause shows that they fulfill different functions. Chvany argues that “possessive and locative uNPs differ in syntactic behavior as well as meaning,” because the oblique *u* + genitive possessor is clause initial and exhibits control properties, whereas the second PP behaves strictly as a locative adverbial phrase. (I would further suggest that they differ in syntactic behavior *because* of their historical differentiation in meaning.) Testing this hypothesis is, however, outside the scope of the current study. Chvany also comments that “the distinction between the two uNPs is not conditioned by animacy,” which is supported by the occurrence of animate nouns in locational adverbials in (29) and (30).<sup>17</sup>

It must be noted, however, that examples with *u* + genitive prepositional phrase doubling are considered marked or awkward by many native speakers of Russian I surveyed. The usage reported by Weiss and Raxilina is described as “colloquial.” In general, native speakers try to avoid multiple *u* + genitive prepositional phrases for stylistic reasons.

Nichols (1979) uses a similar test in her survey of subjects and controllers in Russian. In particular, control of depictives in prepositional phrases (there termed “circumstantial secondary predicate with preposition or conjunction”) is used as a behavioral test of subjects. This test, however, is parallel to Chvany's *u* + genitive prepositional phrase doubling test, since the additional *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in examples (29) and (30) are not depictives.

#### 3.2.4. Control of subject in subordinate clauses with conjunction *čtoby* ‘in order to’ + infinitive

Another subjecthood test exclusive to Russian is control over subordinate clauses with the conjunction *čtoby* ‘in order to’ with an infinitive. Nichols (1979) also looks at arguments that can control *čtoby* + infinitive, but does not list *čtoby* control as one of the control properties of *u* + genitive possessors.<sup>18</sup> However, examples (31)-(32) from the Russian National Corpus are cases where a *čtoby* + infinitive clause has an *u* + genitive possessor argument as its antecedent.

- (31) U **nas** sliškom mnogo obščix del, *čtoby* *pozvolit'* sebe  
 at us.GEN too many common.GEN.PL matter.GEN.PL in\_order\_to allow.INF REFL

<sup>17</sup> Weiss and Raxilina (2002:189) provide an example of *u* + genitive prepositional phrase doubling where the *u* + genitive PPC occurs with an external possessor instead of a locative prepositional phrase: *U menja u dočki den' roždenija* ‘It is my daughter's birthday’. This usage also illustrates that the *u* + genitive possessor in the PPC is conceptualized as the subject and apparently does not conflict with other *u* + genitive PPs, even when they both have possessive functions.

<sup>18</sup> Though Nichols only discusses examples with *s cel'ju* and an infinitive and groups cases of *čtoby* + infinitive with its behavior.

uvjaznut' v sporax po problemam, prinadležaščim  
get\_stuck.INF in argument.PREP.PL about problem.DAT.PL belong.PTCP.DAT.PL

prošlomu.<sup>19</sup>  
past.DAT.SG

‘We have too many common interests to allow ourselves to get bogged down in arguments about problems that belong to the past.’

- (32) U **nee** byl dostatočno sil'nyj xarakter, čtoby  
at her.GEN was.PST.M.SG enough strong.NOM.SG character.NOM.SG in\_order\_to  
takie rešenija *prinimat'* samoj.<sup>20</sup>  
such.ACC.PL decision.ACC.PL take.INF self.INS

‘She had a strong enough character to make such decisions on her own.’

According to Timberlake (2004:369), “In final constructions [including constructions with *čtoby*], there is normally an agentive subject in the main predicate that wills and controls the eventual, final, result.” The “eventual, final, result” is in the subordinate clause with the conjunction *čtoby* and an infinitive verb. The subject of the infinitive is necessarily the subject of the matrix clause. If the subject and agent of the subordinate clause are different than the subject of the matrix clause, an infinitive cannot be used. Timberlake writes, “Final constructions can have *čtoby* ‘in order to’ and a finite predicate, if the implicit subject of the final predicate is not the agent of the main predicate.”

As is the the case with gerund control, *čtoby* control. is also dependent upon the word order in the PPC clause. Specifically, the *u* + genitive possessor seems to only be allowed in sentence-initial position. Examples where an *u* + genitive possessor is the antecedent of the subject of the infinitive in the *čtoby* clause are typically found in official or journalistic prose in Modern Russian.

### 3.3. Semantic Properties

#### 3.3.1. Animacy

Over time the semantic properties of the *u* + genitive possessor argument evolved from encoding primarily temporary possession to its present day usage as the basic encoding strategy for both temporary and permanent possession in Modern Russian. Furthermore, while in EES texts the *u* + genitive PPC was restricted to usage with animate possessor arguments, in Modern Russian, inanimate possessors are also permissible in the *u* + genitive PPC.

Animate, especially human, arguments typically have a higher thematic or semantic role than an inanimate argument in the same clause and are therefore more likely to be interpreted as subjects even when they are not in the nominative case. A number of constructions that

<sup>19</sup> Russian National Corpus: S.V. Lavrov. Statj'ja v gazetax *Kommersant* i *Uoll-strit džornal* [Wall Street Journal]. *Diplomatičeskij vestnik*, № 5, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Russian National Corpus: Gennadij Gorelik & Andrej Saxarov. *Nauka i svoboda*. 2004.

frequently have an oblique animate argument and a nominative inanimate argument include dative subjects of experiencer constructions (e.g. example (4) above) and modal constructions, such as modal adverbials (e.g. *mne nužna pomošč'* 'me.DAT need help.NOM') and dative + infinitive constructions (e.g. *čto nam delat'?* 'what us.DAT do.INF'='what should we do?'), and the *u* + genitive subject of the predicative possessive construction addressed in this paper.

In §3.1.3, Clark argues convincingly for the importance of animacy in word order patterns with existential, locative, and possessive sentences. Except in special cases in Modern Russian, which are discussed below, inanimate arguments are more likely locative than part of a predicative possessive construction. Animate arguments can also be locative, but are far more likely to be interpreted as part of a PPC than an inanimate argument in similar contexts and for the same distribution of word orders. This is illustrated in (33) and (34), where (33) with an animate argument in the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase expresses a predicative possessum relation and (34) with an inanimate argument in the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase designates a location.

(33) U **Andreja** černaja mašina  
 by Andrej.GEN black.NOM.SG car.NOM.SG  
 'Andrej has a black car'

(34) U doma černaja **mašina**  
 by house.GEN.SG black.NOM.SG car.NOM.SG  
 'A black car is by the house/building'

Animacy of arguments is relevant not only for word order patterns, but also other subjecthood tests. Testelec (2001) argues that behavior of reflexives *sebjā* and *svoj* in passive sentences (which inhabit a gray area with respect to subjecthood) is largely dependent upon the animacy of the argument. Animacy as a separate, purely semantic feature has also been used as an independent test for subjecthood (e.g. Guiraud-Weber 2002).

Possession is typically conceptualized as a state relevant to humans, and rarely to inanimate or non-human animate arguments, and so naturally the construction initially developed among human possessors, c.f. Chvany (1975) and Chapter 3. In Modern Russian the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian can also be used with inanimate possessors, though not without restriction, and usually not without ambiguity with the synchronically polysemous and truly locative *u* + genitive prepositional phrase. But there are unambiguous examples with an inanimate possessor, e.g. (35).

(35) Ja govor-ju, čto u **dom-a** est' *svoj*  
 1SG.NOM say.PRS-1SG that at house.M-SG.GEN is.PRS REFL-M.SG.NOM  
  
 osobenn-yj xarakter<sup>21</sup>  
 particular.M-SG.NOM character.M.SG.NOM

<sup>21</sup> [www.topos.ru/article/1264/printed](http://www.topos.ru/article/1264/printed)

‘I say that a house has its own particular character’ / \*‘I say that its own particular character is by the house’

In (35), the location interpretation is ruled out because the theme ‘its own particular character’ is an abstract quality of the house that cannot be located physically nearby the house. The translation ‘its own particular character is by the house’ is nonsensical. It is notable that in this example the inanimate possessor also controls the reflexive pronoun *svoj*.

When inanimate nominals appear as an oblique possessor, there is frequently a metaphorical basis for their occurrence, i.e. personification of the inanimate object. In (35) above, the house is imparted with human-like qualities: ‘its own unique character’. A common token of the *u* + genitive PPC that contains an inanimate oblique possessor is *u stola tri nogi* ‘the table has three legs’. This usage is likely also metaphorically motivated, since tables have the anthropomorphic features ‘legs’ (in both Russian and English).

Other constructions, however, are not clearly motivated by personification, e.g. *U knigi belaja obložka* ‘The book has a white cover’ (lit. ‘At book white cover’) or *U mašiny četyre koleśa* ‘A car has four wheels’ (lit. ‘At car four wheels’). In these cases, a part-whole relationship between the possessors and possessums drives usage of the *u* + genitive, whether the part of the whole is concrete, e.g. legs, cover, wheels, or abstract, e.g. character, as in (35).

#### **4. Historical and modern properties of the *u* + genitive PPC compared**

Having laid out the properties of the Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPC, it is instructive to look back at the historical developments for predicative possession described in Chapter 3 to better understand how the *u* + genitive PPC changed over time. Very little direct evidence is available for tracing changes in properties of the *u* + genitive PPC, but there is evidence of changes in frequency and semantic scope, and in Modern Russian the *u* + genitive possessor exhibits behavioral, including control, properties that are not attested in historical periods of Russian. A condensed overview of the changes is given in Table 4; properties that have changed over time are in boldface type.

A number of features associated with the coding properties of the *u* + genitive PPC changed over time. The possessum came to be consistently marked in the genitive case under negation and in northwestern dialects non-negated genitive possessums also expanded (though this behavior is attested in the birchbark letters, cf. §8, example (37)). These changes in Russian, however, are not restricted to the *u* + genitive PPC and were developments that cut across a wide array of constructions, in particular those with existential subjects and a certain subset of objects. As I discussed in §3.1.1 the genitive of negation is an ergative pattern in Russian, a pattern that appears to have strengthened over time. Changes in verb agreement properties in the *u* + genitive PPC are also not unique to the PPC, and are related to the general process of erosion of the inflectional paradigm of the ‘be’-verb. These changes, nevertheless, affected how the *u* + genitive PPC is encoded and, in turn, may have facilitated changes in the behavioral and semantic properties of the constructions, or, at least, worked hand in hand with this complex of changes over the course of time.

Evidence from Chapter 3, §9 suggests that the *u* + genitive possessor began to control reflexive pronouns in the Middle Russian period. In earlier texts, there are examples of the dative possessor in the dative PPC controlling reflexives (cf. Chapter 3, §5.3, examples (24) and

(27)). This evidence shows that the *u* + genitive possessor argument in the *u* + genitive PPC has taken over the syntactic process of reflexivization control that was previously exhibited by the dative possessor in the dative PPC, and that primacy shifted away from the dative PPC toward the *u* + genitive PPC in the history of Russian.<sup>22</sup>

Table 4. Overview of properties of the *u* + genitive PPC over time

<i>Stage 1: earliest recorded period of Early East Slavic, pre-14<sup>th</sup> century</i>	
<b><u><i>u</i> + genitive possessor</u></b> <i>coding:</i> <i>u</i> + genitive prepositional phrase <i>behavioral:</i> no clear behavioral properties except for tendency to be in SV word order <i>semantic:</i> animate human; <b>primarily temporary possession</b>	<b><u>possessum (+predicate)</u></b> <i>coding:</i> possessum in nominative case; in genitive case under negation (with exceptions, including partitive or indefinite genitive usage in dialects and colloquially <b>and some examples of nominatives under negation</b> ); verb agrees in number, person, and gender (where applicable) in all tenses (null form possible) <i>behavioral:</i> no clear behavior subject properties <i>semantic:</i> animate or inanimate
<i>Stage 2: middle period, 14<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries</i>	
<b><u><i>u</i> + genitive possessor</u></b> <i>coding:</i> <i>u</i> + genitive prepositional phrase <i>behavioral:</i> <b>control of reflexive pronouns</b> and tendency to be in SV word order <i>semantic:</i> animate human; <b>both temporary and permanent possession</b>	<b><u>possessum (+predicate)</u></b> <i>coding:</i> possessum in nominative case; in genitive case under negation (with exceptions, including partitive or indefinite genitive usage in dialects and colloquially <b>and some examples of nominatives under negation</b> ); verb <b>usually, but not always</b> , agrees in number, person, and gender (where applicable) in all tenses (null form possible) <i>behavioral:</i> no clear behavioral subject properties <i>semantic:</i> animate or inanimate
<i>Stage 3: Modern Russian</i>	
<b><u><i>u</i> + genitive possessor</u></b> <i>coding:</i> <i>u</i> + genitive prepositional phrase <i>behavioral:</i> <b>displays control and other behavioral properties (usually with restrictions), including control of reflexive pronouns, control of adverbial participles, control of <i>čtoby</i> + infinitive clauses, basic word order is preverbal, and <i>u</i> + genitive prepositional phrase doubling is possible</b> <i>semantic:</i> animate human and <b>inanimate (marginally)</b> ; both temporary and permanent possession	<b><u>possessum (+predicate)</u></b> <i>coding:</i> possessum in nominative case; in genitive case under negation (with exceptions, including partitive or indefinite genitive usage in dialects and colloquially, <b>no longer examples of nominatives under negation</b> ); <b>verb in frozen form in present tense, agrees in number and gender in past tense, and in person and number in future tense (null form frequent)</b> <i>behavioral:</i> no clear behavioral subject properties <i>semantic:</i> animate or inanimate

In my corpus of historical Russian texts, there are no examples of the *u* + genitive possessum in the *u* + genitive PPC controlling an adverbial participle (nor is the reverse attested:

<sup>22</sup> Reflexive control for datives may have been inherited from Proto Indo-European: Bolkestein (1983:79-80) provides examples where Latin dative possessors in the *mihi est* construction control reflexives.



where the nominative or genitive possessum controls a gerund). However, there are EES examples with the dative possessor in a dative PPC controlling an adverbial participle. This suggests that as the *u* + genitive PPC increased in prominence in the history of Russian, the *u* + genitive possessor argument developed the ability to control adverbial participles, at least marginally; the opposite process is shown for the dative PPC, which lost its ability to control all syntactic processes as it fell out of usage. For further discussion and an example see §7 and example (31) in Chapter 3.

Other behavioral properties that are exhibited by the Modern Russian *u* + genitive possessor argument are attested neither in earlier periods of the language, nor by the dative PPC in my corpus.

Over time the semantic properties of the *u* + genitive possessor argument evolved from encoding primarily temporary possession to its present day usage as the basic encoding strategy for both temporary and permanent possession in Modern Russian. Furthermore, while in EES texts the *u* + genitive PPC was restricted to usage with animate possessor arguments, in Modern Russian, inanimate possessors are also permissible in the *u* + genitive PPC.

In summary, it can be concluded that over time the *u* + genitive PPC strengthened in a number of ways as an encoding strategy for predicative possession. Properties both unique to the construction (behavioral, semantic), as well as properties that affected the language more broadly over time (coding properties) reinforced the status of the construction, allowing the *u* + genitive possessor argument to become interpreted increasingly more as a subject. These changes were accompanied by an increase in frequency of the construction over time at the expense of the two other PPCs in earlier periods of Russian: the dative PPC and verb *imet'* (which is still a restricted encoding strategy in the modern language). It remains to be addressed what, if any, impetus there was for these changes in the history of Russian, which is the focus of §§5-6.

### ***5. Parallels in PPCs in areal languages with a special focus on Finnish***

In Chapter 3, I examined the different points of view on the source of the *u* + genitive PPC that are held by various scholars. The debate revolves around whether or not to attribute the *u* + genitive PPC to contact with Balto-Finnic languages. While I have shown in Chapters 1 and 2 that the *u* + genitive PPC is not a borrowing from Balto-Finnic, there nevertheless exists a strong possibility that the construction expanded not only in scope and frequency, but also in behavioral properties as a result of language contact. In this section, I compare the properties of the Modern Russian *u* + genitive PPC outlined in §3 with areal languages shown to exhibit parallel features with the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian, with a special focus on Finnish as a representative of Balto-Finnic languages more broadly. Modern Finnish grammar is quite representative of the West Finnic or Balto-Finnic branch of Finnic (itself a branch of Finno-Ugric), thus it is a reliable representative of the Balto-Finnic languages that formed the substratum of (North) Russian. Furthermore, the adessive PPC in Finnish has been reconstructed as the encoding strategy for predicative possession in proto-Balto-Finnic (Hakulinen 1961). This is not to say that the adessive PPC in Finnish behaves in exactly the same as it did in proto-Balto-Finnic or as it does in other Balto-Finnic languages; in fact, comparisons with Modern Estonian show some variation in the properties of the adessive PPC in Balto-Finnic languages. Discussion of the potential implications of these differences are addressed in the general discussion in the following section, §6.

Here it is also important to note that I only compare properties of locative PPCs in languages and not any other type of predicative possession. It has been argued, for example, that the Latvian dative PPC exhibits behavioral properties similar to those exhibited by Russian and Estonian possessors, in particular control of reflexives (Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli 2001), but because the construction is a dative PPC and not a locative PPC, I do not address this behavior in §5.2.1.

### 5.1. Coding Properties

#### 5.1.1. Case Marking

The Finnish PPC has the possessum in the nominative case and the oblique possessor in a locative case, the adessive case, e.g. (36).

- (36) Minu-lla        on        kirja  
 1SG-ADES        be.3SG book.NOM  
 ‘I have the book’

Nominal possessums in Finnish closely parallel possessums in Russian, since both appear in the nominative case except under negation when they are obligatorily in the genitive (or partitive) case, as in (37) (Sands and Campbell 2001:293). Finnish possessums can also appear in the partitive case in non-negated contexts with an indefinite or partitive sense, e.g. (38), which parallels historical and dialectal usage in Russian.<sup>23</sup>

- (37) Si-llä ei ole luu-ta  
 it-ADES neg be bone-PART  
 ‘It [=the dog] doesn’t have a bone’

- (38) Hänellä on raha-a (Hakulinen 1961)  
 he.ADESS be.PRS.3SG money-PART.SG  
 ‘he has (some) money’

Coding properties similar to those in (36)-(38) are also exhibited by Estonian (Erelt and Metslang 2006).

An interesting difference between Finnish and Russian is that pronominal possessums are in the accusative case, as shown in (39) (Sands and Campbell 2001, 292-3).

- (39) Minu-lla on sinut (Sands and Campbell 2001:293)  
 1SG-ADES be.3SG you.ACC  
 ‘I have you’

The accusative marking of pronominal possessums in Finnish suggests that the construction is moving toward accusative alignment. This behavior, however, is not exhibited by Estonian,

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<sup>23</sup> Though under special circumstances negated possessums in Finnish may remain in the nominative case under negation (Sands and Campbell 2001).

which suggests that this behavior developed fairly recently in the history of Finnish and cannot be reconstructed for proto-Balto-Finnic.

### 5.1.2. *Verb Agreement*

The Finnish verb ‘be’ is in the frozen 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form in the predicative possessive construction, which parallels Russian *est’*. But in contrast to Russian where the past tense verb agrees in number and gender with the nominative possessum, the past tense form of the verb in Finnish is non-agreeing, marking tense but not number or person. In Finnish, the frozen form is specific to the predicative possessive construction and not language-wide as it is in Russian. (40) is a past tense example, (41) is a negated present tense example, and (42) is a present tense example.

(40) Juka-lla      *oli*              **avaimet**                      (Maling 1993:52)  
 Juka-ADESS    be.PST.3SG    key.NOM.PL  
 ‘Juka had/owned the keys’

(41) Si-llä    ei      *ole*    **luu-ta**    (Sands and Campbell 2001:293)  
 it-ADES NEG    be    bone-PART  
 ‘It [=the dog] doesn’t have a bone’

(42) Minu-lla      *on*      **kirja**      /    **kirjat**  
 1SG-ADES      be.3SG    book.NOM    /    book.NOM.PL  
 ‘I have the book / books’

Estonian, on the other hand, exhibits behaviors closer to Russian, with a verb that still inflects to agree with the possessum argument, e.g. (43), reproduced from Erelt and Metslang (2006).

(43) Jaani-l              *ol-i-d*              hea-d              **sõbra-d**  
 Jaan-ADESS    be-PST-3PL    good-PL.NOM    friend-PL.NOM  
 ‘Jaan had good friends’

In (43), the Estonian past tense verb agrees in plural number with the plural possessum, unlike the comparable Finnish example in (40). In this way, the Estonian construction is more similar to Russian than Finnish. When the possessum is in the partitive case in Estonian, the verb no longer agrees and is marked by the default third person singular form, just like Finnish and Russian.

### 5.1.3. *Word Order*

Word order behavior in Finnish is stricter than in Russian for the PPC. Reversing the word order of a PPC so that the adessive possessor appears post-verbally can force a locative reading of the construction.

(44) **Juka-lla** (S)    oli (V)              avaimet (O)                      (Maling 1993:52)  
 Juka-ADESS    be.PST.3SG    key.NOM.PL

‘Juka had/owned the keys’

- (45) **Avaimet** (S) olivat (V) Juka-lla (Maling 1993:52)  
key. NOM.PL be.PST.3PL Juka-ADESS  
‘Juka had the keys/the keys were in Juka’s possession’

Example (45), in contrast to (44), requires verb agreement with the possessum argument in the nominative case. Another interpretation of (45) is that it expresses a temporary possessive relationship, which overlaps to a large extent with the locative sense of the construction. In this way the word order alternation parallels the Russian behavior described in §3.1.3 above.

A similar set of changes in word order – from Possessor V Possessum > Possessum V Possessor – and possession type – from permanent or basic possession > temporary possession – is also exhibited by Polish. Orr (1992:250) provides the pair of examples in (46) and (47); (46) with the standard Polish PPC, the ‘have’ verb *mieć*, and (47) with an *u* + genitive PPC.

- (46) **matka** miała ten bochen chleba  
mother.NOM.SG have.PST.F.SG that.ACC.SG loaf.ACC.SG bread.GEN.SG  
‘Mother had that loaf of bread’
- (47) był ten bochen chleba u **matki**  
be.PST.M.SG that.NOM.SG loaf.NOM.SG bread.GEN.SG at mother.GEN.SG  
‘Mother had that loaf of bread’

Not only does the type of PPC alternate between (46) and (47) – from the ‘have’ verb to the *u* + genitive PPC – the word order and type of possessive relation change as well. The *u* + genitive PPC in Polish, is, however, at best a marginal construction in the language. When I asked a Polish linguist, who is a native speaker of Polish, to evaluate this construction, she said that it was understandable, but sounds odd and archaic and that she would never use it herself.

In addition to a dative PPC, Latvian has also been shown to express temporary possession with a locative PPC construction, and it exhibits the same word order alternation as Russian, Finnish, and Polish. Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001) provide examples (48) and (49); (48) is a dative PPC, the regular construction for predicative possession in Latvian, and (49) is a locative PPC, which is used exclusively for temporary possession.

- (48) **Man** ir grāmata  
I.DAT be.3SG book.NOM  
‘I have a book’
- (49) Vai Pētera grāmata pie **tevis?**  
INT Peter.GEN book.NOM at you.GEN  
‘Do you have Peter’s book?’

Baltic specialists I consulted with consider (49) to be a result of relatively recent Russian influence on Latvian and not inherited from earlier periods of Latvian or Baltic. They come to

this conclusion not only because of the possessor in the locative prepositional phrase *pie tevis*, but also because of the absence of the verb ‘be’.

In short, several of the languages in the Circum-Baltic Language Area exhibit some variation in encoding permanent (or basic) versus temporary possession. The variation involves either a change in word order of the locative PPC (Russian and Finnish) or a change in both word order and PPC type (Polish and Latvian). These different encoding strategies are not employed in the modern languages equally, with Russian and Finnish actively making use of word order alternation, but Polish and Latvian perhaps only marginally drawing on the locative PPC (if their locative constructions can even be called full-fledged PPCs). Furthermore, in keeping with the topic of this chapter, I have only examined languages that employ a locative PPC, and there might be interesting patterns that emerge in languages that encode permanent and temporary possession using other strategies. In future studies it would also be instructive to incorporate information from Belorussian and Ukrainian, which both actively use both a ‘have’ verb and an *u* + genitive PPC (with regional and sociolinguistic variation in addition to potential semantic differences) to determine whether the *u* + genitive PPC consistently dominates the expression of temporary possession and whether Ukrainian and Belorussian usage has continued from EES or reflects more recent pressure from Russian (thus paralleling the apparent situation in Latvian).

## 5.2. Behavioral Properties

### 5.2.1. Control of Reflexivization

Finnish furthermore has a reflexive possessive suffix, which is attached to the possessed word and agrees in number and person with its antecedent. The antecedent is necessarily the subject of the sentence (Karlsson 1999:93). It is also possible for this suffix to appear with the predicative possessive construction; the suffix is hosted by the nominative possessum and refers back to the possessor in the adessive case, e.g. (50) from Wechsler (1995:3). This leads Wechsler to conclude that the oblique adessive possessor is the subject of the utterance.

- (50) **Anna-lla<sub>i</sub>**    on    tapa-*nsa<sub>i</sub>*  
 Anna-ADESS    be.3SG ways-POSS.REFL.3SG  
 ‘Anna has her ways’

Estonian also allows an adessive antecedent of reflexives, e.g. (51) reproduced from Erelt and Metslang (2006).

- (51) **Mu-l**    on    oma    venna-ga    ühine    maja  
 I-ADESS    be.PRS.3SG    POSS.REFL    brother-COM    common.NOM    house.NOM  
 ‘I share a house with my brother’ / ‘I have a house with my brother’

Estonian differs from Finnish in that it has a separate reflexive possessive pronoun instead of a reflexive possessive suffix, which has been attributed to contact with Baltic languages (Heine and Kuteva 2005). Irrespective of how reflexivization is encoded, Finnish, Estonian, and Russian are alike in the ability of the adessive and *u* + genitive possessors to control reflexivization.

### 5.2.2. Control of Participial Elements

There is also evidence that the adessive possessor in Finnish can control the subjects of infinitive subordinate clauses, which are participle-like elements in Finnish. An example of an adessive possessor controlling the subject of a second infinitive in Finnish is in (52), where adessive *Liisalla* ‘Liisa-ADESS’ is the antecedent of *ollessaan* ‘being’ (Wechsler 1995:3).

- (52) **Liisalla<sub>i</sub>** oli Pekka poikaystävä-nä olle-ssa-*an<sub>i</sub>* Ruotsi-ssa  
Liisa-ADESS was Pekka.NOM boyfriend-ESS be.INF-INESS-POSS Sweden-INESS  
‘Liisa had Pekka as a boyfriend when Liisa/\*Pekka was in Sweden’

This example is revealing, because both arguments in the matrix clause are third person singular and the second infinitive in the subordinate clause could potentially refer to either of them. Karlsson writes that “[t]he subject is expressed by a possessive suffix alone if the subject is identical with that of the main clause” for second infinitives (Karlsson 2002:186). The crucial point here is that the appropriate reading of (52) chooses the adessive possessor argument of the matrix clause as its antecedent, not the nominative possessum argument, and does this without the extra pronoun in the subordinate clause required of second infinitives which have different subjects than the matrix clause. (Cf. Karlsson 2002 for details on behaviors of infinitives and subjects.)

### 5.3. Semantic Properties

#### 5.3.1. Animacy

As in Russian, Finnish animate possessors are in the adessive case, as in example (53), but an adessive-marked with an inanimate is most commonly a purely locative designation, e.g. (54) (note concomitant word order changes for the Finnish examples).

- (53) **Pekalla** on auto  
Pekka.ADESS be.PRS car.NOM.SG  
‘Pekka has a car’

- (54) **Juna** on asemalla (modified from Karlsson 2002:108)  
train.NOM.SG be.PRS.SG station.ADESS.SG  
‘The train is at the station’

The inessive case, a locative case corresponding in meaning to prepositional phrases with *in* in English, is normally used to encode predicative possession with an inanimate possessor, e.g. (55)

- (55) **Tuopissa** on korvat (Karlsson 2002:109)  
tankard.INESS be.PRS.SG handle.NOM.PL  
‘The tankard has handles’ (lit. ‘In the tankard are handles’)

However, there are exceptions where an inanimate possessor is in the adessive, e.g. (56).

- (56) **Terveellä talolla** on kuivat jalat (Finnish proverb)  
healthy.ADESS.SG house.ADESS.SG be.PRS.SG dry.NOM.PL feet.NOM.PL

‘A healthy house has dry feet’

The adessive possessor argument in (56) is strikingly parallel to the Russian example in (35), and even has the same inanimate possessor argument: a house. Much like the Russian example in (24), the ‘house’ in (36) is unambiguously a possessor and not a locative designation.

#### 5.4. *Argument Behaviors in Russian and Finnish PPCs Compared*

The properties of the Russian *u* + genitive PPC and the Finnish adessive PPC are summarized in Appendix 2. Features that do not match are marked with a double asterisk in the table. Six different properties, including coding, behavioral, and semantic properties, are compared in Appendix 2 with fifteen sentences. Thus, most of the properties are represented by multiple sentences, each of which I call a sub-property. Thirteen of the fifteen sentences or sub-properties match between Russian and Finnish. The two properties that do not match in Russian and Finnish match in Russian in Estonian.

Both the Russian and Finnish PPCs use an ergative pattern for alignment in their PPCs. The logical subject argument, the possessor argument, is encoded by comparable locative adverbial in both languages: the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase in Russian and the adessive case in Finnish. The possessum argument, the logical subject, is in the accusative case, except when negated, in which case they are marked in the genitive case in Russian and in the partitive case in Finnish. In the present tense the Russian verbal element *est* ‘is’ is in a frozen non-agreeing form, but in the past and future tenses the ‘be’ verb agrees with the nominative possessum argument. In Finnish the verb is in a frozen form for all tenses and numbers (though there is no future tense in Finnish).

Negated genitives in Russian tend to correspond quite closely to negated partitives in Finnish, both for possession-related and non-possession-related constructions. While Finnish employs its partitive subject and object in a greater range of contexts than Russian, Russian dialects show convergence with the Finnish pattern, which points to the greater degree of influence of Balto-Finnic on these varieties of Russian (Markova 1991). Markova (1991) also shows that both the the genitive subject of the Onega Russian dialect and the Finnish partitive can occasionally mark subjects of nouns without a partitive sense, especially in interrogative sentences. The convergence of the genitive in North Russian dialects toward usage paralleling the Finnish partitive is likely due to a combination of factors. In northern areas of European Russia there were initially larger numbers of Balto-Finnic speakers shifting to Slavic during the initial Slavic colonization; the influence from Balto-Finnic persisted over time as a result of prolonged contact between Slavic/Russian and indigenous Balto-Finnic languages, which are still spoken in varying degrees in Northwestern areas of Russia to this day.

Patterns in word order of the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian and the adessive PPC in Finnish are also striking. SVO order is the basic order in both languages and the most basic order for the PPC is with a clause-initial possessor argument. When the *u* + genitive or adessive possessor argument appear clause finally, the interpretation is most frequently temporary possession or a locative designation (with or without a shading of possessive meaning).

The behavioral properties examined in Russian and Finnish are also largely parallel. Both the *u* + genitive possessor and the adessive possessor can be the antecedents of reflexive pronouns, adverbial participles, and subordinate clauses with *čtoby* or *että* ‘in order to’ that normally require nominative subject arguments as antecedents. Furthermore, both Russian and

Finnish allow doubling of the possessor argument with a formally identical, but syntactically oblique adverbial; however, this behavior is not always considered grammatical, and in the least is stylistically awkward, so is not a particularly well-developed property.

Russian and Finnish PPCs are also largely parallel in semantic realization of the possessor argument, especially behaviors of inanimate and animate arguments. The most typical possessor argument is animate, especially human, and similar constructions with only a variation in the animacy of the *u* + genitive or adessive argument can alter the interpretation of the construction quite drastically, as can be seen in Appendix 2, or in Russian examples (33) and (34) as compared with Finnish examples (53) and (54). Inanimate possessors are possible in both Russian and Finnish in the locative PPCs, e.g. Russian example (35) and Finnish example (56). But both languages have a more basic way of expressing possession when an inanimate object is the possessor, namely with the verb *imet'* in Russian and with the inessive case marking the inanimate possessor in Finnish, cf. (55).

The bundle of matching factors associated with both the Russian and Finnish constructions, with thirteen of fifteen sub-properties matching in Russian and Finnish (cf. Appendix 2), indicates that convergence between the Russian and Finnish constructions has taken place. But it is necessary to consider the set of correspondences between Russian and Finnish within a broader typological framework in order to determine if the bundle of related factors in the language are typologically common for locative PPCs cross-linguistically, or whether the features are motivated separately, therefore pointing to a higher degree of influence on the substratal syntax from the Finnic construction on the Russian construction. While a locative construction for predicative possession is not particularly rare in the languages of the world (Stassen 2009), not all of the features associated with the PPCs in Russian and Finnish are a priori bundled together. For example, case change under negation (nominative > genitive or partitive) does not automatically accompany locative expressions of predicative possession. On the other hand, syntactic behaviors, such as the various behavioral properties, are properties specific to the PPC and therefore might be expected to cluster together to varying degrees cross-linguistically. Word order parallels between the Russian and Finnish constructions is a less unique diagnostic in a cross-linguistic perspective, judging by Clark's study outlined in §3.1.3, but the specific pattern of alternations shared by Russian and Finnish is not cross-linguistically preconditioned, which becomes evident when comparing properties of predicative possession in Irish.

Irish is another Indo-European language that employs a locative PPC with formal encoding similar to Russian: the possessor is in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ag* 'at' and the possessum controls agreement of the verb 'be'. Several of the properties of the Irish PPC, however, differ from Russian and Finnish PPCs. Irish examples in (57)-(59) are reproduced from Harley (1995). The first difference in the Irish PPC is that the possessor *ag* 'at' + possessor, is in clause-final position after the verb, therefore it is in the same position as other strictly locative prepositional phrases in Irish, cf. the *ag* + possessor PPC in (58) versus the locative designations in (57) (though it should be noted that the prepositions in (57) and (58) are different: 'in' versus 'at'). Since Irish is an VSO word order language, the possessor argument does not occupy the position associated with subjects, and instead follows the morphological subject or logical object argument. Furthermore, unlike Russian and Finnish, the Irish possessor cannot control reflexive pronouns, so that (59) is ungrammatical.



- (57) Tá an mhin sa phota  
 be.PRS.3SG the (oat)meal in.the pot  
 ‘The oatmeal is in the pot’
- (58) Tá an peann ag Máire  
 be.PRS.3SG the pen at Mary  
 ‘Mary has the pen’
- (59) \*Tá ai pheann-fhéin ag chuilei bhuachail  
 be.PRS.3SG his pen-REFL at every boy  
 ‘Every boy has his pen’

Thus, the collection of properties shared by Russian and Finnish are not preconditions of location-based constructions for predicative possession, which is revealed in part by a comparison with Irish.

### ***6. The $u$ + genitive PPC in a socio-historical perspective: tying together linguistic and extra-linguistic evidence***

As I discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 3, most of the interest in predicative possession in Slavic has been concentrated on Russian and its  $u$  + genitive PPC. East Slavic languages are the only Slavic languages that developed the  $u$  + genitive PPC as a regular encoding strategy for predicative possession and Russian is the only Slavic language that uses the  $u$  + genitive PPC as its primary PPC. Therefore, I devoted Chapter 3 to a discussion of historical developments in predicative possession in EES, and this chapter to a synchronic analysis of the argument structure of the  $u$  + genitive PPC in Russian in comparison to areal languages, especially Finnish (as a representative of Balto-Finnic languages more broadly). I show that the  $u$  + genitive PPC was available as an encoding strategy in the earliest EES texts, including Chronicles, legal texts, and birchbark letters; however, it was not represented equally across all EES textual genres. The  $u$  + genitive PPC was more common in birchbark letters and legal texts, both of which are more closely associated with northern varieties of EES and with spoken or vernacular registers of language. By the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Middle Russian, the  $u$  + genitive PPC became more frequent, paralleling earlier North Russian usage. In Middle Russian, the  $u$  + genitive PPC also began exhibiting subjecthood properties, such as the ability to control reflexive pronouns. By Modern Russian, the  $u$  + genitive PPC had already developed into the primary encoding strategy for predicative possession. In this chapter, I examined the argument structure of the  $u$  + genitive PPC, especially in light of subjecthood behaviors of the  $u$  + genitive possessor argument. This examination revealed that properties of the  $u$  + genitive PPC converged with properties of the Balto-Finnic adessive PPC over time and, crucially, not all of the convergences reflect cross-linguistic developmental tendencies for location-based PPCs.

However, it is still unclear when the Russian construction converged toward the Balto-Finnic construction in the course of the approximately thousand years of written history surveyed here. Was the convergence the result of a Balto-Finnic speaking population shifting to Slavic during the initial Slavic expansions into Russia, or was the convergence a later phenomenon that can be attributed to broader areal pressures? A number of factors relevant to answering this

question have emerged from the discussion in this dissertation. The *u* + genitive construction was an encoding strategy for predicative possession throughout Slavic, but as I stated above, the *u* + genitive PPC was only marginally available in these early periods and was restricted to primarily temporary possessive relations. The first historical Slavic texts that favor the *u* + genitive PPC over the dative PPC and *iměti* ‘have’ are centered in Northwestern Russia, in particular the Old Novgorodian birchbark letters and *Russkaja pravda* (cf. Chapter 3, §§7-8).

In the Middle Russian or Muscovy period, power centralized in Moscow and new norms for writing were underway. Where the *u* + genitive PPC fits into this linguistic situation is discussed in Chapter 3, §9. Extra-linguistic considerations are also relevant in understanding why particular developments took place in the language, both for predicative possession and for the language more broadly. In the wake of a declining Kiev, the rise of Moscow as the center of what was to become the Russian Empire in roughly the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries over the other central cities, as well as over Novgorod in the north and Rjazan' in the southeast, is due to a collection of factors. These factors include geography, political structure, economy, and a history of successful dealings with Mongol invaders (cf. Riasanovsky 1993).

First, Moscow had a geographical advantage as a result of its location. It is located near the headwaters of four important rivers and was crossed by three major roads. It is located centrally within the greater Russian dialect area and this central location “cushioned Moscow from outside invaders” (Riasanovsky 1993). Due to its policies concerning princely succession, Moscow was able to keep its land relatively intact in comparison with neighboring cities, which often saw their lands split up among multiple male successors over consecutive generations.

Moscow also perfected its trading and economic skills, which allowed its borders and population to expand. It was successful in dealing with the Golden Horde or Mongol invaders, and fared well under their rule. When neighboring principalities could not pay the required tribute to the Mongols, the solution was often to be annexed by Moscow, thus extending Moscow’s borders. Economic success put Moscow in a position to attract colonists, particularly peasants who worked on the land, from different neighboring regions in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. This factor is of particular importance in light of dialect development in an increasingly urban Moscow.

Slavic populations in Moscow and other cities in Central Russia may have been in contact with speakers of Finno-Ugric languages, in particular the Volga Finnic languages Merja, Meščera, and Murom (languages now extinct), during the initial expansion of the Slavs, but Finno-Ugric speakers from this area appear not to have shifted to Russian in great numbers, since little or no linguistic interference from these languages is detectable in central varieties of Russian.<sup>24</sup> The locus of populations shifting from Finno-Ugric languages to Early East Slavic was instead in northwestern areas of Russia. As I discussed in Chapter 3, there are demonstrable substratal features from Balto-Finnic languages in northern varieties of Russian in both historical and modern periods. The language shift started first in Novgorod and surrounding areas, then spread north- and eastward. But once again, North Russian is *not* the variety of Russian that Common Standard Russian is based on. This is why it is necessary to take into account the colonizations and population shuffling that took place during the Middle Russian period.

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<sup>24</sup> So far the most convincing candidate for contact influence from these languages is serial or double verb constructions in Russian (cf. Weiss 2003).

Shevelov (1953) and Vlasto (1986) point out that Common Standard Russian is based on a historically transitional dialect centered in Moscow. Shevelov discusses the colonization by northern and southern Russian populations of the newly forming political center of Moscow and surrounding central principalities, e.g. Suzdal-Vladimir, in the early 2nd millennium. A key point emerging from his discussion is that there was dialect mixing and relatively intense dialect contacts during a critical period in the formation of a newly emerging Russian state where new literary norms were being negotiated. In keeping with this scenario, one would expect northern Russian dialect features to appear at least to some degree in the central transitional dialect. No features from Novgorod and surrounding areas that are clearly attributable to a Balto-Finnic substratum, such as the nominative object construction, spread into the standard language (though some features, such as the nominative object construction and fairly widespread usage of non-negated genitive subjects and objects appear in Middle Russian texts, cf. Chapter 3, §9); but northern dialect features that were either marginally present in the central dialect, or consistent with native Russian morphosyntax, successfully entered the central transitional dialect and persist in the standard language to this day, including the *u* + genitive PPC as the primary PPC in Russian.

In Middle Russian documents there is evidence that the *u* + genitive PPC not only increased in frequency, but also came to parallel morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the adessive PPC in Balto-Finnic languages (based mainly on Finnish examples). Some of these properties are attested in earlier periods, e.g. reflexivization control in Middle Russian, but others are not attested until Modern Russian, e.g. control of adverbial participles. It not clear if these properties are direct descendants of Finnic substratum that was enhanced by continued contact and assimilation with Finnic speakers in the Russian north, or if the behavioral properties developed later in Russian, perhaps as part of broader areal pressures, in which case the convergence with Balto-Finnic is not a continuation from the earliest spread of the Slavs in the late first millennium CE. Then again, areal pressures leading to a Circum-Baltic language area, as described and analyzed by Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001), Kasatkina (2010), and others, has usually been attributed in large part to an original shifting population from Balto-Finnic (and sometimes also Volga Finnic), and so appealing to the explanation of areal pressures as the impetus for convergence of features in Russian and Balto-Finnic languages inevitably leads back to a Balto-Finnic substratum. The *u* + genitive PPC, along with several of its behavioral properties, then appears to have been one of the features from North Russian which was selectively absorbed into Central, and eventually Standard, Russian.

## ***7. Conclusions***

In §3 I examined the argument structure of the arguments in the Russian *u* + genitive PPC, which was supported by a more general discussion of current thinking on subjects, objects, alignment patterns, etc. in linguistics literature in §2. In §4 I showed that in addition to increasing in frequency in the history of Russian, the *u* + genitive PPC has also developed more properties – especially behavioral, including control, properties – associated with subjects. Then in §5 I showed that changes in the Russian *u* + genitive PPC brought its properties and features closer to the those exhibited by adessive PPCs in Balto-Finnic languages, in particular Finnish and Estonian. In §5.4, I argued that the shared properties are not automatically associated with

location-based predicative possession, which provides a stronger argument for contact-based influences in this area of the grammar.

The most influential effect of contact on the *u* + genitive PPC from Balto-Finnic speakers shifting to Slavic was in promoting its expansion to become the primary PPC in Modern Russian. The increase in frequency of the *u* + genitive PPC was accompanied by changes in semantic and syntactic behaviors so that the *u* + genitive possessor argument increasingly came to be interpreted as a subject. In particular, the *u* + genitive PPC is an ergative pattern so that the *u* + genitive possessor argument exhibits syntactic control properties normally associated with subjects, despite the fact that it is not in the nominative case as are most subjects in Russian. Thus, the *u* + genitive PPC not only expanded in frequency in the history of Russian, but also developed a number of new subject-like behavioral properties, which I show to be parallel to the behavior of the Finnish adessive PPC (where Finnish is used as a representative of Balto-Finnic languages). The Russian and Finnish behaviors that are parallel are outlined in Appendix 2.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This dissertation examines changes in one grammatical area of Slavic languages – predicative possession – but reflects developments in Slavic more broadly. While some changes may have been unique to the domain of predicative possession, other changes were certainly linked to language-wide tendencies, including expansion or reduction of impersonal constructions and increase or decrease of ergative versus accusative patterns in the Slavic languages. Beyond morphosyntax, frequency changes and reorganization of linguistic categories also tend to cluster in predictable ways. The divergent developments in Slavic are linked not only to language-internal developments, but also to extra-linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, such as contacts with speakers of non-Slavic languages and processes of language codification.

Based on the conclusions in my dissertation I propose a general scenario for changes in the history of the Slavic languages, showing how contacts with different non-Slavic groups inspired changes in one direction over another, and suggest how these changes may have arisen in different Slavic-speaking areas. In this way, I provide a model for examining a wide range of linguistic features across Slavic languages, especially for features that varied in the earliest period of Slavic and have come to be realized differently across modern Slavic languages.

West Slavic languages have been influenced to varying degrees by prolonged contacts with German and perhaps more generally as a result of its geographical position in a Central European linguistic area (and perhaps as a marginal representative of a Standard Average European language (Haspelmath 1998)). On the level of morphosyntax, West Slavic languages developed more accusative patterns, including usage of the ‘have’ verb as a modal verb, thus converging with German usage. West Slavic and German speakers have long been in contact with one another and prolonged periods of Slavic-German bilingualism promoted language changes outside of morphosyntactic and argument structure convergences; large numbers of loanwords also entered West Slavic languages from German, whereas few loanwords are attested in German from West Slavic. The directional bias of the lexical borrowings is evidence of the uneven status of Slavic speakers and German speakers, with German speakers typically at the more influential end of the cultural and societal scale. (Though some argue that Czech influenced varieties of German, e.g. Austrian German (Newerkla 2007).) The contact situation between West Slavic languages and German fits into what traditionally has been called an *adstratum*.

East Slavic languages, especially Russian, have developed more ergative alignment patterns and impersonal constructions over time, which is especially true of North Russian dialects. These developments show convergence with patterns in Balto-Finnic languages, but more generally show convergence with a Circum-Baltic language area, which includes parallels outside of morphosyntax such as phonological and prosodic features (cf. Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001). Unlike West Slavic, Russian has few lexical borrowings from neighboring languages, with the exception of place names, hydronyms, and other onomastic terms. Instead, there are primarily morphosyntactic and phonological parallels between Russian and Balto-

Finnic (and to some extent also shared with Belorussian and Baltic languages). This type of convergence is consistent with the contact scenario relevant for much of Russian, especially in the north of Russia, where populations underwent a shift from Balto-Finnic languages to Russian (or to its predecessor Early East Slavic). This type of language contact is often called a substratum or language shift (and sometimes language replacement outside of linguistics).

While I did not address developments in South Slavic languages outside of OCS in detail, a number of general remarks can be made about South Slavic. All modern South Slavic languages use a ‘have’ verb for predicative possession and the ‘have’ verb has additionally been co-opted as a future tense marker in several of those languages. A particularly good example of the susceptibility of the lexeme ‘have’ to contact influence is exemplified by Molisean Slavic, an enclave of Slavic speakers (of a Croatian variety) in Southern Italy who have been in intense contact with Italian for several centuries. Breu (1996, 2003) shows that under influence from Italian the usage of the ‘have’ verb has extended into contexts that parallel usage in neighboring dialects of Italian, in particular as a modal auxiliary.

A future tense with a ‘have’ auxiliary is, furthermore, a feature of many languages spoken in the Balkan Sprachbund, both Slavic and non-Slavic alike. The South Slavic languages of the Balkan Sprachbund (Bulgarian, Macedonian, and to a lesser extent Serbian) share a number of other features with non-Slavic languages of the Balkan Sprachbund (cf. Lindstedt 2000 for a list of languages and features). The parallel features most frequently cited as Balkanisms are morphosyntactic, many of which are said to be part of a morphosyntactic tendency toward analyticity; few phonological features are listed (the most commonly cited phonological feature is the existence of a mid-to-high central vowel or schwa). The spread and contact mechanisms of Sprachbund situations are “notoriously messy” (Thomason and Kaufman 1991:95), thus the parameters of historical contacts are especially difficult to isolate and analyze.

While additional work is certainly needed on specific aspects of the spread of Slavic in the Balkan Peninsula and on the accompanying historical contacts, it is still possible to say that for many linguistic features the Balkan Slavic languages tend to pattern with their non-Slavic neighbors rather than with related Slavic languages in the northeast and northwest. A particularly telling example of this tendency is in Wichmann and Holman (2010:247) who use data from the World Atlas of Language Structures to establish correlations between typological similarity and language relatedness. Two Slavic languages – Russian and Bulgarian – appear among the top seven pairs of most closely related languages, but they do *not* pair with one another. Instead, Bulgarian pairs with Greek and Russian with Lithuanian. While Bulgarian and Greek are both Indo-European languages, the genetic relation is distant, since they belong to two different branches of Indo-European. Nevertheless, Bulgarian patterns more closely with its distant relative – Greek – than with its demonstrably closer relative – Russian – which instead patterns more closely with the more distantly related Baltic language Lithuanian. The point here is that for many grammatical features the Balkan Slavic languages share more in common with their areal non-Slavic neighbors than with their Slavic relatives outside of the Balkan Sprachbund. The same might be said of other Slavic languages as well, since Russian (East Slavic) shares a higher number of typological features with Lithuanian (Baltic) than with Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian (South Slavic), or Polish (West Slavic) in Wichmann and Holman’s study. Thus, changes in the history of Slavic often have less to do with purely systemic linguistic factors than with sociolinguistic factors and extra-linguistic influences on language.

Other recent work that takes a pan-Slavic approach to topics that are most often confined to one Slavic language (usually Russian), include Dickey's (2000) study of verbal aspect. His study reveals an east-west cline in aspectual behavior of verbs, which underscores the danger in relying to heavily on Russian alone for understanding pan-Slavic linguistic categories. In many ways the methods of expressing predicative possession in Slavic also fall along an east-west cline, with northwestern Russian representing the easternmost edge of the cline and Czech the far western end.<sup>1</sup> The cline shifts more dramatically for predicative possession than for aspect, since the transition from an *u* + genitive PPC to the 'have' verb occurs in Ukraine and Belarus, whereas the aspectual system transitions in Poland. A cline is a useful way of conceptualizing features at the pan-Slavic level. It is a relatively straightforward task to extrapolate a cline from the geographic clusters that I used as points of departure for the case studies in Chapters 1-4; this cline or geographical axis was laid out in the last paragraph.

In future work, it would be interesting to carry out case studies keeping the general developmental scenarios suggested above in mind. Do most features across Slavic, whether morphosyntactic, phonological, semantic, pragmatic, etc., show areal convergence, or are there exceptions? If so, how can those exceptions be explained – as anomalies? As indications of a different set of sociolinguistic pressures? As language internal tendencies? The field of contact linguistics suggests parameters of linguistic outcomes for different socio-historical scenarios, but more case studies and comparison of features across broader linguistic groupings are needed. Answers to many of these questions will likely also come from methodological advances in linguistics, such as computational methods, and from increasingly sophisticated and accessible electronic resources, such as corpora and databases.

However, at present a better understanding of how and why precisely these changes took place is still in need of investigation. Much about the historical circumstances of the spread of the Slavs and their contacts with non-Slavic speakers (and with one another) is known, but details of how certain populations interacted often remain unclear, as do motivations for speakers speaking certain languages or varieties of languages. In short, work in historical sociolinguistics and contact linguistics for Slavic is in need of more research. Aspects of physical geography, such as mountains versus steppe terrain or climate differences, are also capable of influencing both how languages spread as well as the ease and feasibility of contacts. Then again, how speakers perceive their geography is sometimes even more relevant, that is, how speakers situate themselves in relation to their speech community, on one hand, and how their speech community fits into the broader area, on the other. Russian is interesting in this regard. Even in Russia's medieval period before its dramatic eastward expansion, Russian covered an impressive territory, i.e. European Russia is quite large and the boundaries of Russia only expanded over time. However, Russian dialect differentiation appears to have become only more homogenous over time. This is a difficult phenomenon to address concisely, though it seems clear that over the course of Russian history there were motivations for those identifying as Russians (whether or not by choice) to speak increasingly alike, to identify themselves with a larger speech community rather than a local one. This trend was reinforced over consecutive historical periods that brought different groups together under a single and largely homogenous unit (which was

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<sup>1</sup> The Sorbian languages of Germany or Molisean Slavic of Italy are probably even more representative of the western end of the spectrum but they were not investigated in detail here.

variously motivated by political, cultural, and religious factors), culminating, most likely, in the Soviet period.

In closing, I would like to single out four components of the approach used here that I hope will be applicable, either collectively or in part, to additional problems in Slavic and general linguistics. First, I widened the scope of a linguistic problem that was too narrowly circumscribed. In past approaches to the analysis of predicative possession in Slavic one aspect of the problem tends to receive the bulk of attention in the literature. In particular, the Russian *u* + genitive PPC is often treated in isolation due to its anomalous formal encoding in comparison with predicative possession in other modern Slavic languages. The tendency to restrict the scope of analysis for predicative possession in Slavic to the history of Russian is fueled either by the implicit assumption that a ‘have’ verb is somehow natural or original for Slavic (even though it was neither natural nor original in Proto Indo-European), or by the opposite assumption: that the ‘have’ verb in Slavic was merely a calque of Greek usage that spread quickly and painlessly throughout all of Slavic, except for Russia. Either way, by focusing on only the *u* + genitive PPC in Russian and not taking the broader perspective into account, it is assumed that non-Russian Slavic languages do not have their own histories for the domain of predicative possession, thus have been static over time. In Chapters 1 and 2, evidence from Old Church Slavic and Czech is provided that challenges this implicit assumption. Thus, by combining close examinations of language traditions within a broader examination of Slavic, it is possible to more faithfully trace the history of PPCs both within and beyond Russian.

In connection with the previous point, a second component used here was a case study method, which allowed me to examine predicative possession across Slavic, while at the same time constraining the scope of the investigation within reasonable bounds. The case study method made it possible to build a picture of pan-Slavic developments based on representative pieces of the larger puzzle. Each of the three traditional Slavic sub-groupings is represented by one case study (with Early East Slavic and Russian representing a longer study spanning Chapters 3 and 4). Through the three studies on OCS, Czech, and Early East Slavic and Modern Russian historical developments in predicative possession for each of the three traditional Slavic sub-groupings were identified, as well as factors that either cut across or only occur in part of the traditional sub-groupings. For example, all of West, South, and western East Slavic regularly employ a ‘have’ verb, whereas only eastern East Slavic uses primarily the *u* + genitive construction; and the extension of ‘have’ as a future tense auxiliary marker only occurred in part of South Slavic.

As a third component of the approach, I combine different veins of analysis within linguistics. The central part of all of the case studies is a survey of historical (and modern, where relevant) textual materials for the Slavic language or Slavic sub-grouping in question. Then using theories of language contact and spread, the examination of Slavic developments is compared to relevant areal and/or historically influential languages, in particular Greek for OCS, German and Latin for Czech, and Balto-Finnic languages for Russian. Where relevant and where resources were available, the analyses are supplemented by dialect studies (especially relevant for EES and Russian) and additional sociolinguistic considerations. The practice of bringing together different sub-fields of linguistics that often remain separate from one another has made it possible to shed light on aspects of predicative possession in the history of Slavic that were previously not well understood.



Finally, as a fourth component to my approach I brought in extra-linguistic evidence to lend additional support to the developmental scenarios indicated by the linguistic analyses. This support came especially from demography and social history. Earlier in this conclusion I posed a couple of questions that I expect to emerge when different studies of the type presented in this dissertation are synthesized. In particular, are contact and areal linguistic influences differentially represented in different parts of the grammar depending on the contact situation? If so, why and how did those differences arise? A better understanding of the answers to these questions will probably be found in an increasing number of interdisciplinary research initiatives, including more pairings between linguists and historians, demographers, archaeologists, human population geneticists, geographers, etc. While this dissertation examines primarily textual and linguistic components of predicative possession in Slavic, it is also meant as contribution towards the growing interdisciplinary potential for digging more deeply into historical population and linguistic processes.

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### Appendix A. Predicative Possession in Slavic and its Neighbors – Historical and Modern

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>CONSTRUCTION(S)</i>	<i>NOTES</i>	<i>SOURCE</i>
<b>Slavic</b>			
Russian	<i>u</i> + genitive PPC	<i>Imet'</i> verb used only in specific syntactically or semantically conditioned situations; in Early East Slavic, the verb <i>iměti</i> was far more frequent than in the modern language (cf. Chapter 3)	Timberlake (2004)
Belorussian	'have' verb, <i>u</i> + genitive PPC		Mayo (2002:934-35)
Ukrainian	'have' verb, <i>v (u)</i> + genitive PPC	According to a native informant, in eastern Ukraine <i>v (u)</i> + genitive is more frequent, in western Ukraine the 'have' verb is more frequent	Shevelov (2002:987-88)
Czech	'have' verb	Old Czech also used a dative PPC and, minimally, <i>u</i> + genitive PPC (cf. Chapter 2)	Chapter 2; Short (2002:517-18)
Slovak	'have' verb		Short (2002:580-581)
Polish	'have' verb	Cassubian also uses a 'have' verb (Stone 2002:788-789), with perhaps some relics of a dative PPC; Polabian used a 'have' verb (Polański 2002:821)	Rothstein (2002:747-48)
Sorbian	'have' verb	Upper Sorbian is used to represent both Upper and Lower Sorbian	Šewc-Schuster (1976)
Bulgarian	'have' verb	Scatton (2002:237) and Heine (1997) also mentions some alternative constructions, notably a <i>na</i> preposition construction, but this may only be relevant on the level of the noun phrase	Scatton (2002:237)
Macedonian	'have' verb		Friedman (2002:293-294)
Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian (BCS)	'have' verb	Browne (2002:370) also gives restricted examples of predicative possession with an <i>u</i> + genitive PPC; Molisian Slavic, a variety of Croatian spoken in Southeastern Italy, also uses a 'have' verb (cf. Breu 1996, 2003)	Browne (2002:369-372)
Slovene	'have' verb		Priestly (2002:440)
Old Church Slavic	'have' verb, dative PPC	<i>u</i> + genitive PPC minimally attested, but semantically restricted (cf. Chapter 1 and Mirčev (1971))	Chapter 1, Huntley (2002), and Mirčev (1971)

<b>LANGUAGE</b>	<b>CONSTRUCTION(S)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>
<b>Finno-Ugric</b>			
Finnish	Adessive PPC		Hakulinen (1961), Karlsson (1999)
Estonian	Adessive PPC	Occasionally a special 'have' verb, <i>omama</i> or <i>evima</i> , is used (Erelt 2007)	Erelt (2003)
Curonian Livonian	Dative PPC	Probably influenced by Latvian (Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli 2001:676-7)	Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001:677)
Veps	Adessive PPC		Ibid.
Votic	Adessive PPC		Ibid.
Karelian	Adessive PPC		Ibid.
Mari	Genitive PPC (+ possessor indexing on possessum)		Ibid.
Mordvin	Genitive PPC (+ possessor indexing on possessum)	Stassen (2009) reports that Erza Mordvin has possessor indexing, which is relatively rare for this type of PPC (possessor indexing is most frequent for Topic PPCs)	Ibid.; Stassen (2009)
Hungarian	Dative PPC (+ possessor indexing on possessum)	Stassen (2009) reports that Hungarian has possessor indexing, which is relatively rare for this type of PPC (possessor indexing is most frequent for Topic PPCs)	Stassen (2009)
<b>Baltic</b>			
Latvian	Dative PPC	Retained "ancient dative of possession" (Danylenko 2001:108); uses 'have' verb only minimally; Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001) also report a locative PPC parallel to the Russian <i>u</i> + genitive PPC that is restricted to temporary possession	Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001:676); Danylenko (2001:108)
Lithuanian	'have' verb	A genitive PPC is also used in Lithuanian, but is considered archaic, if not obsolete (Stassen 2009)	Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli (2001:676), Danylenko (2001), Stassen (2009:46-47)

<b>LANGUAGE</b>	<b>CONSTRUCTION(S)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>
<b>Germanic</b>			
German	'have' verb		Stassen (2009)
Yiddish	'have' verb		Jacobs (2005)
Gothic	'have' verb, dative PPC	Dative PPCs are marginally attested in Gothic, though it is unclear if they are native to Gothic or Greek calques, since examples come from Gothic New Testament translation (Stassen 2009:280(fn))	Stassen (2009)
<b>Latin and New Testament Greek</b>			
Latin	'have' verb, dative PPC	Dative PPC ( <i>mihī est</i> ) – older; 'have' verb ( <i>habeo, teneo</i> ) – newer; Bauer (2000) explains that the <i>habeo</i> expanded into increasingly more contexts at the expense of the older dative construction	Bauer (2000)
New Testament Greek	'have' verb, dative PPC	'have' verb more frequent than dative PPC; in Ancient Greek the dative PPC was probably more frequent	Kulneff-Eriksson (1999), Chapter 1
<b>Iranian</b>			
Old Iranian	Genitive PPC	The existential verb takes a genitive to encode a predicative possessive relation	Oktor-Skjærø (2009)
Ossetic	Dative PPC	An allative PPC is also attested (Johanna Nichols, p.c.)	Johanna Nichols, p.c., Thordarson (2009)
<b>Turkic</b>			
Turkish	Genitive PPC	PPCs are usually in the format: possessor + genitive suffix + possessed entity + possessive suffix + <i>bar</i> 'existent' or <i>yoq</i> 'non-existent'  Johanson (1998) reports that Turkish also employs a locative construction, e.g. <i>Ali 'de para var</i> 'Ali has money', literally 'at Ali money existent'	Johanson (1998)
Tatar	Genitive PPC		Johanson (1998), Safiullina (1998)

<b>LANGUAGE</b>	<b>CONSTRUCTION(S)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>	<b>SOURCE</b>
<b><i>Other Languages of Central &amp; Eastern Europe</i></b>			
Romanian	'have' verb		(Stassen 2009)
Albanian	'have' verb		(Stassen 2009)
Romani	Topic PPC, 'have' verb, dative PPC, locative PPC	<p>The main PPC reported by Matras (2002) and Elšik and Matras (2006) most closely matches Stassen's (2009) topic PPC; the possessor is most often a topicalized/fronted accusative and the possessum is in the nominative case, thus controlling verb agreement; frequently there is a resumptive pronoun that references the possessor following the verb (perhaps a type of possessor indexing)</p> <p>PPC types vary across dialects of Romani, which are often influenced by contact languages, e.g. in varieties of Romani spoken in Russia and Eastern Ukraine, a locative PPC is often used (cf. Crevels and Bakker 2000:169 for an example)</p>	Matras (2002), Elšik and Matras (2006), Crevels and Bakker 2000
Modern Greek	'have' verb		Stassen (2009)

## Appendix B. Predicative Possession in Russian and Finnish: Parallels in Coding, Behavioral, and Semantic Properties<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Coding property: morphological marking (Chapter 4, §§3.1.1 & 5.1.1)

A. nominative  
 u menja est' **knig-a**  
 at me.GEN is.PRS book-NOM.SG'  
 'I have a book'

B. genitive (negated possessum)  
 u menja ne byl-o **knig-i**  
 at me.GEN NEG was.PST-N.SG book-GEN.SG'  
 'I didn't have a (the) book'

C. genitive (non-negated possessum) dialectal  
 byl-o li u tebj-a **det-ef?** (dialectal) (Markova 1991:139)  
 be.PST-N.SG PTCL at you.GEN child-GEN.PL  
 'Did you have (any) children?'

D. \*\*nominative 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessum  
 u menja est' **ty**  
 at me.GEN is.PRS you-NOM.SG  
 'I have you'

A. nominative  
 Minu-lla on **kirja**  
 1SG-ADES be.3SG book.NOM  
 'I have the book'

B. partitive (negated possessum)  
 Si-llä ei ole **luu-ta** (Sands and Campbell 2001:293)  
 it-ADES NEG be bone-PART  
 'It [=the dog] doesn't have a bone'

C. partitive (non-negated possessum)  
 Hänellä on **raha-a** (Hakulinen 1961)  
 he.ADES be.PRS.3SG money-PART.SG  
 'he has (some) money'

D. \*\*accusative 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessum; Estonian does not use accusative here  
 Minu-lla on **sinut** (Sands and Campbell 2001:293)  
 1SG-ADES be.3SG you.ACC  
 'I have you'

<sup>1</sup> An example preceded by \*\* indicates a property that does *not* match in Russian and Finnish; otherwise, the property matches / **boldfaced text** - argument that is the candidate for subject / underlined & italicized text - property controlled by subject (where applicable)

## 2. Coding property: verb agreement (Chapter 4, §§3.1.2 & 5.1.2)

- A. \*\*past tense – gender & number agreement with nominative possessum  
 u menja *byl-a* **knig-a**  
 at me.GEN is.PST-F.SG book.F-NOM.SG  
 ‘I had a book’
- B. no verb agreement with genitive possessum (negated or non-negated)  
 u menja ne *byl-o* **knig-i**  
 at me.GEN NEG was.PST-N.SG book-GEN.SG  
 ‘I don’t have a book’
- C. present tense – no agreement (frozen verb form)  
 u nego *est’..* **knig-a** / **knig-i** / **my** / **ty**  
 at him.GEN is.PRS book-NOM.SG’ / book.NOM.PL / we / you  
 ‘He has a book / books / us / you’

- A. \*\*past tense – no agreement (frozen verb form); Estonian verbs agree  
 Juka-lla *oli* **avaimet**  
 Juka-ADESS be.PST.3SG key.NOM.PL  
 ‘Juka had/owned the keys’
- B. no verb agreement with partitive possessum (negated or non-negated)  
 Si-llä ei *ole* **luu-ta**  
 it-ADESS NEG be bone-PART  
 ‘It [=the dog] doesn’t have a bone’
- C. present tense – no agreement (frozen verb form)  
 Minu-lla *on* **kirja** / **kirjat**  
 1SG-ADESS be.3SG book.NOM / book.NOM.PL  
 ‘I have the book / books’

## 3. Coding property: word order (Chapter 4, §§3.1.3 & 5.1.3)

- A. Possessor Verb Possessum (permanent & basic possession)  
 U **Ivan-a** (S) est’ (V) samovar (O) (Chvany 1975:107)  
 at Ivan-GEN.SG is samovar.NOM.SG  
 ‘Ivan has a samovar’
- B. Possessum Verb Possessor (temporary possession)  
**Samovar** (S) Ø (V) u Ivan-a (Chvany 1975:107)  
 samovar.NOM.SG at Ivan-GEN.SG  
 ‘The samovar is at Ivan’s’

- A. Possessor Verb Possessum (permanent & basic possession)  
**Juka-lla** (S) oli (V) avaimet (O) (Maling 1993:52)  
 Juka-ADESS be.PST.3SG key.NOM.PL  
 ‘Juka had/owned the keys’
- B. Possessum Verb Possessor (temporary possession)  
**Avaimet** (S) olivat (V) Juka-lla (Maling 1993:52)  
 key.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL Juka-ADESS  
 ‘Juka had the keys/the keys were in Juka’s possession’



4. Behavioral property: control of reflexive pronouns (Chapter 4, §§3.2.1 & 5.2.1)

Mož-et may-3SG	byť, be.INF	kogda u when at	bud-et be.FUT-3SG	u <i>sv-<del>o</del>i</i> REFL-M.SG.NOM	Anna-lla; Anna-ADESS	on be.3SG	tapa- <i>ns</i> <sub>i</sub> ways-POSS(REFL).3SG	(Wechsler 1995:3)
milliard billion.M.SG.NOM	dollar-ov, dollar-PL.GEN	ja...	ja...	(Corbett 2006:194)	‘Anna has her ways’			

‘Maybe, when I have my (own) billion dollars, I...’

5. Behavioral property: control of adverbial participles (Chapter 4, §§3.2.2 & 5.2.2)

Ne NEG	<i>ime</i> <sub>ja,i/*j</sub> have.PTCP	konstitucii, constitution.GEN.SG	ne NEG	<i>ime</i> <sub>ja,i/*j</sub> zakonodatel'nogo legislative.GEN.SG	Liisa-lla; Liisa-ADESS	oli was	Pekka Pekka.NOM	poikaystävä-nä boyfriend-ESS	olle-ssa- <i>ati</i> <sub>i</sub> be.INF-INESS-POSS
sobranija, assembly.GEN.SG	u by	nas; us.GEN	est' be.PRS	tol'ko only	Ruotsi-ssa Sweden-INESS			(Wechsler 1995:3)	

*vlasti*<sup>2</sup>  
power.GEN.SG

‘Liisa had Pekka as a boyfriend when Liisa/\*Pekka was in Sweden’

‘Not having a constitution, not having a legislative assembly, we have only one branch of power’

<sup>2</sup> Russian National Corpus: Evgenij Čubarov. Repeticija konstitucii. Proekt Osnovnogo zakona Čečni postupil v administraciju prezidenta. *Izvestija*, 2001.12.13.

6. Semantic property: animacy (Chapter 4, §§3.3.1 & 5.3.1)

A. Animate: possessive sense – u + genitive  
 U **Andreja** černaja mašina  
 by Andrej.GEN black.NOM.SG car.NOM.SG  
 ‘Andrej has a black car’

B. Inanimate: locative sense – u + genitive  
 U doma černaja mašina  
 by house.GEN.SG black.NOM.SG car.NOM.SG  
 ‘A black car is by the house/building’

C. Inanimate: possessive sense – u + genitive  
 Ja govori-ju, čto u **dom-a** est’ svož  
 1SG.NOM say.PRS-1SG that at house.M-SG.GEN is.PRS REFL-M.SG.NOM  
 osobenn-yj xarakter (www.topos.ru/article/1264)  
 particular.M-SG.NOM character.M.SG.NOM

‘I say that a house has its own particular character’ / ‘\*I say that its own particular character is by the house’

A. Animate: possessive sense – adessive  
**Pekalla** on auto  
 Pekka.ADESS be.PRS car.NOM.SG  
 ‘Pekka has a car’

B. Inanimate: locative sense – adessive  
**Juna** on asemalla (modified from Karlsson 2002:108)  
 train.NOM.SG be.PRS.SG station.ADESS.SG  
 ‘The train is at the station’

C. Inanimate: possessive sense – adessive  
**Terveellä** talolla on kuivat jalat (Finnish  
 proverb)  
 healthy.ADESS.SG house.ADESS.SG be.PRS.SG dry.NOM.PL feet.NOM.PL  
 ‘A healthy house has dry feet’

C. \*\*Inanimate: possessive sense – inessive  
**Tuopissa** on korvat (Karlsson 2002:109)  
 tankard.INESS be.PRS.SG handle.NOM.PL  
 ‘The tankard has handles’ (lit. ‘In the tankard are handles’)