

Karin Larsen

The Evolution of the System of Long and Short Adjectives in Old Russian

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Preface

This publication was written as a Ph.D. dissertation in Slavic Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, and submitted in December 2002. Professors Alan Timberlake, Viktor Zhivov, Johanna Nichols and John Lindow were the members of my dissertation committee.

I would like to thank the Slavic Department at the University of California, Berkeley, as well as the Danish Research Academy for giving me the opportunity to pursue a Ph. D. and to write this dissertation.

Especially, I would like to thank Professor Alan Timberlake for reading and commenting on the drafts of the chapters of the dissertation throughout the writing process, and for helping me select texts for analysis. Also special thanks to Professor Viktor Zhivov, likewise for reading and commenting on the drafts and suggesting texts, as well as for pointing out mistakes in my translations.

Karin Larsen

University of Copenhagen, April 2005

* * *

· И ВШЕДЪ В ПЕЧЕРОУ · И ЗАТВОРИШЕ ДВЕРИ ПЕЧЕРѢ
И ЗАСЪПАШЕ ПЕРСТЮ · И НЕ ГЛАГОЛАШЕ НИКОМОУ ЖЕ
· АЩЕ ЛИ БОУДАШЕ ПОУЖЬНОЕ ОРОУДЬЕ · ТО ОКОНЦЕМЪ
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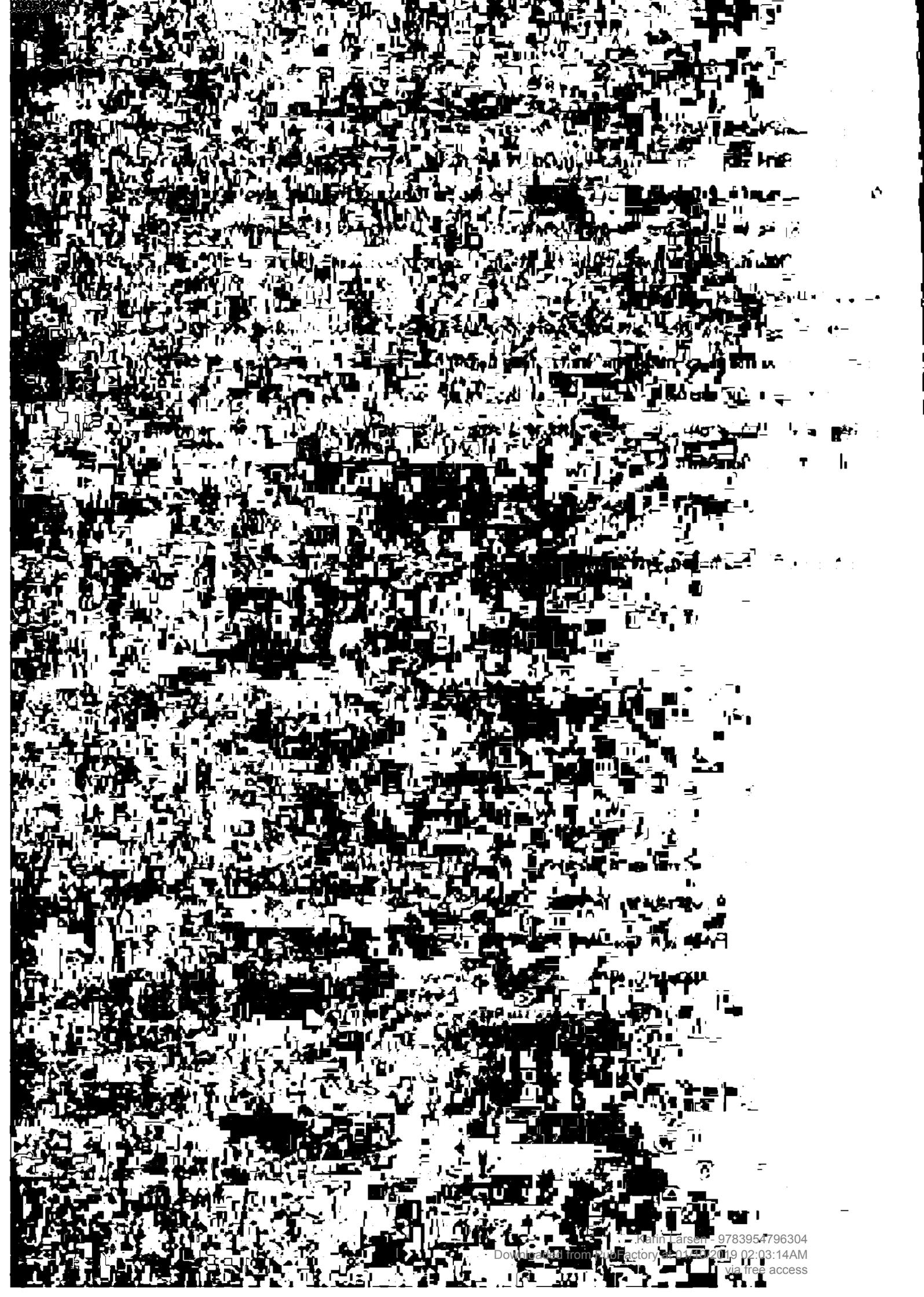


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List of symbols and abbreviations

PVL = The Primary Chronicle (Повесть временных лет)

N1S = The Synodal Manuscript of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle

N1K = The Commission Manuscript of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle

MS = Московский летописный свод

Novg2 = The 2nd Novgorod Chronicle

PL = Пискаревский летописец

Let1619-91 = Летописец 1619-91 гг.

SF = short form

LF = long form

T = theme

R = rheme

OCS = Old Church Slavic

\in = 'belongs to'

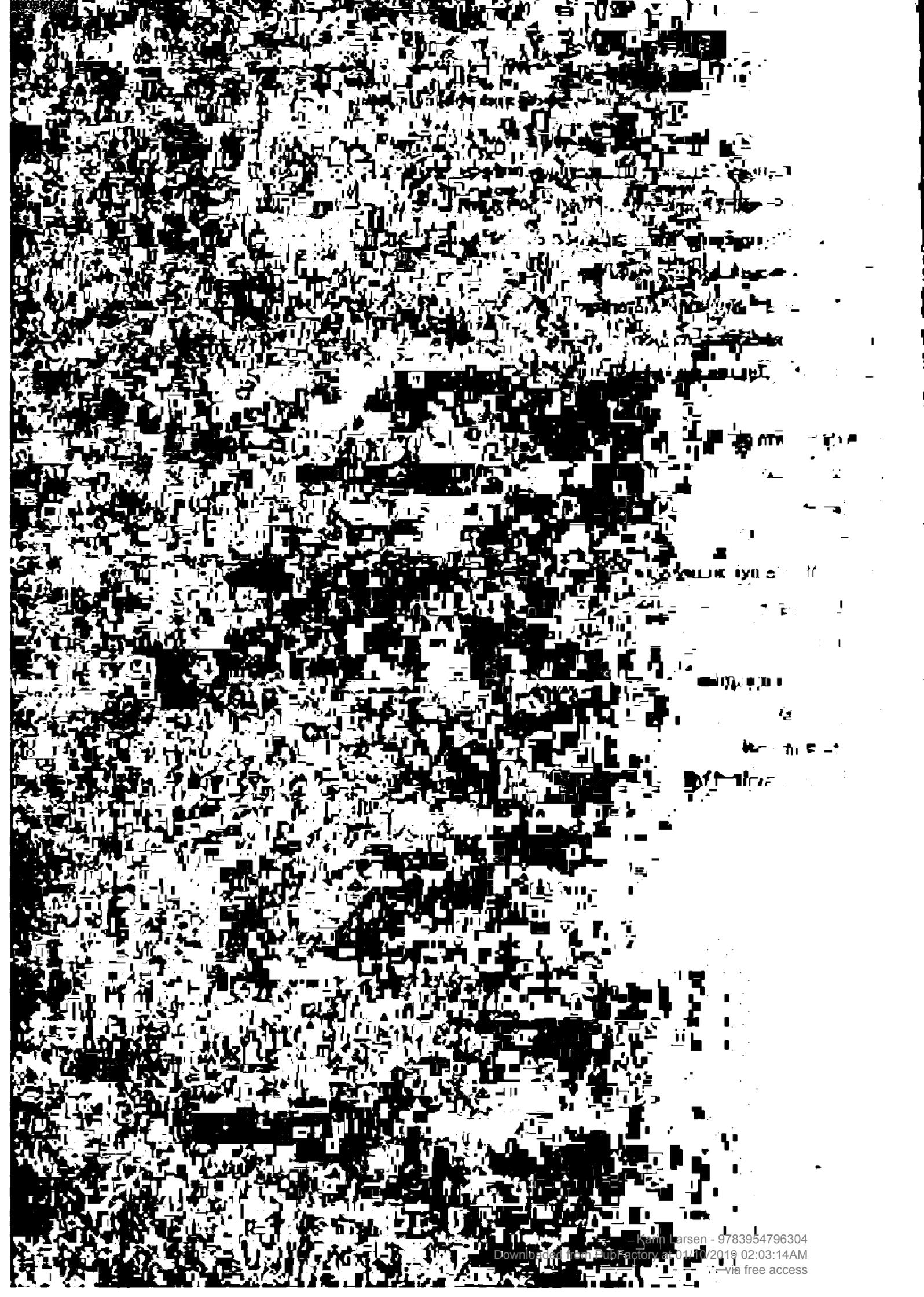
\wedge = 'and'

| = 'to which it applies'

{ ... } = a set

\emptyset = the empty set

\sim = 'is characterized by'



Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

It is generally assumed that in prehistoric Slavic, the long (pronominal) form of the adjective was used as a means of expressing definiteness, whereas the short (nominal) form expressed indefiniteness. In this system, attributive adjectives could be short or long, whereas predicative adjectives could only be short.

The situation in Modern Russian is, of course, also known: the short form can no longer be declined, but exists in the nominative case only. It has disappeared altogether from attributive position (with the exception of a few fixed expressions), whereas in predicative position, both forms are possible. That is, attributive adjectives can only be long, whereas predicative adjectives can be long or short.

The different systems are illustrated in the table below:

	Prehistoric Slavic	Modern Russian
Attributive adjectives	Long form and short form	Long form only
Predicative adjectives	Short form only	Long form and short form

This profound transformation of the system of long and short forms of adjectives took place during the roughly 1000-year period where one of the prehistoric Slavic dialects developed into contemporary Russian language (cf. Schenker, 69f.). Two things are obvious: 1) The development takes place through the LF spreading at the cost of the SF. The SF completely disappears from attributive position and, in addition, loses ground in predicative position; 2) The opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness transforms into a different opposition limited to adjectives in predicative position.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the process through which attributive position changed from an environment in which both SFs and LFs occurred to an environment in which only the LF is possible.

The texts

For consistency, the material used in the present analysis is limited to texts of the chronicle genre. The analysis is based on examples collected from excerpts of seven different chronicle texts, the earliest of which is the Primary Chronicle (*Повесть временных лет*), and the latest of which is *Летописец 1619-91*:

1. Primary Chronicle (*Повесть временных лет*), 6562-6618 (1054-1110) (not including *Поучение Владимира Мономаха*)
2. 1st Novgorod Chronicle, *Синодальный список*, 6619-6838 (1111-1330)
3. 1st Novgorod Chronicle, *Комиссионный список*, 6839-6954 (1331-1446)
4. *Московский летописный свод*, 6955-7000 (1447-1492)
5. 2nd Novgorod Chronicle, 7001-7080 (1493-1572)
6. *Пискаревский летописец*, 7081-7153 (1573-1645)
7. *Летописец 1619-91*, 7154-7200 (1646-1691)

The chronicle texts represent a hybrid genre with elements from Church Slavic as well as from the Old Russian vernacular. Chronicle writing was a complicated process, where existing material from various sources was copied and new material added (cf. Schenker, 230ff.; Vlasto, 348ff.). The language of the chronicle texts cannot be assumed to represent the spoken language neither of the time they were written nor of the historical periods described in them. It must, however, be reasonable to assume that, in any chronicle text, the entry for a particular year is written in or later than that year. This means that a chronological succession of texts as represented by the analyzed material can, allowing for fluctuations due to more or less “conservative” styles, be expected to reflect the chronological development in terms of the order in which the language changes happen.

In the present study, scanned versions of editions of the texts have been used. The structure of the analysis is described in detail on p. 45f., and information about the individual chronicle texts are provided in the subsequent chapters.

The distribution of LFs and SFs of adjectives in Old Church Slavic

The oldest extant Slavic texts are the Old Church Slavic codices. Even though, of course, Old Church Slavic is not an early stage of Russian, I shall assume that the distribution of SFs and LFs in Old Church Slavic can be used as an approximation to this distribution in the earliest stages of Russian. That is, the distribution of LFs and SFs preceding the distribution found in the earliest chronicle texts is assumed in the present study to have been approximately the same as in the Old Church Slavic codices.

In his 1974 study, Flier provides a detailed analysis of the distribution of LFs and SFs in Old Church Slavic. The most important results of the analysis are the following. 1) In terms of variation between LF and SF, adjectives can be divided into two main groups. “Adjectives of affiliation and apposition” are largely limited to the SF, whereas “regular adjectives” display variation between LF and SF (Flier, 67; 100f.). 2) The variation within “regular adjectives” to a large extent reflects the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness (Flier, 175ff.).

“Adjectives of affiliation” are adjectives which affiliate the noun they modify with particular locations, nationalities, persons, trades or titles (Flier, 80f.). Adjectives of affiliation and apposition¹ can be derived from common as well as from proper nouns by means of the derivational suffixes *-ин-*, *-ов-*, *-ь*, *-ии* or *-ьск-*. (Flier, 74, 80). Flier found that adjectives with the suffixes *-ин-*, *-ов-*, *-ь* and *-ии* as well as adjectives derived from common nouns by means of the suffix *-ьск-* occur almost exclusively in the SF. Adjectives derived from proper nouns by means of the suffix *-ьск-* show fluctuation between LF and SF. Flier explains the occurrence of LFs as a combination of stylistic variation and influence from the Greek sources, as the vast majority of the NPs with LFs in OCS have definite articles in Greek (Flier, 82; 100f.). The findings in Tolstoi’s 1957 study are more or less the same, but he explains the vacillation within *-ьск-* adjectives as a result of different degrees of similarity to possessive adjectives (Tolstoi, 81-91). The findings are illustrated in the table below.

Distribution of LFs and SFs within adjectives of affiliation and apposition in Old Church Slavic

Noun type	<i>-ьск-</i>	<i>-ин-</i> , <i>-ов-</i> , <i>-ь</i> , <i>-ии</i>
Proper	SF ~ LF	SF
Common	SF	SF

(Flier, 100)

¹ An adjective is “appositive” if the relation between it and the noun it modifies originates in a relationship of apposition, and, accordingly, equivalence. This is the case in NPs like *градъ назаретъскъ* ‘city of-Nazareth’, which, Flier assumes, is derived from the appositional relationship *градъ, назаретъ*. The surface realization of a NP, however, is the same regardless whether the adjective is classified as an adjective of affiliation or as an adjective as apposition (Flier, 74).

Regular² adjectives are adjectives able to occur in both the LF and the SF (except for adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*). According to Flier, the distribution of LFs and SFs within singular NPs with regular adjectives reflects the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness. Indefinite NPs (including non-specific as well as specific indefiniteness) have SFs, and definite and generalized NPs have LFs. The same applies to singular nominalizations. Within the plural, the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness is being or has been neutralized. Within plural nominalizations, the opposition has been neutralized with the LF being favored even in indefinite nominalizations. Within other plural NPs, indefinite as well as definite, there is some vacillation between LFs and SFs (i.e., variant readings in the Gospel texts) (Flier, 172f.; 176f.). Flier interprets this as a sign that, as a result of influence from nominalizations, the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness within plural NPs in general is being neutralized (Flier, 138-73). Flier's findings are summarized in the table below.

Distribution of LFs and SFs within regular adjectives in Old Church Slavic

	Singular NPs (including nominalizations)	Plural NPs (nominalizations not included)	Plural nominalizations
Indefinite	SF	SF	LF
Definite	LF	LF	LF
Generalized	LF	LF	LF

Tolstoi's findings are, not unexpectedly, roughly the same, and Tolstoi reaches the same conclusion as Flier, that the variation between SF and LF in OCS, at least within a large group of adjectives, reflects the opposition between definiteness and indefiniteness (Tolstoi, 121f.).

² Flier's statement that "the adjectives derived from nouns contracting an axis of affiliation roughly correspond to those labeled "relational" (Russian *относительные*)" is surprising (Flier, 73), since many adjectives which must be characterized as *относительные* (e.g., denominal adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьн-* such as *црѣвьньми* and *тшеничьньми*) are included in "regular adjectives" in Flier's analysis.

Tolstoi's analysis is based on a more detailed subdivision of adjectives into qualitative and various types of relative adjectives. In most cases, Tolstoi explains vacillation as a result of adjectives with different lexical meanings behaving differently, a fact to a large extent ignored by Flier.

The chronicle texts

Very little research has addressed the distribution of LFs and SFs as represented by texts younger than the Old Church Slavic codices. One important contribution is Istrina's 1918 study of the distribution of LFs and SFs in the *Синодальный список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle, which contains a number of valuable observations.

One important point is that in some sentences or clauses, where a NP with a SF is used, it is difficult or impossible to determine whether the adjective should be interpreted as attributive or predicative. This is the case when the lexical meaning of the verb is such that the verb can not only function as a copula, but also as an 'independent' verb (in Istrina's terminology, *служебный vs. самостоятельный глагол*) (Istrina, 37f.).

On the basis of her findings, Istrina concludes that the LF is used when the adjective denotes a characteristic which is known, usual or self-evident for the modified noun and has no important weight in the general meaning of the sentence. In such contexts, the noun carries the primary meaning. The SF is used when the adjective denotes a characteristic which is associated with the noun as a result of thought and deduction, for which reason the characteristic is presented energetically, carries meaning which is important in the sentence, more important than the meaning of the modified noun. The feature that distinguishes the SF from the LF is *предикативность* 'predicativity' (Istrina, 51f.).

While Istrina's work contains many important individual observations, its main weakness is the lack of a systematic classification of the contexts in which LFs and SFs occur. The use of SF and LF, respectively, in *мужь добрь сгорѣ Елеферии Лазоревичь* 'a good man burned, Eleferii Lazorevič' (NIS, 6760, 90) and *истригошася ... добри и мужи и жены* 'good men and women became monks and nuns' (NIS, 6746, 75) cannot simply be explained as a result of the difference in importance of the adjective in the expressions (Istrina, 45). The same applies to several other examples presented by Istrina. The concept of 'predicativity' is both valuable and relevant, but it must be seen as a manifestation of more fundamental and underlying differences, which must be established first.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the earliest chronicle texts, as should be expected, differs significantly from the distribution in the Old Church Slavic codices. In the chronicle

texts, as should also be expected, variation is limited to a smaller number of contexts than in the codices. One manifestation of this is the fact that in the chronicle texts, variation has disappeared completely or almost completely from certain case and number combinations.

The development of the system of nominal declensions

The table below shows the extent of variation between SF and LF by case in the chronicle texts. Case and number combinations with context-determined variation in at least one chronicle text are marked with "+". Combinations marked with "÷" show no or only exceptional and irregular variation, which means that adjectives in these combinations occur exclusively or almost exclusively in the LF.

Case and number combinations with and without variation between SF and LF

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	+	+
Accusative	+	+
Genitive	+	+
Dative	+	+
Instrumental	+	+
Locative	+	+
Vocative ^a	+	+

^a According to Flier, vocatives are inherently definite (Flier, 152)

The transformation of the system of long and short forms of adjectives takes place concurrently with significant changes in the system of nominal declensions. This is likely to have had some impact on the system of long and short forms of adjectives, since the short adjectives were declined as nouns.

An important change in the system of nominal declensions is the disappearance of the morphological distinction between the LF and the SF in the feminine instrumental singular, where the pronominal adjective ending merges with the noun ending to *-oю*. Vlasto suggests, on the basis of the presence of *-oю* as the adjective ending in Ostromir, that it was already the normal form in 11th century Slavic (Vlasto, 113).

Other significant changes are the replacement of the noun ending *-Ø* with *-oс* in the masculine genitive plural, and the replacement of the original noun endings *-ѣръ*, *-омъ* and *-ы* in the masculine and neuter locative, dative and instrumental plural with the feminine endings *-ax*, *-am* and *-amu*. According to Vlasto, the change of the masculine genitive plural noun ending started very early, probably already in preliterate times. There are examples of the ending *-oс* in early Church Slavic texts. However, the ending *-Ø* survived until around 1700 in contexts after numerals and in equivalent contexts where there was no potential confusion with the nominative singular (Vlasto, 88f.). The replacement of the original masculine and neuter plural endings in the locative, dative and instrumental with the feminine endings was not completed until the early 18th century, but there are examples from as early as the end of the 13th century. In the masculine, the change happened in the locative first, followed by dative and instrumental, whereas in the neuter, the change seems to have happened first in the dative. In both genders, the change in the instrumental case does not really become widespread until the 17th century (Vlasto, 89). In the locative masculine and neuter plural of 'soft' adjectives, the Old East Slavic contracted LF merged with the SF (cf. Vlasto, 83; 87; 110-111).

The case and number combinations affected by morphological and or phonological changes are identical to the case and number combinations which display no variation between LF and SF in the chronicle texts. It is likely that, once the distinction between LF and SF is lost in one gender (as in the instrumental case feminine singular), it is lost soon after in the remaining genders as a result of analogy. It is also likely that, the position of the SF already becoming weaker, morphological changes in the noun declension (which is also the declension of the SF) could act as a catalyst for the process of the LF replacing the SF.

At the same time, the following endings change in the LF paradigm: genitive, dative and locative singular (and genitive and locative dual), all genders. The endings become identical to the endings of personal pronouns (the pronoun *момъ* for the 'hard' paradigm, and the possessive pronoun *моу* for the 'soft' paradigm) by a process of leveling (Gippius, 66f). Gippius concludes that in what could be called "standard" Old Russian, the old and new forms exist simultaneously in the oldest texts (11th-13th century) (Gippius, 80). The case and

number combinations undergoing change in the LF paradigm are identical to the oblique case and number combinations (genitive, dative and locative singular) displaying variation between SF and LF. It is possible that the instability of these forms have delayed them in the process of taking over contexts from the SF.

Types of adjectives in the chronicle texts

Some types of adjectives have, for various reasons, not been included in the present study. This applies to the pronominal adjectives *ин-* and *всяк-*, each of which seems to follow an idiosyncratic pattern of variation, and which, in any case, do not have real 'adjectival' meanings. The same applies to forms of *мног-*, which can mean both 'big' or 'large' and 'much' and to forms of *един-*, which also has a number of different meanings.

No participles have been included in the analysis. The active participles went through a profound change in function which makes it extremely problematic to include them among "real" adjectives in analysis of the type carried out here. It seems reasonable to assume that the passive participles, when occurring in adjectival function, behave in the same way as "real" adjectives, but an analysis of their participation in the variation between LF and SF must be left for future research.

Finally, comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are not included in the analysis.

Possessive adjectives

The so-called possessive adjectives can be derived from common as well as proper nouns by means of the suffixes *-ин-*, *-ов-*, *-ь-* and *-ии*. They are most often derived from nouns denoting animate entities and were used for expressing personal possession until the 17th century (Vlasto, 114).

The suffix *-ин-* formed possessive adjectives from common and proper nouns ending in *-а/-я* (masculine and feminine) and from feminine nouns with consonantal stems, as in *папин-* 'the pope's', *звѣрин-* 'beast's', *Ильин-* 'Ili'a's', *Олексин-* 'Oleksa's'. The suffix *-ов-* formed possessive adjectives from masculine common and proper nouns other than those ending in *-а/-я* stems, as in *цесарев-* 'emperor's', *липов-* 'of (a) linden tree' *Александров-* 'Alexander's'. The suffix *-ь* was a productive suffix forming possessive adjectives from masculine common and proper nouns, as in *княж-* 'prince's', *епископл-* 'bishop's', *Ярославл-* 'Iaroslav's'. Also the frequently occurring *господьн-* 'the Lord's' is formed by means of this suffix (Flier, 94). The suffix *-ии* was found in *божи* 'God's', *птичи*

'belonging to or characteristic of birds' (Vlasto, 115). Also a few qualitative adjectives, e.g., *велии*³ 'great' and *дивии* 'wild' were formed by means of this suffix (Flier, 94).

The possessive adjectives in *-ин-*, *-ов-* and *-ь* occur frequently in the chronicle texts, while the adjectives in *-ии* are less frequent. As in OCS, the vast majority of possessive adjectives in the chronicle texts are SFs. The few LFs seem to be case-dependent rather than context-determined. In the singular, there are very few LFs outside the instrumental case. In the plural, LFs are largely limited to the genitive, locative and instrumental cases. These are the case and number combinations which, even within adjectives that otherwise display variation, are almost completely limited to the LF.

Adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*

The suffix *-ьск-* was a productive formant of denominal adjectives. The meaning of adjectives derived by means of this suffix was that of general relationship or possession. Adjectives denoting nationality belong in this group, e.g., *Русьскыи* 'Russian', *Грьчьскыи* 'Greek' *новъгородьскыи* 'Novgorodian', *римьскыи* 'Roman'. Adjectives derived from common nouns such as *заморьскыи* 'from overseas' and *поморьскыи* 'of (the) coastal region' similarly express affiliation with a certain geographical location. Affiliation with a certain group or rank of people is also expressed by adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*, such as *кръстьяньскыи* or *христьяньскыи* 'Christian', *боярьскыи* 'of the boyars', *чернечьскыи* 'of monks' or 'monastic', *мужьскыи* 'male' or 'masculine'. Such adjectives were also derived from personal possessives, e.g., *бѣсовьскыи* 'of demons' or 'demonic' (Vlasto, 115). Adjectives with this suffix also denote affiliation with inanimate entities, e.g., *манастырьскыи* 'of (a) monastery'.

Adjectives in *-ьск-*, when derived from proper nouns, are usually derived from proper nouns denoting inanimate entities (e.g., locations, as already mentioned). When adjectives in *-ьск-* are derived from animate nouns, the nouns are usually of a more abstract nature than those from which the possessive adjectives are derived (*царевь* 'the czar's' as opposed to *царьскыи* 'royal') (Flier, 82).

In the chronicle texts, the vast majority of adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* are LFs, and there seems to be no consistent pattern in the few occurrences of SFs.

³ According to Vaillant, *велии* appears virtually only in the SF in Old Church Slavic (Vaillant, 131). This is true also of the chronicle texts.

Other adjectives

Adjectives not included in any of the above categories are assumed to be realized as SFs or LFs as a function of the same underlying principles, which will be specified later. The underlying principles can manifest themselves NP-internally, e.g., in the lexical meaning of an adjective, or in the relationship between the adjective and the noun it modifies. Certain adjectives and certain NPs show no variation between SF and LF, but this can be explained as a result of these principles, too. The principles also manifest themselves NP-externally, which means that certain contexts generate LFs and certain contexts generate SFs, and that an adjective, if not limited to one form by NP-internal factors, is realized as a LF or SF according to the type of context in which it occurs.

My research has indicated that the variation between LF and SF within adjectives outside the previously mentioned groups follows a consistent pattern with a well-defined complex of factors usually generating a LF and other factors usually generating a SF. I shall account for these factors and the principles they constitute below.

Factors and contexts usually generating a LF

In all chronicle texts, NPs which convey what can be broadly termed 'known' information, are almost without exception found with a LF of the adjective. 'Knownness' of a NP can be caused by a variety of NP-internal as well as NP-external factors.

NP-internal factors

The referent of a NP can be perceived as 'known' because of the adjective, because of the noun or because of the relationship between noun and adjective.

The adjective

Adjectives occurring in one form only for lexical-semantic reasons

Adjectives implying 'knownness'

Some adjectives have a lexical meaning which implies that the referent of the noun they modify is known by the addressee. An obvious example found in the chronicle texts is the participle *прежеченни* 'aforementioned', which implies coreference and always renders a noun or a NP definite.

Most adjectives implying 'knownness' either belong to "adjectives derived from nouns with unique reference", which render the referent of a NP unique, or to a set of so-called

“polar opposites” or “similar units arranged in a sequence”. All three terms are Flier’s (cf. Flier, 103-36).

Adjectives derived from nouns with unique reference

Non-possessive denominal adjectives derived from nouns denoting unique entities have a function similar to that of possessive adjectives. Thus, in the NP *сила крестная*, because *крестъ* denotes a unique and generally known entity, the adjective has the same function as a possessive adjective or a genitive and thus renders the NP unique, as in

Богъ же показа силу крестную ... ‘But God showed the power of the Cross ...’
(6576, 115)

Another example of a NP which is unique because the adjective is derived from a unique entity is *царство небесное*, ‘the Heavenly Kingdom’, where the noun *небо*, from which *небесное* is derived, refers to the Christian concept of ‘Heaven’.

“Polar opposites” and “similar units arranged in a sequence”

Flier describes a potentially large group of adjectives, the lexical meanings of which imply, if not definiteness, then at least ‘knownness’, i.e., that the addressee will perceive a NP with one of these adjectives as definite or, at least, belonging to a definite set. For this reason, these adjectives occur almost exclusively in the LF in OCS and in the chronicle texts. The adjectives belong to a set of so-called “polar opposites” or “similar units arranged in a sequence”. Examples of this type of adjectives are *правыи – лѣвыи* ‘right’ – ‘left’, *дънѣшнии – околнии* ‘inner’ – ‘outer’, *северныи/полунощныи – южныи* ‘north’ – ‘south’ and *въсточныи – западныи* ‘east’ – ‘west’. Flier explains the lack of SFs within this group as follows: “The right and left part of something, when combined, represent the whole. Each side is unique with respect to the other” (Flier, 127). The other “polar opposites” form analogous relationships. Flier extends this to including sets “being composed of similar units arranged in a sequence” and uses this as a basis for explaining why ordinal numbers occur almost exclusively in the LF⁴. Among the ordinals he also includes the adjectives *передънии/прѣдънии* ‘front, first’, *другыи* ‘next, other’, *последънии* ‘last’, and *прочии* ‘the

⁴ In the chronicle texts, modification by an ordinal number does not automatically lead to definiteness. There are a few cases where an indefinite NP (consisting of a noun and an adjective displaying context-determined variation) is modified by an ordinal number (in the LF), as in *Поставиша церковь камѣну святого Николу в Порховѣ, а другу ю (Академический список has a variant reading with the SF другу!) ... святого Николу церковь древяну ... а 3 – ю (т р е т ь ю in Толстовский список) ... церковь древяную святую Троицю* ‘They built a stone church [in the name] of St. Nikola in Porxov and a second ... wooden church [in the name] of St. Nikola ... and a third wooden church [in the name] of the Holy Trinity’ (N1K, 6920, 403).

rest, the remaining' (Flier, 127). In the chronicle texts, there are several examples of such adjectives, e.g., *прошлыми* 'past', which can be seen as part of the set (*прошлыми* 'past', *сущии* 'present', *будущии* 'coming, next') or (*прошлыми* 'last' or *прежнии* 'earlier', *сеи* 'this', *будущии* 'coming, next') (... *нанесе нам сущую рать и скорбь ...* '... he brought upon us the present war and grief ...' (PVL, 6601, 147) vs. *Не буди де на вас мое благословение в сеи вѣх ни в будущии* 'You shall receive my blessing neither in this century nor in the next' (Novg2, 7079, 161). In the chronicle texts, as in Flier's findings for OCS, adjectives of this type occur as LFs in all but a few exceptional cases. In fact, the only SF of an adjective of this type in the analyzed texts is a genitive singular SF of an ordinal number, in the NP *полпяты улицы* 'of Street no. 4½' (Novg2, 7055, 149).

Adjectives implying knownness are often participles, which, as mentioned earlier, are not included in the present study.

Relative adjectives

In the Academy Grammar, relative adjectives are defined as denoting "a characteristic, which is based on the relationship to some entity, circumstance or action" (ГРЯ I, 298, my translation). In accordance with this, a relative adjective is usually, but not always, denominal or deverbal.

The function of a relative adjective is to establish a connection between the referent of the noun it modifies and the referent (entity, circumstance or action) of the noun or verb it is derived from. The connection can be causal, denote purpose, etc. In some cases, the connection between two entities or between an entity and a circumstance or action is so common and frequent that the NP, by means of which this connection is expressed, turns into something close to a fixed NP (see p. 29).

An example of this is the NP *вѣчныи колокол*, which refers to a bell specifically determined for the purpose of announcing a *veče*. It is possible that a *veče* bell had a specific design different from that of other bells, and it is possible that there was only one of its kind in each city. It must have been different from other bells in some way, since people apparently would recognize its sound:

По обычею же своему начаша звонити въ *вѣчныи колокол* и снидесе весь град на *вѣче* то, ... 'As it was their habit, they began to ring the *veče* bell, and the whole city came to that *veče* ...' (MS, 6964, 275)

It seems to be a common feature of NPs with relative adjectives that they denote 'subtypes' with specialized meanings of an entity denoted by a noun with more general

meaning. Because of their specialized meanings, the 'subtype' NPs often differ significantly in meaning from the unmodified noun itself. The adjectives in the 'subtype' NPs can often be combined with a limited set of nouns only (at least in order for the combination to constitute a meaningful NP), and the subtypes together constitute what could be termed 'a limited set'.

In the tables below are examples from the chronicles of nouns with general meaning and some of their subtypes with specialized meaning.

грамота			
грамота жаловалная	грамота докончалная	грамота възметъная	грамота съкладная

In all the specialized meanings, *грамота* means a business document or a legal document. The adjective specifies the business or legal matter which is the topic of the document, i.e., the adjective is usually deverbal or denominal (*грамота* forms part of a long list of NPs with specialized meanings, cf. СРЯ XI-XVII вв., vol. 4, 119f.). This shows that it is the adjectives, or the nouns and verbs from which the adjectives are derived, that constitute a limited set – the set of business or legal matters that a document could deal with and be named after in Medieval Russia. Without the adjective, the NP loses a lot of its meaning. In some cases, *грамота* is even implicit, which emphasizes the importance of the adjective.

рать	
рать пѣшаа	рать судовая

In the NPs *рать пѣшаа* and *рать судовая*, the adjectives constitute a limited set denoting the 'elements' an army is supposed to operate in, land or sea. Analogously, *торговая казнь* and *смертная казнь* denote types of criminal punishment in Medieval Russia.

казнь	
торговая казнь	смертная казнь

As already indicated, NPs of this type can be seen as belonging to a limited set in the sense that they consist of the same noun combined with a limited set of adjectives. The limited set of adjectives, in turn, is derived from a limited set of nouns and/or verbs. Each adjective in the set fixes a parameter in relation to which it is relevant to specify the noun. For example, as mentioned above, it is relevant to specify a document according to its topic, an army according to the element it operates in, and criminal punishment according to type of sanction.

Many NPs represented in the chronicle texts fit the pattern described above, even though other 'members' of the limited set do not necessarily occur. Among these NPs are *пирь отпускной*, which fits into a limited set of feasts on different occasions, as in

... в недѣлю вербную был *пирь отпускной* на архиепископа у великого князя;
... '... on Palm Sunday, there was a farewell feast for the archbishop at the great prince[’s court]; ...' (MS, 6984, 308)

and *колесницы пушечная*, where *колесницы*, 'wagons', are specified in terms of their intended cargo, in

Иныя же впрягше обычныя устроенныя кони в *колесницы пушечная*, зарядив пушки и сами вооружшеса, ... 'Others, having hitched regularly equipped horses to cannon wagons, loaded the cannons and armed themselves, ...' (Let1619-91, 7190, 196)

An important feature of NPs modified by relative adjectives is that almost all of them to some extent behave as 'fixed NPs', i.e., they usually function as, in Jespersen's terms, 'one denomination' (Jespersen, 116). This should be seen in the context of the fact that in some languages, e.g., German, relative adjectives are usually not adjectives in a morphological sense, but nouns linked to other nouns by means of a suffix, often realized as *-s-*, as in *Kriegs-erklärung*, resulting in one word. In English, relative adjectives are usually rendered by linking two nouns with the preposition 'of', as in 'declaration of war', or simply by placing them together, as in 'farewell feast' and 'cannon wagons' in the examples above. Of course, in many cases Russian also has this possibility along with the relative adjective, e.g., *книжная торговля* = *торговля книгами* (example from ГРЯ I, 298).

In the table below, *X* is the set of entities *x* denoted by the noun *N*. That is, if *N* = *грамота*, then *X* is the set of all entities which are denoted by the noun *грамота*. Adjectives are designated by *y*₁, *y*₂, ... *y*_{*n*}, i.e., *y*₁ could be *възметъная*, *y*₂ could be *жаловалная*, and *y*_{*n*} could be *докончалная*. Sometimes the unspecified noun develops its own implicitly specialized meaning, which means that *y*₁ = \emptyset is a possibility.

X = the set of entities x denoted by the noun N				
Subset S ₁ : X ∈ X ∧ x ~ y ₁	Subset S ₂ : x ∈ X ∧ x ~ y ₁	...	Subset S _{n-1} : x ∈ X ∧ x ~ y _{n-1}	Subset S _n : X ∈ X ∧ x ~ y _n

Another important feature shared by fixed NPs and, in most contexts, NPs with relative adjectives is the mode of presentation which results from the NP functioning as 'one denomination'. This mode of presentation can also be described by means of the table: A fixed NP and, in most contexts, a NP with a relative adjective, is presented as 'a representative of S_i' rather than as 'a representative of X, which, in addition, possesses the feature y'. That is, *грамота възметъная* is to be perceived as 'a representative of the set of entities denoted by the NP *грамота възметъная*' rather than as 'a representative of the set of entities denoted by the noun *грамота*, which, in addition, can be characterized by the feature *възметъная*'. The meaning of relative adjectives is such that they pull in the direction of the referent of a NP being presented as belonging to a (sub)category.

Some relative adjectives, rather than placing the noun they modify in a (sub)category, have a meaning close to that of possessive adjectives. This is the case in the NPs *силу огньную* and *калъ грѣховнѣмь* in

... постившеса 3 отроци угасиша *силу огньную*; ... '... having fasted, the three children quenched the power of [the] fire' (PVL, 6582, 123)

and

... но мы на злое възращаемся, акы свинья в *калъ грѣховнѣмь* присно каляющеса, ... '... but we return to evil, wallowing like swine in the mire of sin ...' (PVL, 6576, 112)

The adjectives *огньныи* and *грѣховныи* mean 'belonging to (the general concept of) fire' and 'belonging to (the general concept of) sin', and as general concepts, 'fire' and 'sin' are generally known.

Relative adjectives functioning as possessive adjectives can also refer back to one particular, specific (and definite) entity, as *церковънаго* in

... и нача здати церковь маяя мѣсяца въ 21, ... а коньцяша мѣсяца августа въ 25, ... а всѣго дѣла *церковънаго* зьдания дни 70; ... '... and he began to build the church on May 21, ... and finished [it] on August 25, ... and the construction of the church took altogether 70 days; ...' (N1S, 6687, 36)

which refers back to the specific church denoted by *церковь* (more about this in the section on “Coreference” below).

In the chronicle texts, relative adjectives, with the exception of adjectives denoting substance or material, occur almost exclusively in the LF⁵. A likely explanation for this is the fact that almost all of these relative adjectives connect the nouns they modify with general, and generally known, concepts of outside entities or actions. That is, a noun modified by a relative adjective is connected with an outside, in its capacity as a general concept, already existing entity or action. Outside the group of adjectives denoting substance or material, there are only five SFs of relative adjectives in the chronicle texts, three of which are in predicative position. The two⁶ attributive SFs are found in the NPs *на чюжю землю* ‘in foreign land’ (N1S, 6737, 68) and *(болши) яична желтка* ‘(larger) than the yolk of an egg’ (Novg2, 7043, 204).

Adjectives denoting the material or substance of which an entity is made, such as *каменны* and *деревяны*, occur frequently in the chronicles, and many of them are SFs. If we examine the relationship between the noun from which a relative adjective is derived and the modified noun, this relationship is of a completely different kind when the adjective denotes material than when it denotes a more or less abstract link between two entities. Other relative adjectives relate the noun to an outside entity, whereas, as Tolstoi points out, an adjective denoting material denotes an intrinsic and inherent quality of the noun, much like certain types of qualitative adjectives, e.g., those denoting colors (Tolstoi, 72; 73f.).

⁵ According to Tolstoi, adjectives derived from adverbs of time and location plus a number of adjectives with locative and temporal meaning occur in the LF only in OCS. Some of these adjectives are identical to Flier’s “polar opposites” and “similar units arranged in a sequence”, whereas others are denominal. Other relative adjectives occurring in the LF only are adjectives derived from nouns denoting buildings and adjectives indicating the purpose (*предназначение*) of the referent of the modified noun (see Tolstoi, 63ff.). In the chronicle texts, however, there are almost no examples of any relative adjectives in the SF, with the exception of adjectives denoting material.

⁶ Two additional attributive relative adjectives have alternative readings with SFs. The genitive dual NP *от чюжю руку* (PVL, 6594, 136) is from *Радзивилловский список* and the *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle. *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *от чюжю руку*. The accusative plural NP *грамоты възметны* (N1K, 6920, 403) has alternative readings with *възметны* (*Академический список*) and *възметны* (*Толстовский список*).

The noun

Inherently definite nouns

Definite is defined as ‘having or indicating identifiable particular or exclusive reference’ (ODEG, 106). Definite nouns are a subset of nouns conveying ‘known’ information. Accordingly, definite nouns are almost without exception modified by LFs of adjectives.

Some nouns are inherently definite, i.e., definite irrespectively of their surrounding context. This applies to proper nouns and nouns denoting unique entities.

Proper nouns

Proper nouns can be names of locations, as in *Великыи Новгородъ* ‘Great Novgorod’ and *Литва безбожная* ‘the godless Lithuania’ or names of people, as in *оканьными Святотълкъ* ‘the accursed Sviatopolk’ and *преподобными Варлаамъ* ‘the most righteous Varlam’.

The most frequent combination of proper nouns and adjectives in the chronicle texts are saints’ names consisting of a form of *свят-* and the proper name of a person, e.g., *святая Софья* ‘St. Sophia’, *святими Афанасии* ‘St. Afanasii’ and *святими Михаилю* ‘St. Mixail’.

Nouns denoting unique entities⁷

An entity is unique if there exists only one of its kind, but strictly speaking, no entity can be said to be unique except within a given cultural framework. Some of the most obviously unique entities are *небо* ‘sky’ and *солнце* ‘sun’.

In the chronicle texts, most unique entities are religious concepts or events such as *божь* ‘God’ and *дьяволь* ‘the Devil’. These entities are unique within the Orthodox Christian faith, which constitutes the religious framework of the chronicle texts. Examples of NPs with nouns denoting unique entities are *святая богородица* ‘the Holy Mother of God’, *святая Троица* ‘the Holy Trinity’, *святые апостоли* ‘the Holy Apostles’ and *святое крещение* ‘the Holy Baptism’. In the chronicle texts, there are only three NPs of this type with SFs, *святу Пятницу*⁸ (N1K, 6853, 357), *в святѣ Троици* (MS, 6968, 276), and *Миня святы* (Novg2, 7063,183).

⁷ Flier treats nouns with unique reference together with adjectives derived from such nouns (cf. Flier, 103-136).

⁸ Толстовский список has a LF.

The NP *честьными крестъ* or *крестъ честными* is used when *крестъ* refers to the cross as an abstract symbol of Christianity, i.e., a unique concept (as opposed to a concrete, cross-shaped item, e.g., for decoration).

Another type of NPs denoting unique entities are NPs denoting “titles” followed by an appositional proper name, such as *боголюбивыи архиепископъ Нифонтъ* and *святыи пророкъ Илья*. There are only two NPs of this type with SFs in the chronicle texts, both from Novg2; *велику царицу Анну* (7079, 162) and *святы мученици Варвары* (7042, 147).

Generalized nouns

Generalized nouns are almost without exception modified by LFs, in OCS as well as in the chronicle texts. According to Flier, generalized nouns appear only in the singular in OCS (Flier, 160ff.). In the chronicle texts, there are singular as well as plural NPs with generalized meaning. In the example below, *вѣрнии людие* has generalized meaning, the statement being presented as a universal truth⁹:

... крестомъ огражаеми *вѣрнии людие* побѣжаютъ супротивныя;... ‘... protected by the Cross, believers conquer [their] adversaries; ...’ (NIS, 6776, 87)

The combination of noun and adjective

Fixed NPs denoting unique entities

In some cases, a NP consisting of a noun with non-unique reference and an adjective otherwise able to form both LF and SF, has unique reference and occurs with only one form of the adjective, almost always the LF. It is the combination of one particular noun and one particular adjective that causes the uniqueness. Such fixed NPs include many religious concepts and events, e.g., *святыи духъ* ‘the Holy Ghost’, *вечная жизнь* ‘eternal life’, *вечныи покои* ‘eternal peace’, *святая церковь* ‘the Holy Church’ (about the institution of the church), *великые чудотворци* ‘the great miracle-workers’ (a specific, definite group of saints), and various NPs denoting holidays and fasts, e.g., *чистая недѣля* ‘First Sunday in Lent’, *великое говѣние* ‘the Great Fast (Lent)’ and *великъ день* ‘Easter Day’. The NP *великъ день* is, in fact, the only NP which is found consistently with the SF of an adjective which otherwise occurs in both forms.

⁹ This is, in fact, the only circumstance that separates the NP from non-generalized NPs denoting categories of people and functioning as theme.

Other fixed NPs with unique reference are place names such as *Новыи търгъ*. There is only one SF in a NP of this type in the chronicle texts, in *на Дивни горѣ* (Novg2, 7057, 152).

Fixed NPs with non-unique reference

In the present study, a NP is referred to as ‘fixed’ if it fits the following description: A NP consisting of the noun X modified by the adjective Y becomes fixed when it acquires its own distinct meaning different from simply ‘a referent of X characterized by the feature denoted by Y’. The relationship between noun and adjective in a fixed NP fits well into Jespersen’s definition of the concept “junction”, where noun and adjective ‘together form *one* denomination, a composite name for what conceivably might just as well have been called by a single name’ (Jespersen, 116).

The chronicle texts contain many examples of fixed NPs. A frequently occurring fixed NP is *князь великыи*, which does not just mean ‘a prince who is great’, but refers to a ruler with the title and rank of ‘great prince’. This NP is also serves as an exemplification of Jespersen’s definition: the German term for *князь великыи* is ‘Großfürst’ (as opposed to ‘ein großer Fürst’). Other examples of fixed NPs are *вира дикая* (a pool of funds in the obščina for paying the penalty in case of murder), *черныи боръ* (a tribute on land in Novgorod collected by the prince for the khan of the Tatars), *простая чядь* ‘simplefolk’, *драгыи камень* ‘precious stone’ and probably quite a few others. There is only one NP of this type with a SF in the chronicle texts, in *измѣнився въ чьрныи ризы* ‘having disguised himself in a monk’s habit’ (NIS, 6712, 47).

NP-external factors

Definiteness as a result of context-related factors

All nouns that are not inherently definite can be definite as a result of context-related factors.

Determiners

Demonstrative and possessive pronouns make a noun definite (ODEG, 106). For this reason, NPs modified by such pronouns have LFs of adjectives in OCS (Tolstoi, 59; Flier, 72ff.). As should be expected, the same holds true for the chronicle texts.

Coreference

In the Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar, coreference is defined as “a relationship between two linguistic units such that they denote the same referent in extralinguistic context” (ODEG, 98). A variety of markers of coreference is represented in the chronicle texts, not all of which fit into the narrow definition above. In some situations, coreference renders a NP definite. The most common situations are described below (to the extent that they are represented in the chronicle texts). The description is based on the works of Raspopov and Firbas.

Markers of coreference rendering a NP definite

Coreference can be indicated by mere repetition of a NP from the immediately preceding context (cf. Firbas, 31), as in

После же де минуся *круг великий*, токмо едино солнце остана. Потом же пакн явися к вечеру той же *великий круг* ... ‘Afterwards the large circle disappeared; only the sun remained. Later, towards evening, the same large circle appeared again ...’ (Let1619-91, 7191, 203)

In some cases, as in the example above, a demonstrative pronoun is needed to make the relationship of coreference clear. A NP can also be coreferent with sentence components which show “some formal similarity and some coreferentiality” (Firbas, 32) with the NP in question. Such sentence components are typically derived from the same root or stem as the noun or the adjective in the NP, as in

И *пожъженъ бысть град* ... По Исаковъ же смерти людие на сына его вѣсташа про *зажъжение градъное* ... ‘And the city was set on fire ... After Isaac’s death people rioted against his son for the setting on fire of the city ...’ (NIS, 6712, 46–47)

where *зажъжение градъное* is coreferent with *пожъженъ бысть град*.

An important type of coreference is coreference between full or partial synonyms¹⁰ (Raspopov, 107). In the example below, *Татаръ* is replaced by the synonymous and therefore coreferential NP *противных сыроядецъ*:

... посла и смертноносную язву на *Татаръ*, Сице бысть милосердие господа нашего Исуса Христа на нас грѣшных, и толика побѣда на *противных сыроядецъ*, ... ‘... [God] sent a pest against the Tatars, So was the

¹⁰ As noted by Raspopov, this is synonymity only in its broadest sense, since it is contextually determined.

mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ towards us sinful [ones], and so was the victory over the hostile barbarians, ...' (Moscow Svod 6980, 298)

A NP can “sum up” and refer back to a longer description of an event or a situation. In the example below, *преславном видѣнии* refers back to the entire description of the late Metropolitan Iona:

По сем же пришел ко гробу преосвященнаго митрополита Ионы ... *мощи же его всѣ цѣлы и нерушимы, прелти бо плоть кости его, и не двигнушася суставы его, а ризы и амофории прочаа всѣх сих триех святитель не истлѣша по толицех лѣтех преставления их*, и тако все тогда православное христианъ множество бывшее видѣвше многи слезы излиша о *преславном видѣнии*, ... ‘Thereafter he went over to the coffin of the blessed Metropolitan Iona ... his remains were whole and unaffected by death, for his skin stuck to his bones, and his body parts had not begun to give in, and the shirts and covers of the three saints had not corrupted so many years after their death; and the whole crowd of Christians shed many tears over this marvelous sight ...’ (MS 6980, 294)

Definite NPs and the role of the adjective (restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives)

In the last two examples in the above section, only the noun and not the adjective is coreferent with a preceding sentence component. The noun *сыроядецъ* ‘barbarian’ is used as a synonym for *Татарь*, but the adjective *противных* constitutes not previously mentioned information added to the definite NP. The same is true of the NP *преславном видѣнии*, where only the noun is coreferent with the description of the sight. An adjective not known from the preceding context will, when presented as part of a definite NP, be perceived as non-restrictive (or non-defining). According to Jespersen, non-restrictive modifiers are often added to proper names and “may be termed ornamental (“epitheta ornantia”) or from another point of view parenthetical” modifiers (Jespersen, 111f.). This explains why NPs such as *преподобныи Варламъ* ‘the most righteous Varlam’ and *честьныи крестъ* ‘the venerable cross’ can be used without it first being stated that Varlam (a church official) is/was most righteous and that the cross is venerable. Even though, potentially, almost any adjective can be non-restrictive, non-restrictive adjectives usually denote characteristics which are expected or predictable in connection with the noun they modify. The use of a non-restrictive adjective implies a predicative statement, e.g., the definite NP ‘this marvelous sight’ implies the predicative statement ‘the sight was marvelous’. Since this predicative statement is omitted, the addressee is assumed to understand this implication without getting the impression that

information is missing. The more expected and predictable the adjective is, the less likely the NP is to create the impression that too much information has been omitted.

The function of restrictive (or defining) adjectives is to specialize or define the noun they modify, i.e., “to limit the number of objects to which it may be applied” (Jespersen, 108). In the NP *великий круг* in the first example in the section above, the adjective *великий* is restrictive. In a definite NP with a restrictive adjective the noun as well as the adjective must be known from the preceding context.

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive adjectives is relevant not only for definite NPs, but also for NPs functioning as theme, and in some cases for NPs functioning as rheme.

NPs functioning as theme

There are several terms for as well as definitions of the concepts of ‘theme’ and ‘rheme’, which originate in the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) of the Prague School of linguistics. In 1939, Mathesius¹¹ defined the “starting point of the utterance (východisko)” as “that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds”, whereas “the core of the utterance (jádro)” is “what the speaker states about, or in regard to, the starting point of the utterance” (Daneš, 106). “Východisko” and “jádro” later became “theme” and “rheme”.

NPs functioning as theme often have referents mentioned in the preceding context, and NPs with previously mentioned referents often function as theme, but it is possible for a not previously mentioned NP to function as theme, and for a previously mentioned NP to function as rheme.

In the chronicle texts, status as theme in itself seems to be a sufficient condition for the LF to be used. That is, a NP denoting a not previously mentioned entity has a LF of the adjective if it functions as theme.

A not previously mentioned NP is able to function as theme only under certain circumstances. Some of these circumstances are described below.

Indirect coreference

In some situations, a relationship between two linguistic units can be described as coreference even though they do not denote the same referent in extralinguistic context. This

¹¹ Mathesius, V.: “O tak zvaném aktuálním členění větěm” in *Slovo a slovesnost* 5, 1939, 171-174.

is true of coreference¹² based on semantic inference or implication or on “associative” relations (Daneš, 110), which does not necessarily render a noun definite. Instead, it enables the noun to function as theme (cf. Raspopov, 105; Firbas, 33ff.).

A NP denoting a part or detail of the referent of another NP can be coreferent with that NP (Raspopov, 108). A NP can also be coreferent with a sentence component, with which it is connected by an associative semantic link (Raspopov, 108f.; Firbas, 33). Examples of both types of coreference are found in

... *вънидоша въ святую Софию, ... и тряпезу чюдьную одъраша драгьи камень и велии жьньчюгъ, ... и понекадѣла и свѣтилна сребрьная, ... съ праздничьными съсуды бесцѣньными поимаша;* ‘... they made their way into St. Sophia, ... and from the marvelous altar table they tore off precious stones and great pearls, ... and they took chandeliers and lampions of silver, ... together with invaluable equipment for religious holidays’ (NIS, 6712, 48-49)

where *тряпезу чюдьную*, *понекадѣла*, *свѣтилна сребрьная*, and *праздничьными съсуды бесцѣньными* are all coreferent by association with *святую Софию*, and *драгьи камень* and *велии жьньчюгъ* are partially coreferent with *тряпезу чюдьную*.

The NP *тряпезу чюдьную* is translated with a definite article (this is also the case in Dietze, 82) based on the assumption that there is only one altar table in a church, whereas the remaining NPs do not have definite articles (in Dietze, *драгьи камень* and *велии жьньчюгъ* are translated as definite, too). NPs with referents not limited to one in number (within a given context) can refer to all of the referents (within the given context) or to only some of them (which is mainly a matter of interpretation).

NPs which function as theme as a result of “coreference by association” have non-restrictive adjectives, as exemplified by the NPs *тряпезу чюдьную*, *велии жьньчюгъ* and *праздничьными съсуды бесцѣньными* in the above example (*драгьи камень* must be interpreted as a fixed NP, and the relative adjectives *сребрьная* and *праздничьными*, as described earlier, have a different function, to which the opposition between restrictive and non-restrictive is not relevant).

More abstract forms of coreference

Relationships of coreference based on associative relations can be rather abstract. The following example,

¹² Daneš does not actually use the word “coreference”, but “contextual determination of givenness”.

А сказывала жена старая Настасия владыкы Леониду, помнила как тоя девицу тут провожали лѣт с пятьдесят ‘And an old woman by the name of Nastasiia told Bishop Leonid that she remembered how they had buried that girl 50 years ago’ (Novg2, 7080, 192)

is preceded by a description of how the completely undecomposed body of a young girl was found in a grave at the Church of the Holy Martyrs Frol and Lavr. Both *жена старая Настасия* and *владыкы Леониду* are parts of theme, and the old woman’s utterance is rheme. The sequence ‘an old woman by the name of Nastasiia told Bishop Leonid that ...’ can be interpreted as a contraction of ‘In the city lived an old woman by the name of Nastasiia. She told Bishop Leonid that ...’. In the first, presentational, sentence of the paraphrase, ‘an old woman’ conveys new information and functions as rheme. In the following sentence, the old woman has become a known entity and can therefore be referred to by means of the personal pronoun ‘she’. But the presentation can be omitted, since it can be assumed that the addressee will understand the implication – that Nastasiia was an old woman from among the inhabitants of Novgorod. The reason why this assumption is valid is that every city has old and young people, men and women, among its inhabitants. In this sense, NPs denoting people can often be said to be coreferent by association with locations.

Many of the not previously mentioned plural NPs functioning as theme denote people, i.e., they are either masculine plural nominalizations¹³, which are nearly always LFs¹⁴ in the chronicle texts, or they consist of the noun *люди(е), человецы* or *мужи (и жены)* modified by a LF of the adjective. These two types of NPs are more or less identical in meaning, as illustrated by the example

¹³ Singular, most often masculine, nominalizations denoting people are infrequent and are either definite because of coreference or have generalized meaning as in *да не хвалиться си лны и силою своею* ‘in order that the strong does not praise himself for his strength’ (PVL, 6586, 133). The expression *от мала и до велика* must be characterized as a fixed phrase.

In addition to masculine plural nominalizations denoting people there are neuter plural nominalizations denoting ‘things’ in the broadest sense of the word. An example of this is *злая* ‘evil (things)’ in *Быша си злая мѣсяца июля въ 23* (PVL, 6601, 145). Neuter plural nominalizations are relatively infrequent in the chronicle texts and, as their masculine counterparts, are always LFs.

¹⁴ There are only three plural nominalizations with SFs in the chronicle texts. One, *велици*, is coordinated with a LF, in *велици и малии* (Novg2, 7057, 152). Two are found in the peculiar *И не бѣше вести чересь всю зиму въ Новегородѣ на не, ни на живы, ни на мъртвы; ...* ‘And all winter, there was no news of them, neither of living, nor of dead; ...’ (NIS, 6701, 41), where it might be more appropriate to interpret the adjectives as predicative, i.e., ‘... neither of [who was] alive, nor of [who was] dead’.

... *немиловивья человецы* паки начаша творити всему миру страхования, ...
 ‘... merciless people again began to create fear in everybody, ...’ (Let1619-91,
 7190, 201)

where the noun *человецы* might as well have been left out.

Both¹⁵ types of NPs can refer to all people (within a given context, e.g., within a particular society) with the characteristic denoted by the adjective, or they can refer to an unspecified number of people with the characteristic denoted by the adjective. When they are able to function as theme without being mentioned in the preceding context, it is because it is a generally known fact that in every society there are good people, evil people, rich people and poor people plus people with an infinite number of other characteristics. Groups of people are, so to speak, coreferent by association with any context describing human society, which includes all of the chronicle texts. This also applies to NPs denoting (domestic) animals or buildings, which function as theme in the same types of contexts as NPs denoting people.

In the above examples, the referents of the NPs *жена старая* and *немиловивья человецы* are each presented as a representative of a category of people within a set of categories. If the population of Novgorod is divided into the categories {P₁ = old men, P₂ = young men, P₃ = old women, P₄ = young women}, then *жена старая* is presented as a representative of P₃. And if the same population is divided into {C₁ = *немиловивья человецы*, C₂ = *миловивья человецы*, C₃ = ... *человецы*, etc.}, then *немиловивья человецы* is presented as an unspecified number of representatives of C₁.

Many NPs with relative adjectives function as theme in similar contexts, as in

И сего ради *служилые люди*, стрелцы и салдаты, между собою совет
 сотвориша ... ‘And because of this service people, strelcy and soldiers created a
 counsel between them ...’ (Let1619-91, 7190, 188)

The NPs *служилые люди*, *стрельцы* and *салдаты* denote categories in the military hierarchy. In an analogous fashion, *немиловивья человецы* denotes a category in the

¹⁵ According to Flier, plural nominalizations “refer to entire groups of people or things known by the society in general” (Flier, 168f.). This is obvious in English, where plural nominalizations (which always refer to people) are accompanied by the definite article (“the good”, “the evil”, “the rich”, “the poor” etc.). In order to denote an unspecified subset of the people to whom these characteristics apply, English uses NPs with the noun “people” (“good people”, “poor people” etc.). It is impossible to say whether there is a similar difference in Old Russian between plural nominalizations and NPs with the noun *люди(е)* or *человецы* modified by a LF of the adjective. For this reason, I shall assume that, in Old Russian, both types of NPs can refer to the relevant groups of people in their entirety or to an unspecified subset of them.

classification of people according to human qualities, and *жена старая* denotes a representative of a category in the classification of people according to age and gender.

As described in “NPs with relative adjectives”, the meaning of a relative adjective pulls in the direction of the referent of a NP being presented as belonging to a (sub)category. But also the referents of NPs with qualitative adjectives can be presented as belonging to a (sub)category. This mode of presentation is much more common for plural NPs than for singular NPs. This is probably one of the explanations why the opposition between LF and SF breaks down in the plural first, and first of all within plural nominalizations (in OCS). In this mode of presentation, it is not clear whether a plural NP refers to ‘all’ or just ‘some’ of its possible referents. This is not relevant. A NP of this type simply states that a certain category of entities is represented. This is the case with plural nominalizations and usually with NPs with the nouns *люди(е), человецы, мужи (и жены)* etc., but the referent of any plural NP can be presented as belonging to a (sub)category.

It can be argued that NPs denoting representatives of categories to some extent convey ‘known’ information, since the hierarchy or larger set that they form part of is generally known (at least within a given cultural context).

NPs functioning as rheme

Status as theme is a sufficient condition for a noun to be modified by a LF of an adjective. A noun functioning as rheme can be modified by a SF as well as a LF. If a NP denoting a known (i.e., previously mentioned) entity functions as rheme, it has a LF, since knownness is a sufficient condition for use of the LF. But also within not previously mentioned NPs functioning as rheme, both SFs and LFs are represented. Plural nominalizations and plural NPs denoting representatives of categories, or more precisely, NPs representing this mode of presentation, have LFs no matter which communicative function they have. It is this mode of presentation that causes the LF. An example of a not previously mentioned NP of this type functioning as rheme is *людье благовѣрнии* in

На другын же день собращася епископи: Ефрѣмъ Переяславьскыи, ...
игумени от всѣхъ монастыревъ с черноризци; придоша и людье благовѣрнии,
... ‘On the next day, the bishops gathered: Ephraim of Pereiaslavl, ... abbots from
all monasteries and monks; pious people also arrived, ...’ (PVL, 6599, 139)

where *людье благовѣрнии* (at least in this context) denotes a category in the church hierarchy – “ordinary” believers along with abbots (*игумени*) and monks (*черноризци*).

As mentioned in the section about “NPs functioning as theme”, the meaning of a relative adjective pulls in the direction of the referent of a NP being presented as belonging to a (sub)category. If a NP functioning as rheme has a qualitative adjective, this is often a question of interpretation. The alternative interpretation, which is accounted for below, is not possible for NPs functioning as theme.

Before turning to the general principles behind the distribution of LFs and SFs, I shall account for the concept of “repeated rheme” or “rheme in a parallel structure”, which is used in subsequent chapters.

Repeated rheme or “rheme in a parallel structure”

In a text, theme and rheme can be arranged according to different patterns, or different types of “thematic progression” as defined by Daneš (Daneš, 114ff.).

According to Daneš, there are three main types of thematic progression (Daneš, 118ff.):

1) Simple linear thematic progression, which has a ‘chain-like’ structure:

$$T_1 \rightarrow R_1. \quad T_2 (= R_1) \rightarrow R_2$$

An example of this theme-rheme structure is found in

И родися у Святополка сынъ, и нарекоша имя ему Брячиславъ ‘And to Sviatoslav a son was born, and they gave him the name Briačislav (PVL, 6612, 185)

$$T_1 \rightarrow R_1. \quad T_2 (= R_1) \rightarrow R_2$$

[у Святополка] [родися сынъ] [ему] [нарекоша имя Брячиславъ]

2) Thematic progression with a continuous (constant) rheme:

$$T_1 \rightarrow R_1. \quad T_1 \rightarrow R_2$$

An example of this theme-rheme structure, where the same theme is linked with different rhemes, is found in

Всеволодъ же приде к брату своему Всеволодъ же исповѣда вся бывшая ‘Vsevolod went to his brother Vsevolod told [him] everything that had happened (PVL, 6586, 132)

The theme-rheme bipartition of the example is outlined below:

$$T_1 \rightarrow R_1. \quad T_1 \rightarrow R_2$$

[Всеволодъ] [приде к брату своему] [Всеволодъ] [исповѣда вся бывшая]

3) Thematic progression with derived themes:

$$T_1 \rightarrow R_1. \quad T_2 \rightarrow R_2,$$

where T_1 and T_2 are derived from the same “hypertheme” (Daneš’ term), and R_1 and R_2 can be, but are not necessarily, derived from the same “hypertheme”.

An example of this structure is

... влѣзше в притворъ у гроба Феодосьева, емлюще иконы, ... укаряху бога и законъ нашъ. Богъ же терпяше, ... тѣмъ глаголаху: “«Кдѣ есть богъ ихъ», да поможеть имъ и избавить я?”. И ина словеса хулная глаголаху на святаыя иконы, ... ‘... having entered the side-chapel at Feodosii’s tomb, taking [the] icons, they ... insulted God and our law. But God was patient, ... for they said: “Where is their God; let him help them and save them!”. And they said other abusive words to the holy icons’ (6604, 152)

The theme-rheme bipartition of the example can be illustrated as

T_1	→	R_2
related subthemes:		subrhemes
[в притворъ у гроба Феодосьева]		[влѣзше]
[иконы]		[емлюще]
[бога и законъ нашъ]		[укаряху]
[...]		[глаголаху: “«Кдѣ есть богъ ихъ», ...”]
[на святаыя иконы]		[ина словеса хулная глаголаху]

The NP *ина словеса хулная* ‘other abusive words’ does not convey genuinely new information. The words «Кдѣ есть богъ ихъ», ... already constitute abusive words, so the last two subrhemes are related and constitute a set consisting of all the abusive words that were uttered. In this sense, *ина словеса хулная* is a parallel repetition of the same “hypertheme”, *словеса хулная* ‘abusive words’.

The NP *великое чудо* in the example below is found in a different, but in a communicative sense similar type of context. The first sentence is part of a description of how Novgorodians from different parts of the city fought against each other:

И бысть сеця у городныхъ воротъ, ... и мость переметаша, О, великое, братье, чудо съвади оканьныи дяволъ; кгда бѣше брани быти на поганя, тгда ся начяша бити межи собою; ... ‘And there was fighting at the city wall, ... and they toppled the bridge, Oh, brothers, the accursed Devil caused a great

wonder; when there was supposed to be war against the Pagans, then people began fighting among themselves; ... (NISyn 6726, 58-59)

In this example, the NP *великое чудо* sums up the preceding description of the Novgorodians fighting against each other and is thus a paraphrase of information already conveyed. In a strictly communicative sense, it provides no new information despite its function as rheme.

The principles governing the distribution of LFs and SFs

In the chronicle texts, the NP-external as well as the NP-internal factors can all be seen as manifestations of one overarching principle having to do with mode of presentation: the extent to which the connection between noun and adjective is presented as established previously in time to the point of the utterance or as established *at*, i.e., simultaneously with, the point of the utterance. In the following definition, “~” means “is characterized by”. If we define X, Y and X_Y , where

$X = \{x \mid x \text{ is a referent of the noun } N\}$,

Y is the feature denoted by the adjective A,

$X_Y = \{x \mid x \in X \wedge x \sim Y\}$,

then this principle can be expressed as

- a) if a NP is presented as a representative of X_Y , then the adjective is long
- b) if a NP is presented as a representative of X, which, in addition, has the feature Y, then the adjective is short

The referents of NPs with non-restrictive adjectives, NPs denoting inherently definite (i.e., unique) entities, fixed NPs, NPs with relative adjectives, except for adjectives denoting material, are all presented as in part a) of the principle. The same applies to NPs denoting other definite (i.e., previously mentioned) entities and NPs functioning as theme, since definiteness and/or theme status implies that the connection between noun and adjective has already been established. NPs functioning as rheme *can* be presented as in a), especially plural NPs denoting (subsets of) categories, but this is often not the case.

The mode of presentation defined in b) is limited to qualitative adjectives and relative adjectives denoting material. It implies rheme-status of the NP, since it causes the establishment of the connection between noun and adjective to become (part of) the essential information. This also means that the function of a SF in attributive position is often close to that of a predicative adjective. Istrina’s ‘predicativity’ is essentially mode b) of presentation. This necessitates addressing another problem – the absence of a clear limit between attributive and predicative adjectives in Old Russian.

Attributive and predicative adjectives

Istrina addresses this problem in her article on the use of LFs and SFs in the NIS. In this and the other chronicle texts, many NPs with SFs are subjects of verbs, the meaning of which allow for the adjective being interpreted as attributive as well as predicative. Such verbs are either forms of *быти*, usually in the past tense, or of so-called *полузнаменательные* verbs like *створится*, which lexically contain a copula-element as well as an action-element. Finally, they can be forms of verbs with full lexical meaning denoting an activity or a state; a frequently occurring verb of this type is *прийти* (cf. ГРЯ II:1, 414f.).

Istrina uses the sentences *бысть съча зла* and *створися горе велико* to illustrate the problem and concludes that there is no way to determine whether the adjectives *зла* and *велико* are predicative (*предикативный атрибут*) or attributive (*простое определение*). That is, whether the sentences should be interpreted as *съча + бысть зла* and *горе + створися велико* or as *зла съча + бысть* and *велико горе + створися*. At the same time, there is no doubt that *силенъ* in *приходи ... посоль силенъ изъ Орды, именемъ Ахмыль* (NIS, 6829, 96) is an attributive adjective. The same problem exists within accusative NPs with SFs in utterances of the type *дѣлаша мостъ новъ чересь Волховъ* (NIS, 6813, 92) (Istrina, 37f.; 41f.). In the table below, examples are listed where the adjective must be interpreted as predicative, where both interpretations are possible, and where the adjective must be interpreted as attributive¹⁶.

Below, I have tried to define the factors which cause an adjective to be interpreted as predicative or as attributive. It should be kept in mind that the interpretation is only relevant for NPs functioning as rHEME.

1. Predicative.

The noun is definite, generalized or functions as theme, and the surrounding context mentions or implies a real or potential change from one quality to another. The action takes place either before the beginning of the change or after its completion, or it takes place simultaneously with the change and denotes the actual implementation of the change. The predicative adjective together with the verb conveys essential information, i.e., is (part of) rHEME.

The relationship between verb, adjective and noun can be described as follows:

¹⁶ Some of these examples, but not all, are cited by Istrina.

1) The action involves a given entity *while* or *on occasions when* the entity has a given quality,

or

2) The action *causes* a given entity *to acquire* a given quality.

2. Attributive:

At the time the noun appears in the context, its referent is known to have the quality denoted by the adjective and keeps it¹⁷. The surrounding context contains no information about the acquisition or loss of the quality. The relationship between verb, adjective and noun can be described as follows:

3) The action involves an entity *which* has a given quality.

¹⁷ This should not be confused with mode a) of presentation. The NP functions as rheme, and the connection between noun and entity is made known to the addressee for the first time.

	Predicative	Pred. or attrib.	Attributive
Nom.	... а самъ приде <i>сдравъ</i> ... '... and he himself arrived unharmed ...' (Novg1S, 6753, 79) Боязни нѣсть в любви, но <i>свершена любви</i> вонъ измещеть боязнь 'There is no fear in love, but [when it is] perfect, love casts fear out' (PVL, 6586, 134)	... бысть <i>сѣча зла</i> ... 'there was a fierce battle' (Novg1S, 6823, 94) ... створися <i>горе велико</i> ... '... there was great sorrow ...' (Novg1S, 6760, 90)	... приходи ... <i>посоль силенъ</i> изъ Орды, именемъ Ахмыль '... a strong envoy arrived from the Horde, by the name of Axmyl' (Novg1S, 6829, 96)
Acc.	... и поставиша скудельнищу, и наметаша <i>полну</i> '... and they set up a mass grave, and filled it [until it was] full' (Novg1S, 6723, 54) ... <i>суетно слово и ложно</i> далече мене створи, ... '... keep speech [when it is] mundane and mendacious away from me, ...' (PL, 7106, 200)	... дѣлаша <i>мостъ новъ</i> чересь Волховъ ... 'they made a new bridge across the Volxov ...' (Novg1S, 6813, 92)	... из великого Рима от папы <i>мастеръ</i> приведоша <i>нарочить</i> ... '...from Great Rome, from the pope, they brought a skilled master ...' (Novg1S, 6808, 91)
Gen.	Господь не хотя <i>мѣста</i> сего ... оставити <i>пуста</i> 'the Lord did not want to leave the place empty' (Novg1S, 6767, 83) ... и бысть тако свѣтъ ... акы от луны <i>полны</i> свѣтящся '... and the light was so ... as if shining from the moon [when it is] full' (PVL, 6610, 183)	... не вда богъ межи ими крѣви <i>пролития</i> <i>больша</i> ... '... God did not let great bloodshed happen between them ...' (Novg1S, 6704, 43)	... не видѣхомъ <i>свѣтла дни</i> ... '... we did not see a bright day ...' (Novg1S, 6736, 67)
Loc.	Да бых в той <i>сорочкѣ кровавѣ</i> смерть приять ... 'I would have liked to meet death in that shirt [while it was] bloody ...' (PVL, 6605, 173) ... въ ... <i>пьюи безмѣрнѣ</i> ^a въздрастають помысли лукавини, ... '... evil desires develop from ... drinking [when it is] immoderate' (PVL, 6582, 122)	... и бысть Новгород в то время въ <i>скорби</i> <i>велицѣ</i> ; ... '... and Novgorod was at that time in great sorrow; ...' (Novg1K, 6883, 373)	Прииде цесарь татарскыи Тектомышъ в <i>силѣ</i> <i>велицѣ</i> ... 'The Tatar Czar Tektomyš arrived in a large force ...' (Novg1K, 6890, 378)

^a The noun in this NP functions as theme. It is coreferent with the more general *многаго брашна* 'much food' in the immediately preceding context

Factors governing the distribution of LFs and SFs in the earliest chronicle texts

Communicative function of NP	Status of NP	Relationship between noun (N) and adjective (A)	Form of adjective	Example	Mode of presentation (definitions of X, Y and X _y , as on p. 39)
Theme	Previously mentioned	Both N and A are known from preceding context, or N is known and A non-restrictive	LF	паки явися к вечеру тои же великии круг мощи же его всѣ цѣлы ... видѣвше многи слезы излияша о преславном видѣнии	$X \in X_y$
	Not previously mentioned	Referent of NP is presented as representative of category, or N is known and A non-restrictive, or NP is defined by relative clause	LF	А сказывала жена старая Настасия ... помнила как тоя девицу тут провожали немиловивья человецы паки начаша творити всему миру страхования осыпал ее камень великом ... что к ней прикладывано	$X \in X_y$
Rheme	Previously mentioned	Both N and A are known from preceding context, or N is known and A non-restrictive	LF	No examples	$X \in X_y$
	Not previously mentioned	Referent of NP is presented as representative of category	LF	придоша и людье благовѣрнии	$X \in X_y$
		N is known; A new	SF	звѣзда превелика, лучѣ имущи акы кровавы	$x \in X \wedge x \sim Y$
		Both N and A are new	SF	... приходи ... посоль силень изъ Орды, именемъ Ахмыль	$\in X \wedge x \sim Y$

The adjectives which can be interpreted as predicative or attributive modify nouns not previously mentioned. This pulls in the direction of interpreting them as attributive, but at the same time, the verb can be interpreted as denoting the implementation of a change from “absence of a given quality” to “presence of a given quality”, which pulls in the direction of interpreting the adjectives as predicative.

In the chronicle texts, most of the adjectives which can be interpreted either as predicative and attributive are found in existential and presentational sentences with forms of the verb *быти* (of the type *бысть сѣча зла* mentioned by Istrina). In the present study, the adjective has been interpreted as attributive if the noun is new in the context, and as predicative if the noun denotes a definite entity (coreferent with a sentence component in the preceding context). That is, in

Загорѣся отъ Матѣева двора ... нѣ толми бѣше *лють пожарь*, яко по водѣ огонь горяше, ... ‘Fire broke out from Matvei’s court ... but the fire was so wild that it was as if it was burning across the water, ...’ (NIS, 6739, 71)

the adjective has been interpreted as predicative, whereas in

И приде опять Новугороду; и бысть *въстань велика въ людьхъ*; ... ‘And he came again to Novgorod, and there was a great uprising among people’ (NIS, 6640, 22)

it has been interpreted as attributive.

Nouns denoting entities which are “coreferent by association” with a preceding sentence component present a special problem. As mentioned in the section about “NPs functioning as theme”, “coreference by association” enables NPs to function as theme, but does not prevent them from functioning as rheme (cf. Firbas, 33ff.). In the example

В си же времена бысть знаменье на западѣ, звѣзда превелика, *лучѣ* имуши акы *кровавы*, въсходящи с вечера по заходѣ солнечнѣмь, и пребысть за 7 днии ‘At around the same time there was an omen in the west, a very large star; [its] rays were like bloody; it went up in the evening after sunset and remained [there] for seven days’ (PVL, 6573, 110)

the noun *лучѣ* is known by association with *звѣзда*. One possibility is to say that the NP *лучѣ кровавы* functions as new rheme (even though, strictly speaking, only the adjective provides new essential information) and that the adjective is attributive. In this case, the translation would be ‘it had bloody rays (= it had rays that were like bloody)’ Another possibility is to say that *лучѣ* is definite because of its coreference with *звѣзда* and therefore functions as theme, and that the adjective *кровавы* is predicative and functions as new rheme. In this case,

the translation would be 'its rays were like bloody (= it had its rays like bloody)'. These interpretations depend on to which extent the verb *имыиу* is perceived as having a copula-element in its lexical meaning. In the present study, combinations of nouns and adjectives of this type have been interpreted as NPs with attributive adjectives.

The starting point of the analysis

The factors governing the distribution of LFs and SFs of adjectives at the "outset" as represented by the earliest chronicle text, the Primary Chronicle, are illustrated in the table below.

A basic assumption underlying this study is that the development of the system of LFs and SFs of adjectives is unidirectional and irreversible. That is, if at stage x_n in the development of the language, A is a context generating a LF, then, at stage x_{n+1} in the development, A is also a context generating a LF.

In accordance with this assumption, and with the assumption that the distribution of SFs and LFs in Old Church Slavic can be used as an approximation to this distribution in the earliest stages of Russian, it should be expected that a context generating a LF in OCS also generates a LF in any of the chronicle texts. A context generating a SF in OCS may or may not generate a SF in the chronicle texts. The overall expectation is (allowing for fluctuations due to more or less "conservative" styles) that the younger a chronicle text is, the fewer occurrences of SFs it contains.

The structure of the analysis and of subsequent chapters

For each of the seven texts listed on p. 12, all occurrences of adjectives displaying context-determined variation have been analyzed in their context.

Adjectives that, due to NP-internal factors, display no or only exceptional variation, are not included in the analysis. This applies to adjectives implying 'knownness' (adjectives derived from nouns with unique reference and adjectives denoting polar opposites or similar units arranged in a sequence) and to adjectives modifying inherently definite nouns (proper nouns and nouns with unique reference). Adjectives forming part of fixed NPs, adjectives in vocative NPs and the large group of relative adjectives are also not included. Finally, singular as well as plural nominalizations and NPs denoting titles followed by a proper noun (as in *боголюбивыи архенискодь Гаврила*) have been left out of the analysis.

The adjectives not included in the analysis have been found to occur with the LF in all but a few exceptional cases (or, in the case of *великъ день*, in the SF). These exceptional cases are all mentioned in the sections addressing the relevant NPs above.

The analysis relies on the assumption that the FSP-theory can be applied in practice to written texts, i.e., that the theme and rheme of an utterance can be identified unambiguously. I believe that this is the case in the vast majority of cases. For each text, the results of the analysis are presented and analyzed in a separate chapter. These chapters all have identical structure. In each chapter, the results of this analysis are divided into four parts, "Contexts usually generating a LF", "Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible", "Case and number combinations displaying no variation" and "Exceptions". Each part is subdivided into sections each addressing a particular case and number combination. In "Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible", further and more subtle subdivisions of contexts are made in order to establish a pattern for the variation within NPs functioning as rheme. The term "new rheme" is used to distinguish "non-repeated rheme" from repeated rheme.

Examples of SFs occurring in types of contexts usually generating a LF are accounted for in the section "Exceptions".

A detailed analysis of the development within possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* is beyond the scope of this study. For this reason, these types of adjectives are addressed only briefly. Unusual occurrences, which means LFs of possessive adjectives and SFs of adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*, are mentioned in the beginning of each chapter.

Chapter 2

The Primary Chronicle

In this chapter, an excerpt of the Laurentian manuscript (*Лаврентьевская летопись*) from 1377 of the Primary Chronicle or *Повесть временных лет* is analyzed. The excerpt covers the years 6569-6618 (1061-1110).

There is no extant version of the Primary Chronicle in its original form. The existing versions are the *Лаврентьевская летопись*, the *Радзивилловский список* (late 15th c.) and the *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle (mid-1440s), which belong to a “northeastern” tradition of chronicle writing, and the *Ипатьевский список* (early 15th c.) and the *Хлебниковский список* (16th c.), which belong to a “southern” tradition. Both of these traditions originated in the older Kievan tradition. There are no significant differences between the two traditions until the 1110’s (Timberlake 2001, 200; 201f.; Kloss, VI; PVL 2, 156; 159).

Timberlake has reexamined the basis of Šaxmatov’s hypothesis of the process that produced the text we now call the Primary Chronicle. Šaxmatov believed that a chronicle was kept in Kiev from the first half of the 11th century. His research led him to believe that an editorial event involving the compilation of multiple chronicles took place in 1093-1095 and resulted in the so-called *Начальный свод*. Šaxmatov further hypothesized that there were three additional editorial events or “redactions” of this text, the first of which occurred between 1111 and 1113 (Timberlake 2001, 197f.; 201f.).

Timberlake agrees with Šaxmatov that there was a *Начальный свод* (Timberlake uses the term “Base Compilation”) resulting from an editorial event in the 1090s consisting of emending, editing and enriching the inherited chronicle. However, according to Timberlake, Šaxmatov’s “first redaction” was the only subsequent editorial event of any significance, and it took place between 1113 and 1116 rather than between 1111 and 1113 as claimed by Šaxmatov. Šaxmatov’s “second redaction” was minimal as a redaction, and there is no reason to believe that there was a third redaction at all (but perhaps a change of scribes between 1117 and 1118). According to Timberlake, the chronicle was kept by the same scribe from 1089 through 1109 or possibly 1112 (Timberlake 2001, 212).

In the edition of *Лаврентьевская летопись* used for the present analysis, variant readings from *Радзивилловский список*, the *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle and *Ипатьевский список* are provided. In some cases, text obviously missing from *Лаврентьевская летопись* is supplied from the texts mentioned. This text includes a few relevant NPs, which are included in the analysis. When variant readings of NPs or NPs

supplied from other manuscripts are included in the analysis, this is mentioned in the footnotes.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the Primary Chronicle Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*

There are 13 LFs of possessive adjectives in *Повесть временных лет*. Four of these, one instance of each *Всеволожская* and *Всеволожскую* and two¹ instances of *Яневая*, denote the wife of the person whose name the adjective is derived from. This can hardly be seen as an irregularity, since this meaning is expressed by means of LFs of possessive adjectives in other chronicle texts, too. Of the remaining nine LFs, four are derived from proper names. Three are found in NPs in the instrumental case, two in the singular, *повелѣньемъ Глѣбовымъ* (6616, 187) and *надъ гробомъ Феодосьевымъ* (6618, 188), and one in the dual, in the expression *предъ очима Володимерима* (6601, 144). One is found in a plural NP in the dative, *Давыдовымъ воемъ* (6605, 180). Five are derived from common nouns. One is found in the instrumental singular NP *повелѣньемъ божьимъ* (6618, 188). Two are found in the accusative plural NPs *главы змиевыя* (6611, 185) and *ловы звѣриныя* (6599, 141), and two in the locative singular NP *въ образѣ звѣринѣмъ и скотѣемъ* (6582, 131). In the instrumental case, singular and dual, and in the dative plural, there are no SFs. In the accusative plural and in the locative singular, on the other hand, the SFs must be seen as exceptions.

There are 19 SFs of adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*, 17 in the singular and two in the plural. 10 of the singular SFs are derived from proper nouns denoting peoples or geographical locations, of which five are in the accusative, two in the dative² and the remaining three in the nominative, genitive and locative, respectively. Of the seven singular SFs derived from common nouns, four are instances of *хрестьяньск-*, three in the accusative NP *кровь хрестьянску* (6611, 184; 6603, 148; 6586, 132) and one in the genitive NP *роду хрестьяньска* (6601, 147). The remaining three are found in the two dative NPs *бѣсовьску дѣйствиу* (6582, 128) and *чину монастырьску* (6582, 124) and in the nominative predicative NP *видѣ ангелескъ* (6618, 188). The two plural SFs are found in the accusative NP *душа*

¹ One of these is from *Радзивиловская летопись* and *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle. *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *явная*.

² One has a genitive form but appears in a dative context: *на пятое лѣто Днѣпру потещи вспять и землямъ преступати на ина мѣста, яко стати Гречьскы земли на Рускои, а Русьскѣи на Гречьскои, ...* (6579, 116).

хрестьяньскы (6586, 132) and in the instrumental NP *потребами манастирьскыма* (6582, 125).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The distribution between LFs and SFs within adjectives displaying context-determined variation is illustrated in the table below.

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Dat.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF
Contexts usually generating a LF	5	0	16	0	8	0	7	1	4	0	1	0	2	2
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	3	34	2	3 ^a	3	25	9	8	0	1	0	2	0	8
Total	8	34	18	3	11	25	16	8	4	1	1	2	2	10

^a One of these is a dual NP

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are five³ singular NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. All of these are definite, as in

³ This does not include the example ... *повелѣ игумень рушити кдѣ лежать мощѣ его, отца нашего Феодосья, его же повелѣнью бых азъ грѣшныи первое самовидецъ, ...* '... the abbot ordered that that there be dug [in the place] where his relics lay, [the relics] of our father Feodosii, and at his command I, sinful [man], was the first eyewitness, ...' (6599, 138), where *грѣшныи* has been interpreted as an apposition of *азъ* rather than as an adjective modifying *самовидецъ*. This is in accordance with the translation by Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor and makes more sense.

Азь же грѣшныи твои рабъ и ученикъ ... 'I, your sinful servant and disciple ...'
(6599, 140)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 16⁴ plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *человѣци благовѣрнии*, which functions as theme in

... и мнози *человѣци благовѣрнии* видѣша крестъ над Василковыи вой възвышъся велми '... and many pious people saw the cross lifted high above Vasilko's forces' (6605, 178-179)

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are eight singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF, as in

... и преложиша я в *новую церковь*, юже сдѣла Изяславъ, яже стоить и нынѣ '... and they transferred him to the new church, which Iziaslav had built, and which stands [there] still today' (6580, 121)

where *новую церковь* must be considered definite because of the two restrictive relative clauses immediately following it.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are seven plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *супостаты противныя*, which has generalized meaning, in

Понеже велика есть сила крестная: ... крестомъ согражаеми вѣрнии людье побѣжають *супостаты противныя*, ... 'For great is the power of the Cross: ... protected by the Cross, believers conquer their opposing enemies' (6576, 115)

⁴ This includes the definite NP *горы великия*, which is added from *Радзивилловская летопись*. The NP is definite because of its coreference with *горы высокия*, in ... и загна их на полунощныя страны в горы высокия; и богу повелѣвшю, ступишася о них горы великия ... '... and he chased them to the Northern countries to high mountains; and at God's command, the great mountains enclosed them ...' (6604, 167).

Genitive

Singular NPs with LFs

There are four genitive NPs with LFs in the singular in contexts usually generating a LF. All of these have definite referents, as in the following praise of the late Feodosii:

Азь же грѣшнын твои рабъ и ученикъ недоумѣю, чимъ похвалити *добро* твоего *жизня* и въздержанья 'I, your sinful slave and disciple, do not know how to praise your noble life and abstinence' (6599, 140)

Dative

Singular NPs with LFs

There is only one NP in the dative in contexts usually generating a LF. This NP has generalized meaning, in

Богъ бо не хоцеть зла челоуѣкомъ, но блага; а дьяволъ радуется *злomu* *убииству* и крови пролитью, ... 'For God does not want evil for people, but good; but the Devil takes pleasure in evil murder and bloodshed' (6576, 112)

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are two singular NPs with LFs in the locative in contexts usually generating a LF. Both have definite referents. In the first example, the possessive genitive *святыя Софья* makes it clear that *велицѣи церкви* refers to one particular known, and thus definite, church:

... положень бысть ... в *велицѣи церкви* *святыя Софья* '... he was put to rest ... in the great church of St. Sophia' (6601, 142)

In the second example, *трапезници каменѣи* is known by association with *в Печерьстѣм монастырѣ*. Assuming that the monastery had just one refectory, the NP must be interpreted as definite:

... бысть знаменье в Печерьстѣм монастырѣ ...: явися столпъ огнень Сеи же столпъ первѣе ста на *трапезници каменѣи*, яко не видѣти бысть креста, ... '... there was an omen in the Cave Monastery ...: a pillar of fire appeared This pillar first stood at the stone refectory, so that the cross could not be seen, ...' (6618, 187)

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 37 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both SFs and LFs are possible. 34 have SFs⁵ and three have LFs. They all function as rheme. 36 function as new rheme, of which 13 are predicative NPs, and one NP with a SF functions as repeated rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Of 23 non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme, 21 function as subjects in existential or presentational sentences, of which 20 have SFs and one has a LF. Almost all the sentences describe battles, as in

Олег же поиде к нему полком, и сступишася обои, и бысть *брань люта* 'And Oleg went against him with his army, and the two parties met, and there was a fierce battle' (6604, 168)

omens or other supernatural phenomena, as in

... явился *столпъ огненъ* от земля до небеси, а молнья освѣтиша всю землю, ... '... a fiery pillar appeared, [reaching] from the ground to the sky, and the whole land was illuminated by lightning. ...' (6618, 187)

or natural phenomena, as in

... в Сурии же бысть *трусъ великъ* '... and in Syria there was a powerful earthquake' (6573, 111)

A few describe other types of phenomena, as in

... и *песъ* родися *шестоногъ* ... '... and a six-legged dog was born ...' (6573, 111)

... и в горѣ той просѣчено *оконце мало*, ... '... and in that mountain, a small opening has been cut, ...' (6604, 167)

Сотвори бо ся *плачь великъ*⁶ ... 'For great lamentation arose ...' (6601, 145)

⁵ In three cases, the NP or part of it is added from other sources. In *Предивно бысть чюдо Полотьскѣ* ... (6600, 141), the noun *чюдо* is added from *Ипатьевская летопись*. In *бысть плачь великъ в градѣ*, ... (6601, 145), the adjective is added from *Радзивилловская летопись* and *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle. The entire sequence *Сотвори бо ся плачь великъ* ... (6601, 145) is likewise added from those two sources.

⁶ This sequence is added from *Радзивилловская летопись* and *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle.

In a total of 18 NPs, including the NPs in the examples quoted above, the adjective can, because of the meaning of the verb, be interpreted as predicative as outlined by Istrina⁷ (Istrina, 37f.). Only three NPs in existential or presentational sentences do not allow for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative. This applies to two NPs with SFs, *превеликъ змии* in

... спаде *превеликъ змии* отъ небесе, и ужасошася вси людье ‘... a huge serpent fell from the sky, and all people were struck with fear’ (6599, 141)

and *свершень человекъ* in

Аще кто коли ... дѣтшъ боленъ ... принесяху в манастырь, ли *свершень*⁸ *человекъ*, кацѣмъ любо недугомъ одержим, приходяще в манастырь къ блаженому Феодосью, повелѣваше сему Дамьяну молитву створити болящему; ... ‘If anyone brought a sick child to the monastery, or if an adult, suffering from whichever disease, came to the monastery to the blessed Feodosii, he ordered this Damian to say a prayer for the sick [person]’ (6582, 126)

and to the one NP with a LF, *вранъ черныи* in

Оно ти сѣдитъ *вранъ черныи*, иди, ими и ‘There sits a black crow, go and catch it’ (6582, 130)

Two NPs, both with SFs, function as new rheme in a construction, which is best translated into English as a passive construction. In this construction, the adjectives cannot be interpreted as predicative:

... водяшетъ бо я въ день *столтъ облаченъ*, а в нощи *столтъ огнень*, ... ‘... and during the day, he was lead by a pillar of cloud, and during the night by a pillar of fire ...’ (6618, 188)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Of the NPs functioning as new rheme, 13 are predicative NPs, 11 with SFs and two with LFs.

10 of the NPs with SFs are found in constructions with a form of the verb *быти*, and one is an appositional NP. In each of the NPs with SFs, the adjective denotes a quality characteristic of one particular individual, which is new and essential information. In eight NPs, the noun conveys already known information, as in

⁷ Istrina’s article deals exclusively with Novg1S, which is analyzed in Chapter 3 of the present work. Her approach is described in Chapter 1, 15; 40.

⁸ This form is from *Ипатьевская летопись*. *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *свержень*

И на ту ночь ведоша и, Бѣлугороду, иже *град малъ* у Києва яко 10 версть в дале, ... 'And that night they brought him to Belgorod, which is a small town a little over 10 versts from Kiev, ...' (6605, 173)

In this example, it is clear from the name Belgorod that it is a town, whereas its size is new and unpredictable information.

In three NPs, both the noun and the adjective convey new and essential information. An example of this is the appositional NP *звѣзда превелика* in

В си же времена бысть знаменье на западѣ, *звѣзда превелика*, ... 'At around the same time there was an omen in the west, a very large star; ...' (6573, 110)

With respect to examples of this type is important to note that not only do both the noun and the adjective convey new and essential information; they do so independently of each other. The quality denoted by the adjective is an individual feature of this particular star and completely unpredictable from the noun. The apposition combines the two, at the outset independent propositions 'the omen was a star' and 'the star (i.e., the omen) was very large'. The predicative NPs where the noun is known and the adjective is new are similar in the sense that they also combine two, from the outset independent propositions, e.g., 'Belgorod is a town' (known) and 'the town (which is identical to Belgorod) is small' (new). Even though the noun is new information in one NP and known in the other, the NPs *звѣзда превелика* and *град малъ* are united by mode of presentation: the adjectives denote individual qualities of one particular referent, *превелика* about the star identical to the omen and *малъ* about Belgorod.

Whereas all the predicative NPs with SFs are presented in this mode, this does not apply to any of the predicative NPs with LFs. In the first example,

... явися столпъ огнень от земля до небеси, Сеи же столпъ первѣ ста на трапезници каменѣи, ... и потом невидим бысть. Се же бѣаше не *огненыи столпъ*, но видъ ангелескъ, ... '... a pillar of fire appeared from the earth to the sky, This pillar first stood at the stone refectory, ... and then it became invisible. This [omen] was not a[n actual] pillar of fire, but an angelic manifestation, ...' (6618, 187-188)

the initial sequence *явися столпъ огнень* describes the "appearance on the scene" of one particular pillar with the individual feature that it was made of fire. In *Се же бѣаше не огненыи столпъ*, the NP *огненыи столпъ* refers not to an individual pillar of fire, but to a type of phenomenon. The meaning of this sequence is 'this was not an actual instance of the phenomenon "pillar of fire"'. This is emphasized by the presence of the NP *видъ*

*ангелескъ*⁹, which denotes another phenomenon (as opposed to an individualized entity with a particular quality).

In the second example, the predicative NP *праздникъ новыи* places the holiday of Boris and Gleb among the new holidays as opposed to those which have existed for a long time. It means 'a new holiday' in the sense 'one of the new holidays':

... ся створи в се лѣто первое зло на Възнесеньє господне, ... второе же въ праздникъ Бориса и Глѣба, еже есть *праздникъ новыи* Русьскыя земля '... the first evil this year happened on the Ascension of the Lord, ... and the second [evil] on the holiday of Boris and Gleb, which is a new holiday (= one of the new holidays) of the Russian land' (6601, 145)

Repeated rheme

One NP with a SF functions as repeated rheme. The sequence below sums up a long description preceding it of how the monks loved each other and observed severe abstinence, and *вздержанье велико*, even though functioning as rheme in the existential sentence, does not convey any new information:

... тако бо бяше любы в братьи тои и *вздержанье велико* '... for in this way there was love among the brothers and noble abstinence' (6582, 125)

Plural NPs

There are four plural NPs and one dual NP in the nominative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Two have LFs and three have SFs. All of the NPs function as new rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Four NPs are subjects of existential or presentational sentences, two with LFs and two with SFs (one of which is the dual NP).

One of the NPs with LFs has a referent that clearly denote a subset of a category, which is a likely explanation for the LF. This NP denotes people and has the noun *людье*, in

На други же день собраща епископи: Ефрѣмъ Переяславьскыи, ... игумени от всѣхъ монастыревъ с черноризци; придоша и *людье благовѣрнии*,

⁹ Adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-* follow their own idiosyncratic pattern of distribution between SFs and LFs. For this reason, the SF *ангелескъ* cannot be seen as a result of the same factors as the other SFs presented in the section.

... 'On the next day, the bishops gathered: Ephraim of Pereiaslavl, ... abbots from all monasteries and monks; pious people also arrived, ...' (6599, 139)

The NP *людье благовѣрнии* is mentioned together with other NPs denoting known individuals (*Ефрѣмъ Переяславскыи*) or generally known categories of people (*епископи, игумени, черноризьци*) which emphasizes the fact that *людье благовѣрнии* likewise denotes a category of people.

The other NP with a LF is found in a subordinate temporal clause which in some ways is similar to the presentational sentences above:

Егда же приспѣяше зима и мрази лютии, стояше в прабошнях в черевьях в протоптанных, ... 'When winter came with its heavy frosts, he stood in worn out leather shoes, ...' (6582, 129)

The sequence *приспѣяше зима* presents the arrival of a phenomenon, winter, which comes around every year. The essential information here is not the predictable event that winter came, but that *when* it happened, Isakii stood outside in his worn out shoes. The referent of the NP *мрази лютии* is presented as a type of phenomenon associated with winter and not as a particular instance of frost which was heavy. In the same way as *людье благовѣрнии* is associated with *епископи, игумени* and *черноризьци*, *мрази лютии* is associated with *зима*.

The two SFs in existential or presentational sentences are both found in NPs denoting individualized entities, and the adjectives denote individualized qualities of those. One, *врата мѣдяна*, is likely to refer to just one set of gates, in

... и ту створишася *врата мѣдяна*, ... '... and gates of brass were erected here, ...' (6604, 168)

and the dual NP is even preceded by an explicit number, in

И поидоста 2 *уноши* к нему *красна*, ... '... And two fair youths approached him, ...' (6582, 128)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The one predicative NP functions as new rheme in

... *ови бо бяху постници крѣпци*, ... '... some were strong observers of fast ...' (6582, 125)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 28 singular NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. 25 have SFs and three have LFs. 27 function as new rheme and one of the NPs with LFs functions as repeated rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

Of the 25 NPs with SFs functioning as new rheme, 11 are direct objects of verbs denoting 'creation' or 'bringing into existence' in a broad sense. The entity denoted by the NP can be concrete, as in

И градъ бѣ заложитъ камень, отъ церкви святаго мученика Феодора, ... 'And he founded a fortification of stone, from the church of the Holy Martyr Feodor, ...'
(6597, 137)

or abstract, as in

И вси кияне великъ плачь створиша надъ нимъ, со псалмы и пѣснми проводиша и до святаго Дмитрея, ... 'And all the people of Kiev raised great lamentation over him, [and] accompanied him to St. Dmitrei with psalms and songs, ...' (6594, 136)

Five NPs are direct objects of verbs meaning 'cause to appear (in a given context)' in a broad sense, as in

И богъ великыи вложи ужастъ велику в половцѣ, ... 'And God the great inspired great fear in the Polovcians, ...' (6611, 184)

Three NPs are direct objects of verbs meaning 'discover (the existence of an entity)'. The function of this type of verbs is similar to that of the two types of verbs mentioned above, i.e., they present new entities and bring them into the context, as illustrated by

И идяста, видуче зарю велику 'And they went, and saw a great light' (6599, 139)

15 of the NPs mentioned above are direct objects of verbs that allow for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative¹⁰. This applies to the 11 NPs that are direct objects of verbs denoting creation or bringing into existence, and to four of the five NPs that are direct objects of verbs meaning 'cause to appear'. It is important to note that it is the lexical meaning of the

¹⁰ In the present study, I have used the following, broad criteria for determining when predicative interpretation is possible: whenever the action of the verb causes the referent of the noun to come into existence, the adjective can be interpreted as predicative. That is, e.g., in *богъ ... на врагы наша дастъ побѣду велику* 'God ... gives us a great victory over our enemies' (6611, 184), the adjective *велику* can be interpreted as predicative because the victory "comes into existence" as God gives it.

verb that makes it possible to interpret the adjective as predicative. Of the remaining six NPs with SFs, two can be interpreted as predicative, but only because the adjective denotes a non-constant quality. In the first example, the adjective *боленъ* can be interpreted as predicative because it denotes a temporary quality:

Аще кто коли принесяше *дѣтиць боленъ*, кацѣмь любо недугом одержим, ... повелѣваше сему Дамьяну молитву створити болящему; ... 'If anyone brought a sick child, suffering from whichever disease, ... he ordered this Damian to say a prayer for the sick [person]; ...' (6582, 126)

In the second example, *сыро* can be interpreted as predicative because it denotes a quality applying before a change as opposed to the participle *варено*, which denotes the quality after that change:

... ини же ядуше хлѣбъ с водою, ини *зелье варено*, друзии *сыро* '... some ate [nothing but] bread and water, some ate boiled vegetables; some ate raw ones' (6582, 125)

The last clause could also have been translated 'some ate vegetables boiled; some ate [them] raw'. If the adjectives had denoted constant qualities, it would have been impossible to interpret them as predicative.

The remaining four NPs with SFs have adjectives denoting constant qualities and are direct objects of verbs that do not allow for a predicative interpretation of the adjectives. All of the verbs denote placement, and three of the adjectives denote material, as in

И облечеса въ власянищо и на власянищо *свиту вотоляну*, ... 'And he clad himself in a hair shirt, and over the hair shirt, he put on a sackcloth coat' (6582, 129)

One example does not have an adjective denoting material, but a qualitative adjective denoting an inherent quality of the referent of the noun:

... и привезоша и на колѣх, окована суца, ссадиша и с колѣ, и ведоша и в-
ыстобку малу '... and they brought him in chains on a carriage, set him off the carriage and led him into a small house' (6605, 173)

The two NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are *бещисленое множество* in
Дворъ жь княжь разграбиша, *бещисленое множество* злата и сребра, ...
'They looted the prince's court, an innumerable multitude of gold and silver, ...'
(6576, 115)

and *горкую смерть* in

Сего ради вселеная предасться, сего ради гнѣвъ простресея, сего ради земля мучена бысть: ови вѣдуться полонени, друзии посѣкаеми бывають, друзии на

месть даеми бывають, *горкую смерть* приемлюще, ... 'Because of this the world shall perish; because of this anger spread; because of this the land was tormented: some are lead away captive, others are being slain; others are delivered up to vengeance, suffering a bitter death' (6601,146)

Repeated rheme

One NP with a LF functions as repeated rheme. It is found in a sentence that sums up the events described in the preceding, more detailed context. In this context, it is described how Iaropolk, the implicit agent in the example below, was killed by the evil Neradec. This means that *смерть горкую*, even though it functions as rheme, does not convey any new information. The fact that Iaropolk's death was bitter is implied in his being killed by an enemy:

Многы бѣды примѣ, ... обидимѣ, разграбленѣ, прочее и *смерть горкую* приять, но вѣчнѣи жизни и покою сподобися 'Having suffered many defeats, ... insulted, robbed and so forth, he [thus] suffered a bitter death, but was given eternal life and peace' (6594, 136)

Plural NPs

There are 17 plural NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Nine have LFs and eight have SFs. All NPs function as rheme. One NP with a SF is a predicative NP, and one NP with a LF functions as repeated rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

In two of the seven non-predicative NPs with SFs, the nouns denote concrete entities and are modified by adjectives denoting material, *лучѣ кровавы* in

... бысть знаменье на западѣ, звѣзда превелика, *лучѣ* имущи акы *кровавы*, ...
'... there was an omen in the west, a very large star; having rays [that were] like bloody; ...' (6573, 110)

and

... по всему граду за 40 днин являтися па въздуѣ на конихъ ришущимѣ, въ оружьи. *златы* имущемъ *одежа*¹¹, ... 'during a period of 40 days armed men

¹¹ This form is from *Радзивилловская летопись* and *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle. *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *одежѣ*.

appeared throughout the whole city riding on horseback through the air, clad in golden attire, ...' (6573, 110)

The remaining five combinations of NPs and verbs are *вид ъ нья велика сподобися* (6582, 123), *имуще ... страшны муки* (6601, 146), *вдасть дары великы* (6605, 178), *чюдеса велика створю* (6579, 120-121), *въсприимъ ... словеса величава* (6604, 150). In the last two NPs, the adjective can be interpreted as predicative.

There are eight NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme. Three of these have quantifying adjectives, as in

Едино прѣщенье, едина казнь, *многовещныя* имуще *раны*, *различныя печали* и *страшны муки*, ... 'Nothing but menace, nothing but punishment; suffering many wounds, various sorrows, and horrible torments, ...' (6601, 146)

and

"Послахъ на вы *различныи болѣзни* ... и на скоты казнь свою послахъ, ..." 'I sent upon you diverse diseases ... and brought plague upon your cattle, ... (Amos, iv, 7-10)' (6576, 113)

Two NPs denote subsets of categories. The first NP, *человѣкы нечистыя*, refers to an undisclosed number or group of people with the common feature that they, according to Czar Alexander's standards, engage in an 'unclean' way of living. The categorizing meaning of *нечистыя* is emphasized by the additional categorization by tribe, *от племени Афетова*, in

Александръ, царь Макидоньскіи, взыде на восточныя страны до моря, наричемое Солнче мѣсто, и видѣ ту *человѣкы нечистыя* от племени Афетова, ... 'Alexander, the Macedonian czar, went through the eastern countries to the sea called the Land of the Sun, and he saw there unclean people of the tribe of Japhet, ...' (6604, 167)

The second NP with categorizing meaning is *скоты нечистыя* in

... и мертвецъ не погрѣбаху, но ядоху, и женьскыя изворогы и *скоты вся нечистыя* 'They did not bury the dead, but ate them, along with [remains of] miscarriages and all sorts of unclean beasts' (6604, 167)

This NP is part of the same narrative as *человѣкы нечистыя*. In *скоты нечистыя*, in the same way as in *человѣкы нечистыя*, *нечистыя* functions as a categorizing adjective, referring to animals with the common feature of being perceived by Alexander as 'unclean' and inappropriate as food for humans.

The remaining three NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are found in the same types of contexts as many of the NPs with SFs. In the following example, *горы высокая* functions as new rheme in a context similar to that of *ведоша и в - ы с т о б к у м а л у* on p. 69:

То видѣвъ Александръ убося, еда како умножаться и осквернять землю, и загна их на полунощныя страны в *горы высокая*; и богу повелѣвшю, сступншася о них горы великия ... 'Having seen this, Alexander feared that they would multiply and pollute the earth, and he chased them to the northern countries to high mountains; and at God's command, the great mountains enclosed them ...' (6604, 167)

The last two NPs with LFs are direct objects of verbs that allow for an interpretation of the adjectives as predicative. Both adjectives are of the same type as in the NPs with SFs, in

"Послахъ на вы различни болѣзни и *смерти тяжкыя*", и на скоты казнь свою послах, ..." 'I sent upon you diverse diseases and painful deaths, and brought plague upon your cattle, ... (Amos, iv, 7-10)' (6576, 113)

and

... постомъ явишася отци наши акы свѣтила в мирѣ, ... показавше *труды великыя* и въздержанье, яко сеи великыи Антонии, ... и прочии отци, ... 'By virtue of their fasts, our fathers appeared as luminaries in the world ... having shown great labors, and abstinence; for example, the great Antonii, ... and the other fathers' (6582, 123)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

There is one predicative NP in the accusative plural, which has a SF, *дуги зарны* in

... видѣста 3 столпы, ако *дуги зарны*, ... '... they saw three pillars, like shining arches, ...' (6599, 138)

In this NP, as in most of the NPs with SFs, the adjective is completely unpredictable from the noun.

Repeated rheme

The NP *словеса хулная* functions as rheme in a parallel construction,

... влѣзше в притворъ у гроба Феодосьева, емлюще иконы, ... укаряху бога и законъ нашъ. Богъ же терпяше, ... тѣмъ глаголаху: "«Кдѣ есть богъ ихъ», да поможеть имъ и избавить я?". И ина *словеса хулная* глаголаху на святаы иконы, ... '... having entered the side-chapel at Feodosii's tomb, taking [the] icons, they ... insulted God and our law. But God was patient, ... for they said:

“Where is their God; let him help them and save them!”. And they said other abusive words to the holy icons’ (6604, 152)

As outlined in Chapter 1, 38, the NP *ина словеса хулная* ‘other abusive words’ does not convey genuinely new information. Together with the direct speech «Кдѣ есть богъ ихъ», it constitutes a set consisting of all the abusive words that were uttered and in this sense is a repetition of the “hypertheme”, *словеса хулная* ‘abusive words’.

The fact that the direct speech falls into the category of *словеса хулная* causes the NP *словеса хулная* to be presented in mode a) of presentation. The new and essential information is *ина*, the link between *словеса* and *хулная* having already been established.

Genitive

Singular NPs

There is only one singular NP in the genitive in the type of context where both LFs and SFs occur. This NP has a SF, in

И принесше в новую церковь, отверзоша раку, исполнися благоуханья церкы, *воня*¹² *благы*; ... ‘And having carried [it] into the new church, they opened the casket, [and] the church filled up with aroma, a wonderful fragrance; ...’ (6580, 121)

The sequence *исполнися благоуханья церкы, воня благы* has a function equivalent to that of an existential sentence. The NP *воня благы* is probably most appropriately interpreted as an apposition of *благоуханья*.

Dative

Singular NPs

There are two NPs in the dative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Both have SFs, *языку странну* in

... подобаше нам “Преданымъ быти в руки *языку странну* и безаконьнѣишу всея земля” ‘... it was appropriate for us “to be given into the hands of an alien people, more lawless than [any other in] the entire world”’ (6601, 146)

and

¹² This form is from *Радзивилловская летопись* and *Академический список* of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle. *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *вонѣ*.

Онѣм же обѣдавшим, поидоша с ним вскорѣ на колѣхъ, а по *грудну пути*, бѣ бо тогда мѣсяць грудень¹³, рекше ноябрь ‘When they had eaten, they took quickly off with him on a carriage, but on a rough road, for it was then the month of Gruden, that is November’ (6605, 173)

Both NPs function as new rheme, and the adjectives provide new and essential meaning independently of the nouns. The context preceding the first example describes how the Russians were attacked and conquered by the Polovcians, and it is thus known that the Russians were ‘given into the hands of an alien people’. But since “*Преданымъ быти в руки языку странну и незаконнѣшию вся земля*” is a direct quote from a prophecy predicting this event and not presented as a part of the historical narrative, coreference between the two is not possible.

In the latter example, the noun *пути* is known by association with *поидоша с ним вскорѣ на колѣхъ*, and the essential information is provided by the adjective alone. The prepositional phrase *по грудну пути* could also have been translated ‘the road was rough’. The importance of the adjective is additionally emphasized by the fact that the temporary quality it denotes is explained in the following sentence, *бѣ бо тогда мѣсяць грудень, рекше ноябрь*.

Locative

Singular NPs

There are eight singular NPs in the locative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. All have SFs.

Three NPs are found in very similar contexts describing funeral scenes. They all consist of the noun *рацѣ* modified by an adjective denoting material. In each case, the NP is mentioned for the first time and provides new and essential information, as illustrated by

Посем же вземше Глѣба в *рацѣ каменѣ*, вставиша на сани, ... ‘And then, after having taken Gleb in a stone casket, they put [him] on the sleigh, ...’ (6580, 121)

The same is true of the NP *плачи велицѣ* in

... съ пѣснми попове и черноризци понесоша и в град. И не бѣ лзѣ слышати пѣнья во *плачи велицѣ* и вопли; плака бо ся по немь весь град Киевъ, ... ‘... the priests and monks carried him into the city with songs. And the singing was impossible to hear for great lamentation and mourning; for the whole city of Kiev bewailed him, ...’ (6586, 133)

¹³ According to СРЯ, *грудень* is a noun, another name for November (СРЯ, vol. 4, 145).

where the locative NP could be replaced by a subordinate clause with causative meaning containing a construction of the type *бысть плачь великъ*.

In the following example, the noun *кельици* is known by association with *печерѣ*. The meaning is that [the monk] shut himself into a cell which was (unusually) small, even for a cell in a monastery. The importance of the adjective *малѣ* is emphasized by the fact that the small size of the cell is additionally specified in the following context:

И затворнся в печерѣ, въ единой улици, въ кельици малѣ, яко четыре лакоть,
и ту моляше бога со слезами 'And he shut himself up in the cave, in one of the
passages, in a narrow cell, four cubits wide, and here he prayed to God with tears'
(6582, 127)

Two NPs, *старости маститѣ* and *старости добрѣ* are found in almost identical contexts,

В се же лѣто преставися Янь, старецъ добрый, живѣ лѣтъ 90, в *старости
маститѣ*; ... 'The same year Ian' died, the good old man, having lived for 90
years, at a venerable old age' (6614, 186)

and

Тако же и ина многа видѣнья провидѣ старецъ, и почи в *старости добрѣ* в
монастыри семь 'The old man saw this and many other visions, and he passed
away at a fair old age' (6582, 127)

In both examples, the noun *старости* is known from the preceding context by being coreferent with *старецъ*. The NPs function as epithets adding an air of nobility to the deaths of the two men (and ultimately to the men themselves), a meaning that the adjective alone provides. The NPs also have some similarity in function with predicative adjectives, but the point is that in any case, the adjective is the sole carrier of this essential information.

There is one instance of the NP *малѣ дружинѣ* in the expression *в малѣ дружинѣ*, in

... аще поидеть на вы с ляхы губити васъ, то вѣ противу ему ратью, ... аще ли
хочеть с миромъ, то в *малѣ* придеть *дружинѣ* '... if he comes with the Poles in
order to kill you, then we shall fight against him, ... but if he wants peace, then he
shall come with a small retinue' (6577, 116).

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Plural NPs

There are nine plural NPs in the genitive, all of which have LFs. Four of them function as rheme, i.e., they are found in a type of context where both the LF and the SF are potentially possible, as illustrated by

Тази бо бѣша любовници, и въздержници, и постници, от них же намѣню
нѣколико мужь чюдных 'For so were the friends, the [monks] living in
abstinence and the fasters, from among which I shall mention a few astounding
men' (6582, 126)

It is possible that this and the other three NPs are most appropriately interpreted as denoting subsets of categories. In the example quoted, the quantifier pulls in that direction.

Dative NPs

Plural NPs

There are four¹⁴ dative NPs in the plural, all of which have LFs and denote definite entities.

NPs in the instrumental case

Singular NPs

There are six singular NPs in the instrumental case, all in contexts where both the LF and the SF is possible. All of these have LFs¹⁵. They all function as (part of) new rheme, as in

... меншии покаяющеся старѣшимъ и не смѣюще пред ними глаголати, но
все с покореньемъ и с послушаньемъ великымъ '... the younger obeying the older
and not daring to speak in front of them, but always [doing so] with great
submissiveness and obedience' (6582, 125)

Plural NPs

There are five plural NPs and one dual NP in the instrumental case. Two of the plural NPs and the dual NP are found in contexts where both the LF and the SF are potentially possible –

¹⁴ One of these NPs, *лживымъ словесомъ* (6605, 171), has the form *словомъ* in *Лаврентьевская летопись*.

¹⁵ *Радзивилловская летопись* has a SF in one NP, in the example *аще ли будяше нужное орудье, то о концемъ маломъ бесѣдоваше в субботу ли в недѣлю, ...* (6582, 123). *Лаврентьевская летопись* has *малымъ*.

they function as new rheme. In both of the plural NPs, the adjective is the quantifying adjective *различными*,

... поразихъ вы зноемъ и *различными казнами*; ... '... I have smitten you with heat and various punishments; ...' (6576, 113)

and

... мнози челоуѣци умираху *различными недугы*, ... '... many people died of various diseases, ...' (6600, 141)

The dual NP has a qualitative adjective with very predicative meaning, since the noun *ногама* is partially coreferent with the implicit 3rd person agent (the monk Isakii) of the verb forms:

... вступль *ногама босыма*, ста на пламени, дондѣ же изгорѣ печь, ... '... he stepped onto the flame with his feet bare and stood on it until the oven burned out, ...' (6582, 130)

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There is only one plural NP in the locative. It functions as new rheme, but is most appropriately interpreted as referring to a subset of a category:

И повелѣ Василко исѣчи вся, и створи мщенье на *людех неповинных*, ... 'And Vasilko ordered that everybody be slain, and he took revenge on innocent people, ...' (6605, 177)

Exceptions

Three NPs are irregular in the sense that they do not fit into the expected pattern. NPs with generalized meaning almost always have LFs, but there is one NP with generalized meaning and a SF in *Повесть временных лет, похотѣнья лукава* in

Бѣси бо,—рече,—наѣвають черноризцем помышленья, *похотѣнья лукава*, ... 'For demons, —he said—, incite in monks evil thoughts and desires, ...' (6582, 122)

There is an example of a very similar generalized NP with a LF, *помысли лукавии* in

... въ яденьи бо мнозѣ и питьи безмѣрнѣ въздрастають *помысли лукавии*, ... '... for evil desires develop out of excessive eating and immoderate drinking' (6582, 122)

Both *похотѣнья лукава* and *помысли лукавии* are found in a type of context that often generates a SF in non-generalized NPs. That is, they are the direct object and subject,

respectively, of verbs that mean ‘cause to appear’ and ‘appear’, respectively. In both cases, the adjective can be interpreted as predicative.

It can be argued that *похотѣнья лукава* in the first example is more in the forefront than *помысли лукави* in the second example. The first example focuses on what demons do to monks, and the description of this can be seen as a combination of two propositions. The first proposition states the type of influence that demons have on monks, which is that they instigate thoughts and desires. The second proposition qualifies this by adding the feature ‘evil’ to the thoughts and desires.

In the second example, *въ яденьи бо мнозѣ и питъи безмѣрнѣ* is the primary focus rather than *възрастають помысли лукави*. The perspective of *въ яденьи бо мнозѣ и питъи безмѣрнѣ* *възрастають помысли лукави* is that many actions cause evil desires to develop, and excessive eating and immoderate drinking is one of them. The evil desires, *помысли лукави*, are presented as a phenomenon or type of action to be avoided, a mode of presentation which seems to trigger a LF. A possible explanation of the occurrence of SFs in NPs with generalized meanings is that it is not the generalized meaning per se that triggers the LF, but the fact that ‘generalized meaning’ in most cases is equal to ‘presentation as a subset of a category’, i.e., mode a) of presentation (see 39). The examples quoted here seem to indicate that NPs with generalized meaning can, in fact, have SFs, if the relationship between noun and adjective is such that it fits mode b) of presentation. In mode b) of presentation, a NP is presented as a referent of the noun which, in addition, has the quality denoted by the adjective (see 39). But the fact that this is rarely the case makes it tempting to draw the conclusion that generalized meaning always triggers a LF.

The remaining two irregular NPs are both instances of *малѣ дружинѣ* (in the expression *въ малѣ дружинѣ*) functioning as part of theme, in

И приѣха въ *малѣ дружинѣ* на княжь дворъ, и вылъзе противу его Святополкъ, ... ‘And he went with a small retinue to the the prince’s court, and Sviatopolk came out to meet him, ...’ (6605, 172)

and

Продолжено бывъши сѣчи, побѣже Олегъ в *малѣ дружинѣ*, и одва утече, бѣжа Тмутороканю ‘As the battles continued, Oleg escaped with a small retinue, and he barely got away, and fled to Tmutorokan’ (6586, 133)

In the first example, the essential information is *приѣха на княжь дворъ*, and in the second example, it is *побѣже*. The fact that *малѣ дружинѣ* is able to function as (part of rheme) in some contexts and as part of theme in others, together with its relatively high frequency (in

the chronicle texts in general), makes it likely that this expression has turned into a fixed phrase.

Conclusion

The Primary Chronicle displays variation in all cases but the instrumental case in the singular, and in the nominative and accusative in the plural. The variation in the genitive and dative singular, however, is extremely limited. This seems to be due to the fact that NPs in these case and number combinations rarely occur in contexts likely to trigger a SF. In the case and number combinations with no variation, instrumental singular and plural, and genitive, dative and locative plural, it is most likely that the SF had disappeared by the time when the Primary Chronicle was written.

With the exception of possessive adjectives, which occur almost exclusively in the SF, and adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*, which seems to follow an idiosyncratic pattern, variation follows a very consistent pattern in the Primary Chronicle. Definite NPs and NPs functioning as theme have LFs. Variation is limited to NPs in which the adjective and/or the noun function(s) as rheme. In the singular, rheme status of the NP or of the adjective almost always triggers a SF. In many cases, but not always, the adjectives in NPs with SFs can be interpreted as predicative, either because of the meaning of the adjective or because of the meaning of the verb.

Only one singular NP with a LF functioning as new rheme is the complement of a verb which allows for the adjective to be interpreted as predicative. This NP is *горкую смерть* in

... ови ведуться полонени, друзии поськаеми бывають, друзии на мечь даеми бывають, *горкую смерть* приемлюще, ... '... some are lead away captive, others are being slain; others are delivered up to vengeance, suffering a bitter death' (6601,146)

A second instance of this NP (with reverse order of noun and adjective) functions as repeated rheme in

Многы бѣды приимъ, ... обидимъ, разграбленъ, прочее и *смерть горкую* приять, но вѣчнѣи жизни и покою сподобися 'Having suffered many defeats, ... insulted, robbed and so forth, he [thus] suffered a bitter death, but was given eternal life and peace' (6594, 136)

It is possible that *горкая смерть* functions as a fixed phrase referring to a death in the hands of enemies as opposed to, e.g., a natural death, which would explain the LFs in both instances

of the NP. This seems to be a more likely explanation for the LFs than the fact that one NP functions as 'repeated rheme', which, in any case, would leave one LF unaccounted for.

In the table below, nominative and accusative NPs in which the adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative are listed.

The explanation for the two LFs must be found in the relationship between noun and adjective. In the NPs with SFs, both the noun and the adjective provide new and essential information, and they do so independently of each other, the adjective being unpredictable from the noun. This is not the case in the NPs with LFs. Black is the color associated with a crow, so this feature is predictable and expected. In the NP *бесчисленное множество*, the adjective is also to a large extent redundant. It emphasizes a lexical feature already present in the noun, since the features 'large' or 'significant' are already implied in the meaning of *множество*. No essential information is added to the noun, only emphasis.

The explanation for the LFs in the two predicative NPs *огненные столпы* and *праздникъ новыи* is most likely to be mode of presentation and the relationship between noun and adjective. The NP *огненные столпы* is found in a context where it clearly refers to a type of phenomenon and not an individual pillar of fire. In the NP *праздникъ новыи*, the adjective *новыи* cannot really be said to denote an individual quality of this particular holiday (*праздникъ Бориса и Глѣба*); rather, it locates the given holiday in time in relation to other holidays.

SF	LF
... спаде <i>превеликъ змии</i> отъ небесе, и ужасошася вси людье '... a huge serpent fell from the sky, and all people were struck with fear' (6599, 141)	Оно ти съдѣтъ <i>вранъ черныи</i> , иди, ими и 'There sits a black crow, go and catch it' (6582, 130)
... ли <i>свершень человекъ</i> , кацѣм любо недугомъ одержим, приходяще в манастирь къ блаженому Феодосью, повелѣваше сему Дамьяну молитву створити болящему; ... '... or if an adult, suffering from whichever disease, came to the monastery to the blessed Feodosii, he ordered this Damian to say a prayer for the sick [person]' (6582, 126)	Дворъ жь княжъ разграбиша, <i>бещисленое множество</i> злата и сребра, ... 'They looted the prince's court, an innumerable multitude of gold and silver, ...' (6576, 115)
И облечеса въ власяницю и на власяницю <i>свиту воталяну</i> , ... 'And he clad himself in a hair shirt, and over the hair shirt, he put on a sackcloth coat' (6582, 129)	
Цѣловавше мощи его, вложиша и в <i>раку камену</i> 'Having kissed his relics, they put him in a wooden casket' (6580, 121)	
... положиша тѣло его в церкви святыя Богородица, вложивъше и в <i>раку мраморяну</i> '... they put [him] to rest in the church of the Holy Mother of God, having placed him in a marble casket' (6586, 133)	
... и привезоша и на колѣх, окована суца, ссадиша и с колъ, и ведоша и в- <i>ыстобку малу</i> '... and they brought him in chains on a carriage, set him off the carriage and led him into a small house' (6605, 173)	
... и створи мшенье на людех неповинных, и проля <i>кровь неповинну</i> '... and he took revenge at innocent people and shed innocent blood' (6605, 177)	
И идяста, видуче <i>зарю велику</i> 'And they went, and saw a great light' (6599, 139)	
... видѣ ... чрес поле <i>зарю велику</i> '... across the field, he saw a great light' (6599, 138)	
<i>Дивно</i> ... находихом <i>чудо</i> , ... 'We encountered a strange wonder, ...' (6604, 167)	

The distribution of SFs and LFs in NPs functioning as rheme is shown in the table below.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme				Repeated rheme	
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP			
	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	22	1	11	2	1	0
Nominative plural	2 ^a	2	1	0	0	0
Accusative singular	25	2	0	0	0	1
Accusative plural	7	8	1	0	0	1
Genitive singular	0	0	1	0	0	0
Dative singular	2	0	0	0	0	0
Locative singular	8	0	0	0	0	0
Total	66	13	14	2	1	2

^a One of these is a dual NP

Whereas status as rheme of a singular NP with very few exceptions triggers a SF, the picture is quite different within the plural. 11 of the 22 plural NPs (nominative and accusative) functioning as rheme have LFs. Five NPs, two in the nominative and three in the accusative (including one NP functioning as repeated rheme) must be interpreted as denoting subsets of categories, i.e., they follow mode a) of presentation, which explains the LFs. In

three additional accusative NPs, the adjectives are not qualitative, but quantitative and thus do not denote individual features of the referents of the nouns, which might be an explanation for the LFs.

This still leaves three plural NPs with LFs of qualitative adjectives functioning as rheme, none of which clearly fit mode a) of presentation.

In the table below, these three NPs, all of which are in the accusative, are listed together with eight NPs with SFs in similar contexts, i.e., the seven accusative non-predicative NPs functioning as rheme and the generalized accusative NP with a SF. The adjectives in the NPs *чюдеса велика*, *похотѣнья лукава*, *слова величава*, *смерти тяжкыя* and *труды великыя* can be interpreted as predicative.

Two issues might be worth considering. Does the plural noun denote a specified and limited group of potentially individually identifiable entities sharing the feature that they are referents of the same noun? Or does it denote an unspecified and potentially very large group of non-individualized entities? Does the adjective add essential information which is unpredictable from the noun, or does it add a quality which is expected, at least in this particular context? In the table below, each NP is classified according to the most likely value of those two parameters.

The nouns *лучъ* and *одежа* are each associated with one particular entity, the star and the group of armed men, respectively, which means that they both denote limited and identifiable groups of entities. The same applies to *слова*, which refers to one particular act of speech, to *дары*, which refers to a specific set of gifts, and to *горы*, which refers to a specific group of mountains in a particular area. *Чюдеса* and *видѣнья* are likely to refer to a limited number of specific individual supernatural phenomena and visions, especially because each of them is associated with one particular individual, the magician and Danil, respectively. This meaning is emphasized by the fact that each NP is associated with one particular occasion or point in time. The nouns *похотѣнья*, *муки*, *смерти* and *труды* are found in contexts that make them individually non-identifiable, and they are associated with a potentially very large number of people. This meaning is emphasized by the fact that they are not linked to a particular point in time. The difference in reference between the NPs has the following important implication: Whereas a NP with a specific noun is likely to include all referents of that NP in a given context, it is not known and not relevant whether a NP with a non-specific noun includes all referents in a given context or not. This is an important feature that NPs with non-specific nouns share with NPs presented as subsets of categories.

Context	Noun	Adjective
... бысть знаменье на западѣ, звѣзда превелика, лучѣ имущи аки кровавы, ... '... there was an omen in the west, a very large star; having rays [that were] like bloody; ...' (6573, 110)	Specific	Essential
... по всему граду за 40 дни являтися па въздузѣ на конихъ ридущимъ, въ оружьи, златы имущемъ одежда, ... during a period of 40 days armed men appeared throughout the whole city riding on horseback through the air, clad in golden attire, ...' (6573, 110)	Specific	Essential
И рече Глѣбъ: "То вѣси ли, что ти хошетъ быти днесъ?". "Чюдеса велика створю", рече 'And Gleb said: "So do you know what will happen to you today?". "I shall create great wonders", he said (6579, 120-121)	Specific	Essential
Бѣси бо.—рече.—настѣвають черноризцемъ помышленья, похотѣнья лукава, ... 'For demons, —he said—, incite in monks evil thoughts and desires, ...' (6582, 122)	Non-specific	Essential
... постився Даниль видѣнья велика сподобися; ... '... having fasted, Danil experienced great visions; ...' (6582, 123)	Specific	Essential
Едино прѣшенье, едина казнь, многовещныя имуще раны, различныя печали и страшны муки, ... 'Nothing but menace, nothing but punishment; suffering many wounds, various sorrows, and horrible torments, ...' (6601, 146)	Non-specific	Non-essential
Олег же възприимъ ... словеса величава, рече сице: "Нѣсть мене лѣпо судити епископу, ..." 'Oleg, resorting to ... stately words, spoke thus: "It is not appropriate for me to judge the bishop, ..."' (6604, 150)	Specific	Essential
И ста Святополкъ в градѣ, а ляхове на Бугу, и сослася рѣчьми Святополкъ с ляхы, и вдасть дары великы на Давыда 'And Sviatopolk stayed in the city, and the Poles at the river Bug, and Sviatopolk made a deal with the Poles, and gave them great gifts for [going against] David' (6605, 178)	Specific	Essential
"Послахъ на вы различныи болѣзни и смерти тяжкыя", и на скоты казнь свою послах, ..." 'I sent upon you diverse diseases and painful deaths, and brought plague upon your cattle, ...' (6576, 113)	Non-specific	Essential
... постомъ явишася отци наши аки свѣтила в мирѣ, ... показавше труды великыя и въздержанье, яко сеи великыи Антонии, ... и прочии отци, ... 'By virtue of their fasts, our fathers appeared as luminaries in the world ... having shown great labors, and abstinence; for example, the great Antonii, ... and the other fathers' (6582, 123)	Non-specific	Essential
... и загна их на полунощныя страны в горы высокия; и богу повелѣвшю, сступишася о них горы великия ... '... and he chased them to the northern countries to high mountains; and at God's command, the great mountains enclosed them ...' (6604, 167)	Specific	Non-essential

All of the nouns, except for the specific *горы* and the non-specific *муки*, are modified by adjectives which add essential information and are unpredictable from the nouns. The feature *высокия* is implied in the lexical meaning of *горы*, and the feature *страшны* is implied in the lexical meaning of *муки*, which makes the adjectives largely redundant.

Even though no conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the few examples quoted, it seems likely that the combination of a specific noun and an essential adjective triggers a SF, whereas a non-specific noun and/or a non-essential adjective makes it more likely that the LF will be used. This is supported by the fact that the three plural NPs with SFs in the nominative also consist of specific nouns modified by essential adjectives (*створишася врата мѣдяна, поидоста 2 уноши ... красна and ови ... бяху постници крѣпци*). The explanation might be that the lack of individualization of the referent of the noun pulls in the direction of mode a) of presentation, since the adjective cannot add an individualized feature to a non-individualized referent. At the same time, modification by an essential adjective pulls in the direction of mode b) of presentation. It cannot be denied that *лукава* is a more essential modifier of *похотѣнья* than *тяжкыя* is of *смерти* or *великыя* of *труды*, at least in the examples quoted here. It is possible that the essentiality of the adjective overrides the lack of individualization of the noun resulting in the realization of the adjective as a SF.

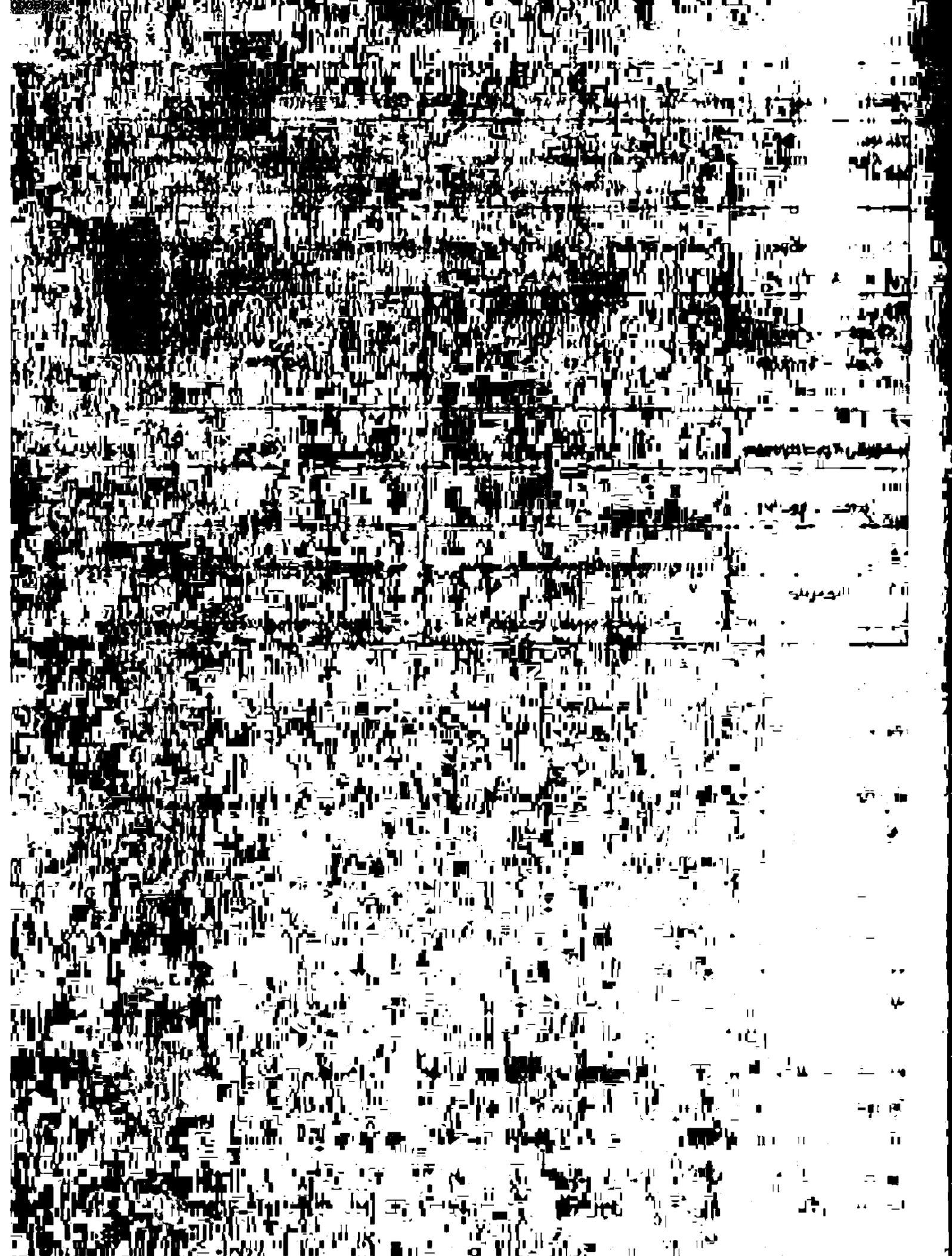
The only example that does not fit into this pattern at all is *страшны муки*. It is conceivable that the SF here is an irregularity (e.g., a scribe's error), since it is coordinated with two NPs with LFs and is the only NP with the adjective preceding the noun.

The factors determining the variation between the LF and the SF in plural NPs is summarized in the table below. Typical examples of NPs fulfilling the criteria for use of the LF are NPs presented as subsets of categories, but some other NPs fall into this group, too. An additional criterion for use of the SF is that the adjective must add new and essential meaning to the noun, i.e., the meaning of the adjective cannot be implied in the meaning of the noun.

For both singular and plural NPs, the function of the SF and the LF can be outlined as follows. The SF of an adjective singles out one or more referents of a given noun from other referents of that noun which do not have the quality denoted by the adjective. The LF of an adjective places one or more referents of a given noun in a group of entities which constitute a group because they share the feature denoted by the adjective. Redundant adjectives occur in the LF because, when their meanings are implied in the nouns they modify, they cannot single out the referents of those nouns. Plural nouns denoting an unspecified and potentially large number of non-individualized entities are often modified by LFs because this type of reference is rarely compatible with the individualizing function of the SF.

Factors determining the variation between the LF and the SF in plural NPs

Group of entities	Individualized group or group consisting of individualized entities	Non-individualized group consisting of non-individualized entities
Number of entities in group	Number of entities is specified or small by implication	Number of entities is unspecified or large by implication
NP refers to group as a whole in the given context	Yes	Not known
Mode of presentation	a)	b)
Form of adjective	SF	LF
Examples	... и ту створишася <i>врата мѣдяна</i> , ... <i>Чюдеса велика створю</i>	... придоша и людье <i>благовѣрнии</i> , видѣ ту <i>человѣкы нечистыя</i> ...



Chapter 3

The Синодальный список of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle

The 1st Novgorod Chronicle is extant in two versions, of which the older one (or *старший извод*) consists of only one manuscript, the *Синодальный список* (Novg1S). The younger version (or *младший извод*) consists of the *Комиссионный список* (15th c.), *Академический список* (15th c.), *Троицкий список* (16th c.), *Толстовский список* (18th c.), *Воронцовский список* (19th c.) and *Румянцевский список* (19th c.) (Dietze, 29f.).

As stated in Dietze's introduction, Novg1S can be divided into three parts, of which the first covers the years 1016-1234, the second part covers the years 1234-1330, though there is a gap from 1273 to 1298. The third part can be characterized as a supplement consisting of only three pages covering the years 1330-1333. The first part has been dated to the second half of the 13th century, the second part to the first half of the 14th century, and the supplement to the middle of the 14th century. In Dietze's summary, it is also argued that seven different hands can be detected in Novg1S. Part one is written by two different hands, one covering the years 1016-1200 and the other covering the years 1200-1234. Part two is written by a single hand, and in the third part, four different hands can be detected (Dietze, 29f.).

The two-hand hypothesis for the first part has later been challenged by Gippius, who argues that the entire first part is written by one hand only, i.e., the entire manuscript covering 1016-1330 is written by two hands (Timberlake 2000, 1).

It has long been assumed that (based on theories put forward by Šaxmatov and his followers) that chronicles took shape through so-called "redactions", where "the inherited text would be edited according to an overarching design (often politically motivated), annalistic entries that had accumulated were reworked and incorporated, tales were interpolated, multiple versions of one text were compared and compiled" (Timberlake 2000, 2f.). Upon a detailed analysis of the actual differences between the manuscripts, Timberlake questions the relevance of "redactions" with respect to the earliest writing of Novgorod Chronicles and suggests that Novg1S and the *Комиссионный* and *Академический список* were the result of an ongoing tradition of chronicle writing, and that the texts were edited only to a limited extent, the revisions being quite specific (Timberlake 2000, 3; 30ff.).

In the analysis of the distribution of LFs and SFs below, examples from the third part of Novg1S are not included. Instead, the description of the years from 1331-52 has been taken from the *Комиссионный список*, which is analyzed in Chapter 4.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the *Синодальный список*

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*

In NovGIS, there are 28 LFs of possessive adjectives, 20 of which are derived from proper names. 12 of the LFs derived from proper names denote the wife of the person whose name the adjective is derived from, e.g., *Мьстиславля* 'Mstislav's wife'. Of the remaining 16 LFs of possessive adjectives, 14 are in the instrumental singular and plural and in the genitive and locative plural, which are case and number combinations where SFs occur only exceptionally. There are no SFs of possessive adjectives in these case and number combinations except for four instances of the instrumental singular, three instances of *божиемь* (in *гнѣвомь божиемь* (6732, 62), *божиемь попуциемь* (6773, 84) and *попуциемь божиемь* (6823, 94)), plus *Воробиномь* in the prepositional phrase *подь городомь Воробиномь* (6722, 52).

The two LFs outside these case and number combinations are in the accusative singular NP *сосновую кору* (6723, 54) 'pine bark' and in the locative singular NP *(на) Орѣховомь островѣ* (6831, 97). Finally, there is a LF of the adjective *дивии* 'wild', which follows the same declension as possessive adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ии*, in the accusative plural NP *звѣри дивия* 'wild beasts' (6767, 83).

The vast majority of adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* are LFs. There are only 12 SFs, all in singular NPs. Seven denote nationalities and are derived from proper names of locations or peoples (three are in the nominative, three in the accusative and one in the dative). Five SFs are derived from common nouns (two instances of *крестьяньск-*, one in the accusative (6732, 62) and one in the dative (6728, 60); one instance of each *мужьск-* and *женьск-*, both in the genitive (6746, 76), and one instance of *человѣчьск-* (6724, 56) in the nominative).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The distribution of LFs and SFs within adjectives displaying context-determined variation is illustrated in the table below. The table below is provided with the sole purpose of giving the reader an overview.

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF ^a	LF	SF	LF	SF ^b	LF	SF	LF	SF ^a	LF	SF
Contexts usually generating a LF	4	1 ^c (0)	25	0	6	7 ^c (0)	11	0	9	8 ^c (0)	2	1
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	0	50 (49)	2	5	6	59 (24)	7	2 ^d	0	16 (7)	0	9
Total	4	51 (49)	27	5	12	66 (24)	18	2	9	24 (7)	2	10

^a The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs excluding, for the nominative, *мужь добрь/благь*, and for the genitive, NPs of the type *мужа добра/кротка/смѣрена*/etc.

^b The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs excluding *церковь камену*

^c The numbers in bold refer to NPs not included in the main analysis, but in the section "Exceptions". The nominative NP is an instance of *мужь добрь*, and the genitive NPs are all instances of NPs of the type *мужа добра/кротка/смѣрена*/etc. The accusative NPs are all instances of *церковь камену*

^d One is a dual NP

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are four¹ singular NPs with LFs in the nominative, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *бещисльное число*, which functions as theme, in

О, мьного побѣды, братье, *бещисльное число*, око не может умь челоувѣчьскь
домыслити избьеныхъ а повязаныхъ; ... 'Oh, there was a great victory, brothers;

¹ The NP *молитва его святая* in the example ... *даи богь молитва его святая всѣмь крестьяномь* ... (6738, 70) is not included in the analysis because the NP is in the nominative despite its function as direct object. Seen in isolation, the choice of the LF is expected, the NP being modified by a possessive pronoun.

an innumerable number, of which the human mind cannot conceive, were killed or captured; ...' (6724, 56)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 27 plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *вѣрнии людие*, which has generalized meaning, in

... крестомъ огражаеми *вѣрнии людие* побѣжаютъ супротивныя;... '... protected by the Cross, believers conquer [their] adversaries; ...' (6776, 87)

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are six singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. In the example below, it is clear from the context that *ветхыи [городъ]* refers to a specific, preexisting and definite entity:

... и срубиша городъ на порозѣ новъ, *ветхыи* сметавше '... and they build a new fortification at the rapids, having torn down the old one' (6818, 92-93)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 11 NPs with LFs in the accusative plural in contexts usually generating a LF. This is illustrated by the example

... пришьдьше въ Судъ, *замкы желѣзныя* разбиша, ... '... having arrived at [the city of] Sud, they broke the iron locks, ...' (6712, 46)

where *замкы желѣзныя* must be interpreted as definite as a result of two factors: it is coreferent by association with *Судъ*, and at the same time, it must be considered one of its kind, the locks of the city gates.

Genitive

Singular NPs with LFs

There are nine singular NPs with LFs in the genitive, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is

... новгородци же сташа в лице желѣзному полку противу *великою свиньи* '... the Novgorodians put themselves in the front of the powerful army against the large attack force' (6776, 86)

where *великою свињи* is a synonym of and coreferent with *стоящъ полкъ нѣмецскыи* four lines up in the construction

... и ту устрѣтоша стоящъ полкъ нѣмецскыи; ... '... and here they saw the German army, standing; ...' (6776, 86)

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are two singular NPs with LFs in the locative, both of which denote definite entities. In the first example, the NP *святѣи тряпѣзѣ* is coreferent by association with the church context, and *святѣи* is non-restrictive. The NP must be interpreted as definite, since there is only one altar table in a church:

И рече князь Михаилъ: «да положимъ 3 жрѣбья, да которыи богъ дастъ намъ». И положиша на святѣи тряпѣзѣ, имена написавшѣ, ... 'And Prince Mixail said: We will put down three lots [to know] whom God will give us. And they put [them] on the holy altar table, having written the names, ...' (6737, 68)

The second NP is modified by a possessive pronoun, in

Томъ же лѣтѣ Глѣбѣ, ... наученъ сы сотоною на убиство, сдумавъ въ своемъ оканькѣмъ помыслѣ, ... 'The same year Gleb, ... incited by Satan to murder, having considered [things] in his accursed thoughts, ...' (6726, 58)

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 50 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur. All of these have SFs and function as new rheme. Three are predicative NPs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

46² singular NPs function as subjects in existential or presentational sentences. The vast majority of them describe weather, omens, fires, battles and other phenomena more or less outside direct human control, as in the following examples

Въ то же лѣто громъ бысть страшнѣи зѣло и мълнія; ... 'The same year, there was very horrible thunder and lightning; ...' (6695, 38)

² This includes *Бысть котора зла* ... (6665, 30), where, according to a footnote, *зла* has been changed to *эда* in the manuscript. It also includes *И тако бысть възятіе Цесаряграда велико* ... (6712, 48), where *Комиссионный список*, according to a footnote, has the LF *великаго*.

Априля въ 1 бысть *знамение* на небеси *дивьно* велми: ... 'On April 1, there was a very strange omen in the sky: ... (6649, 26)

and

В Новѣ же городѣ бысть *мятежь великъ* ... 'But in Novgorod, there was a great uprising ... (6740, 71)

Four existential or presentational sentences describe the arrival or presence of a human being, as in

Того же лѣта приходи в Русь *посоль силенъ* изъ Орды, именемъ Ахмыль, ... 'The same year, a powerful envoy arrived in Rus' from the [Golden] Horde, by the name of Ахмыл, ... (6830, 96)

One NP with a SF is the subject of a passive construction,

Томъ же лѣтѣ заложена бысть *церкы камяна* святого Спаса на воротѣхъ въ монастыри святого Георгия, ... 'The same year, a stone church [in the name] of the Holy Savior was founded at the gates in the monastery of St. Georgii' (6674, 32)

In all but five of the 47 non-predicative NPs, the adjective can be interpreted as predicative. The NPs where this is not possible are the four NPs denoting humans and *вѣсть зла in пруде* ... *вѣсть зла* 'bad news arrived' (6765, 82).

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Three NPs, all with SFs, are predicative NPs, as *дивно оружие* in

... *дивно оружие* молитва и постъ; ... '... prayer and fast is a wondrous weapon; ...' (6776, 86)

Plural NPs

There are seven nominative NPs in the plural in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Five NPs have SFs, and two have LFs. All NPs function as new rheme. One NP with a SF is a predicative NP.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The six non-predicative NPs, four of which have SFs, are all subjects of existential sentences. One of the NPs with a SF is a dual NP. The dual NP and one of the plural NPs, like many of the singular NPs in this type of context, refer to weather, in

Стояста 2 *недѣли тълне*, яко искря гуце, *теплѣ* велми, переже жатвы; ... 'There were two full weeks, like glowing sparks, very warm, before the harvest; ...' (6653, 27)

and

В то же лѣто, на зиму, иде Всѣволодь на Суждаль ратью, ... ; и сташа *денье зли*: мразь, вьялиця, страшно зѣло 'The same year, in winter, Vsevolod went to Suzdal' with [his] troops, ... and horrible weather began: frost, storm, [it was] very terrible' (6642, 23)

One NP describes part of an omen, *великы [кругы]* in

... бысть знамение на небеси дивно велми: 6 круговъ, 3 около солнца, а кроме солнца другыя 3 *великы*, ... '... there was a very wondrous omen in the sky: six circles, three close to the sun, and around the sun three other large ones, ...' (6649, 26)

and one denotes humans,

... ту же приѣхавше *послы великы* от свѣиского короля и докончаша миръ вѣчныи съ княземъ и с Новымъгородомъ ... '... and great envoys from the Swedish king having arrived here, they made eternal peace with the prince and with Novgorod ...' (6831, 97)

The two NPs with LFs, *безбожнии Татарове* and *оканьнии Татарове*, also denote humans:

Том же лѣтѣ пришедше *безбожнии Татарове*, плѣниша всю землю Болгарьскую, ... 'The same year, godless Tatars having arrived, they conquered all of the Bulgarian land, ...' (6744, 74)

and

Тои же зимы приѣхаша *оканьнии Татарове* сыродци Беркаи и Касачикъ с женами своими, и инѣхъ много; ... 'The same winter, evil Tatars arrived, the barbarians Berkai and Kasačik with their wives, and many others; ...' (6767, 82)

The NPs *безбожнии Татарове* and *оканьнии Татарове* both denote a categories of people, which is emphasized by the fact that the adjectives are non-restrictive. The implication is that 'all Tatars are godless/accursed', not just the groups denoted by these NPs.

Predicative NPs

There is one predicative NP, which has a SF, *агньци непорочьни* in

Си же благочытивии князи рязаньстии концяшася мѣсяця июля въ 20, ... , акы *агньци непорочьни* прѣдаша душа своя богови 'These pious princes of Riazan passed away on July 20, ... , like innocent lambs they had given their souls to God' (6726, 58)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 65 accusative singular NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. 59 of these have SFs and six have LFs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

60 NPs function as new rheme, i.e., they are mentioned for the first time and it is clear that there is no assumption that the reader is familiar with them. 58 of these NPs have SFs and two have LFs.

Of the 58 NPs with SFs, 35 are instances of *церковь камяну* and are the direct object of either *заложити* (26 instances), *поставити* (five instances) *сздати* (two instances), *освятити* (one instance) or *свершити* (one instance) as in

Въ то же лѣто заложиша *церковь камяну* святого Якова въ Неревьскомь коньци; ... 'The same year, they founded a stone church [in the name] of St. Iakov in Nerevskii Konec; ...' (6680, 34)

Three NPs are found in the same type of context, but have a different noun than *церковь* (two instances of *городъ камень* and one instance of *трьпезницю камяну*), as exemplified by

Заложиша *городъ камень* Новугороду, ... 'They founded a stone fortification for Novgorod, ...' (6810, 91)

Nine NPs have the same type of nouns and verbs as described above and a SF of the adjective *нов-* (four instances of *церковь нову*, three instances of *мостъ новъ* and two instances of *городъ новъ*), as exemplified by

Въ то же лѣто сѣрубнша *церковь нову* святого Власия 'The same year, they built [of wood] a new church, [the church] of St. Vlasii' (6692, 37)

The remaining 11 NPs with SFs functioning as new rheme represent a variety of nouns and adjectives. The verbs denote either creation or bringing into existence, as in

... и въздвиже на Арсенія, мужа кротка и смирена, *крамолу велику*, ... '... and [the Devil] instigated a large-scale pursuit of Arsenii, a mild and humble man, ...' (6736, 67)

and

И хотѣ оканьныи побѣжати, гонимъ святымъ духомъ; и умыслиша *сѣтъ золь*, како ударити, на городъ на ону сторону, ... 'And one of the accursed wanted to flee, chased by the Holy Spirit; and they made an evil plan how to attack the city from one side, ...' (6767, 82)

or they mark the appearance of an entity in the context for the first time and link this new entity to another (known or at least thematic) entity for the first time, as in

И ту наѣхаша *пещеру непроходну*, в неиже бяше множество Чюди влѣзше, ...
 'And here they found an impassable cave, which a lot of Čud' had crept into ...'
 (6776, 86)

The two NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are both instances of *бол(ь)шую рану*,
 in

Князь же Михаило, не дошедъ города, ... поиде проче, не успѣвъ ничтоже, но *большую рану* въсприимъ: възвративше бо ся въспяты, заблудиша въ озерѣхъ и в болотѣхъ; ... 'Prince Mixailo, without having reached the city, ... went on, without having achieved anything, but having suffered a great defeat: for on their way back, they got lost in the lakes and swamps; ...' (6824, 95)

and

Придоша Нѣмци ... и приступиша к городу, и не успѣша ничтоже, но *большую рану* въсприяха, и стояша 10 днии 'The Germans arrived ... and they approached the city, but did not achieve anything, but suffered a great defeat, and remained stationed for 10 days' (6777, 87)

There is one example with the same NP in an almost identical context, but with a SF,

Они же приступиша подъ городъ въ субботу и не успѣша ничтоже къ граду, нъ *большую рану* въсприяха; и отступиша въ рѣку Воронаи 'They approached the city on Saturday and did not achieve anything, but suffered a great defeat; and they retreated to the river Voronai' (6672, 31)

The explanation for this inconsistent variation is most likely etymological. The adjective *больш-* is of a newer date than the original *велик-* and is likely to have entered the language at a time when the breakdown of the system of SFs and LFs was already in progress, and the SF losing its productivity. The fact that the NP seems to occur only in one particular context makes it likely that the expression has become fixed, and as a consequence, that there is no consistent motivation behind the choice between SF and LF.

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

There is one predicative NP, which has a LF,

... и узрѣша иныи полчищъ *свинью великую*, которая бяше вразилася въ возники новгородскыѣ ... '... and they saw another army, a large attack force, which had forced its way into the Novgorodian line of wagons' (6776, 87)

Repeated rheme

Four NPs function as repeated rheme in parallel constructions. Three of these have LFs, as *нужную и горкую смерть* in

... избиша князя и княгину, и мужи и жены и дѣти, чернѣца и черноризиць, нерѣя, И кто, братье, о семь не поплачется, кто ся нас осталъ живыхъ, како они *нужную и горкую смерть* подъяша (6746, 75)

and one has a SF, *рану немалу* in

Князь же Михаило, ... поиде проче, не успѣвъ ничтоже, но болшую рану въсприимъ: възвративше бо ся въспяты, заблудиша въ озерѣхъ и в болотѣхъ; ... и придоша пѣши в дома своя, примше *рану немалу* 'Prince Mixailo, ... went on, without having achieved anything, but having suffered a great defeat: for on their way back, they got lost in the lakes and swamps; ... and they arrived at their houses on foot, having suffered a significant defeat' (6824, 95)

Plural NPs

There are nine accusative plural NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible, seven with LFs and two with SFs (of which one is a dual NP). All of these NPs function as new rheme. The two NPs with SFs are found in the following contexts:

Того же лѣта срубиша 4 *церкви деревяны*: святого Георгия в Торгу, ... и святого Георгия на Борьковѣ улицѣ 'The same year they built four wooden churches: [the church] of St. Georgii on the Square, ... and [the church] of St. Georgii on Borkov Street' (6811, 91)

and

... и *церкви* сърубиша 2 *деревянѣ* на Търговищи: святую Богородицю и святого Георгия, ... '... and they built two wooden churches at the Marketplace: [the church] of the Holy Mother of God and [the church] of St. Georgii, ...' (6641, 23)

Six of the seven NPs with LFs denote an unspecified number and non-individualized group of entities, as in

... и мышляшѣта, како ему изити из града въ *дальняя страны* и оттолѣ искати царства '... and the two of them considered how he could get out of the city to remote countries and from there seek czardom' (6712, 46)

where *дальняя страны* simply represents the category of countries which are remote.

Only one NP with a LF does not represent a category, *волости достойная* in

... и прия Гюрги сыновъць въ миръ съ любовью, и *волости* имъ раздая *достойныя*; и бысть тишина въ Русьстѣи земли '... and Georgii received [his] nephews in peace with love, and giving them volost's appropriate for their rank; and there was peace in the Russian land' (6663, 29)

In this example, *волости достойныя* must be interpreted as a certain number of volost's which were given to the nephews in accordance with their rank.

Genitive

There are 16 singular NPs in the genitive in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible, all of which have SFs and function as new rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Four of the NPs are negated direct objects, as in

... а Всѣволодь въшьдѣ въ землю ихъ; и не вда богъ межи ими *крѣви пролития больша*, и възьяша миръ межи собою, ... '... and Vsevolod having entered their country; and God did not allow [any] serious bloodshed between them, and they made peace with each other, ...' (6704, 43)

Three NPs function as the genitive "subject" of a negated existential sentence, as in

... а на зиму не бысть *снѣга велика*, ни *ясна дни*, ... '... and in winter there was no heavy snow and not [a single] clear day, ...' (6653, 27)

Four NPs denote animate entities and function as direct objects, as in

... и не послуша, но благослови я, рекъ: «изберѣте от себе *мужа* такого *достойна*, а язъ васъ благословляю» '... and he did not listen to them, but blessed them, saying: select from among yourselves a man dignified of such, and I will bless you' (6838, 99)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Five NPs are predicative NPs, as in

... и поставиша архепископа Нифонта, *мужа свята* и зѣло боящяся бога; ... '... and they appointed Nifont, a holy and very God-fearing man, as archbishop ...' (6638, 22)

Locative

There are nine locative singular NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. They all function as new rheme and have SFs. Seven of these are not only similar

(four instances of *в силѣ велицѣ*, two instances of *в малѣ дружинѣ* and one instance of *в силѣ тяжцѣ*), but are also found in very similar contexts, where they have a function similar to that of a predicative adjective modifying the subject. In six of these contexts, the verb is a past tense form *приити*, and in one, it is a past tense form of *убѣжати*. This type of context is represented by

Того же лѣта придоша в *силѣ велицѣ* Нѣмци изъ заморія в Ригу, ... 'The same year, the Germans arrived in a great force from overseas to Riga, ...' (6745, 74)

One NP is completely different, but still clearly functions as new rheme:

... придоша к городу Ваная, и взяша город, и пожгоша; а Нѣмци възбѣгоша на Дѣтинець: бѣше бо мѣсто велми силно, твердо, на *камени*³ *высоцѣ*, не имѣя приступа ниоткуда же; ... '... they came to the city of Vanai, and they took the city and set it on fire; and the Germans ran into the Detinec: for this was a very strong place, fortified, on a high rock, impossible to approach from anywhere; ...' (6819, 93)

The last NP is found in the temporal expression *на мале часу*, in

... князь съ новѣгородьци посылаху к нимъ, просяще пълку; нъ богъ ... боле крѣви не проля крѣстьяньстѣи: сълипали бо ся бяху на *мале часу*,... '... the prince and the Novgorodians sent a message to them, asking for troops; but God ... did not shed any more Christian blood: for they had fought for a short time, ...' (6688, 36)

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Plural NPs

There are 30 genitive NPs in the plural and one in the dual. All of these have LFs and occur in contexts usually generating a LF, i.e., they denote known entities or function as theme.

Dative NPs

There are 14 NPs in the dative, seven in the singular and seven in the plural. All of these have LFs and occur in contexts usually generating a LF.

³ The manuscript has *какамени*.

NPs in the instrumental case

There are 15 NPs in the instrumental case, seven in the singular and eight in the plural.

Singular NPs

Of the seven singular NPs, five function as new rheme; one has generalized meaning and one is “modified” by a dative in the function of a possessive pronoun. The five NPs functioning as new rheme include three instances of *великымъ священиемъ* in similar contexts involving consecrations of churches, as exemplified by

Того же лѣта священа бысть церкы святою мученику Бориса и Глѣба *великымъ священиемъ*, ... ‘The same year, the church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb was consecrated at a great [consecration] ceremony, ...’ (6813, 92)

In the expression *святити великымъ священиемъ*, *священиемъ* is just a repetition of *святити*, which means that, strictly speaking, only the adjective functions as new rheme. The same is true of *плакася ... плачемъ великымъ* in

... и погребоша и митрополить Петръ ... и плакася его князь Иванъ и весь народ *плачемъ великымъ*, ... ‘... and Metropolitan Peter [...] buried him; and Prince Ivan and the entire people cried over him in great sorrow, ...’ (6833, 97)

Both NPs, *великымъ священиемъ* and *плачемъ великымъ*, have a function identical to that of an adverb.

The last NP functioning as new rheme, *великымъ полкомъ*, has a “predicative” function close to that of some locative NPs with SFs, in

Того же лѣта, въ осенинѣ, идоша новгородци съ княземъ Дмитриемъ Александровичемъ *великымъ полкомъ* подь Юрьевъ; ... ‘The same year, in the fall, the Novgorodians went with Prince Dmitrii Aleksandrovič towards Iuriev with a large army; ...’ (6770, 83)

Plural NPs

Of the eight plural NPs in the instrumental case, one has a SF. All the plural NPs, including the NP with a SF, are found in contexts usually generating a LF. The SF is found in the example

Того же богъ видя наша безахония ... и зависть, и крестомъ *вѣрящеса* въ лжю. ... того же мы, въ рукахъ държаще, *сквѣрньны усты цѣлуемъ*; и за то богъ на нас поганяя навѣдѣ. ... ‘And God sees our injustice ... and envy, and [people] taking false oaths by the Cross, ... which we, holding it in our hands, kiss

with [our] sinful lips; and because of this, God sent the Pagans against us, ...'
(6738, 69)

The noun *усты* is coreferent by association with *мы*, and there is an implied possessive pronoun. It is already known from the preceding context that humans are sinful, for which reason the adjective *сквѣрньны* is non-restrictive.

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There is only one plural NP in the locative, which has a LF. This NP, *стѣнахъ высокыхъ*, functions as new rheme in

... а сына его Олексу затвори въ *стѣнахъ высокыхъ* стражею, яко не вынидетъ '... and his son Oleksa he locked up behind high walls under guard, so that he could not get out' (6712, 46)

Exceptions

Within each case, there are NPs with SFs found in types of contexts usually generating a LF. The irregular NPs in the nominative and in the genitive are extremely similar, for which reason they are described in one section.

Irregular NPs in the nominative and genitive

There are 17 instances of the noun *мужъ* modified by an adjective with, at least from a religious point of view, a positive meaning (*мужа добра*, *мужа честна*, *мужа кротка и смирена*).

Nine of the genitive NPs and one of the nominative NPs is already included in the analysis above, because they are found in contexts where NPs with SFs often occur, i.e., they function as new rheme. However, the remaining seven instances of such NPs with SFs are found in contexts usually generating a LF; one nominative and three genitive NPs with SFs function as theme, and three genitive NPs are coreferent with sentence components in the preceding context (including two NPs functioning as a non-restrictive appositions of coreferent NPs). An illustrative example of this is

Онъ же рече: «въведеде Гръцина, попа святую Костянтину и Елены». И въведоша *мужа добра* и зѣло боящася бога Гръцина, и постригоша и того дни, ... 'And he said: "Bring Grecin in, the priest of [the church of] St. Konstantin

and St. Helena". And they brought the good and God-fearing man Grecin in, and tonsured him on the same day, ...' (6734, 65)

where *мужа добра и зѣло боящяся бога Гръцина* is clearly coreferent with *Гръцина* in the preceding sentence.

All of the NPs *мужа добра* etc. are used as epithets of people that either die or are appointed for or hold positions in the church hierarchy. In one case (*мужа блага, смирена, именьмь Станила*) it is used about a person who transports the dead, and in one case about a person who is taken hostage (*мужа добра из Новагорода Семьюна*). In addition to the 17 NPs of this type with the noun *мужь* in the nominative or genitive, there is one example of each *добра князя* and *князя велика* in the same type of context. The epithets *мужа честна, мужа добра и смирена* etc. clearly function as formulae accompanying names of people who deserve particular respect – typically the dead or church officials. Only in two cases is the epithet not accompanied by a proper name.

Such obligatory formulae, which are more or less automatically added whenever a person deserving them is mentioned, have been common in many cultures and historical periods, and there is nothing unusual about them per se.

In the language of NovgIS, however, they seem to have petrified as epithets with SFs and thus become irresponsive to the factors governing the variation between LF and SF. A possible explanation for this could be that they started out as appositions, and in accordance with this, had SFs of the adjectives, but then, due to their “automatic” use and the gradual breakdown of the system of LFs and SFs, the connection between SF and appositional position was lost.

The table below shows the contexts in which the epithets are found.

SFs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible		SFs in contexts usually generating a LF	
New rheme		Theme	
Direct objects	Predicative NPs	No previous reference	Coreference
Nominative (0)	Nominative (1)	Nominative (1)	Nominative (0)
	<i>бъшесть бо мужъ блазъ, кроткъ, смѣренъ и незлобивъ (refers to Abbot Sava)</i>	<i>мужъ добръ сгорѣ</i> Елефѣрии Лазоревичъ	
Genitive (4)	Genitive (6)	Genitive (2)	Genitive (5)
<i>мужа такого достоина (no name)</i>	<i>Нифонта мужа свята и зѣло боящяся бога</i>	<i>мужа добра (no name)</i>	<i>мужа добра и зѣло боящяся бога Гръцина</i>
<i>мужа добра и смѣрена Феоктиста</i>	<i>Арсению^a мужа добра и зѣло боящяся бога</i>	<i>мужа блага, смерена, именемъ Станила</i>	<i>Домаша, брата посаднича, мужа честна</i>
	<i>Иванка мужа храбра зѣло</i>		
<i>мужа добра из Новагорода Семьюна</i>	<i>Арсеѣния игумена мужа кротка и смерена</i>		<i>Арсення^a мужа кротка и смерена</i>
<i>мужа добра Федора Сбыславича</i>	<i>новгородского посла мужа честна Ивана Сыпа</i>		<i>добра князя Полотьского Товтивила</i>
	<i>Григорья Калѣку, мужа добра и смѣрена</i>		<i>князя велика Миндовга^b</i>

^a According to Dietze, this is the same *Арсенни*, whereas the third reference is a different person (Dietze, 598)

^b It is difficult to say whether this is an instance of the fixed NP *князь великий* or not. In the text, *князя велика Миндовга* is coreferent by association with *Литва*. In a subsequent reference, Mindovg is referred to only as *князь*

Irregular NPs in the accusative

As shown in the table below, there are 42 instances of the NP *церковь камяну*. 35 of these are found in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible and are therefore included in the analysis above. Seven instances of the NP, however, are found in contexts in which usually only the LF is used. In six cases the NP is coreferent with another instance of the same NP in the preceding context, as illustrated by the example

Въ то же лѣто съвѣршиша *церковь камяну* святѣи Богородици на Търговищи, Новгородѣ 'The same year, they completed the stone church of the Holy Mother of God in the Marketplace in Novgorod' (6652, 27)

where the same church is referred to earlier in the text, in the sentence

Въ то же лѣто заложи *церковь камяну* святяя Богородица на Търговищи Всѣволодѣ, Новгородѣ, съ архепископѣмъ Нифонтомъ 'The same year, Vsevolod founded a stone church, [the church] of the Holy Mother of God, in the Marketplace in Novgorod, together with Archbishop Nifont' (6643, 23)

There is one instance of the NP modified by a restrictive relative clause, which causes the NP to be definite, in

Того же лѣта заложиша *церковь камену* святою Бориса и Глѣба, которая порюшилася 'The same year, they laid the foundation of the stone church of St.'s Boris and Gleb, which had collapsed' (6810, 91)

The table below shows the contexts in which the NP *церковь камену* is found.

SFs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible		SFs in contexts usually generating a LF	
New rheme (creation)	New rheme (completion and consecration)	Coreference (completion and consecration)	Restrictive relative clause
заложити, поставити, създати + <i>церковь камяну</i>	освятити, свершити + <i>церковь камяну</i>	свѣршити, святити, кончати + <i>церковь камяну</i>	заложити + <i>церковь камяну, которая порюшилася</i>
33	2	6	1

There is only one corresponding LF, *церковь ... камяную*, which, because of coreference, denotes a known entity. This LF is found in the same sentence as one of the coreferent NPs with SFs, and both the LF and the SF are, because of their position, close in function to predicative adjectives:

Томъ же лѣтъъ святы *церковь* Новгородѣ Илия архиепископъ новгородьскыи, святую мученику Бориса и Глеба, *камяную*, ... а другую святого Спаса ... камяну 'The same year Archbishop Iliia of Novgorod consecrated the stone church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, ... and the other stone [church] of the Holy Savior ...' (6681, 34)

In addition to the many instances of the accusative NP *церковь камяну*, there are two instances of the same NP in the nominative. One has a SF and functions as new rheme, in

Томъ же лѣтъъ заложена бысть *церкы камяна* святого Спаса на воротѣхъ въ монастыри святого Георгия, ... 'The same year, a stone church [in the name] of the Holy Savior was founded at the gates in the monastery of St. Georgii' (6674, 32)

The other is coreferent with an instance of *церковь камяну* preceding it, and, accordingly, has a LF:

Того же лѣта священа бысть *церкы каменная* святого Николы в Неревьскомь конци, юже созда архиепископъ Давыдъ, ... 'The same year, the stone church of St. Nikola in Nerevskii Konec, which Archbishop David had built, was consecrated, ...' (6821, 94)

The explanation for the inconsistent use of *церковь камяну* is probably similar to the explanation for inconsistent use of the epithets *мужь добръ*, *мужа добра* etc. Of the 66 singular NPs with SFs in the accusative, 42 are instances of *церковь камяну*. It is likely that this NP, because of its frequency, has petrified in the SF and become largely irresponsive to the variation between SF and LF. There is no analogous inconsistency within the rest of the singular accusative NPs with SFs.

Irregular NPs in the locative

There is one irregular NP in the locative, in

... бысть знамение въ солнци ... и бысть яко мѣсяць, и съмерчеся, и по *мале времени* напълнися и пакы просвѣтися, ... '... there was an omen in the sun ... and it was like a moon, and went dark, and after a short time it became full and again began to shine, ...' (6695, 38)

where *мале времени* has a SF even though it functions as theme. Since temporal expressions fit into any context, it is likely that some of them have become fixed expressions, which could be an explanation for the SF in this case.

Conclusion

In NovGIS, the SF seems to be limited to the types of contexts described below.

Variation is found only within the nominative (singular and plural), accusative (singular and plural), the genitive singular and the locative singular.

It seems to be a necessary condition for use of the attributive SF that the NP functions as new rheme. If the NP functioning as new rheme is a nominative NP, it is either the subject of a verb denoting appearance or coming into existence or it is a predicative NP. If the NP functioning as new rheme is an accusative NP, the verb denotes causing to appear in a given context or bringing into existence. Genitive NPs functioning as new rheme are found in negated versions of the nominative and accusative contexts, and as animate direct objects in the same type of contexts as accusative NPs. Genitive NPs with SFs also function as predicative NPs. Locative NPs with SFs, like nominative NPs with SFs, are found in contexts where the verb denotes appearance. They describe the circumstances under which the subject appears and function much like an adjective modifying the subject.

The feature uniting these contexts is the fact that the adjectives with SFs are close in meaning to predicative adjectives. This is emphasized by the fact that the vast majority of SFs follow the noun they modify rather than precede it. Within plural NPs, the distinction between “representatives of a category characterized by a certain feature” (typically expressed by a NP with a LF) and “a certain number of individuals specifically characterized by a certain feature” (typically expressed by a NP with a SF) is particularly important. This is emphasized by the fact that plural NPs with SFs are often accompanied by an explicit number.

Only qualitative adjectives and adjectives denoting material or substance seem to form SFs, which corresponds with their “predicative” function.

The table below demonstrates how similar the contexts of the SFs in different cases and types of sentences actually are. Thus, the type of context represented by *не бысть снѣга велика* is simply a negated version of the type of context represented by *Въ то же лѣто громъ бысть страшнь зѣло*, and *бысть ... свѣтъ золь* expresses exactly the same action as *умыслиша свѣтъ золь* etc. The contexts have been arranged according to “similarity”, and the table serves an illustrative purpose only.

Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Locative
Въ то же лѣто <i>громъ</i> бысть <i>страшнь зѣло</i> 'The same year, there was very horrible thunder (6695, 38)		не бысть <i>снѣга</i> <i>велика</i> 'there was no heavy snow' (6653, 27)	
бысть въ вятшихъ <i>свѣтъ</i> <i>золь</i> 'there was an evil plan among the oldest' (6763, 81)	умыслиша <i>свѣтъ золь</i> 'they made an evil plan' (6767, 82)		
приходи в Русь <i>посаль</i> <i>силень</i> 'a powerful envoy arrived in Rus'' (6830, 96) приѣхавше <i>послы великы</i> 'great envoys ... having arrived' (6831, 97)			придоша в <i>силѣ</i> <i>велицѣ Нѣмци</i> ... 'the Germans arrived in a great force' (6745, 74)
заложена бысть <i>церкы</i> <i>камяна</i> 'a stone church was founded' (6674, 32)	заложнша <i>церковь</i> <i>камяну</i> 'they founded a stone church' (6680, 34) срубиша 4 <i>церкви</i> <i>деревяны</i> 'they built four wooden churches' (6811, 91)		
	наѣхаша <i>пещеру</i> <i>непроходну</i> 'they found an impassable cave' (6776, 86)	Изберѣте от себе <i>мужа таково</i> <i>достойна</i> 'select from among yourselves a man dignified of such' (6838, 99) не видехомъ <i>ясна</i> <i>дни</i> 'we did not see a [single] bright day' (6653, 27)	

The SFs seem to be holding up well and to be used consistently in the contexts described above.

As the table below shows, the SF dominates completely in the nominative, genitive and locative singular in contexts where both forms are possible.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme				Repeated rheme	
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP			
	SF ^a	LF	SF ^a	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	47	0	3 (2)	0	0	0
Nominative plural	4	2	1	0	0	0
Accusative singular	58 (23)	2	0	1	1	3
Accusative plural	2	7	0	0	0	0
Genitive singular	11 (7)	0	5 (0)	0	0	0
Locative singular	8	0	0	0	0	0
Total	130 (91)	11	9 (3)	1	1	3

^a The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs not including *церковь камени* (accusative singular) and NPs of the type *мужь добрь/благь* (nominative singular) *мужа добра/кротка/см.трена* etc. (genitive singular)

^b The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs not including NPs of the type *мужа добра/кротка/см.трена* etc.

Five of the NPs with LFs in the accusative singular are NPs functioning as “repeated rheme” (three NPs) and NPs with the adjective *больш-* (two NPs). Thus, “repeated rheme” might be a weak point, i.e., one of the contexts where the LF is spreading at the cost of the SF. There are, however, far too few examples to draw a firm conclusion.

The adjective *больш-* might be a weak point for etymological reasons, the root *больш-* being of a newer date than the original *велик-*. The only accusative singular NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are two instances of the NP *бол(ь)шую рану* and the predicative NP *свинью великую*, which defies explanation.

The reason for the high percentages of NPs with LFs in the nominative and, especially, in the accusative plural is the distinction between a “group of individuals” and a “subset of a category”. The difference is illustrated in the table below. The NPs listed under “Subset of category” denote unspecified, but potentially very large subsets of, in most cases, categories of people. These NPs are of the same type as the NPs that often function as theme and are close in meaning to plural nominalizations. It is clear that the referents of the NPs listed under “Individuals” represent a different and much more individualized type of NP. Four of the seven NPs in “Individuals” are numbered and *денье* has singular meaning. For *послы великы* and *волости имъ раздая достоинья*, the referent is of a character that precludes the meaning of a non-specific subset containing an unspecified number of de-individualized entities, which is characteristic of the “Subset of category” meaning. However, the distinction between the two modes of presentation (individuals vs. category) can be subtle and depends on interpretation. This might be the reason why “plural NPs functioning as new rheme” also represent an environment in which the LF seems to be infringing on the territory of the SF (cf. *волости достоинья* below, the only NP which breaks the “rule” of NPs with SFs referring to individuals and NPs with LFs referring to subsets of categories).

Individuals	Subset of category
... и сташа <i>денье зли</i> : мразъ, вьялиця, страшно зѣло '...and horrible weather began: frost, storm, [it was] very terrible' (6642, 23)	... приѣхаша <i>оканьнии Татарове</i> сыроядци Беркаи и Касачикъ ... и инѣхъ много; ... '... evil Tatars arrived, the barbarians Berkai and Kasačik ... and many others; ...' (6767, 82)
Стояста 2 <i>недѣли тѣлне</i> , яко искря гуце, теплѣ велми, переже жатвы; ... 'There were two full weeks, like glowing sparks, very warm, before the harvest; ...' (6653, 27)	... пришедше <i>безбожнии Татарове</i> , плѣниша всю землю Болгарьскую ... '... godless Tatars having arrived, they conquered all of the Bulgarian land, ...' (6744, 74)
... бысть знамение ... дивно велми: 6 круговъ, 3 около солнца, а кроме солнца другыя [кругы] 3 <i>великы</i> ... '... there was a very wondrous omen ...: six circles, three close to the sun, and around the sun three other large ones, ...' (6649, 26)	... како ему изити из града въ <i>дальняя страны</i> и оттолѣ искати царства '... how he could get out of the city to remote countries and from there seek czardom' (6712, 46)
... срубиша 4 <i>церкви деревяны</i> : святого Георгия в Торгу, ... и святого Георгия на Борьковѣ улици '... they built four wooden churches: [the church] of St. Georgii on the Square, ... and [the church] of St. Georgii on Borkov Street' (6811, 91)	... и събрачеся чернь, и волочаху <i>добрые мужи</i> ^a , ... '... and simplefolk gathered, and they dragged along good men, ... (6712, 47)
... и <i>церкви</i> сърубиша 2 <i>деревянѣ</i> на Търговищи: святую Богородищу и святого Георгия, ... '...and they built two wooden churches at the Marketplace: [the church] of the Holy Mother of God and [the church] of St. Georgii, ...' (6641, 23)	Яко инии простая чадь рѣзаху <i>люди живыя</i> и ядыху, а инии <i>мъртвая мяса</i> и трупие обрѣзающе ядыху, ... 'Like others, simple people cut live people and ate [them], and others cut dead flesh and corpses up and ate [them],...' (7167, 38)
... ту же приѣхавше <i>послы великы</i> от свѣнскаго короля и докончаша миръ вѣчнии съ княземъ и с Новымъгородомъ '... great envoys from the Swedish king having arrived here, they made eternal peace with the prince ...' (6831, 97)	... за грѣхы наша богъ ... отъять от насъ <i>мужи добрыѣ</i> ^b ... '... for our sins, God takes good men away from us ...' (6776, 87)
... и прия Гюрги сыновьць въ миръ съ любовью, и <i>волости</i> имъ раздая <i>достойныя</i> ; ... '... and Georgii received [his] nephews in peace with love, and giving them volost's appropriate for their rank; ...' (6663, 29)	... поставиша городъ надъ Невою, ... и посадивше в немъ <i>мужи нарочитыи</i> с воеводою Стѣнемъ и отъидоша ... '... they set up a city at the Neva, ... and having placed skilled men in it with the general Sten, they left ...' (6808, 91)

^a According to a footnote, the manuscript has *можа*

^b According to a footnote, the letter *ы* has been changed from an original *о* in the manuscript

Within certain expressions there are cases of completely inconsistent use of the SF, i.e., use of the SF in situations where the overall pattern otherwise dictates use of the LF, e.g., in definite NPs or NPs functioning as theme. This inconsistent use is limited to very similar NPs in uniform contexts. The only NPs displaying this inconsistency are the epithets *мужь добрь*, *мужа добра* etc. used about the dead or about church officials, and the NP *церковь камяну* as direct object of the verbs *свьѣршити*, *святити*, *концяти* and in one case *заложити* (and modified by a restrictive relative clause). It should be noted that in the vast majority of cases (35 of 42), the use of *церковь камяну* is consistent, i.e., the NP occurs in a context where a SF should be expected. This is less true of *мужь добрь*, *мужа добра*, which is used inconsistently in nine of 19 cases (including *добра князя* and *князя велика*).

Chapter 4

The Комиссионный список of the 1st Novgorod Chronicle

The excerpt of the *Комиссионный список* examined in this chapter covers the years from 6839 to 6954, i.e., 1331 to 1446. Within this excerpt, according to Kloss, two hands are discernible. The first part of the manuscript, written by the first hand, describes events until and including year 1439 (or 6947). The second part, written by the second hand, describes events from 1440-1446 (or 6948-6954) inclusively. The manuscript as a whole is dated to the middle of the 15th century (Kloss, vi).

In Nasonov's edition of the *Комиссионный список*, which has been used for the present analysis,¹ variants from *Академический список* (15th c.) and *Толстовский список* (18th c.) are provided. In the analysis, only the variants of *Академический список* (A) are taken into account, since, unlike *Толстовский список* (T), it is from the same time period as *Комиссионный список*. The variants are mentioned in the analysis only if they are relevant to the distribution of LFs and SFs. They are always mentioned when *Академический список* has a SF where *Комиссионный список* has a LF or vice versa in a case usually displaying variation. In the following, "variant reading" means a variant reading in *Академический список*.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the *Комиссионный список*

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix -ьск-

There are only 17² LFs of possessive adjectives in the *Комиссионный список*. 15 of these are either in the instrumental singular or in the genitive or dative plural, i.e., in case and number combination where SFs occur only exceptionally. In Novg1K, there are no SFs in any of these case and number combinations. The remaining two LFs are both found in instances of the accusative plural NP *нам ъстьники княжи* (6848, 353; 6868, 367), one of which has a variant reading with a SF, *княжи*, in AT.

There is only one SF of an adjective with the derivational suffix -ьск-, in ... *отдаша Степанка, пришедши къ архиепископу, молиша его, да пошлет къ с о б р а н и ю лю д с к у* '... they surrendered Stepanko, and having gone to the archbishop, they asked him to send him to the veče (assembly of the people)' (6926, 409).

¹ To be accurate, Kloss' 2000 re-edition of Nasonov's edition.

² Not including place names in which the LF of a possessive adjective seems to be fixed, e.g., *Торговая сторона* (cf. the list of place names in the 2000-edition of *Комиссионный список*, 648-682).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The distribution of LFs and SFs of adjectives displaying context-determined variation in case and number combinations with variation is outlined in the table below.

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF ^c	LF	SF	LF	SF ^b	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF
Contexts usually generating a LF	10 ^a	7	10 ^d	0	14 ^e	4 (1)	8	0	9	5	11	3
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	4 ^b	46	3	7	10 ^f	106 ^g (39)	5 ⁱ	8	3	3	0	2
Total	14	53	13	7	24	110 (40)	13	8	12	8	11	5

^a One has a SF in AT

^b One has a SF in AT

^c Bold figures indicate irregular NPs accounted for in "Exceptions"

^d Two have SFs in AT

^e One has a SF in AT

^f Two have SFs, and one is in the instrumental case in AT

^g In two NPs, the noun is modified by a LF of a qualitative adjective in addition to the SF

^h The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs not including *церковь камени*

ⁱ One has a SF in AT

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 10 singular NPs with LFs in contexts usually generating a LF, as exemplified by

Того же лѣта мѣсяца августа въ 8 день, ... коньцана бысть *церкви каменная* на
Городищи святое Благовѣщение архиепископомъ новгородчкымъ Васильемъ,
... 'The same year on August 8, ... the stone church of the Holy Annunciation in
Gorodišče was completed by Archbishop Vasilii of Novgorod, ...' (6851, 357)

where *церкви каменная* is definite because of its coreference with *церковь* in *Того же лѣта
заложил владыка Василии церковь святое Благовѣщение на Городищи, ...* (6850, 354).

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 10 plural NPs with LFs in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is the NP *погании Измалятяне*, which is definite because of its coreference with *безбожных Татарь*, in

... и поиде противу безбожных Татарь, ... и въниде бо в землю их за Донь, ...
и ту исполцишася *погании Измалятяне* противу крестиянь '... and [he]
went against the godless Tatars, ... for [he] entered their country beyond the Don,
... and there the pagan Ishmaelites had ranged themselves against the Christians'
(6888, 376)

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 14 singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. In the example below, *стѣну каменую* is coreferent by association with *Городкѣ*, and since it is most likely that the stone wall is one particular stone wall surrounding the whole place, the NP is most appropriately interpreted as definite:

Того же лѣта архиепископъ Еуфимей великого Новагорода заложил
монастырь святого Георгия в Городкѣ, и *стѣну каменую* понови, и церковь
святого Георгия понови и подписа, ... 'The same year Archbishop Eufimej of
Great Novgorod founded a monastery [in the name of] St. Georgii in Gorodok, and
[he] renewed the stone wall and renewed and painted the church of St. Georgii, ...'
(6953, 424)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are eight plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF, as in

Князь же великыи Дмитрии съ братомъ своимъ ... крѣпко брашася ... за святыя божиа церкви, за правовѣрную вѣру, за всю Рускую землю; ... 'Great Prince Dmitrii and his brother ... fought hard ... for God's holy churches, for the Orthodox faith, [and] for all of the Russian land ' (6888, 377)

Where the NP *святыя ... церкви* must be interpreted as definite because of its modification by a possessive adjective and its coordination with other definite NPs.

Genitive

Singular NPs with LFs

In the genitive, there are nine singular NPs with LFs in contexts usually generating a LF.

An example of this is

... с обѣ сторонѣ кровопролитья много учинилося. И новгородци, не хотя видити бошаго кровопролитья въ крестиянѣхъ, послаша послы к великому князю с челобитьемъ о старинѣ, ... '... there was much bloodshed on both sides. And the Novgorodians, not wanting to see great bloodshed among Christians, sent envoys to the great prince with a petition for the old terms, ...' (6901, 386)

Here the NP *бошаго кровопролитья* functions as theme. The NP *кровопролитья много* refers to a specific event and *бошаго кровопролитья* to a general act(ion), in which the specific event is included, and of which the specific event is a concrete realization. That is, the sequence *не хотя видити бошаго кровопролитья* means '[they] did not want to see this bloodshed (referring back to *кровопролитья много*) nor, in general, any other bloodshed. It is thus coreference that enables *бошаго кровопролитья* to function as theme.

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 11 singular NPs in the locative in contexts usually generating a LF, all of which must be considered definite, as in

Того же лѣта постави архиепископъ Еуфимии колоколницу камену на старомъ мѣстѣ, на городѣ, идѣже палася до основания 'The same year, Archbishop Eufimii built a stone belfry in the old place, at the fortification, where [the old belfry] had fallen to its foundation' (6947, 420)

The meaning of *на старомъ мѣстѣ* is that the belfry was built on a foundation where an earlier version of the same building used to stand, i.e., one particular, definite foundation.

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 50 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. All of these function as rheme. 46 have SFs, and four have LFs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

45 NPs are non-predicative and function as new rheme, 41 of the NPs with SFs and the four NPs with LFs. All 41 NPs with SFs and two of the NPs with LFs are subjects of existential sentences. They all describe phenomena such as weather, as in

Того же лѣта иде лед силенъ изъ озера ... 'The same year, heavy ice came from the lake ...' (6914, 399)

disasters of different kinds, as in

Мѣсяца мая въ 12, на память святого мученика Епифанна, бысть пожаръ золь в Новѣгородѣ: ... 'On the 12th of May, the day of the Holy Martyr Epifanii, there was a bad fire in Novgorod: ...' (6876, 370)

social unrest, as in

Того же лѣта бысть мятежь силенъ въ Ордѣ ... 'The same year there was a great tumult in the Horde ...' (6868, 365)

or supernatural phenomena, as in

Сей же зимы, ... чудо бысть страшно въ церкви святого Михаила на Сквороткѣ: звукъ бысть в маковицѣ; сей же звукъ слышаша попы и чернци по два дни, по двѣ нощи 'The same winter, ... there was a terrifying wonder in the church of St. Mixail at Skovorodka: there was a noise in the dome; and the priests and monks heard this noise for two days and two nights' (6917, 401)

The two NPs with LFs functioning as subjects of existential sentences are *горе немалое* in

И тако ступившимся обѣима полкома, и бысть сѣца зла, якоже и не бывала такова Литовьскон землѣ с Тотары; и по грѣхом тако случися *горе немалое* литовьскимъ дѣтемъ 'And so both armies came into conflict, and there was such a fierce battle as had never been between Lithuania and the Tatars, and thus significant grief came upon the children of Lithuania for their sins; ...' (6907, 395)

and *буря ... вѣтреня* in

Того же лѣта, мѣсяца априля въ 9, в недѣлю по вечерни бысть буря велиа³ вѣтреня ... 'The same year, on April 9, on Sunday after evening service there was a powerful windy storm ...' (6927, 411)

The remaining two NPs with LFs are subjects of passive constructions, in

Поставлена бысть церкви каменная⁴ въ имя святыя Богородица Знамение, на Ильини улици 'A stone church was built in the name of the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God, at the Пiana Street' (6862, 364)

and

Того же дни священа бысть церкви древяная святое Вѣскресение господне ... 'On the same day, a wooden church was consecrated [in the name of] the Holy Resurrection of the Lord ...' (6923, 405)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

There are four predicative NPs, all of which have SFs, as in

Того же лѣта, ... бысть буря велиа вѣтреня, и тучя, и дождь умножень; источницѣ потекоша воды, акы рѣка сила, и молнии блистанна, и громъ страшень бысть; ... 'The same year, ... there was a powerful windy storm, and clouds, and abundant rain; from the springs water ran like a strong river, and there was flashing of lightning and horrible thunder; ...' (6927, 411)

Repeated rheme

One NP with a SF, *сила велика*, functions as 'repeated' rheme, in

Се же слышавъ князь великыи Дмитрии Иванович, яко грядеть на нь сила велика татарская, и собравъ многы вон, и поиде противу безбожных Татаръ, ... 'And having heard this, that a great Tatar force was coming against him, Great Prince Dmitrii Ivanovič gathered many soldiers and went against the godless Tatars, ...' (6888, 376)

The sequence *Се же слышавъ князь великыи Дмитрии Иванович, яко грядеть на нь сила велика татарская* is a repetition of a preceding sequence, which is found five lines up under the same year, ... *приидоша вѣсти от Орды к великому князю Дмитрию ... якоже въздвизается на крестияны измаилетескыи род поганыи* 'News came from the Horde to Great Prince Dmitrii ... that the pagan Ishmaelites were moving against the Christians' (6888, 376).

³ The SF *велиа* has no practical significance, since this adjective has no LF (Vaillant, 31).

⁴ SF in AT.

Plural NPs

There are 10 plural NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. All of these function as new rheme. Seven NPs have SFs and three have LFs.

NPs functioning as new rheme

Five NPs function as subjects of existential or presentational sentences, two with SFs and three with LFs. The two NPs with SFs are found in exactly the same type of context as many of the singular NPs with SFs, in an existential sentence describing weather,

... в ношь бысть трусъ на небесѣ великъ: въшедши туцѣ с полудни, в полунощи громъ и молнии огненѣ съ небесѣ ... '... in the night, there was a great storm in the sky; clouds came up from the south, and in the north there was thunder and fiery lightning from the sky ...' (6929, 413)

and in an existential sentence describing an omen,

Тоя веснѣ, в великое говѣние, аки *огнени зари* явишася от вѣстока, ... 'That spring, at Lent, [something] like fiery lights appeared from the east, ...' (6868, 367)

As mentioned above, the remaining three subjects of existential or presentational sentences have LFs. Two of the NPs denote humans, and the referents are presented as representatives of a category. Both are instances of *люди молодые*, in

ѣздиша из Новаграда *люди молодые* на Волгу без новгородьчкого слова, 'From Novgorod young men went to the Volga without authorization from Novgorod ...' (6874, 369)

and

Ходиша из Новагорода *люди молодые* к Новому городку, на Овль на рѣцѣ, к нѣмечкому 'From Novgorod young men went to the German town of Novyi Gorodok at the Ovla River, ...' (6885, 374)

The third plural NP with a LF in an existential sentence is coordinated with a singular NP with a SF:

... и бѣ по волости изѣѣжа велика и *боры частыя*, ... '... and there was much confiscation, frequent demands for money throughout the districts, ...' (6953, 425)

Five NPs, all with SFs, are subjects of passive constructions. They all denote churches, and the adjectives, *древян-* and *камен-*, denote material. Two sentences describe the creation of the churches,

Того же лѣта поставлены быша три *церкви древяны*: святыи Николу на Яковли улици, святого Саву ... святого Николу на Ляткѣ, ... 'The same year,

three wooden churches were built: St. Nikola at Iakov Street, St. Sava ... St. Nikola at Liatka' (6864, 364)

and

Того же лѣта поставлены быша 4 *церкви камены*: Всѣ святыи ... святого Саву ... святого Илью ... Въскресение христово ... и святого Николу ... 'The same year, four stone churches were built: All Saints ... St. Sava ... St. Iliа ... the Resurrection of Christ ... and St. Nikola ...' (6926, 410-411)

Three passive constructions describe the completion of the churches. None of the churches are mentioned in the preceding context. In all three sentences, the subject is *церкви камены* and the verb is *свершены быша/свершенѣ быша/свершена быста*, as in

Тои осени свершена быста двѣ *церкви камены*⁵: святыи Петръ митрополит рускыи да святыи Афанаси, ... 'The same fall, two stone churches were completed: [in the name of] St. Peter, the Russian metropolitan, and St. Afanasii, ...' (6924, 407)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 116 NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible, 106 with SFs and 10 with LFs.

NPs functioning as new rheme

114 of the NPs function as new rheme, including all 106 SFs and eight of the LFs. Of the NPs with SFs, 67⁶ are instances of *церковь камену* followed by the name of the church and functioning as direct object of one of the verbs in the table below.

⁵ After *дѣѣ*, the noun can be interpreted as nom. pl. or gen. sg., since there is no morphological difference between the two. The adjective, however, must be nom. pl., since it is not gen. pl. For this reason, the NP is counted as an nominative plural NP (cf. Vlasto, 232ff.).

⁶ One of these NPs is additionally modified by a LF of qualitative adjective, in *Постави владыка Иоан чудотворную церковь камену святых Исповѣдникъ* 'Bishop Ioan built a miracle-working stone church [in the name of] the Holy Confessors' (6919, 403).

The distribution of instances of *церковь камену* functioning as new rheme according to verb

Verb form + <i>церковь камену</i>	поставити	заложити	почати дѣлати	свершити ^a
67	49 ^b	12 ^c	1	5

^a*церковь камену* not previously mentioned

^bone of this is additionally modified by a LF

^cone of these has a LF in AT

A typical example of this frequent construction is

Поставиша *церковь камену* святого Николу в Порховѣ, ... 'They built a stone church [in the name of] St. Nikola in Porhov, ...' (6920, 403)

In addition, there are six instances of the NP *церковь древяну* in the same type of construction, all with forms of the verb *поставити*.

Of the remaining 33 NPs with SFs, 17 are found in contexts similar to the ones described above. 16 of these denote buildings, are modified by a form of *камен-* and are direct objects of one of the verbs (*но*)*ставити*, *заложити* or *приставити*, as in

Того же лѣта владыка Василии поставилъ *полату камену* у себе на дворѣ, ... 'The same year, Archbishop Vasilii built a stone mansion in his court, ...' (6858, 362)

One NP denotes a part of a building and is the direct object of *устроить*. It is modified by the SF *златоверху* and additionally by the LF *большую*, in

Поби владыка Иоанн святыи Софѣи свинцом, а *маковицю большую златоверху*¹ устрои 'Bishop Ioann covered St. Sophia with lead and built a large gold-topped cupola' (6916, 400)

The adjective *златоверху-*, like the adjectives denoting material, denotes an inherent quality.

An additional four NPs with the adjective *новъ* are found this type of context. Three have the noun *мостъ* and one has *монастырь*. The verbs are forms of *дѣлати*, *поставити* and in one case *свершити*. An example of this is

И поставиша *монастырь новъ* святого Николу конецъ Люгоши улицѣ и Чюдинцевѣ на скуделници 'And they established a new monastery of St. Nikola at the end of Liugošča Street and Čudinceva Street by the mass grave' (6898, 383)

Only 12 of the NPs with SFs do not denote buildings. 11 are direct objects of verbs denoting, in a broad sense, 1) creation or existence (verbs that mean ‘to bring into existence’ or ‘to cause to exist’; or 2) possession or appearance in an entity’s possession (verbs that mean ‘to possess’ or ‘to cause to appear in an entity’s possession’).

Two NPs are instances of *праздникъ свѣтель* ‘high festival’; both function as direct object of *створиша* ‘made’, as in

И поставлень бысть Иванъ архиепископом Новуграду ... и створиша в тои день *праздникъ свѣтель* съ хвалами и пѣсньми, ... ‘And Ivan was established archbishop of Novgorod ... and they made high festival on that day with praises and songs, ...’ (6896, 382-383)

In the example below, the construction *беше ... на мятежь великъ* has the same meaning as a verb denoting creation or bringing into existence:

... он же възгордився, засяде Смоленске, и Полоческъ, и Витепльскъ, и беше ему не полезно и людемъ на *мятежь великъ* и на брань ‘... but having grown proud, he occupied Smolensk, Polotsk and Vitebsk, which was not advantageous for him, and for the people [it caused them to start] a great riot’ (6948, 420-421)

Two NPs are direct objects of verbs that denote possession, *держати* ‘hold’ (but in the example below better rendered as ‘feel’) and *имѣти* ‘have’, in

И Новъгород слова его не прияше, а грамотѣ не подраша; и митрополит поиха из Новагорода, а на Новъгород *велико нелюбие* держа ‘And Novgorod did not accept his word, and they did not tear up the charter, and the metropolitan departed from Novgorod, feeling great displeasure against Novgorod’ (6899, 385)

and

Явися знамение на небесѣ: звѣзда хвостата, на западѣ *луць* имуща *свѣтель*; ... ‘An omen appeared in the sky: a tailed star, having a bright ray in the west; ...’ (6910, 397)

Six NPs function as direct object of the verb *(но)дати* ‘give’, as in

Прииха в Новъгород митрополитъ Киприянь с патриаршимъ послом ... и владыка Иванъ далъ *честь велику* митрополиту и патриаршу послу; ... ‘Metropolitan Kiprian came to Novgorod with the patriarch’s envoy ... and Bishop Ivan gave great honor to the metropolitan and to the patriarch’s envoy; ...’ (6903, 387)

In one example, a NP with a SF, *долгъ час* ‘long time’, is part of a prepositional phrase with a function similar to that of a predicative adjective, *на долгъ час* ‘for a long time’ in

И абие съступишася полкы обои; и бысть брань на долгъ час зѣло, и устрашитъ богъ невидѣмою силою сыны Агаряны, 'And both forces immediately met, and there was a battle for a very long time, and God terrified the sons of Hagar with an invisible might, ...' (6888, 377)

The eight NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are found in exactly the same type of contexts as the NPs with SFs. They are direct objects of verbs meaning 'to bring into existence' or 'to cause to appear in an entity's possession'. Two denote buildings and have adjectives denoting material, *город каменны* in

Того же лѣта владыка Василии святую Софѣю сторону свинцомъ поби, ... и *город каменны* постави, поспѣшиениемъ божьимъ, въ два лѣта 'The same year Bishop Vasilii covered the side of St. Sophia with lead, ... and [he] put up a stone wall by the help of God, in two years' (6841, 345)

and *церковь деревяную* in

Поставиша ... 3-ю ... *церковь деревяную*⁷ святую Троицю 'They built ... a third ... wooden church [in the name of] the Holy Trinity' (6920, 403)

Two NPs have LFs of the adjective *велик-*, *теремъ великыи* in

Тои же осени постави владыка *теремъ великыи* 'The same fall the bishop built a large palace' (6849, 353-354)

and *колоколь великыи* in

Того же лѣта повелѣ сольяти владыка Василии *колоколь великыи*⁸ къ святѣи Софѣи ... 'The same year Bishop Vasilii ordered a big bell to be cast for St. Sophia ...' (6850, 354)

One NP, *златую печать*, which also has an adjective denoting material, is the direct object of *привезти* 'to bring', in

Того же лѣта придоша послове архиепископа новгородчкого Моисиа изъ Цесаряграда, и привезоша ему ризы крестъцаты, и грамоты с великымъ пожалованиемъ от цесаря и от патриарха, и *златую печать*⁹ 'The same year the envoys of Bishop Moisia of Novgorod returned from Constantinople and brought him vestments decorated with crosses and documents with great bestowal of favor from the czar and from the patriarch, and a gold seal' (6862, 364)

⁷ SF in AT.

⁸ SF in AT.

⁹ In AT, this NP is in the instrumental case, *златою печатью*.

Three NPs with LFs are instances of *святую литургию* 'holy liturgy'. They are found in very similar contexts, functioning as direct objects of the verb *свершити/совръшити* 'complete, perform', as in

... поставиша церковь святую Ностасью в память ея, и свяща ю архиепископъ Семеонъ того же дни и *святую литургию* совръши; ... '... [they] built a church in memory of St. Anastasia, and Archbishop Semeon consecrated it on the same day and performed a holy liturgy; ...' (6925, 408)

Repeated rheme

Two NPs, both instances of *горкую и нужную смерть/нужную и горкую смерть*, function as 'repeated' rheme in parallel constructions,

Того же мѣсяца въ 29 убиша князя Олександра и сына его Федора в Ордѣ поганин Татарова: ... оному же послушавъшю поганаго льстивых словесъ и пришедшю и убиена быста, приемша *горкую и нужную смерть* 'On the 29th of the same month, Prince Oleksandr and his son Fedor were killed in the Horde by pagan Tatars: ... and they, having listened to the deceitful words of the pagan, and having gone, were both killed, and received a bitter and violent death' (6847, 350)

and

И кто, братье, о сем не поплачется, кто ся осталъ живых видѣвъ, како онѣ *нужную и горкую смерть* подъяша, ... 'And who, brothers, of those who remained alive, is not grieving over this, seeing, how those others suffered violent and bitter death, ...' (6880, 372)

In the first example, *приемша горкую и нужную смерть* is a repetition with other words of *убиена быста*, and the second example is preceded by a long description of how many people of Toržok were killed in cruel ways by invaders from Tver. The NP *нужную и горкую смерть* sums up this description in the parallel structure *(како) онѣ нужную и горкую смерть подъяша*. The adjectives do not provide new information; it is implied in the fact that the prince and his son were killed by the Tatars and in the description of the killings in Toržok that the deaths were violent and bitter.

Plural NPs

There are 13 accusative plural NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. They all function as new rheme. Eight have SFs and five have LFs.

NPs functioning as new rheme

The eight NPs with SFs are of exactly the same type as most of the accusative singular NPs with SFs functioning as new rheme, i.e., they are direct objects of verbs meaning 'to bring into existence', 'to cause to exist', 'to possess' or 'to cause to appear in an entity's possession'.

Six NPs with SFs have adjectives denoting material, as in

В то же лѣто боголюбивый архиепископъ Василии ... у святѣи Софѣи *двери мѣдяны золочены* устроилъ 'The same year the God-loving Archbishop Vasilii ... put up gilded brass doors at St. Sophia' (6844, 347)

The remaining two NPs with SFs are instances of the NP *ризы хрестъцаты/крестъцаты*, in

Поиша владыка Василии на Москву ... и тамо митрополит Фегнасть благослови архиепископа новгородчкого Василья и дасть ему *ризы хрестъцаты* 'Bishop Vasilii went to Moscow ... and there Metropolitan Feognast blessed Archbishop Vasilii of Novgorod and gave him some vestments decorated with crosses (6854, 358)

and

Того же лѣта приидоша послове архиепископа новгородчкого Моисиа изъ Цесаряграда, и привезоша ему *ризы хрестъцаты*, ... 'The same year the envoys of Archbishop Moissii of Novgorod returned from Constantinople and brought him vestments decorated with crosses ...' (6862, 364)

The adjective *хрестъцат-/крестъцат-*, like the adjectives denoting material, denotes an inherent quality.

Of the five NPs with LFs, one is found in exactly the same type of context as many of the singular NPs with SFs – the verb denotes 'creation' or 'bringing into existence', and the adjective denotes an inherent characteristic of the referent of the noun:

Тои же осени бысть помрачение въ солнци и тма бысть ... и потом явися солнце, *кровавыя*¹⁰ *луча* испущающе с дымомъ, ... 'The same fall, there was a darkening of the sun, and there was darkness ... and then the sun appeared, emitting bloody rays with smoke, ...' (6907, 395-396)

The remaining four NPs with LFs can most appropriately be interpreted as referring to (subsets) of categories, as in

¹⁰ SF in AT.

И добръ ю украси, и иконы на златѣ добрым писаньемъ устрои ... и церковныя служебныя *съсуды серебряныя* створи, и иныя *сосуды серебряныя* устрои на потребу монастырю ‘And he decorated it well and had the pictures well painted on gold ... and he had silver vessels for church service made, and other silver vessels for use in the monastery’ (6950, 422)

The referents of *съсуды серебряныя/сосуды серебряныя* are presented as a type of church utensils that were made for the church at the same time as several other improvements were made.

Genitive

Singular NPs

There are six NPs in the genitive in contexts where both LFs and SFs are possible. Three of these have SFs, of which two are predicative NPs, and three have LFs. The three NPs with LFs and the two predicative NPs with SFs function as new rheme. One NP with a SF functions as repeated rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

As mentioned above, the three non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme all have LFs. One NP is the genitive “subject” of a negated existential sentence and functions as new rheme, *праваго суда* in

А в то же время не бѣ в Новѣгородѣ правдѣ и *праваго суда*, и вѣсташа ябетници, изнарядиша чety и обѣты и целованья на неправду, ... ‘At the same time there was no justice and no fair application of law in Novgorod; calumniators arose and turned obligations and accounts and oaths into falsehood; ...’ (6953, 425)

In two NPs only the adjective functions as new rheme, i.e., the noun is part of theme, while the adjective is part of rheme. Both of these NPs have LFs. In the first example,

Того же лѣта князь великий позва владыку к собѣ на Москву на честь, и посадника и тысячного и вятших бояръ; и владыка Василии ѣздивъ, и *чести великою* много видить ‘The same year the great prince called the bishop to [see] him in Moscow to be honored, along with the *posadnik* and the *tysiackii* and the leading boyars; and Bishop Vasilii, having gone, saw a lot of great honor’ (6843, 347)

the rheme of the clause *чести великою много видить* is the confirmation that Vasilii was, in fact, as expected, honored upon his arrival in Moscow, and that the honor he received was

great. The NP *чести великою* refers to a concrete and specific realization of the abstract and non-specific *честь* in *позва ... на честь*. The relationship between *чести великою* and *честь* must be characterized as partial coreference; *чести* is coreferent with *честь*, whereas *великою* is new information.

In the second example, the noun *миру* of the NP *миру крѣпкаго* is coreferent with *миръ* in *взяша миръ с Нѣмци*, whereas *крѣпкаго* is new information:

Тои же осени послаша новгородци послы на създъ с Нѣмци в Ызборьско: ... тогда взяша миръ с Нѣмци. Тои же зимѣ тѣи же послове нѣмѣчкын приихавъше в Новѣгород, и товары свои поимахут, и крестъ цѣловатѣ, и начаша дворъ свои ставити изнова: занеже не бѣшет по 7 год *миру крѣпкаго* 'The same fall the Novgorodians sent envoys to a conference with the Germans at Izborsk: ... then they took peace with the Germans. The same winter the same German envoys came to Novgorod, and they brought their merchandise, and kissed the cross, and began to build their court anew, for there had been no stable peace for seven years' (6899, 384)

In this example, *миръ* in *взяша миръ с Нѣмци* is a concrete realization of *миру* in *миру крѣпкаго*. The adjective has a function close to that of a predicative adjective, i.e., the meaning of *не бѣшет по 7 год миру крѣпкаго* is that 'for seven years, peace [with the Germans] had not been stable'.

Repeated rheme

In the example below, *не бѣ ... суда права*¹¹ is a repetition of *не бѣ ... праваго суда* five lines up. Both function as rheme in their respective clauses, which means that *суда права* has the status of 'repeated' rheme:

А в то же время не бѣ в Новѣгородѣ правдѣ и праваго суда, и вѣсташа ябетници, изнарядиша четы и обѣты и целованья на неправду, ... и бѣ по волости ... клятва всими людьми на старѣишины наша и на град нашъ, зане не бѣ в насъ милости и *суда права* 'At the same time there was no justice and no fair application of law in Novgorod; calumniators arose and turned obligations and accounts and oaths into falsehood; ... and throughout the district there were ... curses on all sides against our seniors and our city; because there was no grace in us and no fair application of law' (6953, 425)

¹¹ It is possible to interpret *права* not as a SF, but as a genitive of the noun *право*.

Predicative NPs

The two predicative NPs are both appositional epithets. One is the probably formulaic *мужа добра* usually used about a deceased person, in

Того же лѣта приходиша Нѣмци ... и убиша ту Михѣя Копорьянѣна, *мужа добра*, ... 'The same year, the Germans arrived ... and here they killed Mixei Korianen, a good man, ...' (6846, 349)

The other epithet, *человѣка добра*, is used about a craftsman brought to Novgorod to cast a bell for St. Sophia. This context is also similar to the contexts of such epithets in *Синодальный список*, where they are used about not only the deceased, but also about church officials:

Того же лѣта повелѣ сольяти владыка Василии колоколь великыи къ святѣи Софѣи и приводе мастъры с Москвѣ, *человѣка добра*, именемъ Бориса 'The same year Bishop Vasiliï ordered a big bell to be cast for St. Sophia and brought a master from Moscow, a good person by the name of Boris' (6850, 354)

Locative

Singular NPs

There are two locative singular NPs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible, both of which have SFs. Both NPs have a function similar to that of a predicative adjective and clearly function as rheme, (*в*) *сили велицѣ* in

Принде цесарь татарьскыи Тектомышъ *в сили велицѣ* на землю Рускую, много попустоши земли Рускои ... 'The czar of the Tatars, Tektomyš, came to the Russian land with a large force [and] devastated a lot of the Russian land ...' (6890, 378)

and (*въ*) *скорби велицѣ* in

На ту же зиму съиде владыка Алексѣи со владычества, по своен воли, на Деревяницу; и бысть Новгород в то время *въ скорби велицѣ*¹²; ... 'The same winter Bishop Aleksei resigned the archbishopric voluntarily, retiring to Derevianitsa, and Novgorod fell into great grief; ...' (6883, 373)

¹² This NP has a variant reading with a LF: AT have *въ великои скорби быша* instead of *бысть въ скорби велицѣ*.

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Plural NPs

There are 39 genitive plural NPs, all with LFs, none of which are found in contexts likely to generate a SF. All genitive plural NPs are found either in contexts usually generating a LF or they denote categories of people or buildings.

Dative NPs

There are seven dative NPs in the singular and four in the plural, all of which have LFs and are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

NPs in the instrumental case

Singular NPs

There are five singular NPs in the instrumental case, all of which have LFs. They all function as new rheme, as *тыном новымъ* in

В то же лѣто боголюбивыи архиепископъ Василии святую Софѣю *тыном новымъ* отыни, а у святѣи Софѣи двери мѣдяны золочены устроить 'The same year the God-loving Archbishop Vasilii fenced St. Sophia with a new fence and put up gilded brass doors in St. Sophia' (6844, 347)

Plural NPs

There are three plural NPs and one dual NP in the instrumental case, all with LFs. The dual NP and one of the plural NPs are found in contexts often generating a SF. The plural NP, *прехвалными похвалами*, functions as new rheme together with the verb *прославиша*, in

Князь же великыи Дмитрии съ братомъ своимъ съ княземъ Володимеромъ ... *прехвалными похвалами* прославиша пречистую мать божию богородицю, ... 'Great Prince Dmitrii and his brother, Prince Volodimer ... glorified with supreme praise the Immaculate Mother of God, ... (6888, 376)

In the dual NP, the noun *очима* is partially coreferent with *князь великыи Дмитрии*, whereas the adjective *умилныма* constitutes rheme together with the verb. The adjective is close in function to a predicative adjective:

Князь же великыи Дмитрии, ... изрядивъ полкы противу поганыхъ Половецъ и възрѣвъ на небо *умилныма очима*, ... 'And Great Prince Dmitrii, ... having arranged his troops against the pagan Polovcians, looked with humble eyes towards heaven, ...' (6888, 376)

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There are three plural NPs in the locative, all with LFs and all in contexts usually generating a LF.

Exceptions

Most irregular NPs, i.e., NPs with SFs occurring in contexts usually generating a LF, are of the same two basic types as in NovgIS. One type consists of the noun *церковь* 'church' (in one case *стѣна* 'wall') and an adjective denoting material, most often *камен-* 'of stone', but in some cases *древян-* 'wooden'. The verb is a form of *свершити* 'complete', *коньцати* 'finish' or *святити* 'consecrate', or of the intransitive verbs *с-/о-/по-/выгорѣти* 'burn' or *пасти(ся)* 'fall'. This type of NP is represented in the nominative and accusative, singular and plural. The other type of irregular NP functions as an epithet of church officials or of the deceased. This type is represented in the nominative and the genitive, and only in the singular.

Irregular NPs of the type *Verb + церковь (стѣна) + камен- (древян-)*

In the table below, the distribution of all NPs following the pattern *Verb + церковь (стѣна) + камен- (древян-)* is outlined. The numbers indicating irregular NPs, i.e., NPs with SFs occurring in contexts usually generating a LF, are in boldface.

As the table shows, half of the irregular NPs denote definite entities, as in

Свершиша церковь камену святыи Федоръ на Федоровѣ улицѣ 'The completed the stone church [of] St. Fedor at Fedorova Street' (6869, 367)

where *церковь камену* is coreferent with another instance of the same NP under year 6868, 18 lines up, in

Того же лѣта заложи церковь камену Федоръ святыи на Федоровѣ улицѣ Семеонъ Ондръевич ... 'The same year, Semeon Ondreevič founded a church [in the name of] St. Fedor at Fedorova Street' (6868,367)

The other half of the irregular NPs function as theme, as in

Тон веснѣ вода подмывала у Дитинца город, и оползевала земля от стѣны, и падеся стѣна камена и колоколница от Волхова 'The same spring the water washed away the wall of the Detinets, and the earth from the wall slipped down and the stone wall fell together with the belfry [undermined] by the Volxov' (6945, 419)

	Contexts usually generating a LF								Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible							
	Definite NP (coreference)				NP functions as theme (preexistence implied)				New rheme (creation)				New rheme (completion and consecration)			
Verbs	кoнъцати; свершити				с-/o-/по-/выгорѣти; пастн(ся)				поставити; заложити; почати д±лати				свершити; святити			
Number	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
SF / LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nom.	1	1	0	0	4	2 ^a	0	2 ^b	0	1 ^c	2	0	0	1	3	0
Acc.	3	1 ^d	0	0	+	+	+	+	68 ^e	2 ^f	2	0	5	0	2	0

^a In AT, one of these NPs has a SF

^b These NPs both have SFs in AT

^c In AT, this NP has a SF

^d In AT, this NP has a SF

^e One of these has a LF in AT

^f In AT, one of these NPs has a SF, *деревяну*

Irregular NPs functioning as epithets

Four irregular NPs, three in the genitive and one in the nominative, function as epithets of church officials or deceased people. The distribution of all NPs in this type of context is illustrated in the table below.

SFs in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	SFs in contexts usually generating a LF
New rheme (predicative NPs)	Theme / coreference
Nominative (0)	Nominative (1) (theme)
-	Того же лѣта загорѣся в Новѣгородѣ ... и мужь добръ сгорѣ Есифъ Давидович
Genitive (2)	Genitive (3) (coreference)
Того же лѣта приходиша Нѣмци ... и убиша ту Михѣя Копорьянѣна, мужа добра	И избра богъ, святая Софѣя святителя имѣти мужа добра, разумна и о всемъ рассмотрелива Олексна чернца
приводе мастьры с Москвѣ, челоуѣка добра, именемъ Бориса	избра богъ и святая Софѣя и престоль божиин мужа добра, тиха, смирена Иоана
-	бысть мятежь в Литвѣ, ... и убиша князя велика ^a Кестутья Гедиминовича

^a This NP has a LF in AT. Another footnote says that after *велика* is added an underlined *го*

As the table shows, the only difference between the irregular NPs and the appositional NPs is that the irregular NPs precede the noun they specify rather than follow it. If the irregular NPs had been placed after the nouns, they would have been interpreted as regular appositions. With respect to the NP *князя велика*, it is possible that it does not mean 'the title of great prince' in this context, but 'the prince who was great'. It is, however, more likely that the NP in itself and not just its position is an irregularity, since it is corrected and has a LF in *Академический список*.

Other irregular NPs

There are seven irregular NPs in contexts other than those described above. Three are in the locative. One of these is in a temporal expression functioning as theme, in

И по *малѣ временѣ*, того же мѣсяца, погорѣ Заполье Микитины улицѣ, ...
 'And after a short time, in the same month, Mikitin Street in Zapolie burned, ...'
 (6950, 423)

There is an instance of the same expression functioning as theme in Novg1S, and the explanation for the SFs in these cases is probably that the temporal adverb *по малѣ временѣ* has turned into a fixed expression.

The remaining two irregular NPs in the locative are instances of the expression *в малѣ дружинѣ* functioning as part of theme, in

... и удалых людей избиша 80; и бѣ жалостно слышати убьенье ихъ. А Василии убѣжа съ сыномъ своимъ Семеономъ *в малѣ дружинѣ*, а иных разбѣгошася по лѣсу; ... '... and they killed 80 brave men; and it was terrible to hear their destruction. But Vasilii escaped with his son Semeon and a small retinue, and others dispersed into the forest; ...' (6953, 425)

and

... а иных множество иссѣкоша; а князь Иванъ Ондрѣевич и князь Василии Ярославлич а тын ранены *в малѣ дружинѣ* утекоша '... and they slew many others; but Prince Ivan Ondreevič and Prince Vasilii Iaroslavlič escaped wounded with a small retinue' (6953, 426)

In both examples the key information is the fact that the respective people managed to escape, which means that the verbs *убѣжа* and *утекоша* constitute rheme. The NP (в) *малѣ дружинѣ* specifies a group of escapees and thus forms part of theme. Compared to other NPs in the locative case, this adverbial phrase occurs frequently in the chronicle texts, and it is possible that it has turned into a fixed expression.

Two irregular NPs are the accusative NP *слово добро* and the genitive of this NP, *слова добра*. There are two additional instances of this NP in the accusative. Both have SFs and function as new rheme, which makes the SF expected. In the example below, however, the second instance of *слово добро* is clearly definite – it is coreferent with the first instance and modified by a possessive pronoun:

И владыка Иоанн князю великому благословение и слово добро подаль, а послы от Новаграда чолобитье; рекъ тако: «чтобы еси, господине и сыну, князь великын, мое благословение и *слово добро* принять, ... 'And Bishop Ioann gave to the great prince a greeting and a blessing, and the envoys from

Novgorod [gave him] a petition, saying thus: "That you, Lord and son great prince, receive my blessing and good word, ..." (6905, 390)

The genitive NP *слова добра* is also clearly definite – coreferent with the preceding instances and modified by a possessive adjective:

И князь великыи владычня благословенна и *слова добра* не принялъ, ... 'And the great prince did not accept the bishop's blessing or greeting, ...' (6905, 390)

It is likely that *слово добро* functions as a fixed NP, since it does not just mean 'a (= any) good word', but a greeting or an expression of gratitude. This would explain its idiosyncratic behavior. In Sreznevskii, it is listed as a fixed NP, but with a LF. However, the examples quoted by Sreznevskii have SFs (Sreznevskii, vol. III, 418).

The sixth irregular NP is the nominative NP *множество бецислено*, which functions as theme in

Того же лѣта бысть морь силенъ в Новѣградѣ, ... вниде смерть в люди тяжка и напрасна. ... *множество бецислено* люди добрых помре тогда 'The same year there was a great plague in Novgorod, ...: painful and sudden death came upon people, ... a countless number of good people died then' (6860, 363)

a context which is similar to that of *бецисленое множество* in

... и погнани быша от крестиянь и ови же от оружия падоша, а инии в рѣцѣхъ истопошася, *бецисленое* их множество '... and they were routed by the Christians, and some were struck down with weapons, and others were drowned in the river, an innumerable multitude of them' (6888, 377)

The last irregular NP is the genitive NP *сель тольста городка* in the example below¹³. It refers to the town of Orlec, mentioned in the preceding context, and functions as theme, whereas *не бысть пакости* functions as rheme:

Оле божие милосердие, селко прошед Рускон земли, и у *сель тольста городка* не бысть пакости в людех, токмо с городка единого челоуѣка убиша дичького Левушку Федорова посаднича, а городокъ розгребоша 'Oh, mercy of God, to have traveled across so much of the Russian Land, and at such a strong town there was no harm done to the people; only one man from the town was killed, the young boyar Levuška, Posadnik Fedor's son, but the town they plundered' (6906, 393)

¹³ This NP has an alternative reading with a LF, *сель твердаго городка*, in T.

Conclusion

As in Novg1S, variation between LFs and SFs in Novg1K is limited to NPs functioning as rheme. As shown in the table below, the vast majority of these NPs have SFs.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme				Repeated rheme	
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP			
	SF ^a	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	41	4 ^c	4	0	1	0
Nominative plural	7	3	0	0	0	0
Accusative singular	106 ^b (39)	8 ^d	0	0	0	2
Accusative plural	8	5 ^e	0	0	0	0
Genitive singular	0	3	2	0	1	0
Locative singular	2	0	0	0	0	0
Total	164 (97)	23	6	0	2	2

^a The numbers in parentheses are the numbers of NPs not including *церковь камени*

^b In two NPs, the noun is modified by a LF of a qualitative adjective as well

^c One NP has a SF in AT

^d Two NPs have SFs in AT, and one has a variant reading as a NP in the instrumental case

^e One NP has a SF in AT

There is a significant difference between singular and plural NPs functioning as new rheme. Whereas less than 10% of nominative and accusative singular NPs have LFs, more than a third of the plural NPs have LFs. The distinction between NPs denoting ‘a number of individual entities’ and ‘a subset of a category’ seems to explain the variation within the plural quite well. Of the NPs listed under ‘Individuals’ in the table below, all the instances of *церкви деревянные* and *церкви камены* denote a specific number of entities. Each member of the set of churches is additionally individualized by having its name mentioned afterwards. The NPs *двери мѣдяны золочены*, *поварьнѣ камены* and the two instances of *ризы крестъцаты/хрестъцаты* presumably denote a small number of entities. In each NP, the adjective denotes an inherent, individual and unpredictable quality of the referent of the noun. This quality sets this particular group of referents apart from other referents of the noun, and the information provided by the adjective is as important as the information provided by the noun. Each adjective has a function similar to that of a restrictive relative clause. With the exception of *ризы крестъцаты/хрестъцаты*, the adjectives in this group of NPs could (some more easily than others) be interpreted as predicative because of the meaning of the verb. There is only one NP with a LF in this group, which, in addition, is the only plural NP that has a variant reading with a SF.

The NPs listed under ‘Subset of category’ all refer to an unspecified, presumably larger number of entities. The NP *люди молоды* is similar to a plural nominalization and is clearly presented as a subset of a category, ‘young people’ constituting a category in any society. The same applies to the NP *вещи новыя* because of the non-individualized and general meaning of the noun. In the NPs *церковныя служебныя съсуды серебряныя* and *иныя сосуды серебряныя*, the noun, likewise, has a non-individualized and general meaning. The noun *денги* ‘money’ (but better rendered as ‘coins’ in the example) in the NP *новыи [денги]* functions as a mass noun, and the function of the adjective is to set the referent apart from the category of *старыи денги*.

The only NP not listed in the table is *боры частыя* ‘frequent demands for money’ in *бѣ по волости ... боры частыя*. It does not seem to fit into any of the types of NPs. The adjective does not denote a quality of the noun, nor does it associate it with an outside entity. But since use of the SF seems to require an adjective that denotes an individualized and inherent quality of the referent of the noun, the LF does not represent a deviation from the pattern.

Individuals	Subset of category
... явился солнце, кровавые луча ^a испушающе ... '... the sun appeared, emitting bloody rays with smoke, ...' (6907, 395-96)	ѣздиша из Новаграда люди молоды на Волгу ... 'From Novgorod young men went to the Volga ...' (6874, 369)
... в полуноши громъ и молнии огненѣ ... '... in the north there was thunder and fiery lightning from the sky ...' (6929, 413)	Ходиша из Новагорода люди молоды к Новому городку, ... 'From Novgorod young men went to Novyi Gorodok, ...' (6885, 374)
... в великое говѣние, аки огнени зари явишася от востока, ... '... at Lent, [something] like fiery lights appeared from the east, ...' (6868, 367)	... и церковныя служебныя съсуды серебряныя створи, и иныя сосуды серебряныя устрои ... '...and he had silver vessels for church service made, and other silver vessels ...' (6950, 422)
... у святѣи Софѣи двери мѣдяны золочены устроиць '... [he] put up gilded brass doors at St. Sophia' (6844, 347)	... и нача поминати папу ... и иныя вещи новыя, ... '... and he began to mention the pope ... and other new things, ...' (6949, 421)
... митрополит ... дасть ему ризы хрестъцаты '... [the] metropolitan ... gave him some vestments decorated with crosses (5854, 358)	... начаша переливати старыи денги, а новыи ковати в ту же мѣру, ... '... they began to remould the old coins and make new ones in the same amount, ...' (6954, 427)
... и привезоша ему ризы крестъцаты ... '... and [they] brought him vestments decorated with crosses ...' (6862, 364)	
... постави архиепископъ владыка Еуфимен поварьнѣ камены ... '... Bishop Eufimeï built [some] stone kitchens ...' (6950, 423)	
.. поставлены быша три церкви древяны: святыи Николу ... '... three wooden churches were built: St. Nikola ...' (6864, 364)	
Eight instances of <i>number + церкви камены + names of churches</i> in similar contexts, exemplified by ... поставлены быша 4 церкви камены: Всѣ святыи ... святого Саву ... '... four stone churches were built: All Saints ... St. Sava ...' (6926, 410-411)	

^a This NP has a SF in AT

In the nominative singular, the only NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are *горе немалое* and *буря велиа вътреняя*, which are subjects of existential sentences, and *церкви каменная* and *церкви древяная*, which are subjects of passive constructions (*Поставлена бысть церкви каменная ...* and *... священа бысть церкви древяная ...*).

In the NP *буря велиа вътренняя*, the adjective *вътренняя* is to a large extent redundant. The LF in the NP *горе немалое* seems to defy explanation. It has an abstract referent, but so do several of the NPs with SFs.

The NP *церкви каменная* has a variant reading with a SF, and the NP *церкви деревяная* is the only NP functioning as subject of *священа бысть* 'was consecrated', which implies preexistence.

The accusative singular NPs with LFs functioning as rheme also include a NP of this type, *церковь деревяную* (in *Поставиша ... 3-ю ... церковь деревяную*). This NP also has a variant reading with a SF.

Three accusative NPs with LFs functioning as rheme are instances of *святую литургию* (and direct objects of the verb *свершити/совръшити*). In this NP, the adjective has no individualizing function, since all liturgies in an Orthodox church are holy. The NP *святую литургию* means 'a singular instance of the phenomenon known as holy liturgy'. This means that the referent of the NP is presented as a representative of a category and that the adjective is non-restrictive and, strictly speaking, redundant.

The genitive NPs with LFs functioning as rheme are few in number (there are only three), but so are the genitive NPs with SFs (there are eight, six of which are epithets and four of which are irregular NPs). Very few genitive NPs are candidates for having a SF, since few of them function as rheme. For this reason, no conclusion can be based on these NPs. The NPs *чести великои*, *миру крѣпкаго* and *праваго суда* all denote abstract entities with a low degree of individualization. This seems to push in the direction of the NP being interpreted as a 'type of entity', i.e., as a representative of a category rather than as an individualized entity with a distinct quality. In addition, the quantification of *чести великои* by *много* makes it more difficult to 'separate' the adjective from the noun, i.e., to interpret it as equivalent to a restrictive relative clause.

There are surprisingly few irregularities in Novg1K. The construction *Verb + церковь камену + name of church*, which accounts for most of the irregularities, is by far the most frequent construction in the text. All but a few instances of this construction occur in contexts where a SF should be expected. The fact that the construction occurs so frequently in a context often generating a SF might have caused SFs to appear in this construction also in contexts usually generating a LF.

Chapter 5

The Московский летописный свод

The *Московский летописный свод* begins with *Повесть временных лет* and ends with an account of events in 1492. It is likely that it continued beyond 1492, since the last pages of the oldest extant manuscript, the *Уваровский* manuscript, are missing. The chronicle originates in Moscow, but deals with general issues from all of Russia. It was probably composed shortly after the annexation of Novgorod (ПСРЛ, v. 25, 3). The *Уваровский* manuscript, on which the edition used for the present analysis is based, can be dated to the first half of the 16th century (ПСРЛ, v. 25, 3f.). The chronicle text represented in the *Уваровский* manuscript was probably written a little earlier, in the late 15th century. The last 20 years are described in great detail and with precise dates, which makes it likely that the chronicle has been written almost concurrently with these events (ПСРЛ, v. 25, 4).

The present analysis includes the last 45 years accounted for in the chronicle, i.e., from 1447 to 1492 (6955-7000).

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the *Московский летописный свод*

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*

There are 39¹ LFs of possessive adjectives, 37 of which are in the instrumental singular or plural or in the genitive, dative or locative plural. There are no SFs in these case and number combinations. The remaining two LFs are, respectively, in the genitive singular, in the NP *владычняго челобитиа* (6984, 306), and in the locative singular, in the prepositional phrase *на Фоминой недѣле* (6980, 296). Possessive adjectives occur frequently in these two case and number combinations in MS, and with the exception of the two LFs mentioned here, all instances are SFs.

There are only two SFs with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*. One is derived from a common noun and is a predicative adjective, in ... *Андрѣи меншеи, принесень на рукахъ еще дѣтескъ велии*, ... '... Andrei the younger, who was carried [since] he was still very small' (6964, 273). The other SF is derived from a proper noun and is attributive, in *на память святого отца Мефодиа епископа Патромска* (6977, 287).

¹ The peculiar genitive singular feminine *божееи* in *премудрости божееи* (6986, 322) is not included.

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Dat.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF
Contexts usually generating a LF	21	1	19	0	33	4	9	0	40	0	11	0	14	0
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	5	35	7	5	8	40 ^a	6	7	0	1	0	2	0	4
Total	26	36	26	5	41	44	15	7	40	1	11	2	14	4

^a including one NP modified by both a LF and a SF

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 21 singular NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF.

An example of this is

... Григорен Перхушков видѣл два солнца ... *сущее* солнце идяше своим путем, а другое *необычное* выше того среди неба, яко же *обычное* среди лѣта хожаше, ... '... Grigorei Perxuškov saw two suns ... the regular sun followed its orbit, but the other, unusual [sun] was higher up in the middle of the sky, as the regular [sun] was moving through the middle of the sky in the south, ...' (6983, 303)

where the NPs *необычное* [солнце] and *обычное* [солнце] are definite because of their partial coreference with *два солнца* and the fact that there is only one regular sun and one unusual.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 19 plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. This situation is illustrated by the example below, where the NPs *церкви каменные* and *стѣны градныя² каменные* function as theme:

... загорѣся град Москва внутри города в ноши и выгорѣ весь, яко ни единому древеси на градѣ не остатися, но и *церкви каменные* распадошася и *стѣны градныя каменные* падоша въ многих мѣстех, ... '... there was a fire in the city of Moscow within the city wall, and it burned completely, so that there was not a single tree left in the city, but also the stone churches collapsed and the city walls of stone collapsed in many places, ...' (6951, 263)

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 33 singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF, as in

... тотъ посол Антонии лягатос и деть со царвною, а пред ним крыж несут, поне же бо папа тои *почестъ великую* дал послу своему итти тако ему по всѣм землям их и до Москвы, ... '... that envoy Antonii, the legatus, is accompanying the czarevna, and in front of him they carry a cross, for the pope had given his envoy the great honor to travel like this across all their lands and to Moscow, ...' (6981, 299)

where *почестъ великую* must be interpreted as definite. It refers to one particular great honor, namely that of *итти тако*, which is coreferent with the already mentioned action *идеть со царвною, а пред ним крыж несут*.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are nine plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *поминки великие*, which has generalized meaning, in

Фрязин же нашъ денежникъ не велѣлъ тому Тривизану о том бити челом великому князю, глаголя ему: «о чем та о сем бити челом великому князю да *поминки великие* подавати, а могу то яз здѣлати опроче великого князя и до царя допроважу тя» 'Friazin, our minter, did not order that Trivizan to ask the great prince, but said to him: "One can ask the great prince for this and for that and

² The NP *стѣны градныя* 'city walls' is seen as one 'unit' or composite noun because the adjective *градныи* is relative.

give him great gifts, but I can do this without the great prince and accompany you to the czar” (6980, 292)

Genitive

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 40 singular NPs with LFs in the genitive in contexts usually generating a LF. This situation is illustrated by the example below, where *великыа истомы огненныа* is definite because of its coreference with *погорѣша*. It is the relative adjective *огненныа* ‘[related to] fire’ that establishes the coreference, its function being close to that of a possessive adjective:

Егда же посады погорѣша, тогда сущи въ градѣ ослабу приша от великыа истомы огненныа и дыма, ... ‘When the trading quarters burned, the people who were then in the city were weakened by the severe fatigue [caused] by the fire and the smoke, ...’ (6959, 272)

Dative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 11 singular NPs with LFs in the dative, all of which have definite referents. In the example below, *необычному дѣлу* is definite because of its modification by the demonstrative pronoun *сему*:

... и одѣлаша ея около всю новым каменем да кирпичем ожиганымъ и своды сведоша и всю съврѣшиша, яко дивитися всѣм необычному дѣлу сему ‘... and they covered it all the way round with new stones and bricks and built vaults and completed it, so that everybody had to marvel at this unusual thing’ (6973, 279)

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 14 singular NPs with LFs in the locative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is the NP *дали ѿ пустыне*, which functions as theme, in

Князь же великыи пришед тамо и побыв немного поиде ... в Кириловъ монастырь, творясь тамо сущую братию накормити и милостыню дати, нѣсть бо лѣтъ таковому государю в такой *дали ѿ пустыне* заточену быти ‘The great prince, having arrived there and spent some time went ... to the Kirilov Monastery, on the pretext of feeding and giving alms to all the brothers there, for it is not appropriate for such a lord to be confined in such a remote monastery’ (6955, 268).

The NPs *таковому государю* and *такои дальѣ пустыне* are generalized repetitions of *князь велики* and *Кириловъ монастырь*. Both functions as theme, whereas *нѣсть бо лзѣ* functions as rheme.

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 40 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. 35 of these have SFs and five have LFs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

34 NPs with SFs and three NPs with LFs are subjects of existential or presentational sentences (including two passive constructions) and function as new rheme. Most existential sentences describe weather and other natural phenomena, as in

... *бысть туча велика на Москвѣ и громъ страшень*, ... '... there was a large cloud over Moscow and terrible thunder, ...' (6958, 271)

and a few describe phenomena caused by humans, as in

Бысть же о сем печаль немала великому князю Ивану Васильевичю ... 'And this caused Great Prince Ivan Vasilievich considerable grief ...' (6982, 302)

and

... и *бысть честь велика Ивану Фрязину и сущим с нимъ* ... '... and Ivan Friazin and those with him were [shown] great honor ...' (6980, 296)

The types of existential and presentational sentences listed above account for 27 of the NPs with SFs. 18 of these NPs are subjects of a form of *быти*; five lack an explicit verb but can be interpreted as existential; two are subjects of *явится*, one of *взюти* and one of *идти*. In 23 of these 26 NPs, the adjectives can be interpreted as predicative (as well as attributive) due to particular combinations of verb, noun and adjective. An example of a NP where the adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative is *рать велика* in

И тогда бысть вѣсть к ним, а и сами видяху, что идет на них от Новгорода рать велика велми, ... 'And then they were informed, but they also saw it themselves, that a very large army was approaching them from Novgorod; ...' (6964, 274)

(The remaining three NPs in which the adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative are *звезда ... хвостата* in *звезда явися хвостата* (6980, 293) and *звезда велика* and *луч ...*

долог, ... толсть, свѣтел in *явися на небеси звезда велика, а луч от неа долог, велми толсть, свѣтел* (6980, 293.)

Two NPs are subjects of passive constructions. The adjectives can easily be interpreted as predicative, since the meaning of creation and coming into existence is explicit in the verb forms *создана бысть* and *поставлена*. Both NPs are instances of *церковь камена*, in

Того же лѣта создана бысть на Москвѣ *церковь камена* Введение богородици на Симановьского монастыря дворѣ 'The same year, a stone church, [the church of] of the Presentation of the Mother of God was built in the yard of the Simanovskii Monastery' (6966, 275)

and

Того же лѣта поставлена на Москвѣ *церковь камена* Богоявление игуменом Троицкимъ Сергеева монастыря 'The same year, a stone church, [the church of] of the Epiphany was built by Abbot Troickii of the Sergeev Monastery' (6968, 277)

This means that a total of 25 of the 34 NPs with SFs functioning as new rheme in existential and presentational sentences have adjectives which can be interpreted as predicative.

Of the nine NPs with SFs, where the adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative, four are mentioned above. The remaining five such NPs are found in almost identical constructions which, even though they are not typical existential sentences, must be classified as such based on their structure and function. The NPs all denote animals or things given to the great prince as presents, as illustrated by *лошак пѣзь* in

Генваря 6 в субботу пирь у посадника у Фомы, даров, 3 поставы Ипських, *лошак пѣзь*, двѣ бочки вина бѣлого 'On January 6 there was a feast at Posadnik Foma's, free; three pieces of Ieperian cloth, a piebald hinny, two barrels of white wine' (6984, 307)

There are three NPs with LFs in existential or presentational sentences. One, *постав Ипскои рудожолтои*, is found in exactly the same type of context as *лошак пѣзь* above:

Декабря 21 в четверток пирь на великого князя у Якова у Короба, даров, 200 золотых, ... да *постав Ипскои рудожолтои* ... 'On Thursday, December 21, there was a feast for the great prince at Iakov Korob's, free; 200 gold coins, ... and a piece of orange Ieperian cloth ...' (6984, 307)

Of the remaining two NPs with LFs, one, *преславное чудо*, is modified by a possessive genitive, in

Тогда же бысть *преславное чудо* пресвятыя богородица, и бѣ дивно тогда видѣти, едини от другихъ бѣжаху, и никто же женьше ‘Then there was a glorious wonder of the Holy Mother of God, and it was amazing to see how one was running away before the other, and nobody was pursuing [them]’ (6989, 328)

and one is an instance of *бесчисленное множество*, in

... и послы цареvy у короля бѣша и съвѣт учиниша приити на великого князя, ... а со царемъ вся Орда, и братаничь его царь Каисым, да б сыновъ царевых, и *бесчисленное множество* Татаръ с ними ‘... and the czar’s envoys had met with the king and made a plan to attack the great prince, ... and the whole Horde was with the czar, and his nephew Czar Kaisym, and six sons of czars, and with them an innumerable multitude of Tatars’ (6988, 327)

The NP *бесчисленное множество* occurs in other texts, too, and seems to have a LF regardless of its communicative function. As mentioned in previous chapters, a possible explanation for this is the redundancy of the adjective and the fact that the NP might have turned into a fixed expression.

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

There is one predicative NP, which has a LF. This NP is a second instance of *преславное чудо* modified by the possessive genitive *пресвятыя богородица*, the same NP and modifier found in one of the existential sentences:

Но сие бысть *преславное чудо* пресвятыя богородица ... ‘But this was a glorious wonder of the Holy Mother of God ...’ (6982, 302)

NPs functioning as repeated rheme

Two NPs, one with a SF and one with a LF, are subjects of existential sentences (here in the form of subordinate clauses) and function as repeated rheme. The clauses convey no new information, but merely repeat already known information in different words and in different contexts. In the first example, *възмятение велико* refers to a revolt described in the preceding context (... *възмятесе весь град* ... (6977, 284)),

Слышав же сие князь велики Иванъ Васильевичъ, что во отчинѣ его в Великом Новѣгородѣ *възмятение велико*, и начат посылати к ним послы своя, ... ‘Great Prince Ivan Vasilievič having heard this, that there was a great revolt in his otčina Great Novgorod, he began to send his envoys to them, ...’ (6977, 285)

and in the second example, the NP *злое волнение* refers to the revolt and subsequent killing in Novgorod of one of the great prince's envoys, which is described in detail in the preceding context. The fact that the information conveyed by the clause is already known is emphasized by the pronominal adjective *таково*:

Князь же великы, слышавъ от своих послов да и от тамошних посадникъ, которые приатны ему, ... что таково *злое волнение* въста в них по первому их преступлению, ... 'The great prince, having heard from his envoys and from the local *posadniks*, who were devoted to him, ... that such a vicious revolt had arisen after their first violation, ...' (6985, 310)

Plural NPs

There are 12 plural NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. They all function as new rheme. Seven have LFs, and five have SFs. Two of the NPs with LFs are predicative NPs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Of the 10 non-predicative NPs, the five NPs with SFs are found in the same types of contexts as most of the singular NPs with SFs, i.e., as subjects of existential or presentational sentences. Two NPs denote weather, *мрази велици* and *суметы снѣжные великы* in

Быша же и *мрази велици* тогда, река начат ставитися 'There was also deep frost then, [and] the river began to freeze' (6989, 328)

and

Бысть же плетень межъ их и *суметы снѣжные великы* ... 'But there was a wattle fence between them and big snowdrifts' (6964, 274)

Two denote physical objects, *дары великы* and *поставы ... рудожелты* in

... и бысть честь велика Ивану Фрязину и сущим с нимъ ... и *дары великы*, ... '... and Ivan Friazin and those with him were [shown] great honor and [given] great gifts, ...' (6980, 296)

and

Декабря 19 на великого князя пирѣ ... 30 карабляник, 3 *поставы* Ипских *рудожелты* 'On December 19 at the feast for the great prince ... there were 30 coins, three pieces of orange leperian cloth' (6984, 307)

The last NP is the subject of a passive construction, *великы чѣсти желѣзны* in

По преставлении же его обретошася под свиткою на тѣле его *великы чѣсти желѣзны*, иже и нынѣ зримы суть на гробѣ его, ... 'After his death some large

iron chains were found on his body under his shirt, and they can still be seen on his tomb, ...' (6981, 300)

The five non-predicative NPs with LFs are found in the same type of context as the NPs with SFs; they are subjects of existential or presentational sentences. Four of the five NPs with LFs in existential sentences denote (subsets of) categories of people, as in

... а тѣ всѣ с дары приходили бити челом великому князю, ... также и купци и житии люди лучшии всѣ, ... а и *молодые люди* с поминки многие у него с челобитьем были, ... '... and these all came with presents to petition the great prince, ... and merchants and all the foremost estate owners as well, ... and there were also young people with many presents to see him with a petition, ...' (6984, 307)

The remaining three NPs denoting categories of people are *честнии архимандриты* (6955, 267), *изумени честнии* (6980, 293) and *непоставнии людие* (6984, 305) in similar contexts. In *честнии архимандриты* and *изумени честнии*, the noun in itself denotes a category of people, and the adjective is non-restrictive. The NPs are all found in contexts similar to that of *молодые люди* above. The verbs are forms of *быти*, *пойти* and *срѣтити*, the last of which in this context implies a verb of motion³.

Only one NP with a LF does not refer to (a subset of) a category of entities. This NP has a quantitative and not a qualitative adjective, *различнаа*, in

... обрѣтены быша мощи князя Федора Ростиславича, И бѣху от них многа чюдеса и *различнаа исцеления* приходящим къ нимъ ... '... the relics of Prince Fedor Rostislavič were found, And there were many miracles and different healings from them to those coming to them ...' (6971, 278)

Only two of the NPs in existential sentences have adjectives which can readily be interpreted as predicative. This applies to *различнаа исцеления* and to one of the NPs with a SF, *мрази велици*.

³ The sentence of which *непоставнии людие* is the subject has no explicit verb. The preceding sentence has the verb form *срѣтиша*, for which reason it is assumed that this verb is implied in the following sentence: ... и *срѣтиша великого князя съ кресты*, И по них многое множество от посадник и тысяцкыхъ и боар и житиих людие и весь Великий Новгород, ... *не поставнии людие* 'And they met the great prince with crosses, And after them a great multitude of posadniks and tysiackii and boyars and estate owners and all of Great Novgorod, ... unsteady people' (6984, 305)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The two predicative NPs, like most the the NPs with LFs mentioned above, denote (subsets of) categories of people. They are both instances of *вольныи люди*, in

Вольныи есмы люди Велики Новгород, а Московскои князь велики многы обиды и неправду над нами чинит, ... 'We are free people [in] Great Novgorod, and the great prince of Moscow causes us much offense and injustice, ...' (6977, 284)

and

... вольныи есмы люди Великии Новгород, бьемъ челом тебѣ, честному королю, ... '... we are free people in Great Novgorod [and] ask you, honored king, ...' (6977, 285)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 48 singular NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. 40 have SFs (including one NP modified by both a LF and a SF), and eight have LFs.

NPs functioning as new rheme

The 40 NPs with SFs all function as new rheme. 36 (including the NP with both a SF and a LF) are direct objects of verbs, the meanings of which imply that the referents of the NPs appear in the context for the first time, i.e., that they are not preexisting in the context. These verbs fall into three main groups.

15 NPs (including the NP with both a SF and a LF) are direct objects of verbs denoting creation or bringing into existence. Such verbs all allow for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative, as in

По сем же князь Дмитрей пирь велик сътвори на великого князя ...
'Thereafter, Prince Dmitrei held a great feast for the great prince ...' (6955, 267)

The NP modified by both a SF and a LF is found in exactly the same type of context. The verb, *ставити*, denotes creation, and the adjectives are *нови* and *камень*, in

... а старон свои дворъ деревянои повелѣ разобрати того ради, что бы ставити нови дворъ камень '... and he commanded that his old court be torn down in order that a new stone court be built' (7000, 333)

Only five verbs are represented, *заложи* (five instances), *(но)ставити* (four instances), *сътворити* (three instances), and one instance of each *учинити*, *въздвигнути* and *свършити*⁴.

20 NPs are direct objects of verbs meaning '(cause to) appear/be found in the possession of a given entity'. Nine coordinated NPs are direct objects of *подати*, as in

Мѣсяца февралѣ 12 в четвѣрток владыка из Новагорода прииде к великому князю с поминки перед обѣднею, подал *цель злату* 5 гривенок, да *чару золоту* 10 гривенок, да *чару золоту* пол 2 гривенки и 10 золотник, да *ковшь золоть* гривенка и 10 золотник, да *кружку злочену сребряну* 13 гривенок, да *кубок складнои золочен* 14 гривенок, да *мису сребряну* 11 гривенок, да *кубок золочень* пол 7 гривенки, да *поясъ золочен* великие оковы пол 19 гривенки, да 100 карабелников 'On Thursday, February 12, the bishop came from Novgorod to the great prince with presents before the evening service, he gave [him] a gold chain worth 5 grivenki, a gold goblet worth 10 grivenki, [another] gold goblet worth one and a half grivenki and 10 zolotniks, a gold ladle worth one grivenka and 10 zolotniks, and a gilded silver mug worth 13 grivenki, and a gilded folding goblet worth 14 grivenki, and a silver bowl worth 11 grivenki, and a gilded belt with a large buckle worth 18 and a half grivenki, and 100 coins' (6986, 322)

In the example below, the noun *разумъ* is coreferent by association with *Исаковы дѣти*, which means that, strictly speaking, only the adjective *безчеловѣчень* functions as new rheme:

А предиреченнии они Исаковы дѣти ... яко възбеснѣша или яко звѣри дивнии *безчеловѣчень разумъ* имуще, ... 'And those previously mentioned sons of Isaac ... [they] became like demons or like wild animals, having an inhuman mind, ...' (6977, 285)

Three coordinated NPs are direct objects of *явити* 'show, display'. There are five instances of *въздати* 'give', all with the NP *честь велику* as direct object, and one instance of each of the verbs *имѣти* 'have', *раздати* 'give (out)' and *привести* 'bring'. The adjective can be interpreted as predicative in six of the 20 NPs in this type of context. This applies to the expression *въздати честь велику* 'give great honor', where the verb, because of the abstract meaning of the NP, implies a meaning of creation and bringing into existence. The same argument might be used for the verb *раздати* and its direct object *милостыню доволну*.

⁴ The verb *свършити* can be said to imply preexistence, but it denotes a phase in creation, which makes it possible to interpret the adjective in its direct object as predicative. Its direct object, *град камен детинець*, is included here because it is not mentioned before.

One NP, *голуб бѣл*, is the direct object of the verb *видѣти*, which also implies that the referent appears (at least in the given context) for the first time:

... нѣции же тогда благоговѣнии от священникъ въ время принесения честныхъ мощей святаго *голуб бѣл* над гробомъ его видѣша ... '... during the transfer of the saint's venerable relics, some pious [men] among the priests saw a white dove above his tomb ...' (6980, 296)

Four NPs are complements of placement verbs with the preposition *въ* (two instances of *вложити* and one of each *положити* and *преложити*). Even though the NPs are not mentioned before, the meaning of the verbs imply preexistence of their referents in the given contexts. This implication makes the placement verbs different from the types of verbs in the examples accounted for above. The complements of placement verbs are all found in very similar contexts describing funeral scenes, as exemplified by

... съ страхомъ же многимъ и радостию взятъ мощи его отъ тоа раки и въ *нову камену* вложъ и близъ того же мѣста постави '... with much fear and joy he took his relics from that casket, and having put them in a new stone [casket], he put [them] close to the same place' (6980, 295)

The adjectives in the NPs with SFs all belong to a limited group. There are 22 instances of adjectives denoting material, including 12 instances of *камен*⁵- (of which six are in the NP *церковь камену*), four instances of *злат-/золот-*, three instances of *сребрян-*, two instances of *древян-*, and one instance of *сердолич#н-* 'made of carnelian'. Seven adjectives denote color or similar characteristics, including four instances of *злочен-* 'gilded' and one instance of each *бѣл*, *буръ* 'brown', *сизову* 'grey-blue'. There are 13 instances of other qualitative adjectives, including 10 instances of *велик-* (of which six are in the NP *честь велику*) and one instance of each *довол#н-*, *нов-* and *безчеловѣч#н-*. (The adjectives add up to 42 because two nouns are modified by two SFs each).

Seven of the eight NPs with LFs function as new rheme. Two of these are found in exactly the same type of context as many of the NPs with SFs, i.e., the verb, which in both cases is a form of *заложити*, denotes creation and thus allows for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative. Both NPs have adjectives which are also found in NPs with SFs. The first NP has a LF of the adjective *камен-*, in

... архимандритъ Опаскы Афонасеи заложилъ *церковь камену* на Новомъ Преображеніи господи нашего Исуса Христа '... Archimandrite Opasky

⁵ For one of these forms, *камену* in the NP *палату камену* (6958, 271), the manuscript has *каму*.

Afonasei founded a stone church at Novoe, [the church of] the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ' (6999, 332)

and the second has a LF of *нов-*, in

Того же лѣта разобраша старую церковь Богоявление на Троецком дворѣ в городѣ и заложила *новую* на том же мѣсте 'The same year, they tore down the old church of the Epiphany at the Troecki court and founded a new one in the same place' (6988, 327)

The remaining five NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme are listed in the table below. These NPs differ from the NPs with SFs in certain respects, but it is impossible to draw any conclusions based on so few examples.

The most obvious difference is the type of adjectives. The adjective *далнии* in *далнии монастырь* does not denote an intrinsic quality of the monastery, but describes its relative location. Its function is close to that of an adverb, which is also true of the modifier *близ ту сущии*. The adjectives *безлюдными*, *смертноносными* and *бесчисленными* are clearly denominal (*смертноносными* even has an additional deverbal part). Even though the adjectives denote qualities of the referents of the nouns they modify, the fact that they are derived from nouns ultimately adds a relative nuance to them – the adjectives additionally relate the nouns to the concepts of population (*люди*), death (*смерть*) and number (*число*). In addition, according to Sreznevskii, *смертноносная язва* is synonymous with *морь* 'pest' (Sreznevskii, vol. III, 760), which could imply that the NP functions as a fixed NP. However, the fact that an adjective is denominal does not per se prevent it from occurring in the SF, which the SF *безчеловѣчень* in *безчеловѣчень разумъ* shows.

The only NP with a purely qualitative adjective, *великую высоту*, does not refer to a concrete entity, but functions more as an adverb. At the same time, the adjective is to some extent redundant, since it emphasizes a quality already more or less inherent in the noun.

Example

По сем же паки Татарове поидоша вборзѣ на брег ко Оцѣ ... хотящен перенти на нашу сторону, поне же бо в том мѣстѣ рати не было, приведени быша бо нашими бо на *безлюдное мѣсто*, но толико стоаль туто Петръ Федорович да Семен Беклемишов с малыми зело людьми, ... 'Thereafter the Tatars again quickly went to the bank of the Oka river ... wanting to get over on our side, since there were no troops there; for they had been led by our people to an uninhabited place, and only Petr Fedorovič and Semen Beklemišov were standing there with a few people, ...' (6980, 297)

... поне же бо всемилостивын челоуѣколюбець богъ, милуяи род христианьски, посла и *смертноносную язву* на Татаръ, начаша бо напрасно умирати мнози в полцѣ их, и убоавшеся бѣгу яшася, ... '... for God, the ever-merciful lover of mankind, in sympathy with the Christians sent a pest over the Tatars, and suddenly many in their troops began to die, and they fled in fear' (6980, 297-298)

Митрополитъ же начат глаголати ему: «сыну, богу так изволившу о мнѣ, отпусти мя в монастырь». Князь же велики не попусти волѣ его быти, отъити гдѣ за град в *далнии монастырь*, но отвезоша его в близ ту сущин монастырь к Богоявлению на Троицкои дворъ, ... 'The metropolitan began to say to him: "Son, God having wished so for me, let me go to a monastery". The great prince did not let him have his will, to travel somewhere outside the city to a remote monastery, but sent him to a monastery not far from here, the Epiphany at the Troickii court, ...' (6981, 300)

Ведена же бѣ стена на сѣвернаа над гробы пресвященных митрополит Ионы и Филиппа изнутри и извъну по единому камени, а среди их лѣствица ведена, и возведе ея по той стѣнѣ на *великую высоту* и възведоша ея и на преднюю стѣну, и от великыа той высоты и от тяжких сводов, иже на тцую ту стѣну, не возможе стена та укрепитися, но преломи ея 'A wall was built to the north above the tombs of the blessed Metropolitans Iona and Filip from inside and from outside, [each] only one stone thick, and between them a staircase was built, and it went up high along the outer wall and also up the inner wall, and from the great height and from the heavy vaults, which were [resting] on that thin wall, the wall could not hold up, but was broken' (6982, 302)

... и по том сына своего великого князя Ивана отпустил ко Оцѣ же на берегъ в Серпуховъ мѣсяца июня въ 8 день, и с ним многы воеводы и *воинство бесчисленное* '... and thereafter he also sent his son, Great Prince Ivan, to the bank of the Oka at Serpukhov on June 8, and with him many generals and innumerable troops' (6988, 327)

NPs functioning as repeated rheme

One NP with a LF functions as repeated rheme in a parallel construction. In the following example, *бесцѣнное сокровище* refers to an icon returned to the bishop of Smolensk by the great prince and Metropolitan Iona of Moscow. Iona's words to Bishop Misailo sum up this event, which is described in the preceding context:

... сеи образ пресвятыа богородица на благословение и на воспоминание сего дне, в он же пришед обрѣлъ еси *бесцѣнное сокровище*, иже о многъ лѣтъ от вас скрывшееся, ... '... this image [shall serve as] a blessing and a memory of this day, on which you have found an invaluable treasure, which has been hidden from you for many years ...' (6964, 274)

Plural NPs

There are 13 plural NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Seven have SFs and six have LFs. They all function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

The NPs with SFs are found in the same types of contexts as the singular NPs with SFs. One is the direct object of *учинити*, in

... и по том приносятъ Фотѣвы митрополичи мощи в камене же рацѣ, и поставиша их с Киприаном по ряду и учиниша над ними *надгробници камени* '... and after that they bring the relics of Metropolitan Fotei, also in a stone casket, and put them next to Kiprian and arranged stone tombs above them' (6987, 325)

which allows for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative. Three NPs are direct objects of *имѣти*, as in

Они же не знающе того боа, яко омрътвѣ, и руки им ослабѣша, *копиа же* имяху *долга* и не можаху и възднимати их тако, яко же есть обычен ратным, ... 'Not knowing of this battle, they froze, and their hands weakened, for they had long spears and could not hold them in the way customary for soldiers, ...' (6963, 274)

The remaining three NPs with SFs are direct objects of verbs which denote the appearance of an entity in the possession of someone; the combinations are, respectively, *поминки легкы привезоша* (6982, 302); *ризы черническыа новы положи на них* (6971, 278) and *милостыня доволны подавая* (6977, 287), where the

adjective, as in the singular NP *милостыню доволну* mentioned in the preceding section about singular NPs, can be interpreted as predicative.

Four of the six NPs with LFs are found in the same types of contexts as the NPs with SFs. Two are direct objects of *имѣти* and are coordinated with NPs with SFs, in

... но еще иные полкы видѣхом в тыл по нас пришедших, *знамена же имут желты и большие стяги и скипетры* ... '... but we saw additional troops coming from behind us; they have yellow flags and large banners and scepters ...' (6977, 289)

and

... но поити ли нынѣ на них или не поити, поне же лѣтнее уже время, а земля их многи воды имать около себя и *езера великые и реки и болота многи и зело непроходимы*, ... '... but should they go against them now or not, since it is already summertime, and their country has a lot of water near it and great lakes and rivers and many quite impassable swamps, ...' (6973, 285)

Two NPs are direct objects of *дати* and *послати*, in

... а князь великы ... *кубки и ковши серебряные* и сорокы съболеи давал и кони, коемуждо по достоинству '... and the great prince ... gave [them] silver goblets and ladles and soroks of zobel skins and horses, each according to his dignity ...' (6984, 303)

and

... а то послал к великому князю: 16 сорок соболеи да шубу соболью, ... *двѣ сабли булатные* '... and this he sent to the great prince: 16 soroks of zobel skins and a hat of zobel fur, ... two shiny swords' (6980, 297)

One NP forms part of the expression *подавати на поруки*:

... а товарищовъ их всѣх велѣл князь велики своим приставом *подавати на поруки на крѣтѣкие* в полоторѣ тысяче рублех во нстыцевых '... and the great prince ordered his officials to release all their accomplices on high bail of 1500 roubles of the plaintiff' (6984, 306)

The adjective *булатныи* is a common epithet used only of swords and similar weapons (Sreznevskii, v. 1, 192; ORED, 46), which means that it does not add any new information and must therefore be seen as a redundant adjective. The adjective *болшои* has been found in other texts to occur almost exclusively in the LF, probably for etymological reasons. The LFs in the remaining three NPs are all instances of adjectives that occur in the SF (*велик-*, *крп#к-* and *серебрян-*) and seem to defy explanation.

One NP is probably most appropriately interpreted as denoting (a subset of) a category, which would explain the LF. In the example below, rather than attributing an individualized feature, *крѣпкия* places *доспѣхи* in a category of weapons:

Вои же великого князя, видѣвше *крѣпкия доспѣхи* на Новгородцех, и начаша стрелами бити по конех их 'The troops of the great prince, having seen that the Novgorodians had powerful weapons, began to attack their horses with arrows' (6964, 274)

Genitive

Singular NPs

There is only one genitive NP with a SF. This NP, *города древена*, is the direct object of *рубити* and functions as new rheme, in

Тое же весны послал князь велики диака своего Василья Кулешина рубити *города Володимеря древена* ... 'The same spring, the great prince sent his scribe Vasilii Kulešin to build a wooden fortification at Vladimir' (7000, 333)

The adjective can, as in many of the accusative NPs functioning as direct object, be interpreted as predicative. (It is mentioned under the previous year, 6999, that the city of Vladimir burned (... *згорѣ град Володимерь весь и с посады, и церковь пречистые Рожество в манастирѣ внутри града выгорѣ, и тѣло великого князя Александра Невского згорѣ, ...* (6999, 332)), so the fortification is probably a new version of the previous one.)

Dative

Singular NPs

There are two dative NPs with SFs. Each NP is part of a dative absolute with the same meaning as an existential sentence, *вѣтру напрасну* in

... и яко бывшимъ имъ на пучинѣ озера того, и дохнувши на них *вѣтру велию и напрасну* и потопаи всѣ суды оны, ... '... and as they were in the deep area of the lake, a strong and sudden wind blew at them and caused all the boats to sink, ...' (6980, 292)

and *грому страшну ... превелику* in

... молния же толь велика, земля бо и храми вси яко пламень видяхуся и *грому страшну зело превелику* бывшу '... there was lightning so strong that the land and all the houses looked like flames and there was horrible and very strong thunder' (6968, 276)

Locative

Singular NPs

There are four NPs with SFs in the locative, all of which function as new rheme. One has a function similar to that of a predicative adjective, *велицѣ печали* in

И тако в *велицѣ печали* и скорби град бѣше ... 'And so the city was in great sorrow and grief ...' (6959, 271)

The remaining three NPs all have adjectives denoting material. They are found in a context describing how relics of saints are transferred from one church to another:

... и по том приносятъ Фотѣвы митрополичи моши в *камене же рацѣ*, и поставиша их с Киприаном по ряду По том же князь Юрья Даниловича моши въ *древянѣ гробѣ* принесоша и положиша въ церкви святаго Дмитреа И окрыша гробъ, видѣша его лежаща всего цѣла в тѣле, ... и взяша его въ *гробѣ каменѣ* и принесше въ церковь поставиша на той же странѣ, идѣ же положенъ бѣ Иона митрополить '... and after that they bring the relics of Metropolitan Fotei, also in a stone casket, and put them next to Kiprian After that they brought the relics of Prince Iurii Danilovič in a wooden casket and put them in the church of St. Dmitrei And they opened the grave and saw him [Metropolitan Filip] lying there, his body unaffected by death, ... and they carried him in a stone casket into the church and put him on the same side as Metropolitan Iona' (6987, 325)

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Plural NPs

There are 29 plural NPs in the genitive, all of which have LFs. Only one of these is found in a context where, according to the criteria established in this work, a SF could have been expected. This NP, *морозовъ великихъ*, is found in an existential sentence describing weather and is governed by *нѣколко*, in

... о ведениевѣ дни дождь был, а оттоля *морозовъ великихъ* нѣколко, а снѣгу не бывало; ... '... around the day of the Entry⁶ it rained, and from then on there were some severe frosts, but there was no snow; ...' (6985, 309)

⁶ Введение Богородицы во храм.

Dative NPs

Plural NPs

There are five plural NPs in the dative, all of which have LFs and denote definite entities.

NPs in the instrumental case

Singular NPs

There are 14 singular NPs in the instrumental case, all of which have LFs. Four⁷ of them function as new rheme, as *новым каменем* in

... Василен Дмитреевъ Ермолина с мастера каменщикы, церкви не разбираша всея, но из надворна горѣлти камень весь обламаша и своды двигшееса разбираша и одѣлаша ея около всю *новым каменем* ... '... Vasilei Dmitreev Ermolina and the stone masons did not completely tear down the church, but removed the burned stones from the upper part and tore down the yielding vaults and remade it with new stones ...' (6973, 279)

Plural NPs

There are 11 plural NPs in the instrumental case, all of which have LFs. Six function as new rheme, as exemplified by *розными дорогами* in

Братия же великого князя всѣ со многими силами и книждо их из своея отчины поидоша *розными дорогами* к Новугороду, пленующе и жгуще и люди в полонъ поведуще; ... 'All the great prince's brothers, all with many forces, each from his *otčina*, took different routes to Novgorod, looting and setting [places] on fire and taking people with them as captives; ...' (6977, 288)

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There are six plural NPs in the locative, all of which have LFs. Three of the NPs function as new rheme, as *великих учан ѣхъ* in

... поидоша из Новагорода изо осады многое множество людей и з женами и з детми по озеру в *великих учан ѣхъ*, книждо их по своимъ мѣстомъ, ... '... a large multitude of people with women and children set off from Novgorod from

⁷ The NP *золотую печатью*, which is clearly intended to be in the instrumental case in ... *привезоша от короля грамоту докончалную з золотую печатью*, ... (6999, 332) is not included. In the published text, a footnote says that the NP is like this in the manuscript.

the siege and sailed around on the lake in large boats, each to his own places; ...'
(6980, 292)

Irregularities

Irregular NPs in the nominative

There is only one irregular NP in the nominative, a NP with a SF functioning as theme, in

Яко же бо отступиша от града и тако приять их страх и трепеть, яко велико
нѣкое *въиньство* чающе по себѣ, ... 'As they retreated from the city, they were
so gripped by fear and trembling as if some large army was waiting for them'
(6959, 272)

The theme status of the NP is emphasized by the indefinite pronoun *нѣкое*.

Irregular NPs in the accusative

There are four singular NPs in the accusative which have SFs even though they refer to seemingly definite entities.

Two NPs are direct objects of the verb *свершити/совръшити*. In the first example,

Тое же осени митрополить Геронтеи свершил *полату кирпичну* на своемъ
дворѣ на четырех подклѣтках каменных, а вшел в нее ноабря 13 'The same fall
Metropolitan Gerontei completed the brick mansion in his court on four stone
supports, and moved into it on November 13' (6983, 303)

полату кирпичну seems to be coreferent with *полату* in

... митрополить Геронтеи поставил у двора своего на Москвѣ врата кирпичом
кладены ожиганым, да и *полату* заложил на своем дворѣ '... Metropolitan
Gerontei had a gate built at his court in Moscow made of bricks, and he also
founded a mansion in his court' (6981, 301)

In the second example,

Того же лѣта совръшиша *церковь камену* на Симановскомъ дворѣ у
Никольскихъ ворот Введенье *церковь святыя богородица* 'The same year, they
completed the stone church in Simanovskii court at the Nikolskie gates, the church
of the Entry of the Holy Mother of God' (6999, 332)

церковь камену seems to be coreferent with *церковь камена* in

... создана бысть на Москвѣ *церковь камена* Введение богородици на
Симановъского монастыря дворѣ у Никольскихъ ворот '... a stone church, [the
church of the] Entry of the Holy Mother of God, was built at the Simanov
Monastery at the Nikolskie gates' (6966, 275)

and with *каменные церкви* in

... громъ же тои в манастирѣ на Симановѣ срази верхъ с *каменные церкви* ...

'... the thunder tore the cupola off the stone church at the Simanov Monastery ...'

(6984, 309)

In the first example, the exact fact that the mansion (and not just the gate) is made of brick is not mentioned before (but probably implied). In the second example, however, the entire NP *церковь камена* is mentioned before. The verb *свершити/совръшити* implies preexistence, but at the same time, since it denotes the last part of the process of creation, it allows for the adjective to be interpreted as predicative. For this reason, it is possible that the NPs are not irregular at all, but that the reason for the SF is that the NP should be interpreted as a combination of a definite noun and a predicative adjective.

In the last two examples, there is no possibility of interpreting the adjectives as predicative. The NP *церковь камену* is followed by the name of the church and clearly refers to a definite entity in

... громъ страшень бысть и проразил на Москвѣ *церковь камену* Рождество

богородици, ... '... there was a horrible thunder, and it damaged the stone church

of the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God in Moscow, ...' (6962, 273)

The same must apply to *раку камену* in

И взяша священници *раку камену* с мощми пресвященного митрополита

Киприана и износят ис тоа церкви ... 'And the priests took the stone casket

with the relics of the blessed Metropolitan Kiprian and carry it from that church

... ' (6987, 325)

since there is only one casket containing the relics of Kiprian.

These NPs must both be considered irregular. This view is supported by the fact that for each NP, the text contains an identical or similar NP with a LF in an almost identical context,

... бысть туча велика на Москвѣ и громъ страшень, и проразил *церковь*

*каменую соборную*⁸ Михаила архангела '... there was a big cloud over Moscow

and horrible thunder, and it damaged the stone cathedral of the Archangel Michael'

(6958, 271)

and

По семъ же возьмутъ *раку деревяную*, в ней же лежитъ пресвященный

митрополитъ Иона чудотворецъ ... 'After that, they take the wooden casket, in

⁸ The NP *церковь соборную* is, because of the relative adjective, treated as a fixed NP syntactically equal to a noun.

which lies the body of the blessed Metropolitan Iona the miracle-worker ...' (6987, 325)

Conclusion

The distribution of LFs and SFs in MS is similar to the distribution in the texts analyzed in the preceding chapters. NPs denoting known entities or entities functioning as theme have LFs regardless of other circumstances, whereas a number of conditions must be fulfilled in order for a SF to occur. The basic condition for a SF is that the NP – or at least the adjective – functions as new or repeated rheme. As shown by the table below, this is a necessary, but not sufficient condition.

In many, but not all situations, the status as new rheme means that the NP is brought into the context for the first time, i.e., it is not only mentioned for the first time, but it is, so to speak, also new to the agents in the context. The concept of “repeated rheme” is somewhat problematic. There are far too few NPs with this status for any conclusions to be drawn. Only one of the three NPs functioning as repeated rheme has a SF. The information conveyed by this NP is not new in the context, but it is new to the agent of the context, who in this case is Great Prince Ivan Vasilievič (*Слышав же сие князь велики Иванъ Васильевичъ, что во отчинѣ его в Великом Новѣгородѣ въ змятении велико* ‘Great Prince Ivan Vasilievič having heard this, that there was a great revolt in his otčina Great Novgorod, ...’ (6977, 285)).

At the same time, it seems that certain conditions must apply to the adjective and to the relationship between noun and adjective in order for a SF to occur. SFs are found only within a limited group of adjectives that are purely qualitative, i.e., they clearly denote an intrinsic and individual feature of the referent of the noun. Adjectives denoting material or color are particularly well represented among the SFs. On the contrary, quantitative adjectives seem to trigger a LF. The same applies to qualitative adjectives with a lexical meaning that makes them redundant with respect to the particular noun they modify. If an adjective is denominal, it is possible that this, everything else being equal, makes it more likely to occur in the LF. Quantitative adjectives do not denote an intrinsic feature of the referent of the noun they modify, and denominal adjectives have a relative aspect to them. Redundant adjectives might denote intrinsic features, but they convey no new information and thus violate the condition of the adjective functioning as genuinely new rheme.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme				Repeated rheme	
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP			
	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	34	3	0	1	1	1
Nominative plural	5	5	0	2	0	0
Accusative singular	40*	7	0	0	0	1
Accusative plural	7	6	0	0	0	0
Genitive singular	1	0	0	0	0	0
Dative singular	2	0	0	0	0	0
Locative singular	4	0	0	0	0	0
Total	93	21	0	3	1	2

* including one NP modified by both a LF and a SF

NPs denoting subsets of categories (most often of people) have LFs regardless of their communicative function. NPs of this type frequently occur with theme status as well as with rheme status.

SFs are represented in a wide variety of case and number combinations in *Московский летописный свод*. The only combinations with no SFs are the genitive, dative and locative plural plus the instrumental singular and plural. The number of NPs with SFs in the genitive

and dative singular is very small (one and two, respectively). The reason for this seems to be that contexts compatible with a SF are rare in these case and number combinations, and not that the LF has taken over contexts where a SF would have been possible.

The distribution of SFs and LFs follows the principles outlined above quite consistently in all case and number combinations with variation, with the exception of the accusative plural. Whereas NPs denoting subsets of categories account for almost all the NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme in the nominative plural, most of the NPs with LFs in the accusative plural are found in exactly the same type of contexts as the NPs with SFs. It can, however, be argued that in NPs with SFs, the adjective plays a communicatively more important role in the narrative than the noun. The examples quoted below support this idea. In the example

... но почти ли нынѣ на них или не почти, поне же лѣтнее уже время, а земля их многи воды имать около себя и *езера великие* и реки и *болота* многи и зело *непроходимы*, ... '... but should they go against them now or not, since it is already summertime, and their country has a lot of water near it and great lakes and rivers and many quite impassable swamps, ...' (6973, 285)

the information provided by *непроходимы* is much more essential than that provided by *великие*. In the NP *болота зело непроходимы*, the fact that the swamps are impassable is more important in the context of warfare than the fact that they exist. In *езера великие*, the existence of the lakes is more important than their size, since the meaning of the LF *великие* in *езера великие* is already more or less included in *многи воды*.

Another example of a NP where the adjective is more important than the noun is *копиа долга* in

Они же не знающе того боа, яко омертвѣ, и руки им ослабѣша, *копиа* же имяху *долга* и не можаху и възднимати их тако, яко же есть обычен ратным, ... 'Not knowing of this battle, they froze, and their hands weakened, for they had long spears and could not hold them in the way customary for soldiers, ...' (6963, 274)

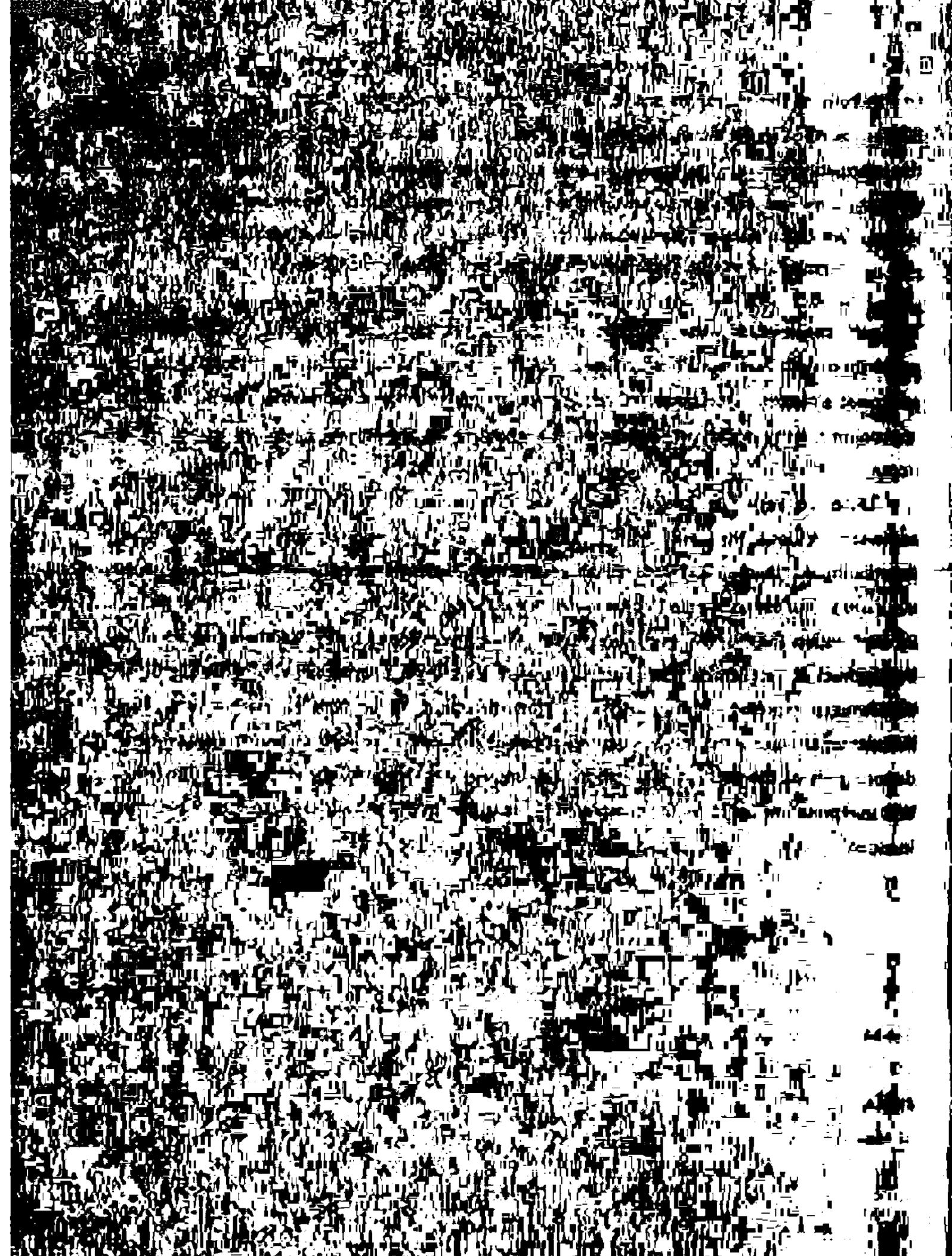
The noun *копиа* can be interpreted as coreferent by association with the soldiers, which means that, strictly speaking, only the adjective functions as new rheme. In any case, it is the adjective that moves the narrative ahead. The important information is not that the soldiers had spears, but that their spears were long, and that this quality caused them not to be able to hold the spears the way they were supposed to.

In both of the examples above, the SFs provide information which is relevant for the events described in the surrounding context. This is not the case in the following example, but the information provided by the SF *желты* is nevertheless essential:

... но еще иные полкы видѣхом в тыл по нас пришедших, *знамена* же имут *желты* и *больше стяги* и скипетры ... ‘... but we saw additional troops coming from behind us; they have yellow flags and large banners and scepters ...’ (6977, 289)

The noun *знамена*, as *копиа* in the preceding example, can be interpreted as coreferent with association with *полкы*. Whereas the adjective *желты* makes a decisive difference in the addressee’s picture of the situation, *больше* makes much less of a difference. The fact that the approaching army is carrying banners and scepters is more important than the size of these items.

There are very few irregularities in the distribution of SFs and LFs in *Московский летописный свод*. Five NPs with SFs are categorized as irregular, one in the nominative functioning as theme, and four in the accusative denoting definite entities. In *свершил полату кирпичну* and *совръшиша церковь камену*, however, there might be an explanation for the SFs, even though the NPs are mentioned before and therefore seem to be definite. It is possible that only the nouns should be interpreted as definite, and the adjectives interpreted as predicative. The interpretation of the NPs as combinations of a definite noun and a predicative adjective is possible because the verb *свершити/совръшити* denotes part of the process of creation. An English translation of the sequences illustrating this interpretation could be ‘he completed the mansion in brick’ and ‘they finished the church in stone’.



Chapter 6

The 2nd Novgorod Chronicle

The 2nd Novgorod Chronicle consists of various entries from different Novgorodian non-extant manuscripts. The entries are not in chronological order, and some of them occur more than once, but with variations in spelling and grammar (ПСРЛ, v. 30, 5). The 2nd Novgorod Chronicle has more cases of obscure syntax than the 1st Novgorod Chronicle (as well Novg1S as Novg1K). The present analysis of the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle (i.e., the part of it that covers the years 7001 to 7080, both included) is based on the *Архивская* manuscript. The *Архивская* manuscript is written in the period between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. Different hands are represented.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix -ьск-

There are 24 LFs of possessive adjectives in the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle. 13 of these are found in case and number variations where usually only LFs occur, the instrumental singular and the genitive and dative plural. In Novg2, no SFs are represented in these case and number combinations. Of the remaining 11 LFs, eight are found in singular NPs, one in the nominative NP *дьячяя изба* (7080, 193), four in the genitive NPs (*со*) *владычного двора* (7055, 177), (*из*) *дияччи избы* (7080, 189), (*у*) *княжего двора* (7061, 205) and (*от*) *Онтоновой [улицы]* (7031, 202), and three in the locative, in *в чашниковои кѣльи* (7076, 157) and in two instances of *на Яковлевои улици* (7062¹, 182; 7063, 183). Three LFs are found in plural NPs, two in the nominative NPs *государевые воеводы* (7066, 154) and *ряды торговые* (7049, 204), and one in the accusative NP *грамоты рядовыи* (7058, 205).

In the instrumental singular and in the genitive and dative plural, there are no SFs of possessive adjectives, whereas in the other case and number combinations mentioned, the LF seems to be an exception.

There are three NPs² with SFs of -ьск- adjectives. Two SFs are derived from proper nouns, in *Резаньско Торасеи владычество оставил* 'Torasei vacated the

¹ The manuscript has *ялевои*.

² There are additional NPs with SFs of -ьск- adjectives which lack agreement between noun and adjective, *Благовещенско манастиря, шумен Спасско Маркел, во всеи Новгородцо области* and *на Дмитриевско недѣли*. The most likely reason for the "SF" in such cases is that (part of) the ending is missing from an intended LF. A few similar NPs are found in the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle with other types of adjectives, e.g., *к городныи воротомь*. Such NPs are not included in the analysis. Of course, it is impossible to say whether the NPs with

bishopric of Riazan' (7024, 176) and *взошел в Ы с н о в ъ д н и ц к и же ворота* '[he] went through the Gates of the Confessor' (7008, 153). The last SF is derived from a common noun, in ... *везли ... много полону жень и дѣвиць, мужеска полу, ...* '... they brought many captured women and girls, and [people] of the male sex, ...' (7079, 161).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The table below shows the distribution of SFs and LFs of adjectives displaying context-determined variation.

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Dat.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF												
Contexts usually generating a LF	14	1	2	0	2	0	5	1	26	1	4	0	7	0
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	4	44	2	1	20	19	5	2	0	0	0	1	3	1
Total	18	45	4	1	22	19	10	3	26	1	4	1	10	1

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 14³ singular NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is the appositional NP *старои игумен* in

apparent agreement are intended as SFs or are LFs missing (part of) the ending that just happen to agree with the noun anyway.

³ There are two instances of the NP *новой монастырь* in a double entry for 7070. In both cases, the NP seems to function as part of theme. One entry has *Да и кѣли игуменский згорѣли новои монастырь при гугмене Ионны Мухи* (7070, 152), and the other has ... *да кѣли игуменских згорѣло новои монастыр*

... преставися в манастиръ на Деревяницы Генаден, *старои игумен* '... in the monastery at Derevianica Genadei, the old abbot, died' (7080, 194)

which must be interpreted as definite because *Генаден* is definite and functions as theme. This also renders the apposition non-restrictive.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are two plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF.

Both function as theme, *лошади добрыи* in

Да того же лѣта мѣсяца июль въ 22 вторник добре пали *лошади добрыи* по дорогам и деревнямъ, ... 'The same year, on Tuesday, July 22, many good horses fell on the streets and in the villages, ...' (7080, 193)

and *которые дальние священници* in

... вы ди мнѣ грамот не носи своих поповскихъ потписывати, и мни дни ваших грамот не потписывати, а которые деи *дальние священници*, ино ихъ богъ прости '... do not bring me your priests' documents to sign, for I am not the one to sign your documents, and as for priests far away, let God take care of them' (7080, 195)

The NP *которые дальние священници* functions as theme together with the pronoun *вы*. Its referent, the priests far away, is seen in opposition to the antecedent of *вы*, the priests near at hand.

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are two singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF.

Both have definite referents and are found in the same context. The first NP must be interpreted as definite because of the action *зарушити*, implying preexistence and the restrictive relative clause, and the second NP because of the action *вводити в*, implying preexistence and the name of the church:

... зарушиша *старую церковь каменую* с подцерковвиемъ, гдѣ положень чюдотворецъ Михаило Клопскии, и чюдотворцову раку *вводити в старую* в живоначалную Троицу ... '... they tore down the old stone church with basement, where the miracle-worker Mixailo of Klopsko rests, and the

в, при игуменѣ Ионѣ Мухе (7070, 175). The NP *новой манастирь* is morphologically in the nominative or in the accusative, but does not fit into the context syntactically in any of those cases. Only a genitive or a locative NP would have made sense. For this reason, both instances of the NP have been left out of the analysis.

miracle-worker's casket was to be transferred to the old church of the Trinity ...'
(7077, 175)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are five plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. In the example below, *подпоры деревянные* is coreferent by association with *церкви* and functions as theme. It is impossible to determine whether *подпоры деревянные* refers to all wooden supports in the church or just some of them, but the context makes it more likely that it is all of them:

... в той церкви во святомъ Ионне предотеца ... архиепископъ Феодосии
*подпоры*⁴ *деревеныи*⁵ ис церкви выметал ... '... in that church, [the church] of
John the Baptist ... Archbishop Feodosii removed the wooden supports from the
church ...' (7056, 177)

The fact that the NP functions as theme means that it makes no difference in the analysis whether it is interpreted as definite or not, since theme status in itself is a sufficient condition for the LF to be used.

Dative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are four singular NPs with LFs in the dative, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF. In the example below⁶, *таковому страшному грому* functions as theme. It is coreferent with *громъ страшень*, referring to 'horrible thunder' as a more general phenomenon:

... бысть внезапно громъ страшень зѣло и блистанна молниинныи бывшу ... яко
от основанию земли поколебаться, такому *страшному грому*, ... '... all of a
sudden there was a quite horrible thunder and there was shine of lightning ... [it
was] as if [everything] had to shake under [the power of] such a horrible thunder,
...' (7038, 176)

⁴ The manuscript has *подпопору*.

⁵ There is a double entry for the year 7056. The quoted example occurs in both entries, but in the other entry the NP is written *подпоры деревянные* (7056, 201).

⁶ The quoted example is part of a double entry for the year 7038. The other entry has ... *бысть внезапно громъ страшенъ зѣло, и блистанѣю молени бывшу ... от основанию земли, и поколебаться такому страшному грому, ...* (7038, 176).

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are seven singular NPs with LFs in the locative in contexts usually generating a LF.

They all have definite referents, as in

И молили бы ете⁷ ... о детнем⁸ здравии благохочестивого царя ... Ивана Васильевича ... о его *благохочестивои царици* ... 'And you should pray ... about the [...] health of the pious czar ... Ivan Vasilievič ... about his pious czarica ...' (7060, 180)

where the NP *благохочестивои царици* is definite because of its modification by the possessive pronoun *его*.

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 48 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur. 44 NPs have SFs and four have LFs. Two NPs, one with a SF and one with a LF, are predicative NPs. All 48 NPs function as new rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

40 NPs, 38 with SFs and two with LFs, are subjects of existential or presentational sentences. The NPs with SFs all denote natural phenomena such as weather, as in

Мѣсяца июнь в 20 день в понедельник на первом часу ночномъ бысть *буря* *сила* велики, *дождь* велик 'On Monday, June 20 at one o'clock in the night there was a very powerful storm and a strong rain' (7060, 150)

or other phenomena more or less outside the scope of human control, as in

И на завтрее июня в 13 день в среду на росвѣте в 1 час дни пришла *тма* *велика*, свѣт померкъль, *страх* пришел *необыченъ* на люди 'And the next day, Wednesday June 13, at the break of dawn at one o'clock in the day a great darkness arrived, the light disappeared, [and] an unusual fear came upon people' (7050, 148)

and

⁷ The obscure verb form and adjective are like this in the manuscript. I have interpreted the form *ете* as *есте*.

И въ тѣ же поры *смятенье велико* стало, люди от колоколницы прочь побѣжали 'And at that time, a great commotion began, and people ran away from the belfry' (7080, 194)

The same NP, but with a LF and the adjective preceding the noun, *великое смятение*, accounts for one of the two existential sentences with subjects with LFs, in

Того же лѣта въ Вѣшерѣ реки засох лѣсъ и дрова и всякои запас, а в ряду было *великое смятение* 'The same year, at the Vešera river, the forest dried out and the wood and all the supply, and there was great commotion in the trade district' (7048, 204)

The LF in this example seems to defy explanation.

The second NP with a LF functioning as the subject of an existential sentence is *знамя смертоносное* in

Да того же мѣсяца октября 29 в понедельник в Новѣгородѣ которые люди есть на них *знамя смертоносное*, у церкви погрѣбати не велѣти, и велѣли их из Новагорода выносить ... 'And the same month, on Monday, October 29, some people in Novgorod had a mortal sign on them, and it was ordered that they not be buried at the cemetery, but that they be transported out of Novgorod ...' (7080, 159)

A LF of the adjective *смертоносное* was also found in MS in a context frequently generating a SF (see 139f.). It is possible that this adjective, perhaps because it is denominal and has a relative component, does not occur in the SF at all.

There are six sentences with the NP *церковь каменна(я)* as subject, five with SFs and one with a LF. The verbs are the passive forms *обложена бысть*, *свер(ь)шена бысть* and *священ(н)а бысть*. They all, at least in a broad sense, denote part of the construction process of a new church and at least include a meaning of coming into existence. Only *обложена бысть* does not imply preexistence. Both subjects of this verb have SFs, in

... обложена бысть *церковь каменна* с трапезою Стрѣтенье господя нашего Исус Христа в Онтоновѣ монастырѣ в Плотинском концѣ '... a stone church with a refectory was founded [in the name of] the Meeting of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Ontonov Monastery in Plotinskii Konec' (7041, 203)

and

... обложена бысть *церковь каменна* съ трапезою Стрѣтенье господне придѣль у Мироносиць у Сыркова двора '... a stone church with a refectory was founded, the Meeting of the Lord, an annex of the church of the Christ-carriers at the Syrkov Court' (7044, 204)

The two NPs functioning as subjects of *священ(н)а бысть* also have SFs (*церковь каменна*), even though this verb does imply preexistence. The churches being consecrated are not mentioned in the preceding context.

Neither of the NPs functioning as subject of *свер(ь)шена бысть* is mentioned in the preceding context, but the verb implies preexistence. One has a SF, in

Того же лѣта августа въ 6 день свершена бысть *церковь каменна* святаго Григория Арменскаго ... 'The same year, on August 6, the stone church of St. Grigorii the Armenian was completed ...' (7044, 204)

and one has a LF, in

Сверьшена бысть *церковь каменная* Благовѣщение на старомъ окладѣ в Офимѣни монастырѣ сентября въ 3 день, ... 'The stone church of the Annunciation was completed on the old foundation in the Eufimii Monastery on September 3, ...' (7041, 203)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

There are two predicative NPs, one with a SF and one with a LF. The NP with a SF, *дымъ густъ*, is compared to a different NP by means of *аки*, in

Облак небеси аки *дымъ густъ* толь страшно добри, аки огнь хоцеть спасти из него на тот град 'The cloud in the sky, like dense smoke, [was] so frightening, as if fire [was] about to fall from it on the town' (7050, 148)

The NP with a LF is appositional, *нищеи старецъ* in

... а тут былъ на провоженьи Иван Жьгалцо *нищеи старецъ*, ktoroi тѣх въ скуделницахъ погребает '... and Ivan Ž'galco, a poor old man, who buries the dead in mass-graves, was there at the funeral' (7079, 196)

Plural NPs

There are three⁸ plural NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible, two with LFs and one with a SF.

⁸ A double entry from 7035 has the plural neuter NP *времена тиха (и прохладна)*. In the first entry, the NP could be an accusative apposition to *милость свою* or a nominative subject of *изобилованна бысть*: ... послал господь богъ милость свою на люди своя молитвами его *времена тиха и прохладна* и обилие велие *изобилованна бысть*, ... (7035, 176). The second entry is syntactically more obscure, but the possibilities for *времена тиха* in this context, too, seem to be nominative or accusative: ... послал господь богъ милость свою на люди своя молитвами его, *времена тиха и прохладно* и обилию велию его

NPs functioning as new rheme

The three NPs are all subjects of existential sentences and function as new rheme. The NP with a SF denotes a supernatural phenomenon in the form of mountains, in

В тѣ поры же с восточныа страны востали *горы высоки велики* велми, ... 'At that time there appeared from the eastern side some very great tall mountains; ...' (7050, 148)

and the NPs with LFs denote, respectively, an omen, in

... было небеси знамение, *столпы* сходилися *красныи и синии*, да на небеси какъ вода колебалася ... '... there was an omen in the sky; red and blue columns came together, and the sky was moving like water ...' (7069, 174)

and a natural phenomenon, in

Веснѣ *воды прибыльные*, не было ничего на полях 'In spring, there was excess water, [and] there was nothing on the fields' (7062, 182)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 39 singular NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. 19 have SFs and 20⁹ have LFs. All NPs function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

In the 19 NPs with SFs, only 10 different adjectives are represented. Nine NPs have an adjective denoting material (six instances of *камен(н)-*, two of *древян-*, one of *серебрен-*, one

изобиловано бысть, ... (7035, 201). Because of the unclear syntax, the NPs are not included in the analysis, but they function as new rheme no matter whether they are interpreted as nominative or accusative NPs.

⁹ One NP is modified by two LFs of which one is probably intended as a LF in the accusative, but has an instrumental case ending, in ... *святцать ... церковь каменую новою святого чудотворца Николу* This NP is included in the analysis because of the agreeing form *каменую*. There are two additional NPs with a noun in the accusative modified by an adjective in the instrumental case, in ... *святцали церковь ... новою ... Рождество святой богородицы* ... and ... *поставиша избу новою темяную*. Neither of these are included in the analysis, the first NP because the noun is modified only by an adjective in the instrumental case, and the other NP because the meaning of the agreeing form *темяную* is unknown (Sreznevskii, vol. III, 947). The same phenomenon occurs in a few NPs which are proper names, in *во святою Софѣю* and *на Торговою сторону*.

Another NP has the adjectival form *странню* in the accusative, but it is impossible to determine whether it is intended as a LF or a SF, in *подвигохся не остави ти странню помысль в сердце мое внити* ... (7080, 155). This NP is also not included in the analysis.

of *злат-* and one of *позолочен-*); there are five instances of *велик-*, two of *достойн-*, and one of each *долг-*, *полезн-* and *цѣл-* (in this case spelled *цил-*)¹⁰.

In seven NPs, the noun is *церковь*, modified by either *камен(н)у* (five instances) or *древяну* (two instances). The NPs *церковь камен(н)у* and *церковь деревяну* are in all cases direct objects of a verb denoting creation, i.e., either *заложити*, *поставити* or *обложити*. An example of this is

Да того же дни заложил Феодоръ Дмитреевъ сынъ Сырков, диякъ, в своемъ монастыри *церковь камену* пречистую владычицу Владимирскую 'And the same day Fedor, Dmitrii Syrkov's son, a deacon, founded in his monastery a stone church [in the name of] the Holy Mother of God of Vladimir' (7062, 182)

An additional four NPs with SFs are direct objects of verbs denoting creation, as in

Князь великий Василии Ивановичъ пруды копаль и *мельницу каменну* доспѣлъ на Неглинне 'Great Prince Vasilii Ivanovič dug ponds and built a stone mill at the Neglinna river' (7024, 202)

The other three combinations of this type of verb and NP are represented by *выкопаша яму велику* (7057, 152) and two instances (double entry) of *вылили колоколь ... великъ* (7038, 176; 7038, 201)).

Of the remaining eight NPs with SFs, two are direct objects of *обрѣсти* 'to find', which presents the NP in the context for the first time, as in

... обретоша гробъ верхъ земли, и обрѣтоша во гробѣ *тѣло цюло*, ... девицу именемъ Гликерию, ... '... they found a grave on top of the earth, and in the grave they found an intact body, ... [it was] a young girl named Glikeria, ...' (7080, 192)

and

И быша клазъ много в саду томъ и всѣ выгорѣша, и собрашася тогда нѣкихъ 12 человекъ и едва обретоша тѣ человекъ *клазъ великъ* зило, ... 'And there were many wells in that garden and they all burned, and some 12 people had then gathered, and those people found, with difficulty, a very large well, ...' (7016, 150)

where the adjective functions as independent rheme. The noun of the NP, *клазъ*, does not provide new information, since it is known from the preceding context that there were many wells.

Three NPs are direct objects of placement verbs, *поставити* and *положити*, which imply preexistence, as in

¹⁰ The number of adjective adds up to 21 because two NPs have two adjectives.

... поймали брата князя Юрья Ивановичя въ 9 день и посадиша его в Набережную полату, да положили на его *тягость велику* '... they captured [the great prince's] brother, Prince Iurii Ivanovič on the 9th and imprisoned him in the Naberežnaia castle and put heavy weight upon him' (7042, 203)

Two NPs with SFs are found in the same narrative. Both are instances of *поучение (велики полезно) из слез достоино* 'a (very useful) sermon worthy of tears'; one is a direct object of *чести* 'to read', and the other is a predicative NP:

... грамоту молебную от митрополита же вслух Яков ризни чел и велѣли любезно *поучение из слез достоино*, да опосле Якова чель грамоту третню *поучение велики полезно из слез достоино* подияк Стефанъ ... всѣмъ людемъ вслух '... Iakov the sacristan read a petition from the metropolitan aloud, and they kindly ordered [that] a sermon worthy of tears [be read], and after Iakov, the subdeacon Stefan read a third document, a very useful sermon worthy of tears, aloud to all the people' (7080, 162)

The last NP with a SF is part of a temporal expression, *на долго время*, in

... было небеси знамение, столпы сходилися красныи и синни, да на небеси какъ вода колебалася на *долго время* '... there was an omen in the sky; red and blue columns came together, and it moved like water in the sky for a long time' (7069, 174)

Of the 20 NPs with LFs, 12 have a form of the adjective *новои*, and three NPs have a form of *болшои*.

Based on the findings in other chronicle texts, I think that, for etymological reasons, a SF of *болшои* is more or less nonexistent. Of the three NPs modified by this adjective, two are direct objects of verbs which, at least in a broad sense, denote creation (*пѣль понахиду ... болшую* 'sang a great requiem' (7057, 152) and – this example is quoted below – *здѣлати ... гроб болшои* 'make a big grave' (7057, 152)), and one is the direct object of *прислати* (*прислалъ ... свѣцю болшую мѣстную*¹¹ 'sent ... a large festive candle' (7080, 193)).

Six of the 12 NPs modified by a LF of *нов-* are direct objects of verbs denoting creation, one is the direct object of *принести* and five are direct objects or complements of placement verbs. It is reasonable to assume that different lexical groups of adjectives follow their own idiosyncratic development, and it is thus possible that *нов-* ceases to occur in the SF earlier than some other adjectives.

¹¹ The NP *свѣцю мѣстную* is treated as a noun because *мѣстныи* is a relative adjective.

The examples below support these ideas. In both examples, a NP with a SF is found in the same context as a NP with a LF. Both NPs function as new rheme, and both the SF and the LF are postpositioned (as is usually the case for the SF, but not for the LF). The only explanation for the different forms seems to be the adjectives themselves:

... а на верьсѣ на мѣсте крестъ сняли, да голубь злат поставили, да и на владычнѣ мѣсте *вергъ новои* поставили с крестомъ '... and from the top of the place they took the cross down, and put up a golden dove, and at the bishop's place they set up a new top with a cross' (7080, 159)

and

И повелѣ владыко здѣлати единѣ гроб *большои*, и выкопаша яму *велику* за олтаремъ Софии премудрости божии и вкладоша телеса ихъ во единѣ гроб 'And the bishop ordered [them] to make one big grave, and they dug a large hole behind the altar of [St.] Sophia the Wisdom of God and put their bodies in one grave' (7057, 152)

The remaining five NPs with LFs have adjectives which often occur in the SF as well – they include two instances of *каменую*, one of *деревяную*, one of *великую* and one of *чернои*.

The two instances of *каменую* are both found in the NP *церковь каменую*, which in both cases is the direct object of *свящати*, which implies preexistence. The adjective *деревяную* also modifies *церковь*, in the NP *церковь деревяную*¹² *наземную*¹³, which functions as direct object of *поставити*. All three NPs are accompanied by the name of the church.

The adjective *чернои* is found in the NP *посох чернои* 'black crozier' (7079, 189), which is the direct object of *дати* 'to give'. It is likely that the referent of this NP is presented as a type of crozier, i.e., as a representative of a category, which would explain the LF.

The NP with the adjective *великую*, *великую тягость*, is found in a context almost identical to that of *тягость велику* in the example quoted above,

Того же лѣта поймали князя Ондрѣа Ивановича, великого князя брата, великая княгиня Олена, да митрополить Даниль и посадили его в Набережную полату, да положили его *великую тягость* и умориша его смертию 'The same year Great Princess Olena and Metropolitan Danil captured Prince Ondrei Ivanovič, the brother of the great prince, and imprisoned him in the Naberežnaia castle and put heavy weight upon him and induced him to death' (7045, 204)

¹² The manuscript has *делевяную*.

¹³ The NP *церковь наземную* is treated as a noun because *наземную* is a relative adjective.

Plural NPs

There are seven plural NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. Five have LFs (two of which are from a double entry) and two have SFs. All NPs function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

One of the NPs with a SF is a temporal expression where the adjective provides key information, in

Декабря въ 4 день преставися архиепископъ Генаден, а был на владычествѣ 20 лѣтъ без 6 мѣсяць, а сведень к Москви два *годы неполны* ... 'On December 4, Archbishop Genadei died; he had been bishop for 19 years and six months, and had been transferred to Moscow for not quite two years ...' (7014, 200)

In the example below, *гривны золотые и серебряны* must be interpreted as *гривны золотые и [гривны] серебряны*, i.e., as two independent NPs, one with a LF and one with a SF. The NPs are the direct object of a placement verb, in

... чудотворца Ивана написалъ, да и серебром всю икону обложил, да и позлатилъ, да и *гривны*¹⁴ *золотые и серебряны* ко образу чудотворцову приложил '... .. he [had an icon] painted [of] the miracle-worker Ivan and framed the whole icon in silver and gilded it and placed gold and silver decorations at the image of the miracle-worker' (7056, 202)

Of the remaining four NPs with LFs, *своды каменные* (two instances¹⁵) and *теремци каменные* are both direct objects of verbs denoting creation, in

... в той церкви во святомъ Ионне предотеча в темници архиепископъ Феодосии ... *своды каменные* доспѣл да над гробомъ чудотворцовымъ доспѣл *теремци каменные* да и церкву всю выбелил ... '... in that church, [the church of] John the Baptist, Archbishop Feodosii ... built stone vaults in the crypt, built stone chapels above the miracle-worker's grave and whitewashed the whole church ...' (7056, 177)

¹⁴ This NP is from a double entry. The other entry has *гривной золотые и серебряны* (7056, 177), but this NP is left out of the analysis because of the instrumental singular form of the noun.

¹⁵ The example quoted is part of a double entry for the year 7056. The NP *своды каменные* is found in both entries in almost identical contexts. The NP *теремци каменные* is only found in the quoted entry. The other entry has *камено теремець* (7056, 202), which is not included in the analysis because adjective and noun do not agree.

The last NP functions as direct object of an imperative, in *пумышляи ... муки лютыя* 'imagine ... cruel torments' (7080, 155).

Dative

Singular NPs

There is one singular NP with a SF in the dative. It is a predicative NP and functions as new rheme, in

... человекъ подобнаеть грозду зрѣлу, ... '... a human being is similar to a ripe grape, ...' (7080, 155)

In fact, the quoted sequence has generalized meaning, but it is possible to interpret the adjective *зрѣлу* as predicative because it denotes a temporary quality. A translation emphasizing this would be 'a human being is similar to a grape while the grape is ripe'.

The sequence is from a quotation of the words of Father Moisei to Bishop Leonid of Novgorod during Leonid's visit to Moscow in 1572 (the year of the entry).

Locative

Singular NPs

There are four singular NPs in the locative in context where both the SF and the LF are possible. They all function as new rheme. One has a SF, *мале дружине* in

И Крымской царь побежал от них не верно не путми, не дорогами и в *мале дружине* 'And the Crimean czar fled from them not faithfully, not by ways, not by roads and with a small retinue' (7080, 193)

and three have LFs, as in

Того же дни ... поставил мастеръ в головех пред чудотворцовым образом свѣчю, а свеча большая мѣстная, на *стули на каменной бѣлой* 'The same day ... the head of the monastic order put a candle in front of the image of the miracle-worker at the head of his casket, and the large festive candle was [placed] at a white stone bench' (7080, 193)

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Singular NPs

The only genitive singular NP with a SF is an irregular NP and cannot be seen as an indicator of any context-determined variation within genitive singular NPs. There are 26

singular NPs with LFs in the genitive, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

Plural NPs

There are 13¹⁶ plural NPs in the genitive, all of which have LFs. Seven NPs are found in contexts usually generating a LF. Six NPs function as new rheme, as *веселых людей* in

... на государя брали *веселых людей* да и медвѣди описывали на государя ...
 '... and they hired buffoons for the lord and registered bears as belonging to the lord ...' (7080, 189)

Dative NPs

Plural NPs

There is only one plural NP in the dative. It has a LF and is found in a context generating a LF,

И архиепископъ Феодосии Ноугородскои доваша многии сорокоустиа по *благороднымъ церквамъ*, ... 'And Archbishop Feodosii of Novgorod performed many requiems in the noble churches, ...' (7057, 152)

where *благороднымъ церквамъ* functions as (part of) theme and can be interpreted as definite.

NPs in the instrumental case

There are nine NPs in the instrumental case, three in the singular and six in the plural. They all have LFs¹⁷, even though three NPs are found in a type of context that often generates a SF. The remaining six NPs are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

¹⁶ This includes two NPs governed by *два* and *двѣ*, where the noun is in the genitive singular and the adjective(s) in the genitive plural. The NP *воротъ святыхъ* (7059, 163) is also included, even though the manuscript has *вотъ святыхъ*.

¹⁷ The NP *потоки новыи* is found in an instrumental case context in ... *покрывали церковь святое Благовещение новымъ тесомъ и потоки новыи* ... '... they covered the church of the Holy Annunciation with new woodchip and new gutters ...' (7053, 149). Because of the final *-и* in *новыи*, it cannot be interpreted as a SF, but must be seen as a case of lacking agreement. For this reason, the NP has been left out of the analysis.

Singular NPs

Two of the three singular NPs function as new rheme, *новым тесом* in

... покрывали церковь святое Благовещение *новым тесом* ... '... they covered the church of the holy Annunciation with new planks ...' (7053, 149)

and *новым мостомъ* in

... да и на Линѣ улицы мостили *новым мостомъ* улицу ... '... and at Lina Street, the street was paved with new pavement ...' (7055, 150)

Plural NPs

Of the six plural NPs, one NP functions as new rheme and does not denote a (subset of) a category, *полосами и бѣлыми и красными и синими* in

... огонь ходил аки молонья и згло небо, а ходило *полосами и бѣлыми и красными и синими* ... '... the fire moved like lightning and set the sky on fire, and it was moving in white and red and blue stripes ...' (7063, 182)

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There is only one plural NP in the locative. It has a LF and functions as new rheme, in

Да того же дни государь велѣлъ прибавити улицы и столпы перекопывати, на *новых мѣстѣхъ* ставити 'And the same day, the lord ordered that streets be added and that the columns be set in the ground anew and put in new places' (7079, 162)

Exceptions

There are three irregular NPs, i.e., NPs with SFs in contexts usually generating a LF.

Irregular NPs in the nominative

There is one irregular NP in the nominative, *церковь каменна* in

Того же лѣта свершена бысть *церковь каменна* с трапезою октября въ 5-а день в Онтоновѣ монастырѣ в Плотинскомъ концѣ 'The same year, the stone church with refectory was completed on October 5 in the Ontonov Monastery in the Plotinskii Konec' (7043, 204)

which is coreferent with *церковь каменна с трапезою Стрѣтение господа нашего Исуса Христа* in the example from 7041 quoted on 158. This means that the referent of the NP is definite, and, accordingly, a LF should be expected unless the NP is interpreted as consisting of a definite NP and a predicative adjective (cf. 167; 171).

In the table below, all nominative and accusative instances of the NP *церковь камен-/д(е)ревян-* from the analyzed part of the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle are listed according to context. As the table shows, only one of the 17 NPs of this type is irregular. Even so, irregularities within NPs of this type are by no means unusual. As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, they are relatively frequent in Novg1S as well as in Novg1K.

NPs in the context *verb + церковь камен-/д(е)ревян- + name of church*

	Contexts usually generating a LF		Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible			
	Definite NP (coreference)		New rheme (creation)		New rheme (completion and consecration)	
Verbs	свершити		поставити; заложити; обложити		свершити; святити	
Number	Singular		Singular		Singular	
SF / LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nom.	1	0	2	0	3	1
Acc.	0	0	7	1	0	2

Irregular NPs in the accusative

There is one irregular NP in the accusative, the plural NP *суды велики*, which functions as part of theme in

... бысть вихрь великъ Волхова реки *суды велики* с людьми и з животы ношаше и во огонь вметаше, а иные в воде вихром потопаше. ... '... the storm was strong; it carried large ships on the Volxov river with people and animals and threw them in the fire, and others drowned in the water because of the storm; ...'
(7016, 150)

Irregular NPs in the genitive

There is one irregular NP in the genitive, which has generalized meaning. The NP is part of a comparative construction,

Того же лѣта мая въ 28 день бысть градъ великъ болши *яична*¹⁸ *желтка*, а шла тучя грозна противъ вѣтра 'The same year, on May 28, there was a hailstorm, [each hail] larger than an egg yolk, and a threatening cloud moved against the wind' (7043, 204)

Conclusion

The only case and number combinations with significant variation between LF and SF are the nominative and accusative singular. There are very few NPs in the nominative and accusative plural in the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle, and there is no obvious difference between the NPs with SFs (three of 10 in the two cases together) and the NPs with LFs (seven of 10) in these case and number combinations. Variation in the genitive and dative singular is extremely limited. This seems to be a result mainly of the fact that there are almost no contexts of the type where SFs usually occur in these cases.

In the locative, it is likely that the SF in *в мале дружине* has become fixed, and that the SF is a result of this rather than of the communicative function of the NP. Evidence from other chronicle texts points to the possibility that adverbial expressions like *в мале дружине* have petrified and do not participate in any variation between SF and LF.

The occurrences of SFs are closely linked with the type of adjective. In the nominative singular, where the overwhelming majority of NPs functioning as new rheme have SFs, only nine adjectives are represented within these SFs. Of the 45 SFs (there are 44 NPs, one of which is modified by two adjectives), *велик-* accounts for 22. The remaining 23 SFs are represented by *камен-* (5), *страшн-* (5), *силн-* (3), *зл-* (3), *грозн-* (2), *необычн-* (2), *дымн-* (2) and *лют-* (1). The one plural NP with SFs in the nominative is modified by *велик-* and *высок-*. All of these adjectives denote subjective qualities or material/substance. The same is true of the adjectives represented within the SFs in singular NPs in the accusative with the exception of *цѣл-* (see 160f.). This adjective fits into the group anyway, since it denotes an intrinsic and individual quality (at least temporarily so!) of the referent of the noun it modifies. The fact that *цѣл-* denotes a quality that can be temporary makes it open to an interpretation as predicative, a possibility often present when adjectives occur in the SF. The remaining SFs in the accusative (singular and plural) are represented by, as in the nominative, *велик-* and *камен-*, plus four additional adjectives denoting material, *древян-*, *серебрен-*

¹⁸ The adjective *яичн-* in this NP should probably be classified as relative and left out of the analysis. In the NP *солнычнѣя лучи*, where the relationship between noun and adjective is analogous, *солнычн-* has been classified as relative and therefore left out of the analysis.

злат- and *позолочен-*. Even though these adjectives are realized as SFs in most contexts capable of generating a SF, LFs occur alongside the SFs in exactly the same types of contexts and even in the same NPs, e.g., *было великое смятение vs. смятение велико стало; свершена бысть церковь каменна святаго Григория Арменскаго vs. Сверьшена бысть церковь каменная Благовѣщение* and *положили на его тягость велику vs. положили его великую тягость*. That is, no type of context is “reserved” for the SF.

Otherwise, most of the NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme have other adjectives, *смертоносныи, нищеи, прибыльныи, новыи* and *болшои*. These adjectives may for one or other reason not occur in the SF. The NPs of which they form part are found in exactly the same types of contexts as the NPs with SFs, i.e., they are subjects and direct objects of exactly the same types of verbs as the NPs with SFs.

In the nominative and accusative plural, most of the NPs have LFs of adjectives occurring in the SF in the singular, e.g., in *своды каменные доспѣл да ... доспѣл теремци каменные* and in *гривны златые ... приложил*, or at least of adjectives of the same type (e.g., colors, as in *столпы сходилися красныи и синии*). This is in spite of the fact that the plural NPs are found in exactly the same types of contexts and with the same communicative function as the singular NPs with SFs. However, in two of the seven plural NPs with LFs in the nominative and accusative, the adjective is either quantitative (in the nominative NP *воды прибыльные* ‘excess water’) or redundant (in the accusative NP *муки лютыя* ‘cruel torments’), which might explain the LFs in these cases.

The opposition between “number of individuals” and “subset of category” does not explain much, since it cannot be applied to many NPs. Perhaps the NP *нищеи старец* can be claimed to present its referent as belonging to a category rather than as an individual with an inherent feature.

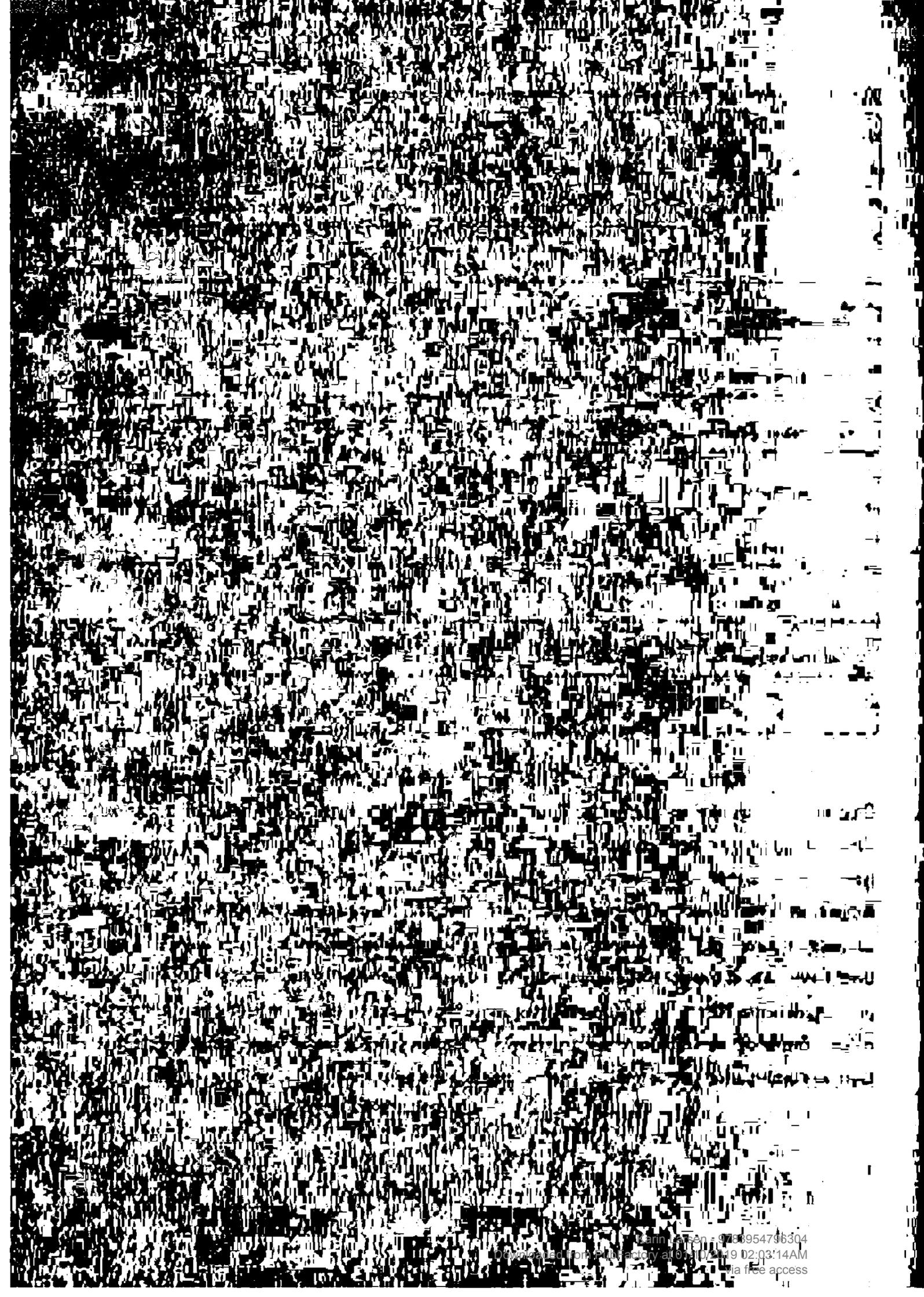
All in all, this means that the LF is moving into the territory of the SF, which is becoming more and more limited, especially in the plural. Whereas there are LFs of all types of adjectives and in all types of contexts, the SF occurs only within a limited group of adjectives and can be found only within a particular type of context.

The table below shows the distribution of SFs and LFs within types of contexts where both forms of the adjective are possible.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme			
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP	
	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	43	3	1	1
Nominative plural	1	2	0	0
Accusative singular	18	20	1	0
Accusative plural	2	5	0	0
Genitive singular	0	0	0	0
Dative singular	0	0	1	0
Locative singular	1	3	0	0
Total	65	33	3	1

Despite the many obscurities in syntax and morphology (mentioned in footnotes and in Chapter 1), there are few irregular NPs (defined as NPs with SFs occurring in a context almost in all other cases generating a LF) in the 2nd Novgorod Chronicle. Of the NPs of the type *церковь камен-/д(е)ревян-*, most have the expected form of the adjective. 10 NPs are subjects or direct objects of verbs denoting creation, and nine of these have SFs. Six NPs are subjects or direct objects of verbs denoting completion or consecration; three have SFs and three have LFs. If the actions *свершити* and *святити* are seen as stages of the construction process, definite NPs with SFs functioning as direct objects of these verbs (or as subjects of passive forms of the verbs) are not necessarily irregular, since it might be possible to interpret them as combinations of definite nouns and predicative adjectives.



Chapter 7

Пискаревский летописец

Пискаревский летописец can, according to Iakovleva, who published part of the chronicle in 1955, be divided into three main parts. One part is based on older chronicle texts, in particular *Никоновская летопись*, and includes descriptions of events that took place between 1533 and 1554. The second part deals with events from the 1530's to 1615 and is based on memories of a Muscovite official with ties to the Šuiskii family. It was written between 1612 and 1615. The third part consists of later additions and covers the years 1625 to 1645 (ПСРЛ, v. 34, 4).

Tixomirov, who has done extensive research on *Пискаревский летописец*, has demonstrated that the chronicle is a compilation of material from different sources, i.e., written by different authors at different times. Tixomirov agrees that the part of the chronicle describing the reign of Czar Vasilii Šuiskii (7114-7118, i.e., 1606-1610) consists of memories of a Muscovite with ties to the Šuiskii family. He assumes that this part was begun sometime during the reign of Vasilii Šuiskii and finished in 1615. Many of the later entries are based on unknown sources such as contemporary oral tradition, rumors etc. (ПСРЛ, v. 34, 4).

In the present analysis, the years from 7081 (1573) to 7153 (1645) are covered.

The distribution of LFs and SFs in *Пискаревский летописец*

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix -ьск-

There are 42 LFs of possessive adjectives in the part of *Пискаревский летописец* analyzed here. 34 of these are in case and number combinations where usually only the LF occurs, i.e., in the instrumental singular and in the genitive, dative and instrumental plural. Within these case and number combinations, there is only one SF of a possessive adjective, in the instrumental singular NP *враждем умышледем* (7113, 206).

Of the remaining eight LFs, four are instances of *торговой*, two in the nominative singular *торговой человек* (7114, 212; 7120, 217); one in each the nominative and accusative plural, *торговые люди* (7114, 211; 7119, 216). Two LFs are found in the dative singular NPs, *казачему... умышленью* (7118, 216) and *Ростригиной жене* (7119, 218), and one in each the genitive singular, in the NP *Воробьевой горы* (7112, 204), and the nominative plural, in the NP *дворовые люди* (7118, 216).

The LFs in the genitive singular and the dative singular are exceptions. The genitive LF is probably caused by the fact that the NP is a place name, whereas there seems to be no apparent explanation for the dative LFs. Adjectives like *торговой* and *дворовой* are not

genuine possessive adjectives, but have a function close if not identical to that of relative adjectives. Instead of denoting possession, they establish a more general relation between the modified noun and the noun from which the adjective is derived. In the analyzed texts, these adjectives occur in the LF only and have probably become separated from the originally nominal declension of the genuine possessives¹.

There is only one SF of an adjective with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*, in the genitive NP (*от вельможска роду* (7118, 214)).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The table below shows the distribution of SFs and LFs according to context in cases where variation occurs.

	Nom.				Acc.				Gen.		Loc.	
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Sing.	
	LF	SF										
Contexts usually generating a LF	7	1	4	0	21	0	7	0	16	2	6	0
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	25	24	11	0	16	8	9	1	2	0	5	1
Total	32	25	15	0	37	8	16	1	18	2	11	1

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are seven singular NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is the NP *столовая брусеная*, which functions as theme, in

Лета 7107 сентября в 3 день венчался царь и великий князь Борис Федорович
 ... а хоромы велел поставити, где *столовая* была *брусеная*, на каменом
 подклете против Проходной полаты 'On September 3, 7107, Czar and Great

¹ This is supported by the fact that they are listed as LFs in Sreznevskii.

Prince Boris Federovič was coronated ... and he ordered that mansions be built [in the place] where a log dining hall used to stand, on a stone foundation across from the Proxodnaia mansion' (7107, 201)

The verb form *была* in the clause *где столовая была брусеная* denotes location rather than existence, which enables *столовая брусеная* to function as theme. The clause as a whole functions as an adverb of location, a mere circumstance of the construction of new mansions.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are four plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. This situation is illustrated by the example

Того же году подписан храм ... у пречистые богородицы, ... и *образы чудотворныя* обложены дорогим окладом с камнем 'The same year the church ... at the Holy Mother of God was decorated, ... and the miracle-working images were mounted in expensive frames with precious stones (7108, 202)

where the NP *образы чудотворныя* must be interpreted as definite because it is coreferent by association with *храм*, functions as theme and probably refers to all the miracle-working images.

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 21 singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF, as in

... написаше образ живоначальные троицы и положиша оклад злат с камением многоценен на *старой образ*, а на *новой образ оклад старой*; ... '... [he had] an image of the Trinity painted, and the old image was mounted in a golden frame with precious stones, and the new image was mounted in the old frame ; ...' (7107, 202)

where the NPs *старой образ*, *новой образ* and *оклад старой* must be interpreted as definite. The NP *новой образ* is coreferent with *образ живоначальные троицы*. In addition, the semantic opposition between the NPs *старой образ* and *новой образ* imply that the two images are part of a limited set, which results in a relationship of coreference between them. The NP *оклад старой* ('the old frame' meaning 'the frame from the old image') is coreferent by association with *старой образ*.

Plural NPs with LFs

There are seven plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. In the context preceding the example below, it is described how Great Prince Boris Fedorovič provided troops in order to help the Georgian ruler. The NP *такие дальние земли* refers to Georgia and other equally distant countries and functions as theme. The negated verb *не посылавали* functions as rheme:

А прежде сего московские цари и великие князи в такие *дальние земли* рати не посылавали, ... 'Before then, the Muscovite czars and great princes did not send troops to such distant countries, ...' (7112, 204)

Locative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are six singular NPs with LFs in the locative in contexts usually generating a LF. This situation is illustrated by the NP *каменном подклете* in the example below, which functions as theme together with *где столовая была брусеная*, of which it serves as a specification together with *против Проходной полаты*:

... а хоромы велел поставити, где столовая была брусеная, на *каменном подклете* против Проходной полаты '... and he ordered that mansions be built [in the place] where a log dining hall used to stand, on a stone foundation across from the Proxodnaia mansion' (7107, 201)

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 49 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. 24 NPs have SFs and 25² have LFs. 48 NPs function as new rheme, including four predicative NPs, and one NP functions as repeated rheme.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as rheme

45 NPs, 22 with SFs and 23 with LFs, are subjects of existential or presentational sentences. 44 of these function as new rheme, and one NP with a SF functions as repeated rheme.

² In the published text, some NPs with LFs are capitalized, e.g., *град Каменей* and *Земляной [град]*. I have followed the editor's interpretation of these NPs as place names and, accordingly, left them out of the analysis.

Four of the LFs are forms of *большой*, which almost never occurs in the SF³. An example of this is

Того же году слит колокол большой, таков колокол весом не бывал, и поставлен на колокольнице деревянной тяжести ради 'The same year, a large bell was cast, [and] a bell of this weight had not existed before, and it was put in a wooden belfry because of its heaviness' (7108, 203)

The remaining NPs in existential and presentational sentences are listed in the tables below, including the NP functioning as repeated rheme⁴. With the exception of the adjective *жемчужное*⁵, there is at least one SF of each adjective represented. The first table contains the NPs with adjectives denoting material, and the second table contains the NPs with other types of qualitative adjectives. (The only exception is *пояс мраморен* 'marble ledge', which is placed in the second table because of its coordination with NPs with other types of qualitative adjectives.) Some NPs occur several times; the number of occurrences is indicated in parentheses after the NP in question. Identical NPs are found in almost identical contexts, for which reason there is only one example of each NP.

³ There is also a NP with a form of *безчисленный*, which also (based on evidence from other chronicle texts) almost exclusively occurs in the LF; the example is *А воевод послал: окольничего Ивана Михайлова ... да князь Володимера Ростовского-Бахтеярова, ... и казаков, всяких ратных многих вольных людей и безчисленная многая рать* 'And he sent generals: the *okolničii* Ivan Mixailov ... and Prince Volodimer Rostovskii-Baxteiarov, ... and Cossacks, and all kinds of free people in military service, and an innumerable large army' (7112, 204). The example is not included in the analysis for syntactic reasons; the NP is in the nominative even though it is a direct object of *послати* and is coordinated with several accusative NPs in the same role.

⁴ Included in the last table is also one of the predicative NPs, *столп огнен*. This NP has more in common with the subjects of existential sentences than with the other predicative NPs and is therefore analyzed together with the subjects of existential sentences.

⁵ I assume here that a SF of *жемчужное* exists, since this is usually the case for adjectives denoting material.

NPs with adjectives denoting material

NPs with SFs	Adjectives denoting material
храм камен (7)	... в селе его на Веземе зделан <i>храм камен</i> о пяти верхах и <i>плотина камена</i> у пруда '... a stone church with five cupolas was built in his village at Vezem, and a stone dam at the pond' (7106 ⁶ , 200)
плотина камена	
град камен	... зделан <i>град камен</i> в Казани '... a stone fortification was built in Kazan' (7102, 196)
град древян	... поставлен <i>град Царев-Борисов древян</i> на поле, ... '... a wooden city [by the name of] Tsarev-Borisov was built on a field, ...' (7108, 202)
NPs with LFs	Adjectives denoting material
храм каменной/каменей (3)	... зделан <i>храм каменной</i> в селе его в Хорошове '... a stone church was built in his village Хорошов' (7106 ⁶ , 200)
полата каменная	... поставлена на его дворе <i>полата каменная</i> на трех подклетех, ... '... in his court, a stone mansion was built on three foundations. ...' (7112, 200)
образец дровянон	... и <i>образец</i> был <i>дровянон</i> зделан по подлиннику, как составляетца «Святая святых»; ... '... and a model of wood was made after the original [to show] how "The Saint of the Saints" was made; ...' (7107, 202)
ожерелейцо жемчужное	... и велел его погresti во всем в чем заклан: в зипунце камчате да сапошки, да <i>ожерелейцо жемчужное</i> '... and he ordered that he be buried in everything he was wearing when he was stabbed: in a damask coat and boots, and [wearing] a pearl necklace' (7099, 197)

All NPs in the table are found in contexts where, in earlier chronicle texts, the SF dominates. There seems to be no apparent strategy behind the choice of a LF rather than a SF in any of the NPs. For example, the NPs with LFs denoting buildings are found in exactly the same types of contexts as the corresponding NPs with SFs. Of the NPs with the noun храм, two of the three NPs with LFs and four of the seven NPs with SFs are accompanied by the

⁶ The example is from a section included under 7106 with the headline *Прописано в сем летописце 93 и 4*.

name of the church; the others are accompanied by the location of the church only. The vacillation between SF and LF must simply be seen as a sign that the LF is taking over the last stronghold of the SF.

In the table below, there are some significant differences between the NPs with SFs and the NPs with LFs.

First, whereas the 10 nouns modified by SFs all denote concrete⁷, individually identifiable entities, all but one of the nouns modified by LFs denote abstract phenomena or actions. The potentially concrete *казна* 'tax' most likely does not refer to one particular, identifiable sum of money; rather, *казна збирається велика* refers to the repeated action of collecting taxes.

Second, in the NPs with SFs, the communicative importance of the adjective is equal to or higher than that of the noun. In four cases, the noun is mentioned or implied in the preceding context. As the table shows, *война велика* is preceded by *воеводы ... по городу били*, which to a large extent implies that there was a war, but not its scope *велика*. The same is true of the other instance of this NP (*велика война*), which is found in the context ... *стали воевати без числа, велика война была* '... innumerable [troops] began to fight; there was a great war' (7100, 196). The NP *голос толст* is preceded four lines up by *учал быти ... говор великой, по смете голосов в дватцать или в тритцать* 'loud talking began, an estimated 20 or 30 voices' (7115, 214), which means that it is already known that voices were heard. The adjective *толст* singles out one particular voice from all the others and is thus communicatively much more important than the noun *голос*. The NP *город ... хорош* is preceded by ... *велел ... делати город* (7096, 196), which means that only the quality of the fortification which was actually built is new information. In the remaining six NPs with SFs, both noun and adjective constitute completely new information. In each NP, the quality denoted by the adjective is completely unpredictable from the noun, except perhaps for *сильна* in *буря сильна*, since the meaning of *сильна* can be said to imply the meaning of *буря*. The adverb *зело*, however, singles the particular storm in question out as very strong, i.e., stronger than storms usually are, which means that *сильна зело* is an unpredictable and individualized quality of this storm as opposed to others.

⁷ Physical entities and events with distinct and identifiable time-limits are classified as "concrete". Actions, states and conditions, and events with no identifiable time-limits are classified as "abstract". Thus, *свет* 'light' and *голос* 'voice' are concrete, but *говор* 'talking' and *шум* 'noise' are abstract; *война* 'war', *чудо* 'wonder', and *буря* 'storm' are concrete, whereas *голод* 'starvation', *мор* 'pest', and *засуха* 'drought' are abstract.

NPs with other types of qualitative adjectives

NPs with SFs	Qualitative adjectives
война велика/ велика война (2)	И воеводы под город пришли и по городу били, и стояли много время и <i>война велика</i> была, ... 'And the generals approached the city and attacked it, and they stood there for a long time, and there was a great war' (7085, 193)
свет велик	А по церкви де в те поры по всей <i>свет велик</i> был 'And in the church at that time there was a great light' (7118, 214)
птица велика, голосиста	... явися на Москве <i>птица велика, голосиста</i> , а прилетела ночью и вопила; а садилася на церквах ... '... a large song bird appeared in Moscow; it came flying at night and screamed, and sat on the churches ...' (7091, 194)
галка бела	Появилася <i>галка</i> ... <i>бела</i> , ... и много время была, ... 'A white seagull appeared ... and it was there for a long time, ...' (7112, 204)
ремешик мал	И прислал к воеводам ларец, А у него привязан <i>ремешик мал</i> 'And he sent a casket to the generals, And tied to it was a small strap' (7089, 193)
буря сильна	... на Неве реке воста <i>буря сильна</i> zelo и воду раздели надвое '... a powerful storm set in on the Neva and parted the water in two' (7102, 197)
голос толст	... один де из них изо всех <i>голос толст</i> , против его говорили все втрешно '... of all [the voices] there was one powerful voice, [and] all the others were talking against it together' (7118, 214)
город хорош пояс мраморен зелен да красен	И зделан <i>город</i> безчисленно <i>хорош</i> , а круго его <i>пояс мраморен зелен да красен</i> , ... 'And an unbelievably beautiful fortification was built, and around it a marble, green and red ledge, ...' (7096, 196)
NPs with LFs	Qualitative adjectives
голод великой (3)	... и дороги все к Москве заперли, и от того под Москвою почал <i>голод</i> быти <i>великой</i> '... and they closed all the roads to Moscow, and because of this, there began to be severe starvation around Moscow' (7119, 217)
волнение великое/ великое волнение (2)	... стало на Москве <i>волнение великое</i> в боярех и в дворянх, ... '... in Moscow, strong unrest set in among the boyars and noblemen ...' (7114, 212)
честь великая, ... / великая честь (2)	И <i>честь</i> была за столом королевичю <i>великая, любительная</i> ... 'And at the table, the king's son was shown great and friendly honor ...' (7111, 203)
сыск великой	И про то воровство <i>сыск</i> был <i>великой</i> , и многие люди на пытке были, ... 'And in connection with that crime there was a large-scale investigation, and many people were interrogated, ...' (7111, 204)
воровство и насильство великое	... почало от казаков <i>воровство и насильство</i> быти <i>великое</i> '... serious crime began to be [committed] by the Cossacks' (7119, 217)
казна великая	... зачата ... мельница делати ... и <i>казна</i> збирается <i>великая</i> , ... '... they began to build a mill ... and a large tax is collected, ...' (7108, 202)

In the NPs with LFs, except for *сыск ... великой*, where *сыск* is coreferent by association with *воровство* and *великой* constitutes genuinely new information, the relationship between noun and adjective in terms of communicative importance is the opposite; the noun is communicatively much more important than the adjective. It is important to note that except for the one instance of *любительный*, *великой* is the only adjective represented. Since all the NPs denote abstract phenomena or actions which cannot possess individual qualities, *великой* simply refers to the scope or extent of these phenomena or actions. In a way, the meaning of *великой* (and the one case of *любительный*) can be said to be already implied in the meaning of the phenomena or actions. Since starvation and unrest etc. are always serious events, it would not make any sense to say *голод невеликой* or *волнение невеликое* etc. With the exception of *сыск великой*, the adjective could easily be left out of all the NPs with LFs without any significant change in meaning. Instead of adding new information, *великой* (and *любительный*) emphasizes meanings already implicit in the nouns (e.g., the positive meaning of *честь* and the negative meaning of *насилие* etc.).

In two of the three cases of variation between SF and LF within the same NP, there seems to be a relatively obvious reason why one instance of the NP has a SF and the other a LF. The context containing the NP *плач великой* is preceded by a short formulaic description of the czar's death and funeral (date and place, length of his reign). The context containing the NP *плач велик* is preceded by a narrative telling how a number of people had to spend the night in the church in Arxangil and experienced supernatural phenomena including voices seeming to appear out of the blue. The voices talk in various ways, and all of a sudden, loud crying is heard. That is, *плач великой* refers to an expected phenomenon which is a consequence of the preceding events, whereas *плач велик* refers to an unexpected and unpredictable phenomenon with no apparent cause. From these meanings it also follows that whereas in *плач великой*, the adjective merely emphasizes the phenomenon *плач*, the adjective in *плач велик* denotes an individual and unpredictable quality of the supernatural crying in the church.

The NPs *столп огнен* and *столп огненной* are found in the same narrative (*столп огнен* is seven lines below *столп огненной*) and refer to two different omens, each in the form of a column of fire. Both NPs are found in a type of context that, at least in earlier chronicle texts, often generates a SF. A possible explanation for the LF in the first instance of the NP is that the adjective *огненной* can be interpreted as coreferent with the preceding noun *пожару*, i.e., *ино был столп огненной* can be interpreted as meaning that in fact, the omen did, as expected, consist of fire, but instead of the locality being destroyed by fire, the fire appeared in the form

of a column. In this interpretation of the NP the noun is communicatively more important than the adjective, which would explain the LF.

NPs occurring with both forms of the adjective

SF	LF
И после де того в церкви промеж ими всеми учал быти <i>плач велик</i> 'And after that, it is said, loud crying was heard' (7115, 214)	И бысть во граде Москве <i>плач великой</i> и кричанье во всем народе ... 'And in the city of Moscow there was loud crying and screaming among all the people ...' (7153, 220)
Да во 135-м году таково же знамение было: <i>столп огнен</i> ⁸ в ночи у пречистые Гребневския на Москве 'And in the year 7135 there was such an omen again: a fire column in the night at the Holy Grebnevskaja in Moscow' (7135, 220)	... было знамение на Москве за Москвою рекою, чаяли пожару: нно был <i>столп огненной</i> и от земли и до небеси, ... '... there was an omen in Moscow beyond the Moscow river; [people] were expecting a fire: instead there was a fire column and [it reached] from the ground into the sky, ...' (7134, 220)
Один де из них говорил по книжному заупокой безпрестани, а речей де его и тех людей, у которых промеж ими <i>говор и шум велик</i> , ... 'One of them was constantly reciting a requiem, and both his speech and that of the people among whom there was loud talking and noise, [were heard] ...' (7118, 214)	... учал быти в церкви во Архангиле <i>шум и говор великой</i> , по смете голосов в дватцать или в триццать '... noise and loud talking was heard in the church in Arxangil, [and] judging from the mix of voices there were 20 or 30 of them' (7118, 214)

There seems to be no apparent reason why *говор и шум велик* has a SF while *шум и говор великой* has a LF. The context containing the NP *шум и говор великой* immediately precedes the context of *говор и шум велик*. In this case it is the NP with the LF that refers to an unexpected and unpredictable phenomenon with no apparent cause, exactly like *плач велик*. The NP *говор и шум велик* seems to be most appropriately interpreted as repeated rhyme.

⁸ The NP is appositional, but included here because of the relevance of comparing it to its counterpart with a LF.

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

As already mentioned, there are four predicative NPs; two with SFs and two with LFs. One of the predicative NPs with SFs is *столп огнен*, which is included in the above analysis. The remaining NP with a SF is *голубь бел* in

Появилася галка в Новом монастыре бела, аки *голубь бел*, и много время была, ... 'A white seagull appeared in the New Monastery, like a white dove, and it was there for a long time, ...' (7112, 204)

Even though *голубь бел* has the same adjective as the NP it is compared to, the quality *бел* is unpredictable as well from the first instance of the adjective in *галка бела* and from the noun *голубь*. Both noun and adjective provide equally essential new information.

The two predicative NPs with LFs are *прямой вор* in

А оне кричаше и обличаше во весь народ, что он *прямой вор*, холоп Елагиновых детей боярских, сапожников сын 'And they shouted and made it public to all of the people that he was a genuine criminal, a serf of the Ielaginov sons of boyars, and the son of a shoemaker' (7118, 214)

and *многоценное богатество* in

... дарование от бога ... от царя шах Абаса Кизылбыскаго ризу свою богателеснаго погребения, еже есть хитон, *многоценное богатество* '... [there was] a gift from God ... from Czar Shah Abas Kizylbyskii, [who gave] his burial garb, which is a tunic, a very valuable article' (7133, 220)

In these two NPs, the nouns are communicatively much more important than the adjectives. The adjective *прямой* just emphasizes the negative connotations of *вор*, and *многоценное* emphasizes the positive connotations of *богатество*. Not much meaning would be lost if the adjectives were left out of these NPs.

Plural NPs

There are 11 plural NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. Nevertheless, all of these NPs have LFs. All 11 NPs function as new rheme, including one predicative NP.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

10 NPs are subjects of existential or presentational sentences. In two NPs, the LF can probably be explained by the fact that the referent of the NP is a (subset of a) category of people, as in

Того же году приходили ... послы литовские ... и многие королевские *большие дворяне*, ... 'The same year, Lithuanian envoys ... and many important noblemen with royal ties ... arrived, ...' (7108, 203)

In the example below, *нищие миряне* functions as rheme in a parallel structure together with *инокини* and *нищие, женской пол*:

И на Москве поставлены три богадельны: у Моисея пророка на Тверской улице богадельня, а в ней были *нищие миряне*; да богадельня против Пушечново двора, а в ней инокини; да богадельня на Кулишках, а в ней нищие, женской пол 'And in Moscow, three almshouses were built: at [the church of] the Prophet Moses on Tverskoi Street there was an almshouse, and in it were poor laymen; and an almshouse across from the Pušečnyi Dvor, for nuns; and an almshouse at Kuliški, for poor women' (7108, 202)

When a NP of this type is used, it does not refer to any particular individuals. It is also not clear whether it refers to 'all' or just 'some' people of the given category (often a certain social group), since this not relevant. A NP of this type simply states that a certain category of people is represented. In the example, the fact that *нищие миряне* denotes a subset of a category is emphasized by the presence of the NPs *инокини* and *нищие, женской пол*, which likewise denote subsets of categories.

Of the eight non-predicative NPs which do not denote subsets of categories, two have a form of the adjective *большой, кормы большие* (7108, 203) and *пушки большие вестовые* (7114, 212), and two have a form of *безчисленный, дары безчисленные* (7111, 203) and *безчисленные тысячи* (7111, 203), which might be enough to explain the LFs, since these adjectives seem to occur in the SF only exceptionally.

The remaining four NPs have LFs of adjectives of which SFs definitely exist. Three of the NPs denote concrete entities, two of which are instances of *зубцы каменные* in

Того же году сделаны *зубцы каменные* по рву кругом Кремля-города, ... да подле Москвы реки ... по берегу сделаны *зубцы же каменные* ... 'The same year, stone merlons were built along the moat around the Kremlin fortification, ... and beside the Moscow river ... along the embankment, stone merlons were likewise built ...' (7108, 202)

and one is *хоромы и сени новые* in

... поставлены *хоромы и сени новые* на место царя и великаго князя Феодора Ивановича ... '... new mansions and palaces were built at Czar and Great Prince Feodor Ivanovič's land' (7117, 215)

The last NP has an abstract referent, *доводы великие* in

А ревность его великая была ко всем бояром и дворяном, и доводы от боярских людей и от всяких великие друг на друга, ... 'And his mistrust was great towards all the boyars and noblemen, and serious aspersions were cast by the boyars and by all kinds of people on each other ...' (7113, 205)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The predicative NP also has an adjective which is able to occur in the SF, in

Того же году сделано Лобное место каменное, ... двери — решетки железные
'The same year, a place of execution, of stone, was built, ... and the doors were iron lattices' (7107, 202)

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 24 singular NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible, 16 with LFs and eight with SFs⁹ (including a NP modified by both a SF and a LF). They all function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

Five NPs, four with LFs and one with a SF, are (part of) temporal expressions. The four NPs with LFs are three instances of *немалое время* and one instance of *(на) малое время*, exemplified by

... а шел на Олексин и Олексин взял, и пошел от Олексина к Туле и под Тулою стоял *немалое время* '... and he went to Oleksin and took Oleksin, and he went from Oleksin to Tula and stood near Tula for a considerable time (7115, 215)

The temporal expression with a SF is *год не полон* in

А на государстве был *год не полон*: к Москве пришел [в] Петров день, ... а убили ево перед троицыным днем 'And he was in the state not for a full year: he came to Moscow on Peter's Day, ... and he was killed before Trinity' (7113, 207)

where the adjective *полон* provides the most essential information.

⁹ There is an additional accusative NP with a SF, but it is found in a context where instrumental case should be expected and is therefore not included in the analysis. The context is *И пожаловал его государь шубою дорогу на собилах, к руживо широко жемчужно с камением, ...* 'And the lord rewarded him with an expensive fur coat of zobel skin and a wide pearl lace with precious stones, ...' (7108, 203). The fact that the NP should have been in the instrumental case is emphasized by the presence of *шубою дорогу*, where a noun in the instrumental case is modified by a short adjective in the accusative.

Three NPs, all with LFs, do not have specific referents. These NPs are listed in the first table below.

NPs with non-specific referents

NPs with LFs	
рудy золотую и серебряную	Лета 7104-го явился некий человек во граде Твери: перепускаше <i>рудy золотую и серебряную</i> 'In the year 7104 a certain person appeared in Tver'; he smelted gold and silver ore' (7104, 198)
злое умышленье	А у кого сведаю скопы или <i>злое</i> которое <i>умышленье</i> и совет на государя своего царя и великаго князя Василья Ивановича ... 'And if I notice any conspiracy or evil intention against my lord, Czar and Great Prince Vasilii Ivanovič ...' (7114, 214)
большое стрельбище	И под Добрынями побили его наголову, и струп лежал на семи верстах стеншиися, а в ширину на <i>большое стрельбище</i> 'And near Dobryni they routed him, and [his troops] were rooted to the ground being crowded together [within a space] seven versts [long], and a large shooting range wide' (7113, 206) ¹⁰

The NPs in the table are non-specific in different ways. The expression *перепускаше рудy золотую и серебряную* describes an occupation and not a specific event, whereas the NP *злое которое умышленье* is indefinite and non-specific and refers to *any* instance of the phenomenon. The expression *на большое стрельбище* has a function similar to that of an adverb.

Below, the remaining 16 NPs are listed in two tables, one for NPs with adjectives denoting material and one for NPs with other types of qualitative adjectives.

¹⁰ In order for this example to make sense, I have interpreted *струп* as a variant form of *труп* (listed as a possibility by Sreznevskii if the meaning is 'a corpse', even though this is not the case here) and *стеншиися* as a past active participle of *stetisę*.

NPs with specific referents and adjectives denoting material

NPs with SFs	Adjectives denoting material
еуа[н]гелие злато	Того же году царь и великий князь Борис Федорович замыслил великое — неизреченную, богатую душевную глубину: господень гроб злат ¹¹ , кован весь, ... и <i>еуа[н]гелие злато</i> , ... и <i>крест злат</i> , ... 'The same year, Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič contemplated something great — [he experienced an] indescribable, rich spiritual depth: the Lord's grave, golden, completely cast, ... and a golden book of Gospels, ... and a golden cross, ...' (7108, 202)
крест злат	
крест злат	И она ему дала <i>крест злат</i> с мощьми и с каменнем драгим сына своего благовернаго царевича Дмитрея Ивановича углецкого 'And she gave him a golden cross with relics and precious stones, which had belonged to her (late) son, the pious Czarevič Dmitrii Ivanovič of Uglič' (7113, 206)
оклад злат многоценен	... великий князь Борис Федорович по обещанию своему написаше образ живоначальные троицы и положнша <i>оклад злат</i> с каменнем <i>многоценен</i> на старой образ, ... '... Great Prince Boris Fedorovič, according to his promise, [had] an image of the Trinity painted, and the old image was mounted in a valuable golden frame with precious stones, ...' (7107, 202)
храм камен	... велел поставити <i>храм камен</i> пречисты[е] богородицы Донския и монастырь согради, ... '... he ordered [them] to build a stone church [in the name] of the Holy Mother of God of Don and erected a monastery, ...' (7102, 197)
церковь камену	... и нача велию веру держати и монастырь согради, и <i>церковь камену</i> постави, и игумена устрои, ... '... and he began to believe strongly, and erected a monastery, and built a stone church, and appointed an abbot, ...' (7112, 205)
LF + SF	Adjectives denoting material
град полотняной новоторен	... веле поставити <i>град полотняной новоторен</i> , ... '... he ordered that a new canvas fortification be set up, ...' (7106, 201)
NPs with LFs	Adjectives denoting material
плотину каменую	Да по челобитью же Дмитрея Ивановича Годунова поставлен храм камен Рожество пресвятые богородицы ... в селе в Беседах, двенадцать верст от Москвы, ... да и <i>плотину каменую</i> зделал 'Also at the request of Dmitrei Ivanovič Godunov, a stone church was built [in the name of] the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God ... in the village Besedy, 12 versts from Moscow, ... and he also built a stone dam' (7106 ¹² , 200)
взруб каменной	Того же году повелением царя и великого князя Бориса Федоровича зачат делати <i>взруб каменной</i> за Стре[те]ннем, ... 'The same year, at the order of Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič, they began to make a stone foundation beyond the Stretenie, ...' (7106, 201)

¹¹ I have interpreted the SF *злат* in the NP *господень гроб злат* as predicative. The Lord's grave is a known entity, whereas *злат* is a feature that it possesses only in the great prince's fantasy, i.e., he imagines it *as golden*.

¹² The example is from a section included under 7106 with the headline *Прописано в сем летописце 93 и 4*.

All nine NPs in the above table denote concrete, individualized entities. The two NPs with LFs, *плотину каменную* and *взруб каменной*, and the NP modified by both a SF and a LF, *град полотняной новотворен*, are found in exactly the same type of context as two of the NPs with SFs, *храм камен* and *церковь камену*, and there seems to be no explanation for the vacillation between SF and LF.

NPs with specific referents and other types of qualitative adjectives

NPs with LFs	Qualitative adjectives
неизреченную, богатую душевную глубину	Того же году царь и великий князь Борис Федорович замыслил великое — <i>неизреченную, богатую душевную глубину</i> : господень гроб злат, кован весь, ... 'The same year Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič contemplated something great — [he experienced] an indescribable, rich spiritual depth : the Lord's grave, golden, completely cast, ...' (7108, 202)
насилство великое	И литва, как пришла в город, ... и <i>насилство</i> почали чинить <i>великое</i> бояром и дворяном, и всяким московским людем 'And the Lithuanians, when they came into the city, ... began to commit grave violence against the boyars and the noblemen, and against all people in Moscow' (7119, 216)
великое воровское дело	И Михайло Салтыков и Фетька Андронов удумали с литвою <i>великое воровское дело</i> , то не велено ходити никаким руским людем ни с каким оружием, ... 'And Mixailo Saltykov and Fet'ka Andronov thought up with the Lithuanians an extensive wrongful law, that it was not allowed for any Russians to carry any weapon, ...' (7119, 216)
стрельбу пищальную великую	И велел ... <i>стрельбу</i> учинити <i>пищальную великую</i> многую 'And he ordered [them] ... to open heavy cannon fire' (7106, 201)
великую рать	И царь Борис послал противу его <i>великую рать</i> : бояр и воевод, Мстисловского с товарищи, со многими людьми 'And Czar Boris sent a large army against him: boyars and generals, Mstislovskii and his companions, with a lot of people' (7113, 206)
страшное видение	... некий человек, именем Григорей, муж благ, виде <i>страшное видение</i> о посте и о молитве три дни и три ноши '... a certain person by the name of Grigorei, a pious man, saw a frightening vision involving fast and prayer for three days and three nights' (7119, 217)
великую казну	И того же времени вскоре послал в Литву ... к жене своей <i>великую казну</i> : золотые и деньги, и жемчуг, ... 'And at the same time he soon sent a great treasure to Lithuania ... to his wife: gold coins and money, and pearls, ...' (7113, 207)

As the above table shows, the NPs with other types of qualitative adjectives all have LFs. The first four NPs in the table denote abstract entities, and the last three denote concrete entities.

The explanation for the variation between SF and LF must probably be found in the relationship between noun and adjective. In the NPs with LFs of “other types of qualitative adjectives”, the noun is communicatively much more important than the adjective. This is possible because the meaning of the adjective is to some extent already implied in the noun. That is, spiritual depth is already associated with richness and indescribability, violence and wrongful laws always have negative connotations, which means that in the NPs *насильство великое* and *великое воровское дело*, the adjective *великое* merely adds scope, i.e., emphasizes these already existing connotations. Cannon fire is associated with intensity and troops with a multitude of people, so also in the NPs *стрельбу пицальную великую многую* and *великую рать*, the adjectives are of secondary importance in comparison with the nouns. Likewise, in the NPs *страшное видение* and *великую казну*, there is always something frightening about a vision, whereas a treasure is associated with greatness. The lower communicative importance of the adjectives is emphasized by the fact that in five of the NPs with LFs, the adjective precedes the noun.

Plural NPs

There are 10 plural NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Nine have LFs and one has a SF. Nine NPs, including the NP with a SF, function as new rheme, and one NP with a LF functions as repeated rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

In four NPs, the LFs can be explained by the fact that they denote (subsets of) categories of entities. This is true of *срамные слова*, which denotes a type of words, in

И как почали прохладжатися и всяким глумлением глумитися: овни стихи пояше, а овни песни вспевати ... и всякия *срамные слова* глаголати ‘And as they began to enjoy themselves, they began to amuse themselves with all sorts of amusements: some recited poems, and some began to sing songs ... and say all sorts of shameless words’ (7090, 194)

and *мудрые мужи*, which denotes a category of the population, in

«Совет даю вам, мужие: да пошлете в Прусскую землю *мудрые мужи* и призове от тамо сущих родов князя, дабы судил нас в правду» ‘I advise you to

send [some of your] wise men to Prussia and summon a prince from the families there, in order that he will judge us righteously' (7106¹³, 198)

In the following example, *суды серебряныя* is mentioned together with other types of valuables, for which reason it is probably most appropriately interpreted as denoting a category:

И того же времени вскоре послал в Литву ... к жене своей великую казну: золотые и деньги, ... и *суды серебряныя*, и камки, ... 'And at the same time he soon sent a great treasure to Lithuania ... to his wife: gold coins and money, ... and silver utensils, and damask, ...' (7113, 207)

The context preceding the fourth example describes how the shops in the Kitai-gorod in Moscow (presumably of wood) have burned:

А *лавки велел ставити каменныя* по пожару ... 'And he ordered that shops of stone be built after the fire ...' (7102, 196)

The meaning of *лавки велел ставити каменныя* must be that the new shops should be of a type that would not burn easily, for which reason *лавки ... каменныя* is probably most appropriately interpreted as denoting a subset of a category.

One NP does not refer to a specific entity, but has almost adverbial meaning, which is likely to explain the LF in this case:

... и стрельцы де, блюдяся меня, тех моих изменников в мегновени ока изсекли на *малые части*, ... '... and the strelcy, sparing me, cut these my traitors to peaces in an instant' (7113, 210)

The remaining four NPs are listed in the table below. They are all found in contexts where, in earlier chronicle texts, SFs are frequent, and where, within singular NPs in PL, SFs are more frequent than LFs. The LFs must be caused by the fact that, everything else being equal, a plural NP is less likely to generate a SF than a singular NP. This is also in accordance with the fact that, as stated earlier, no SFs are represented within nominative plural NPs in PL.

¹³ The example is from an account of Rurik's arrival in Novgorod in 6369 included under 7106.

NPs with SFs	Adjectives denoting material
сосуды златы	Того же году царь и великий князь Борис Федорович замыслил великое — ... : господень гроб злат, кован весь, и ангели великие литы по писменому: «Единого у главы, а единого у ногу», и ева[н]гелие злато, и <i>сосуды златы</i> , и крест злат, ... 'The same year, Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič contemplated something great — ... : the Lord's grave, golden, completely cast, ... and a golden book of Gospels, golden utensils, and a golden cross, ...' (7108, 202)
NPs with LFs	Adjectives denoting material
раки серебряные кованья многоценныя	... зачали делати <i>раки серебряные кованья многоценныя</i> великим светильником, столпом Руския земля Петру и Алексею, ... '... they began to make valuable caskets cast in silver for the great providers of spiritual enlightenment, the pillars of Russia, Peter and Aleksei, ...' (7106 ¹⁴ , 199)
избы диячьи каменья	... зачали делати <i>избы диячьи каменья</i> у Архангела на площади на Москве '... they began to build stone dioceses at the square of the Arxangel [Church] in Moscow' (7099, 196)
NPs with LFs	Other qualitative adjectives
ангели великие	Того же году царь и великий князь Борис Федорович замыслил великое ... : господень гроб злат, кован весь, и <i>ангели великие</i> литы по писменому: «Единого у главы, а единого у ногу», ... 'The same year, Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič contemplated something great ... : the Lord's grave, golden, completely cast, and great angels, cast, according to the Scripture: "One at his head, and one at his feet", ...' (7108, 202)

NPs functioning as repeated rheme

One NP functions as rheme in a parallel structure, *такия слова простыя* in

... удивишася о сем, что *такия люди разумныя и смиренныя* от его царьского сунклита, *такия слова простыя* глаголюще; ... '... and he was amazed at the fact that such intelligent and humble people of his czar's council were saying such simple words' (7090, 194)

¹⁴ The example is from a section included under 7106 with the headline *Прописано в сем летописце 93 и 4*.

The subordinate clause is a parallel repetition of the example quoted above *И как почали ... и всякия срамныя слова глаголати* (7090, 194) with *такия люди разумныя* referring to the implicit 3rd person plural agent in *почали* and *такия слова простыя* referring to *всякия срамныя слова*. The NP *такия слова простыя* is also, as *всякия срамныя слова*, likely to denote a type of words, i.e., a subset of a category.

Locative

Singular NPs

There are six singular NPs in the locative in contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible. Five have LFs and one has a SF. One NP with a LF functions as repeated rheme, and the remaining NPs function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

One of the five NPs functioning as new rheme has a form of the adjective *большой*. This might explain the LF, since this adjective seems to almost exclusively occur in the LF. The example is

Лета 7100 посылал царь и великий князь под Выбор воевод в *большом по[л]ку* князь Федор Иванович Мстисловской да Иван Годуновых ... 'In the year 7100, the czar and great prince sent generals to Vyborg in a large force, Prince Fedor Ivanovič Mstislovskoi and Ivan of the Godunovs' (7100, 196)

The remaining NPs are listed in the table below.

NPs with SFs	Adjectives denoting material
зипунце камчатe	... и велел его погresti во всем в чем заклан: в <i>зипунце камчатe</i> да сапошки, ... '... and he ordered that he be buried in everything he was wearing when he was stabbed: in a damask coat and boots, ...' (7099, 197)
NPs with LFs	Adjectives denoting material
колокольнице древяной	... слит колокол большой, ... и поставлен на <i>колокольнице древяной</i> ... '... a large bell was cast, ... and it was put in a wooden belfry ...' (7108, 202)
NPs with LFs	Other qualitative adjectives
великой нуже	... и велели ему быти ... в Чюдове монастыре; и жил тут в <i>великой нуже</i> и в голоде ... '... and they ordered him to live ... in the Čudov Monastery; and there he lived in great poverty and in starvation ...' (7119, 216)
великой кручине	... великий князь Федор Иванович в те поры был в Павнутиеве монастыре и приехал в <i>великой кручине</i> , ... '... Great Prince Fedor Ivanovič was in the Pavnutiev Monastery at that time and arrived in great sorrow' (7102, 196)

The two nouns modified by adjectives denoting material both have concrete referents (which, of course, must necessarily be the case in order for the NPs to be meaningful), whereas the nouns modified by *великой* both have abstract referents. As in several NPs in the nominative and accusative, the abstract nouns already have some connotations which *великой* emphasizes, in this case the negative connotations of *нужа* and *кручина*. The relatively low communicative significance of the adjectives in these NPs is emphasized by the fact that the adjectives precede the nouns.

In the two NPs with adjectives denoting material, the information provided by the adjective is at least as essential as that provided by the noun. This must be the reason why one NP has a SF. The LF in the second NP defies explanation.

NPs functioning as repeated rheme

One NP functions as repeated rheme, *великом месте* in

И всем людем во удивление: в таком *великом месте* мельница учинилася
'And all people were amazed that the mill was built in such a great place' (7108,
202)

where the sequence *в таком великом месте мельница учинилася* is a repetition of *зачата в Великом Новгороде мельница делати на Волхове* 'they began to build a mill in Great Novgorod at the Volxov' in the preceding sentence.

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 18 singular NPs with LFs in the genitive. 16 of them are found in contexts usually generating a LF, i.e., they are definite, function as theme or as descriptive genitives (i.e., have generalized meaning). Two NPs are found in a type of context which, judging by the findings in the nominative and accusative, is able to generate a SF. Both are instances of the NP *города каменного*, in

Лета 7096-го послал царь и государь в Астарахань *города делати каменного*
Михаила Вельяминова да дияка Дея Губастово, ... 'In the year 7096, the czar
and lord sent Mixail Veliaminov and Deacon Dei Gubastov to Astraxan to build a
stone fortress' (7096, 196)

and

Лета 7105-го послал царь и великий князь боярина своево ... Бориса
Федоровича Годунова в Смоленск окладывати *города каменного* больши ста-

poro, ... 'In the year 7105, the czar and great prince sent his boyar ... Boris Fedorovič Godunov to Smolensk to lay the foundation of a stone fortress larger than the old one, ...' (7105, 198)

(There are two genitive NPs with SFs in contexts usually generating a LF. These are treated under "Exceptions" below.)

Plural NPs

There are 17 plural NPs in the genitive, all of which have LFs. Eight are found in contexts usually generating a LF, i.e., they are definite or function as theme or as descriptive genitives. Four NPs function as new rheme but denote (subsets of) categories, and five function as new rheme in contexts where SFs occur in other cases, as exemplified by

Да и доводов ложных мне, великому государю, не слушати, а сыскивати всякими сыски... 'And I, the great lord, shall not listen to mendacious arguments, but do all sorts of investigations ... (7114, 213)

Dative NPs

Singular NPs

There are six singular NPs in the dative. They all have LFs and are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

Plural NPs

There are five plural NPs in the dative, all of which have LFs. Two NPs are found in contexts usually generating a LF. The remaining three NPs function as new rheme. One NP, *бедным разореным людям*, denotes a (subset of a) category of people, which would probably in any case cause a LF:

И почал давати ту казну *бедным разореным людям*: бояром и дворяном, и детем боярским, и казаком, и стрельцом, и всяким ратным людем 'And he began to give that treasure to poor and impoverished people: boyars and noblemen, sons of boyars, Cossacks, strelcy, and all sorts of people in military service' (7121, 217)

The remaining two NPs functioning as new rheme are both instances of *дальним городом/дальным городом*, in

А Годуновых всех и весь их род, и другов их велел розослати по *дальним городом* 'And he ordered that all the Godunovs and their entire family and their friends be sent to remote towns' (7113, 207)

and

И тех панов роздавали по приставом, а иных розослали по *дальным городом*
 ‘And these gentlemen they handed over to the police, and others they sent to
 remote towns’ (7121, 218)

NPs in the instrumental case

Singular NPs

There are 19 singular NPs in the instrumental case, all of which have LFs. Eight are found in contexts usually generating a LF, and 11 function as new rheme, as *дорогим окладом* in

Того же году подписан храм ... в Новом в Девичье монастыре каменной, ... и образы чудотворныя обложены *дорогим окладом* с камнем ‘The same year, the stone church ... at the Novodevičje Monastery was decorated, ... and the miracle-working images were mounted in expensive frames with [precious] stones’ (7108, 202)

Plural NPs

There are 10 plural NPs in the instrumental case, all of which have LFs. Nine of the NPs function as new rheme, as *вотчинами большими* in

... великий князь Федор Иванович бояр и воевод жаловал своим большим царским жалованьем: больших бояр и воевод ... *вотчинами большими*, а иных воевод — кубками и шубами ... ‘... Great Prince Fedor Ivanovič rewarded the boyars and generals with his great czar’s reward: the leading boyars and generals [he rewarded] with large estates, and the other generals [he rewarded] with goblets and furs ...’ (7102, 197)

Locative NPs

Plural NPs

There are five plural NPs in the locative, all of which have LFs. Three NPs are found in contexts usually generating a LF, while two function as new rheme, *розных городех* in

Того же году повелением царя и великого князя Бориса Федоровича печатали книги: еуангелья, ... служебники; и печатаны в *розных городех* ‘The same year at Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič’s command, books were printed: Gospels, ... books for use at church service; and they were printed in different cities’ (7109, 203)

and *худых ризах* in

И прииде к царице Марфе в монастырь на Выксу с товарищем своим, ... в розданных в худых ризах 'And he went to Czarica Marfa in the monastery at Vyksa with his companion, ... in torn and worn clothes' (7113, 206)

Exceptions

Irregular NPs in the nominative

There is one irregular NP in the nominative, *муж благ* in

... некий человек, именем Григорей, *муж благ*, виде страшное видение ... '... a certain person by the name of Grigorei, a pious man, saw a frightening vision ...' (7119, 217)

This NP has a SF even though it is an apposition of the NP functioning as theme, *некий человек, именем Григорей*, and therefore forms part of theme itself. In Novg1S and Novg1K, this type of NP is well represented among irregular NPs, probably because it has petrified as an epithet of the dead and of people mentioned, as in this example, in religious contexts. This might also be the explanation for the SF appearing in an "unexpected" context here.

Irregular NPs in the genitive

There are two singular genitive NPs with SFs in contexts usually generating a LF. In the first example, the NP *милостива пана* is coreferent with the NPs *пана Юрья Мнишка* (10 lines up) and *пану отцу* (two lines up) in the preceding context and therefore definite:

И посланников *милостива пана* и панны Марины, не издержав, отпустить их и жалавати, ... 'And the envoys of the merciful lord, and of lady Marina, [I shall], not holding them back, send off and reward, ...' (7113, 208)

The second example follows a description of how Mixail Fedorovič Romanov was elected and installed as czar. The NP *благочестива царя* refers to him and functions as theme:

Еще нас, христиан, не одоле всяко беззаконие, что нам бог дал такова *благочестива царя* 'Lawlessness still has not completely defeated us Christians, since God has given us such a pious czar' (7123, 219)

Conclusion

Variation between SF and LF is limited to the nominative, accusative and locative. Within plural NPs, variation has almost completely disappeared; there is only one plural NP with a SF, the accusative NP *сосуды златы*.

To the extent that variation occurs, it seems to depend on three interrelated factors: type of noun, type of adjective and the relationship between noun and adjective. Within NPs with

nouns denoting concrete entities, the SF dominates. Within NPs with nouns denoting abstract entities, the LF dominates. The occurrence of SFs is much more pronounced within adjectives denoting material than within other qualitative adjectives. This, of course, has to do with the fact that whereas other qualitative adjectives, the vast majority of which is represented by велик-, can modify concrete as well as abstract nouns, adjectives denoting material can only modify concrete nouns.

The explanation must mainly be sought in the relationship between noun and adjective. If the adjective is communicatively at least as important as the noun, a SF is likely to be generated. If the adjective is communicatively less important than the noun, a LF is likely to be triggered. It lies in the nature of concreteness versus abstractness that NPs with concrete referents are more likely to have communicatively important adjectives, whereas NPs with abstract referents are more likely to have communicatively important nouns. Whereas a concrete noun can be modified by an infinite number of adjectives, the adjectives that can modify an abstract noun are limited in number and in many cases have no other function than emphasizing or limiting meanings or connotations already present in or associated with the noun. Of course, such emphasis or limitation can be communicatively essential, but because of the many connotations already associated with abstract nouns, the essentiality will be less pronounced than that of an adjective modifying a concrete noun.

In the plural, NPs that are most appropriately interpreted as denoting (subsets of) categories have LFs as well in PL as in earlier chronicle texts. In PL, however, the SF has all but disappeared from the plural, also in NPs with concrete nouns not likely to denote (subsets of) categories. The explanation for this must be that the more individualized the referent of a noun is, the more pronounced is the communicative importance of the adjective modifying it. This also has to do with the fact that it is always a matter of interpretation whether a NP is perceived as representing a category or as referring to an individualized entity. And plural NPs are, because of their lower degree of individualization, much more likely to be interpreted as representing a category, and accordingly, to generate LFs, than are singular NPs.

The SF survives in the contexts where the communicative importance of the adjective relative to the noun is most pronounced, and that is in singular NPs that have concrete nouns and function as new rheme.

The table below shows the distribution of SFs and LFs in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme					
	Non-predicative NP		Predicative NP		Repeated rheme	
	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	21	23	2	2	1	0
Nominative plural	0	10	0	1	0	0
Accusative singular	8	16	0	0	0	0
Accusative plural	1	8	0	0	0	1
Locative singular	1	1	0	0	0	1
Total	31	58	2	3	1	2

Chapter 8

Летописец 1619-1691 гг.

Летописец 1619-1691 гг. (Let1619-91) is extant in one manuscript, the *Соловецкий список*, which includes four additional texts. The manuscript can be dated to the period between the late 17th century and the early 18th century (ПСРЛ, v. 31, 5f.). Let1619-91 itself must have been finished in 1691 or 1692, since the birth of Czarevič Aleksandr Petrovič in October, 1691, is mentioned, but not his death in May, 1692 (ПСРЛ, v. 31, 5). Two thirds of Let1619-91 consists of a detailed description of the uprising in Moscow in 1682 (7190). This part constitutes an independent text, which is nevertheless closely connected with the remaining third of Let1619-91, which functions as a “framework” of the description (ПСРЛ, v. 31, 5).

There are later additions to Let1619-91 concerning the history of the Soloveckii Monastery, but the main text is composed in Moscow. The author of Let1619-91 is likely to have been living in Moscow and possibly have been employed in one of the churches or cathedrals in the Kremlin (ПСРЛ, v. 31, 4; 6). The later additions are not included in the present analysis, which covers the years 7154-7200 (1646-1691).

The distribution of LFs and SFs in *Летописец 1619-1691 гг.*

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-*

There are 46 LFs of possessive adjectives in Let1619-91. All but 12 of these are in case and number combinations where usually only the LF occurs, i.e., instrumental singular and genitive, dative, instrumental and locative plural. There are no SFs of possessive adjectives in any of these case and number combinations.

Of the 12 LFs in case and number combinations with variation, seven are found in forms of *связься изба*, one in the dative singular and six in the in the accusative plural. Two are forms of *торговой*, in the nominative plural NPs *торговые люди* (7190, 192) and *торговые греки* (7190, 198). Two are found in instances of the accusative plural NP *спусковые деньги* (both 7190, 190), and one is a form of *рядовой*, in the plural nominalization *рядовые* (7190, 190). As mentioned in the section about possessive adjectives in PL, some adjectives of this type (derived from common nouns denoting inanimate entities) are probably more or less limited to the LF.

There are six SFs of adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*. Five of these are found in genitive singular NPs, two in *мужеска и женска полу* (7184, 186), two in the NP *царска лица* (7190, 201; 7190, 202) and one in *двора царска* (7190, 195). The last SF is found in the accusative singular NP *кровь християнску* (7190, 195).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation between the LF and the SF

The distribution of LFs and SFs in NPs displaying context-determined variation is illustrated in the table below.

	Nom.				Acc.			
	Sing.		Plur.		Sing.		Plur.	
	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF	LF	SF
Contexts usually generating a LF	25	0	35	0	36	0	10	0
Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible	6	9 ^a	6	3	13	1	14	1
Total	31	9	40	3	49	1	24	1

^a including one NP modified by a SF as well as a LF

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 25 singular NPs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is the NP *каменное здание*, which functions as theme, in

А оттоле и по Москве реце по берегу даже и до Кремля града бысть все чисто, аки поле, токмо едино каменное здание стояше 'And from there along bank of the Moscow river and even to the Kremlin everything was empty as a field; only [the] building[s] of stone was/were still standing' (7193, 203)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 35 plural NPs with LFs in the nominative in contexts usually generating a LF, as in

... посланы быша противу их, изменников, бояре и воеводы со множества христолюбиваго воинства полки, и тии *злочестивыя изменницы* и сами погибоша, ... '... boyars and generals with multitudes of troops from the Christ-loving army were sent against them, the traitors, and the insidious traitors perished themselves' (7176, 184)

where *злочестивыя изменницы* is definite because of its modification by the demonstrative pronoun *тии*.

Accusative

Singular NPs with LFs

There are 36 singular NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *незлюбивое агня*, which has generalized meaning, in

Они же, яко зверие дивии, *незлюбивое агня*¹, сего страдалца похватиша от царских пресветлых лиц, ... 'They, as wild beasts [seize] a mild lamb, seized this sufferer from the honored members of the czar family' (7190, 197)

Plural NPs with LFs

There are 10 plural NPs with LFs in the accusative in contexts usually generating a LF. An example of this is *нечестивыя руки* in

... аще бы нас, раб своих, господь бог выдал в *нечестивыя руки* султану турецкому или королю полскому, ... '... if God delivered us, his slaves, into the impious hands of the Turkish sultan or the Polish king, ...' (7190, 196)

where the datives *султану турецкому* and *королю полскому* have the same function as possessive genitives, which makes it clear that *нечестивыя руки* must be interpreted as definite.

¹ The editor's comma following *незлюбивое агня* indicates an interpretation of *сего страдалца* as an apposition of this NP. In my opinion, it makes more sense to interpret the sequence *яко зверие дивии незлюбивое агня* as a generalized statement (i.e., without the comma). If *сего страдалца* is interpreted as an apposition, *незлюбивое агня* must be interpreted as definite, so the NP would in any case be placed among "NPs in contexts usually generating a LF".

NPs in contexts where both the SF and the LF occur

Nominative

Singular NPs

There are 15 nominative NPs in the singular in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. Nine of these have SFs (including a NP modified by both a SF and a LF) and six have LFs. They all function as new rheme, including two predicative NPs with LFs.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The 13 non-predicative NPs are all subjects of existential or presentational sentences and are listed in the table below. The four instances of *пожар (зело) велик* are found in very similar contexts, for which reason only one example with this NP is quoted.

Of the eight NPs with SFs, seven have concrete referents, *пожар* or *огнь*. The referent NP modified by a LF and a SF is likewise a concrete entity. Three of the four NPs with LFs, all except *збор большой*, have abstract referents. This is in accordance with the findings in PL, where abstract NPs tend to favor the LF much more strongly than concrete NPs. In the one concrete NP with a LF, *збор большой*, the explanation for the LF is probably that a SF of *большой* is virtually nonexistent. The NP *безчисленное множество* has been found in other chronicle texts to almost exclusively occur with a LF of the adjective. As noted in previous chapters, the adjective *безчисленное* in this NP is somewhat redundant, since its meaning is already to a large extent implied in the noun *множество*. In the NP *непокоривое преслушание*, the adjective is completely redundant, which is emphasized by the fact that the adjective precedes the noun. The same applies to some extent to *всегубительное страхование*, since destructiveness must be said to be an implicit characteristic of fear. However, the same argument can be used about the NP *ужас страшен*, which leads us to another important difference between the NPs with SFs and the NPs with LFs. In seven of the NPs with SFs, the adjective is modified by the adverb *зело*. In each NP, *зело* emphasizes that the quality attributed to the referent of the noun is an individual and unpredictable quality of exactly that particular referent of the noun. That is, even if fear is always horrible, *зело* in *ужас зело страшен* emphasizes that this particular instance of fear is even more horrible than fear usually is. As in PL, the main factor determining whether an adjective is realized as a SF or a LF is the relationship between noun and adjective. If the adjective is communicatively as important as or more important than the noun, the SF is favored, whereas if the adjective is communicatively less important than the noun, the LF is favored. In *тому подобен пожар*, the adjective is obviously of a different type than in the other NPs with SFs,

but the relationship between noun and adjective is the same: the information that there was a fire is essential, but the information that it was similar to a previous fire is as essential.

NPс with SFs	
пожар велик (4)	В лето 7193 ... бысть <i>пожар</i> зело <i>велик</i> 'In the year 7193 ... there was a very great fire' (7193, 203)
огнь велик	... зажжен бысть царев двор в ноши, возгореся <i>огнь</i> зело <i>велик</i> , иде же сам царь почиваше '... the czar's court was set on fire, and a very great fire developed where the czar himself was resting' (7193, 204)
ужас страшен	... и воздвигше плачь и сетование велие; от воплю же онаго в дому их царском бысть <i>ужас</i> зело <i>страшен</i> '... and they fell into crying and great sorrow; and because of this wailing, there was a very horrible commotion in their czar's house' (7190, 187)
пожар ужасен	... в царском доме бысть <i>пожар</i> зело <i>ужасен</i> '... in the czar's palace, there was a quite terrible fire' (7191, 203)
подобен пожар	В лето 7197 октоврия в 1 день в 2 час ноши тому же <i>подобен пожар</i> бысть 'In 7191 on October 1 at 2 o'clock in the morning there was a similar fire' (7197, 204)
NPс with LF + SF	
великий круг светел	... явися знамение на небеси над градом Кремлем; мню, о всей быти Москве <i>великий круг светел</i> , видом бел, ... '... an omen appeared over the Kremlin fortification; I imagine how there will be a large bright circle around all of Moscow' (7191, 203)
NPс with LFs	
збор большой	... 6 недели по пасце бысть благовест и <i>збор большой</i> , ... '... six weeks after Easter, the bell was rung for divine service and there was a large gathering (for service), ...' (7190, 200)
безчисленное множество	... из Великого Новаграда приидоша храбрых мужей 40000, ис прочих же окрестных государственных градов сиидошася избранных воинств <i>безчисленное множество</i> ... '... from Great Novgorod, 40000 brave men arrived, and from the remaining surrounding cities of the nation, a countless multitude of selected troops came down ...' (7190, 201)
непокоривое преслушание	Из них же и многия избранныя люди отступиша уже, и самим им бысть от мятежников <i>непокоривое преслушание</i> к старейшинам, ... 'Many selected people had already separated from them, and within their own ranks, there was obstinate disobedience to the elders, ...' (7190, 197)
всегубительное страхование	... грех ради наших прииде на нас неначаемое <i>всегубительное страхование</i> ... '... because of our sins an unexpected, destructive fear began to be felt among us ...' (7190, 192)

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The two predicative NPs are *прямое лихое дело* in

И мяху народи, яко те рыбы – *прямое лихое дело*², ... ‘And people thought that these fish were a real crime, ...’ (7190, 198)

and *волк хищный* in

... пришел баше злочестиваго турскаго султана повелением, яко *волк хищный* на стадо Христово, крымский царевич нарадын з братом своим Мурат Киреем ... ‘...at the order of the insidious Turkish sultan, like a ravenous wolf at the flock of Christ, the Crimean *czarevič nuradyn* had arrived with his brother Murat Kirei, ...’ (7154, 181)

In the first example, the NP is of the same type as the NPs with LFs in the table above. Its referent is abstract, the adjective precedes the noun, and the noun is communicatively more important than the adjective. An additional reason for the LF might be that *прямое лихое дело* is not and cannot be identical to *те рыбы*; instead, *те рыбы – прямое лихое дело* states that the act of bringing the fish to Russia falls into the category of criminal activities. In the second example, the meaning of *хищный* is already implied in the meaning of *волк*, which means that the noun is much more communicatively important than the adjective – not much information would be lost if the adjective were omitted.

Plural NPs

There are nine plural NPs in the nominative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. Six NPs have LFs and three have SFs. All of the NPs with SFs and three of the NPs with LFs are subjects of existential or presentational sentences. The remaining three NPs with LFs are predicative NPs. All NPs function as new rheme.

² The NP *лихое дело* is a fixed NP meaning ‘a crime’.

Non-predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

The NPs functioning as subjects of existential or presentational sentences are listed in their contexts in the table below.

NPs with SFs	
ветры хладны и бурны	По часе же 9-м абне внезапно возвеша <i>ветры зело хладны и бурны</i> , подобны осеннему хладу, ближнему к зиме, и солнечная теплота пременяся во хлад, ... 'At 9 o'clock, very cold and strong winds arose, similar to the autumn cool, close to winter, and the heat of the sun turned into cold, ...' (7190, 192)
мразы велики	С рожества же Христова снегов было вельми много и <i>мразы велики зело</i> , в дорозех люди помирали 'From Christmas, there was a lot of snow and very strong frost; people died in the streets' (7192, 203)
усы долги и тонки	Иныи же взяша ... заморские рыбы, имущия многия плески, от них же яко <i>усы долги и тонки</i> яко власы, ... 'Others took ... some overseas fish with long tails; from them [extended] like a long and thin moustache like hairs, ...' (7190, 196)
NPs with LFs	
бурныя ветры	Возгореся огонь на верху полат в Посольском дворе на Ильинской улице, в то же время зело <i>бурныя ветры</i> восташа, и пустися огонь по всему Китаю граду, ... 'The fire flared up at the top of the mansions in the Posolskii court at Ilinskaia Street; at the same time, very strong winds arose, and the fire spread over the entire Kitai-gorod, ...' (7196, 204)
великия бои	... под градом Веною быша <i>великия бои</i> ; турок и татар побито много, ... '... near the city of Vienna, there were great battles; many Turks and Tatars were killed, ...' (7191, 203)
златыя кресты	... несоша ... две державы царския круглы, украшенныя златом, подобны круглому арбузу, мерою кругом по аршину, на них же <i>златыя кресты</i> и кароны царския. ... '... they carried ... two round czar's orbs, decorated with gold, similar to a round water melon, measuring around an aršin in circumference, [and] there were gold crosses and czar's crowns on them' (7190, 200)

As the table shows, two NPs, one with two SFs, *ветры хладны и бурны*, and one with a LF, *бурныя ветры*, have the noun as well as one adjective in common. In both NPs, the adjective(s) are emphasized by the adjective *зело*. The explanation of why one NP has SFs while the other has a LF must be sought in the distribution of communicative importance between noun and adjective. In the example with the LF, the noun provides the essential information – it is the phenomenon of ‘wind’ that causes the fire to spread, whereas the strength of the wind is less significant. In the example with the SF, it is the quality of the wind, especially the adjective *хладны*, that carries the essential information, which is shown by the fact that it is the cold and not the wind that is important in the following context.

The NP *мразы велики зело* has a function analogous to that of *ветры зело хладны и бурны* in the sense that the adjective in itself has an important function and has significance for the following context. It was not the mere fact that there was frost that caused people to die; it was the fact that the frost was very strong.

In the NP *усы долги и тонки*, the noun as well as the adjective is communicatively essential, but it is the adjective that is important in the following context: it is the qualities ‘long’ and ‘thin’ that makes it relevant to compare the fishes’ “moustaches” to hairs.

The NP *великия бои* has a function analogous to that of *зело бурныя ветры*; the noun conveys the essential information and the adjective is less important.

In the NP *латыя кресты*, both the noun and the adjective convey important information, but it can be argued that the quality *латыя* is more or less expected from the whole setting, especially since it has already been mentioned that the orbs were decorated with gold.

The lesser communicative importance of the LFs relative to the nouns they modify is emphasized by the fact that they precede the nouns.

Predicative NPs functioning as new rheme

Two of the predicative NPs with LFs both denote animals and follow the comparative conjunction *яко*. These NPs are *свинии слепии и безумныя* in

Иных же ищуще бояр и вельмож к преданию смерти, бродяку по царским полатам, *яко свинии слепии и безумныя*, ... ‘Others, searching for boyars and magnates in order to kill them, wandered around in the czar’s castles, like blind and crazy swine, ...’ (7162, 182)

and *лютыя зверие* in

И быша псы, яко *лютыя зверие*, и живущим человеком во царстве проходу не дающе, ... 'And the dogs were like wild beasts and gave the people living in the czardom no peace' (7162, 182)

The LFs in these two NPs can probably be explained by the fact that the qualities *слепии и безумныя* and *лютыя* are already associated with swine and beasts respectively.

The last predicative NP is *верныя царевы слуги* in

Сии же злокозненные нарицаются христиане и *верныя царевы слуги*, ...
'These insidious [people] are called Christians and faithful servants of the czar'
(7190, 194)

Both *христиане* and *верныя слуги* must be perceived as referring to categories of people, to which it is claimed that the insidious people belong. This mode of presentation explains the LF.

Accusative

Singular NPs

There are 14 singular NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. 13 NPs have LFs and one has a SF. All 14 NPs function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

The NP with a SF is found in a temporal expression, in

... ухватиша иного пса, начаша тою рыбою кормити без отравы и держаша его на опасном карауле на Троецкой площади *довольно время*, и той пес не умре '... they caught another dog, began to feed it the fish without poison and held it under strict watch at Troetskaia Square for a sufficient time, and this dog did not die' (7090, 198)

One of the NPs with LFs, *всякое злое дело* in

... ибо того злаго ненавистника научением пострекаемы быша человецы ненавистницы и лукавства исполнены на *всякое злое дело* хождуху посреде народа. ... '... for the hateful people had been incited by the teaching of the evil hateful [Devil], and filled with slyness they walked around among the people, [ready to commit] whichever evil deed' (7190, 188)

does not have a specific referent, which might be the explanation for the LF. The NP is indefinite and non-specific and refers to *any* evil deed.

In two NPs, *множественное число* and *святую и божественную*³ *литургию*, it seems obvious that the LFs are caused by the relationship between noun and adjective. The NP *множественное число* is found in

Тии же окаянныя врази ис-под низовых градов собравше *множественное число* пахотных крестьян и поимше с собою. ... 'The evil enemies, having gathered a large number of farming peasants and taken [them] with them, ...'
(7178, 185)

As the example shows, *множественное число* has much in common with *бесчисленное множество*, a NP which has been found in several chronicle texts to occur almost exclusively with a LF of the adjective. Like *бесчисленное множество*, *множественное число* is not a fixed NP, but shares some features with fixed NPs. In many contexts, including the context below, it makes no sense to use *число* *without* an adjective. On the other hand, the only adjectives that can meaningfully be combined with *число* are adjectives that specify size, basically adjectives that tell whether the number is large or small. The adjective *множественное* is one of a few which would be expected together with *число*, and *множественное число* simply means *множество*.

The NP *святую и божественную литургию* is found in the example

И потом святейший патриарх литоргина⁴ *святую и божественную литургию*
'And afterwards the most holy patriarch held a holy and divine liturgy' (7190, 200)

Obviously, the adjectives are non-restrictive and completely redundant. A liturgy is always holy and divine. The meaning of the sentence is that the patriarch held *an instance* of the phenomenon 'holy and divine liturgy'.

The remaining 10 NPs are listed in the table below.

³ The adjective *божественный* is relative and is not included in the analysis.

⁴ According to the editor, the word is written like this in the manuscript. It has been suggested to me to interpret the word as the verb form *литоргиса* (of *литоргисати*), in which case the sentence makes sense.

христолюбивое воинство	И приде весть о сем ..., юже великий государь з жалостию сердца прием, абне же посла <i>христолюбивое воинство</i> противу нечестивых агарян 'And news arrived about this ..., which the great lord received with sorrow in his heart, and at once he sent Christ-loving troops against the insidious Hagarites' (7154, 181)
ров четвероугольный каменный столп	... избраша место на Красной площади, ископавши <i>ров четвероугольный</i> , сотворнша <i>каменный столп</i> ... '... they selected a place in the Red Square, and having dug a quadrangular hole, they made a stone column ...' (7190, 201)
безделную речь	Сия помути вам ненавистник всех православных христиан диявол и ученицы его, ложныя смутнишы, зломысленныя человецы, како бы сотворити волю отца своего диявола, помутити государством, вместиша <i>безделную речь</i> , чего помыслить человеческим разумом не вместится, ничего того не бысть ... 'The Devil and his disciples, the mendacious rioters, the insidious people, have stirred you up with this, in order to let their father's, the Devil's will be done, to trouble the state, they instilled mendacious speech that cannot be imagined by the human mind; there was nothing of this [before]' (7190, 196)
крепкую заповедь	... положиша <i>крепкую заповедь</i> с великим прещением под смертным страхом, чтобы им в том своем злом умышлении стояти крепко '... they established an inviolable commandment under the threat of death, in order that they would stand strongly in their evil intention ...' (7190, 189)
доброй совет надежную милость	И от того дне начаша стрелцы <i>доброй совет</i> творити, дабы им тем советом многия свои вины покрыти и себе впредь от великих государей наипаче <i>надежную милость</i> получитьи ... 'And from that day, the strelcy began to take good counsel together, in order that they could hide their many crimes and henceforth to an even larger extent receive trustful alms from the great lords ...' (7190, 199)
мысль злую	Тин же злии человецы, ..., всеяша <i>мысль злую</i> служилым людем, стрелцом и салдатом, ... 'These evil people, ..., sowed evil thought[s] among the service people, the strelcy and the soldiers' (7190, 188)
истеснение великое	... и изыдоша от них та тщетныя лживыя глаголы во весь народ сице, яко бояре всем обиды творят и <i>истеснение великое</i> , ... '... and from them came bad mendacious words to the whole people how the boyars cause everybody harm and harsh oppression' (7190, 188)
ярость сердечную	Они же, окаянныя стрелцы и салдаты, ... внидоша в <i>ярость сердечную</i> , зверообразни показашася, сотворнша между собою немилосердие ... 'And they, the evil streltsy and soldiers, ... flew into heartfelt rage, turned out to be like beasts, behaved mercilessly towards each other' (7190, 191-192)

In two NPs, *крепкую заповедь* and *доброй совет*, the meaning of the adjective is more or less implied in the meaning of the noun, at least in the above contexts. That is, in these NPs, the noun is clearly more important communicatively than the adjective, which is emphasized by the fact that the adjective precedes the noun.

In the NP *надеждную милость*, the adjective has character of a relative rather than of a qualitative adjective, since 'trustful' in this context means 'expressing [the great lords'] trust'. The adjective connects *милость* to *великих государей* and is in a sense coreferent by association with this NP.

In their respective contexts, the two NPs *мысль злую* and *безделную речь* would be devoid of meaning without the adjectives. On the other hand, the adjectives *злой* and *безделный* are to be expected following *злии человецы*, *дьяволом наученныя смутницы* and *ложныя смутницы*, *зломысленныя человецы*. The NP *христоролюбивое воинство* would, obviously, be perfectly meaningful without the adjective, but this NP resembles *мысль злую* and *безделную речь* in the sense that the quality *христоролюбивое* is to be expected of troops sent by the *великий государь* against non-Christians.

In the NPs *истеснение великое* and *ярость сердечную*, the adjective does add new meaning, but because of the abstract referents of the nouns, their main function is to emphasize the implicit meanings of the nouns, which in this case are negative. This is obvious with *великое*, but also *сердечную* is more or less synonymous with 'strong', 'great' and similar adjectives with more general meaning when modifying an abstract noun as *ярость*.

In the remaining two NPs, *ров четвероугольный* and *каменный столп*, the adjectives likewise convey new information. Because of the concrete referents of the NPs, the adjectives denote much more individualized and unpredictable qualities of the referents of the nouns than adjectives modifying abstract NPs.

The NPs *истеснение великое*, *ярость сердечную*, *ров четвероугольный* and *каменный столп* are quite similar to the NPs (with respect to context and type of noun and adjective) that have SFs in the chronicle texts older than PL. It should also be noted that only four NPs, including three of the NPs just mentioned, have adjectives that follow the nouns.

Plural NPs

There are 15 plural NPs in the accusative in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible. 14 have LFs and one has a SF. They all function as new rheme.

NPs functioning as new rheme

The 15 accusative NPs functioning as new rheme are listed in the table on 212.

In nine of the 14 NPs with LFs, the LF can be explained by the fact that the NP denotes (a subset of) a category. Six of these NPs denote words (four instances of *глаголы* and one each of *слова* and *гласы*). Without the adjectives, these NPs would be meaningless. They resemble plural nominalizations in the sense that they categorize the words with respect to effect or function, which also means that the adjectives have a function resembling that of relative adjectives. The NPs *глаголы прелестные*, *скверные глаголы* and *плевелные глаголы* etc. mean 'deception', 'foulness' and 'untruth' etc. expressed by words, i.e., they relate the concept of speech to the abstract concepts that speech can contain.

The NP *злая руки* is similar to the NPs just described in the sense that it also resembles a plural nominalization. The noun *руки* is a metaphor for 'people' in this context, i.e., it would make no difference if the noun had been *люди* instead of *руки*. The meaning of the NP is simply 'an entity characterized by being evil'.

In the two NPs *медные деньги* and *многоценные одежды*, the adjectives likewise place the referents of the noun in a category. The NP *медные деньги* is used to denote one type of money as opposed to a different type (*серебряных*), and *многоценные одежды* simply denotes a type of valuables analogous to *серебро* and *злато*.

NPs with SFs	
державы царския круглы	... несоса ... две <i>державы царския круглы</i> , ... подобны круглому арбузу, мерою кругом по аршину, ... '... they carried ... two round czar's orbs, ... similar to a round water melon, [with] a circumference around one aršin, ...' (7190, 200)
NPs with LFs	
нелепая глаголы	... внидоша же ... испушающе <i>нелепая глаголы</i> , ищущи бояр ... '... and they forced their way in ... uttering senseless words, searching for boyars ...' (7190, 194)
плевелная глаголы	... Хованской к мятежником советен бысть; ему же <i>плевелная глаголы</i> доносяще, ... '... Хovanskoi sympathized with the rioters, [they] bringing him the mendacious words that ...' (7190, 201)
скверная глаголы	Они же ... <i>скверная глаголы</i> испушают, кричаще: «Отдайте изменников!» 'They ... let out foul words, shouting: "Give [us] the traitors!"' (7190, 195)
глаголы прелестная	... хождаху посреде народа ... испушающе ... <i>глаголы прелестная</i> , ... '... they walked around among the people ... letting out ... deceptive words, ...' (7190, 188)
гласы прелестная	Они же возмутиша в народе, ..., испушающе <i>гласы</i> дияволским наваждением <i>прелестная</i> во всем народе, ... 'They stirred up the people, ..., letting out voices, deceptive by the Devil's delusion, among all the people ...' (7190, 192)
мятежные слова	... смутницы ... прелестию изношаху <i>мятежные слова</i> ... '... the rioters ... deceptively let out rebellious words ...' (7190, 189)
злая руки	... яко агня на заколенне, приведоша, ..., в <i>злая руки</i> , яко мертвеца земли предаша '... as a lamb to be slaughtered, they led him, ..., in evil hands, as if they buried him alive' (7190, 197)
зломыслен- ные козни	И устремившеса всех полков ... пияниц ... научающе на <i>зломысленные козни</i> , ... 'And urging on all the troops ... instigating drunkards to malicious intrigues' (7190, 188)
разная ... стражи	... всех вкупе яша и посадиша за <i>разная</i> стрелецкия <i>стражи</i> '... they seized them all together and put them under different streltsy guards' (7190, 198)
стражи крепкие	... в своих слобода[х] ... и <i>стражи</i> укрепивше <i>крепкие</i> , яко на рать изготовившеса, ... '... in their settlements ... having mounted strong guards, as if in preparation for battle, ...' (7190, 191)
полки великия	... собирают <i>полки великия</i> , учаше ратному строю ... крестьян, ... '... [they] were gathering large forces ... teaching military formation in the villages to the peasants ...' (7190, 201)
многоценная одежды	... начаша имати ... серебро, и злато, и <i>многоценная одежды</i> , ... '... and they began to take ... silver and gold and valuable clothes, ...' (7162, 182)
железная листы	... сотворнша каменный столп и со всех стран прибиша, ... <i>железная листы</i> , написанныя по ним ... во царском именовании, ... '... they made a stone column and nailed [to it] from all sides, ... iron plates, on which was written ... the title of the czar ...' (7190, 201)
медные денги	... начаша делати <i>медные денги</i> и даяху жалование вместо серебряных; ... '... they began to make copper money and gave a compensation for silver [money]' (7164, 182)

In the NP *зломыемысленные козни*, the adjective is redundant; its meaning is already implied in the meaning of *козни*.

The NP *разная стрелецкая стражи* has a quantitative and not a qualitative adjective, which might explain the LF in this case.

Three NPs, *железные листы*, *стражи крепкие* and *полки великия* are found in contexts similar to that of the NP with a SF, *державы царския круглы*, a type of context in which SFs frequently occur in earlier texts. Even though the adjectives convey new and essential information in all of these NPs, it is clear that there is less emphasis on the adjectives in the NPs with LFs than in the NP with a SF. Guards are usually associated with strength and troops with a multitude of people. In the respective contexts of these NPs, the noun is communicatively more important than the adjective. The same is true of *железные листы*, which becomes particularly clear when this NP is compared to *державы царския круглы*. In the context following *железные листы*, the noun *листы* is elaborated on (*написанныя по них уставным писанием со златою прописью во царском именовании*), and not the adjective modifying it. In this particular context, there is no motivation for emphasizing the adjective; rather, the referent of *железные листы* is presented as a type of plates that can be used as signs on stone columns.

The adjective *круглы* 'round' denotes an intrinsic quality of the noun *державы* 'orbs'. The SF is somewhat surprising because this quality is implicit in the meaning of the noun, but the SF must be triggered by the fact that this quality nevertheless carries a lot of emphasis and is elaborated in the following context (*подобны круглому арбузу, мерою кругом по аршину*).

It is also important to note that the NP *державы царския круглы* is much more individualized than *железные листы* because of the explicit number *две*. This reinforces the perception that *железные листы* is to be interpreted as 'plates belonging to the category of plates which are made of iron', whereas in *державы царския круглы*, the quality *круглы* is presented an individual feature of each of these two particular czar's orbs.

Case and number combinations displaying no variation

Genitive NPs

Within genitive NPs, singular as well as plural, only LFs are represented.

Singular NPs

There are 40 singular NPs in the genitive, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

Plural NPs

There are 50 genitive NPs in the plural, all of which have LFs. 44 of them are found in contexts usually generating a LF. Six NPs function as new rheme, two of which must be interpreted as referring to (subsets of) categories. The remaining four NPs functioning as new rheme are found in types contexts where SFs have been found to occur in Let1619-91 as well as in earlier chronicle texts. An example of this is the NP *железных копей*, which has a function similar to that of a predicative NP, in

Тии же окаянныя врази ... настрогавше вместо оружия длинных древков, обостривше концы и очернивше в подобие *железных копей*, ... 'These evil enemies ... instead of weapons having planed some long poles, sharpened the ends and painted them black so they looked like iron spears, ...' (7178, 185)

Dative NPs

Within dative NPs, only LFs are represented, in the singular as well as in the plural.

Singular NPs

There are 11 singular NPs in the dative, three of which are found in the types of context usually associated with the SF, as exemplified by the predicative NP *круглому арбузу* functioning as new rheme in

... несоша ... две державы царския круглы, украшенныя златом, подобны *круглому арбузу*, мерою кругом по аршину, ... '... they carried ... two round czar's orbs, decorated with gold, similar to a round water-melon, measuring around an aršin in circumference, ...' (7190, 200)

Plural NPs

There are 14 plural NPs in the dative, all of which are found in contexts usually generating a LF.

NPs in the instrumental case

There are 62 NPs in the instrumental case, 34 in the singular and 28 in the plural, all of which have LFs.

Singular NPs

Of 34 singular NPs in the instrumental case, 17 function as new rheme, as *белым кованым железом* in

... святая церковь невредима бысть, якоже и ныне видим, токмо потом покровена бысть *белым кованым железом* по железным решоткам '... the holy church was unharmed, as we also see now; it was not until later that it was covered with white cast iron in iron lattices' (7191, 203)

Plural NPs

Of the 28 plural NPs in the instrumental case, nine of which function as new rheme, as *хладными облаки* in

... воздух не яви нам небесная светлости и солнечная теплоты, но *хладными облаки* покрыся небо, ... '... the air did not show us light of the sky or heat of the sun, but the sky was covered with cold clouds' (7190, 198)

Locative NPs

There are 23 NPs in the locative, 15 in the singular and eight in the plural, all of which have LFs.

Singular NPs

Of the 15 singular NPs in the locative, three of which are found in contexts where SFs occur in earlier chronicle texts. An example of this is *многолетнем здравии* in

Потом же и всех чинов народи православныя хрестияне, ..., отхождаху в дома своя с радостию, хваля бога и моля о царском наследии и о *многолетнем здравии* 'Afterwards, people of all ranks, Orthodox Christians, ..., went to their houses in happiness, praising God and praying for the descendant of the czar [family] and [that he might have] lasting health' (7190, 187)

Plural NPs

Of the eight plural NPs in the locative, five of which function as new rheme, as *черных худых рубищах* in

Дохтура же Данила поимаша в Новонемецкой слободе вне ума, ходяща нищим образом в *черных худых рубищах*, острижены власы и брада опалена огнем; ... 'The doctor, Danil, they seized in the Novonemeckaia sloboda, out of his mind, walking around like a beggar in black threadbare rags; his hair was cut and his beard was burned by fire; ...' (7190, 196)

Conclusion

In Let1619-91, there is still limited variation between the LF and the SF in the nominative and accusative⁵ within NPs functioning as new rheme. The realization of an adjective as a LF or a SF reflects mode of presentation and is closely connected with the relationship between noun and adjective.

If the mode of presentation is such that the referent of a NP is placed in a category together with all other referents of this NP, the adjective is realized as a LF. This is illustrated by the NP *всякое злое дело* in

... ибо того злаго ненавистника научением пострекаеми быша человецы ненавистницы и лукавства исполнены на *всякое злое дело* хождаху посреде народа, ... '... for the hateful people had been incited by the teaching of the evil hateful [Devil], and filled with slyness they walked around among the people, [ready to commit] whichever evil deed' (7190, 188)

The referent of *злое дело* is completely de-individualized because of the pronominal adjective *всякое*. Such de-individualization is only possible if the referent of the NP is presented as belonging to a category, a mode of presentation characteristic of the LF. The NP *злое дело* is similar to a nominalized adjective in the sense that it means 'the concept of evil represented as an action'. The meaning of the noun is vague and general, and it would most likely be possible to leave it out without any change in meaning. The information provided by the adjective is essential, and the adjective is communicatively much more important than the noun. This is often true of NPs with SFs as well, but the relationship between adjective and noun in *злое дело* is completely different from the relationship between a SF and the noun it

⁵ In the genitive and dative singular, predicative SFs are represented, but there are almost no contexts where attributive SFs would be theoretically possible.

modifies. The quality denoted by *злое* is important not as an individualized feature of any entity, but as the feature uniting a whole category of entities.

In the opposite type of modification, the adjective in a NP attributes a quality to the referent of the noun in a way that singles it out as opposed to all other referents. This type of modification often triggers a SF in earlier chronicle texts. In Let1619-91, however, there is a lot of vacillation between the LF and the SF even within such NPs. The SF survives only in contexts providing a particular motivation for emphasizing the feature denoted by the adjective. That is, the SF is used when the information provided by the adjective is important in the following context, or when the sender chooses to place emphasis on a certain quality of an entity for descriptive purposes. This is in accordance with the fact that SFs usually follow the nouns they modify, whereas LFs precede the nouns.

The NPs *державы царския круглы* and *златыя кресты* in the following example, which is also quoted above, highlights what must be the sender's subjective choice to place emphasis on one adjective and not on another:

... несоша ... две *державы царския круглы*, украшенныя златом, подобны круглому арбузу, мерою кругом по аршину, на них же *златыя кресты* и кароны царския, и иныя прочия утвари по царскому чину '... they carried ... two round czar's orbs, decorated with gold, similar to a round water melon, measuring around an aršin in circumference, with gold crosses and czar's crowns on them, and other equipment associated with the czar's rank' (7190, 200)

The czar's orbs are at the center of the sender's attention, and three appositions and a clause constituting an existential sentence are added solely to describe the orbs in detail. The NP *златыя кресты* is included in the description of the orbs, but the gold crosses are just seen as a type of ornament together with *кароны царския*; no special attention is paid to them, and there is no further description of them. In addition, it has just been mentioned that the orbs are decorated with gold, which means that there is nothing surprising in the fact that the crosses are made of gold.

Two other examples that illustrate the difference between LF and SF well are

... грех ради наших прииде на нас неначаемое⁶ *всегубительное страхование* и пролитие крови християн православных ... '... because of our sins an unexpected, destructive fear began to be felt among us, and blood of Orthodox Christians was shed ...' (7190, 192)

⁶ The adjective/participle *неначаемое* does not denote an intrinsic quality of the noun, but relates it to outside entities, for which reason it is not included in the analysis.

and

... с ними же прииде и мати их ... великая княгиня Наталия Кирилловна и благородныя царевны ... и воздвигше плачь и сетование велие; от воплю же онаго в дому их царском бысть ужас зело страшен '... with them arrived also their mother ... Great Princess Natalia Kirilovna and the pious daughters of the czar ... and they fell into crying and great sorrow; and because of this wailing, there was a very horrible commotion in their czar's house' (7190, 187)

Both NPs, *всезубителное страхование* and *ужас зело страшен*, have abstract referents. In the first example, fear and bloodshed are the key events, while it is less important that the fear is destructive. The adjective does, of course, additionally describe the fear, but instead of denoting an individualized feature of this particular fear and singling it out as opposed to other instances of fear, it elaborates a quality already inherent in fear. Of course, it would have been possible to single out this fear as particularly destructive, but the contexts with its emphasis on the nouns *страхование* and *пролитие крови* does not provide sufficient motivation for that.

The second example describes the reaction to Great Prince Fedor Alekseevič's death. Commotion seems to be a natural consequence of the events, which in itself lowers the communicative importance of the noun, but this particular commotion is singled out as unusually horrible (*зело страшен*), which places the main emphasis on the adjective instead. The special emphasis on the adjective in NPs with SFs is made clear by the fact that nine of the 12 SFs in non-predicative NP's in the nominative (singular and plural) are modified by the adverb *зело*, whereas this is the case for only one of seven LFs (two adjectives, *безчисленный* and *златый*, because of their meaning, cannot be modified by *зело*).

Of the 14 NPs with SFs (nominative and accusative, singular and plural), all but two (*ужас зело страшен* and *довольно время*) denote concrete entities. The reason for this must be that it is often more relevant to emphasize a quality of a concrete entity than a quality of an abstract entity. Nevertheless, NPs with concrete referents and LFs are quite well represented. In some of these, the LF can probably be explained by the fact that the adjective denotes a feature already associated with the referent of the noun and therefore is redundant from a communicative point of view. This is probably the explanation for the LFs in, e.g., the predicative NPs *волк хищный* and *лютыя зверие*.

Two accusative NPs, *ров четверугольный* and *каменный стол*, are found in exactly the type of context that often generates a SF in earlier chronicle texts:

... избраша место на Красной площади, ископавши *ров четверугольный*, сотвориша *каменный столп* ... '... they selected a place in the Red Square, and having dug a quadrangular hole, they made a stone column ...' (7190, 201)

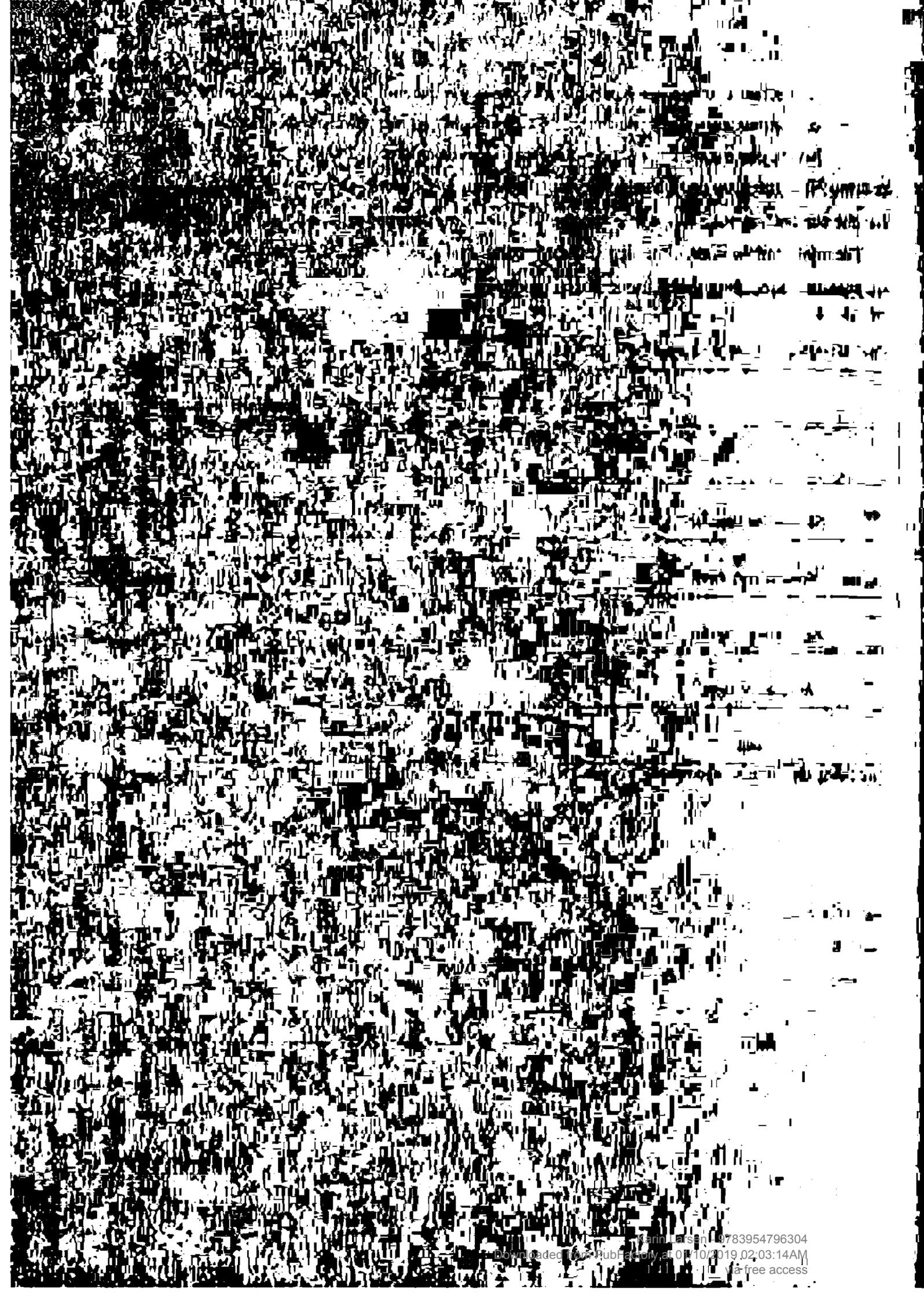
In these NPs, the only explanation for the LFs seems to be either the general loss of the SF or that the sender has not wished to emphasize the features denoted by the adjectives, or both.

The table below shows the distribution of SFs and LFs within contexts where both forms are possible, according to communicative function.

The distribution of SFs and LFs according to communicative function of the NP

	New rheme		Predicative NP	
	SF	LF	SF	LF
Nominative singular	9 ^a	4	0	2
Nominative plural	3	3	0	3
Accusative singular	1	13	0	0
Accusative plural	1	14	0	0
Total	14	34	0	5

^a including one NP modified by a SF as well as a LF



Chapter 9

Conclusion

The findings of the previous seven chapters confirm that possessive adjectives (or, more precisely, adjectives with the derivational suffixes *-ин-*, *-ов-*, *-ь* and *-ии*), as well as adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*, do not participate in the same type of context-determined variation between SF and LF as most other adjectives. As mentioned earlier, a detailed investigation of the development within possessive adjectives and adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* is outside the scope of this study, but it definitely looks like each of these groups of adjectives follows its own distinct development and should be analyzed separately. Below, the findings within these groups of adjectives are briefly summarized. The rest of the chapter deals with adjectives displaying context-determined variation.

Possessive adjectives and adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-*

Within possessive adjectives, the LF seems to have completely or almost completely replaced the SF in the instrumental singular and in all cases but the nominative and accusative in the plural¹. In this respect, the behavior of possessive adjectives resemble that of other adjectives. In other case and number combinations, LFs of possessive adjectives are rare. Of more than 1000 forms of possessive adjectives in the analyzed texts, 193² are LFs, and only 41 of these are found in case and number combinations where context-determined variation occurs. Of these 41 NPs, 34 are derived from common nouns. 20 are not genuine possessives, i.e., they do not establish possession, but link the concept of an entity to the referent of the noun they modify in a more general way. In the analyzed texts, the examples of such adjectives are *торговьи*, *спусковые*, *рядовьи*, *дворовьи*, *звѣриныи*³ and *съезжии*⁴. What happens is probably that the adjectives that do not denote possession gradually become

¹ In addition to the instrumental singular SFs mentioned in the previous chapters, there are only two SFs of possessive adjectives in these case and number combinations in the analyzed texts. Both are from PVL, in the instrumental plural NP *Феодосьевами молитвами* (6582, 131) and the locative plural *в прабошнях в черевьях* (6582, 129). In addition, there is a SF in the dative dual in N1K, in *къ святителевома ногама* (6926, 410), the only representative of this case and number combination.

² Not including the 16 LFs denoting wives (four in PVL and 12 in N1S) or seemingly fixed LFs in place names as *Торговая сторона*.

³ In the NP *ловы звѣриныя* 'hunts for wild animals'.

⁴ Many of these are listed as LFs in Sreznevskii and СРЯ.

separated from the partly nominal declension of the genuine possessives and enter the group of relative adjectives instead⁵.

There are more than 3000 forms of adjectives with the derivational suffix *-ьск-* in the analyzed texts. Around one third of the adjectives are derived from common nouns, and two thirds are derived from proper nouns denoting peoples and/or geographical locations. Since the vast majority of adjectives with the suffix *-ьск-* fall into the category of relative adjectives, a strong dominance of the LF should be expected.

Only 43, close to 1.5%, of the adjectives are SFs. Of these, 24 are derived from common nouns and 19 from proper nouns denoting peoples.

20 SFs, 12 derived from proper nouns and eight derived from common nouns, modify nouns denoting nations, i.e., peoples and/or the land they inhabit. Of the 12 SFs derived from proper nouns, 10 modify a form of the noun *земля* 'land' and two a form of *страна* 'country' and *племя* 'tribe', respectively. These NPs refer to entire nations, as in *вся Чюдьска земля* 'the entire land of the Čud'' and *въ Русьску землю* 'to the Russian land'.

The eight NPs with SFs derived from common nouns have similar referents; they denote entire categories of people. There are three instances of the noun *родъ* 'kin, family' two in *роду хрестьяньска/крестьяньску* (genitive and dative singular) '(of) the Christian community' and one in *вельможска роду* (genitive singular) 'of a family of magnates'. Five SFs modify the noun *поль* 'sex' referring to the category of men and women respectively, in the almost identical coordinations *мужьска полу и да женьска* and *мужеска и женска полу* 'of the male and of the female sex' and in the NP *мужеска полу* (all five NPs are in the genitive singular).

It is interesting that exactly in these NPs, the *-скь-* adjectives do not have relative meaning; they do not relate the noun to a category, because the noun has the entire category as its referent. Instead, the function of the adjectives is close to that of possessive adjectives, i.e., possessive adjectives formed from the unique concepts of the nations of Rus' and Čud', and of manhood, womanhood and Christianity.

An additional 20 SFs, 15 derived from common nouns and five derived from proper nouns denoting peoples, are even closer, more or less identical, in meaning to possessive adjectives. This is the case in *чину манастирьску* 'monastic order' (in a context where the NP refers to the monastic order at one particular monastery), *потребами манастирьскими* 'the needs of

⁵ This is also in accordance with the fact that possessive adjectives are productive in modern Russian only when formed from nouns denoting animate entities (ГРЯ. v. 1, 299f.).

the [same] monastery', *бѣсовску дѣйстви* 'a demon's action' (rather than 'demonic action', since the context is about demons), *умъ чловѣчскъ* 'the human mind', *собранию людску* 'popular meeting', *двора царска* 'the czar's court' and two instances of *царска лица* 'the czar's person'. The NP *Исповѣдници ворота* 'the gates of the Confessor' also belongs in this group, referring to one particular set of gates with this name. Six NPs have a form of the adjective *хрестьяньск-/крестьяньск-/христианск-* 'Christian', five in the accusative singular NP *кровь/кръвь хрестьяньску* 'blood of Christians' and one the accusative plural NP *душа хрестьяньскы* 'souls of Christians'.

Of the five NPs with adjectives derived from proper nouns, three have a form of the noun *цесарь*, as in *цесарь Кюдѣискъ* 'the king of the Jews'. The remaining two NPs are the genitive NP *епископа Паторомска* 'the bishop of Patara', the NP accusative NP *Резаньско ... владычество* 'the bishopric of Riazan'.

The meanings that can be associated with many SFs of *-ьск-* adjectives can, in the best case, provide only a very partial explanation of why exactly these NPs have SFs. There are many instances of exactly the same types of NPs with LFs. The similarity in meaning to possessive adjectives established above is in accordance with Tolstol's findings for Old Church Slavic (Tolstol, 86ff.).

Adjectives displaying context-determined variation

The types of contexts in which SFs occur

Throughout all the chronicle texts used in this study, SFs occur in a limited number of types of contexts. Each type of context can be described as a function of three parameters; the lexical meaning of the verb, the lexical meaning of the adjective, and the communicative status of the noun. Table 1 on the next page lists all types of contexts in which SFs occur on the basis of these parameters. (The abbreviations in Table 1 are: PRED = predicative; INT = interpretation; ADJ. = adjective; (NON-)PERM = (non-)permanent; DEF = definite; ATTR = attributive.)

Table 1 is basically a more detailed version of the table on p. 42 in Chapter 1. All context-types in Table 1 are represented in the chronicle texts, but vary greatly in frequency. As mentioned in Chapter 1, not all types are included in this study. A brief description of each type is provided below.

Table 1. Contexts of the SF in Old Russian chronicle texts

Verb	Adjective	Noun	Modification	Examples
PRED. INT. OF ADJ. POSSIBLE regardless of meaning of adj. ^a	PERM ^b	RHEME	ATTR or PRED (1)	... створися <i>горе велико</i> ... (NIS, 6760, 90)
				... поставиша новгородци <i>город камень</i> ... (NIK, 6892, 379)
				... послал ... <i>диака своего</i> ... рубити <i>города Володимеря древена</i> ... (MS, 7000, 333)
				... <i>грому страшну зело превелику</i> бывшу (MS, 6968, 276)
	DEF / THEME	PRED (2)	... загорѣся на Лубяницѣ, ... толь <i>лють</i> бѣше <i>пожарь</i> , ... (NIK, 6907, 394)	
			... положиша и въ церкви ... <i>юже самъ</i> начать здати <i>камену</i> ; ... (NIS, 6834, 98)	
	NON- PERM ^c	RHEME	PRED (3)	UNLIKELY
		DEF / THEME	PRED (4)	<i>И юноша</i> в большой страх <i>впаде и безгласен</i> ста на много время (PL, 7112, 205) ... <i>пойде</i> ... противу ... <i>Махмета</i> , ... и <i>землю пуну</i> сътвориша; ... (NIK, 6953, 425)
PRED. INT. OF ADJ. POSSIBLE only if meaning of adj. permits	PERM	RHEME	ATTR (5)	... бѣше с нимъ одинъ <i>кощеи матъ</i> ; ... (NIS, 6682, 34)
				... она ему дала <i>крест злат</i> ... (PL, 7113, 206)
				... <i>изберѣте</i> от себе <i>мужа</i> такого <i>достойна</i> , ... (NIS, 6838, 99)
				<i>И затворися</i> в <i>печерѣ</i> , ... въ <i>кельици малѣ</i> , ... (PVL, 6582, 127)
	DEF / THEME	ATTR (6)	SFs in this type of context have been classified as "irregular NPs".	
	NON- PERM	RHEME	PRED (7)	<i>Аще кто</i> коли ... <i>дѣтищъ болень</i> ... <i>принесяху</i> в <i>манастырь</i> , ... (6582, 126)
		DEF / THEME	PRED (8)	<i>Боязни нѣсть</i> в <i>любви</i> , но <i>свершена любы</i> <i>вошь</i> <i>измещеть</i> <i>боязнь</i> , ... (PVL, 6586, 134)
				... <i>суетно слово</i> и <i>ложно</i> <i>далече</i> мене <i>створи</i> , ... (PL, 7106, 200-201)
				... <i>вынесоша</i> <i>юношу мертва</i> , ... (PL, 7112, 204)
	Да <i>бых</i> в той <i>сорочкѣ кровавѣ</i> <i>смерть</i> <i>принять</i> ... (PVL, 6605, 173)			

^a All verbs allow for interpretation of the adjective as predicative if the adjective denotes a quality that can be non-permanent.

^b Most qualities can in some way be non-permanent. If the adjective denotes a quality that can be non-permanent, the non-permanence is not relevant.

^c Non-permanence is not only possible, but also relevant, which means that the time frame of the action denoted by the verb is seen in relation to the time frame of the quality denoted by the adjective.

(1) Type: *створися горе велико* 'there was great sorrow'

This is the type of sentence described as ambiguous by Istrina. This ambiguity can be illustrated by the sentence *створися горе велико*. If it is interpreted as *горе велико* + *створися*, the adjective must be interpreted as attributive, but if it is interpreted as *горе* + *створися велико*, the adjective must be interpreted as predicative (Istrina, 37; 41f.). If the referent of the NP is identical to the agent of the verb, as in *створися горе велико*, the verb and the NP together constitute rheme. In this case, the sentence is the equivalent of a modern Russian existential or presentational sentence (cf. Adamec, 51f.). This is the only type of sentence in Table 1 which is able to consist of rheme only. If the referent of the NP is different from the agent of the verb, the agent of the verb functions as theme. This type is extremely frequent throughout the chronicle texts, at least in the nominative and accusative. There are occasional examples in the genitive and the dative. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this type is included in the study and the adjective interpreted as attributive.

(2) Type: *загорѣся на Лубяницѣ, и погорѣ Плотничскыи конецъ до Федорова ручья, ... толь лють бѣше пожаръ* 'fire broke out at Lubianica, and Plotničskyi Konec burned down to Fedorov Ručei, ... so wild was the fire'

Like (1), but with a definite noun. The noun functions as theme, whereas the adjective functions as rheme. Because of the definiteness of the noun, the adjective can be meaningfully interpreted only as predicative. For example, *толь лють бѣше пожаръ* can only be interpreted as *пожаръ* + *бѣше толь лють*. For this reason, this relatively frequent type is not included in the analysis.

(3) This combination is not represented in the chronicle texts. An example could be, e.g., *створиша градъ пустъ* 'they lay a city waste'. The interpretation *градъ* + *створиша пустъ* would be the only possible interpretation, since *градъ пустъ* + *створиша* implies a permanent quality (and the sentence would belong to type (1)). Because of the non-permanence of *пустъ*, *створиша пустъ* assumes the character of an action involving a change applicable to all entities that can possess the quality *пустъ*. If *градъ* functions as rheme, *створиша пустъ* must function as theme, which is not impossible, but unlikely (cf. Adamec, 52ff.).

(4) Type: *поиде князь великыи ... противу тотарьского цесаря Махмета, ... и землю пусту сътвориша* 'the great prince went ... against the Tatar Czar Maxmet, ... and they laid the country waste'

Like (3), but with a definite noun. In *землю пусту сътвориша*, *землю* is known and functions as theme together with the implicit agent of *сътвориша*, whereas the action

involving a change, *пусту сътвориша*, functions as rheme. This type is not very frequent. It is not included in the analysis because the adjective can only be interpreted as predicative.

(5) Type: *бъше с нимъ одинъ кощеи малъ* 'there was a small boy with him'

Because of the combination of a verb not allowing for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative and an adjective denoting a permanent quality, the adjective can only be interpreted as attributive. This type of sentence is relatively frequent, even though not at all as frequent as (1). Predicative NPs, as in *Буду свѣдѣтель скоръ* ... 'I shall be a swift witness', also belong in this group.

(6) The combination of a verb not allowing for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative, an adjective denoting a permanent quality and a definite noun makes it impossible for the adjective to function as new rheme. The adjective, even if not mentioned before, can only be non-restrictive. Adjectives in this type of sentence must be interpreted as attributive. For this reason, the NPs that do fall into this category are included in the analysis as "irregular NPs". There are only a few NPs of this type.

(7) Type: *Аще кто коли ... дѣтищъ болень ... принесяху в монастырь* 'If anybody ... brought to the monastery ... a sick child'

There are only a few NPs in sentences of this type. Because the referent of the noun has not been mentioned before, it is impossible to know whether the feature denoted of the adjective should be interpreted as permanent or non-permanent, or rather, if interpreted as non-permanent, whether the non-permanence is relevant or not. If the adjective, contrary to the interpretation in the Table 1, is interpreted as permanent (or as non-permanent, but the non-permanence is irrelevant), it must also be interpreted as attributive. In practice, it is often impossible to distinguish this type of sentence from type (5). Because of this ambiguity, the few examples that are likely to be of type (7) are included in the analysis.

(8) Type: *Боязни нѣсть в любви, но свершена любы вонъ измещеть боязнь* 'There is no fear in love, but [when it is] perfect, love casts fear out'

The combination of a definite noun and an adjective denoting a non-permanent quality (and non-permanence being relevant) means that the adjective can only be interpreted as predicative.

Attributive SFs

As demonstrated in Table 1, there are only two types of sentences in which the adjective must be interpreted as attributive. If the verb allows for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative *or* if the adjective can denote a non-permanent quality, the adjective can be

interpreted as predicative. Exclusive attributive interpretation requires the two opposite conditions fulfilled simultaneously; i.e., that the verb does not allow for an interpretation of the adjective as predicative *and* that the adjective denotes a permanent quality.

In three types of sentences, (1), (5) and (6), the adjective either can or must be interpreted as attributive. Sentences of type (7) cannot be unambiguously distinguished from type (5). As mentioned earlier, only these types of sentences are included in the present study. It will be useful to take a closer look at sentences of type (1), (5) and (7). This is done in Table 2 on the next page. SFs in sentences of type (6) are classified as irregular and will be treated later.

Table 2. Contexts of attributive SFs

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Dative	Locative
Coming or bringing into existence	... створися <i>горе велико</i> ... (NIS, 6760, 90)	... поставиша ... <i>город</i> <i>камень</i> ... (N1K, 6892, 379)	... рубити <i>города</i> Володимеря <i>древена</i> ... (MS, 7000, 333)	... <i>грому</i> <i>страшну зело</i> <i>превелику</i> бывшу (MS, 6968, 276)	И тако в <i>велицѣ</i> <i>печали и скорби</i> град бяше ... (MS, 6959, 271)
Appearance in context	... приѣхавше <i>послы великы</i> ... (NIS, 6831, 97)	... обретоша тѣ человѣци <i>клазѣ</i> <i>великѣ</i> зило, ... (Novg2, 7016, 150)	... не видѣхомъ <i>свѣтла дни</i> , ... (NIS, 6736, 67)	No examples	... аще ли хоцеть с миромъ, то в <i>малѣ</i> придетъ <i>дружинѣ</i> (PVL, 6577, 116)
Other	... бяше с нимъ <i>одинъ кощеи</i> <i>малѣ</i> ; ... (NIS, 6682, 34)	... ведоша и в- <i>ыстобку малу</i> (PVL, 6605, 173)	... възлюбиша вси ... <i>мужа</i> <i>добра и</i> <i>смѣрена</i> Феоктиста, ... (NIS, 6760, 90)	... поидоша с ним вскорѣ на колѣхъ, а по <i>грудну пути</i> , ... (PVL, 6605, 173)	И затворися ... въ <i>кельци</i> <i>малѣ</i> , ... (PVL, 6582, 127)

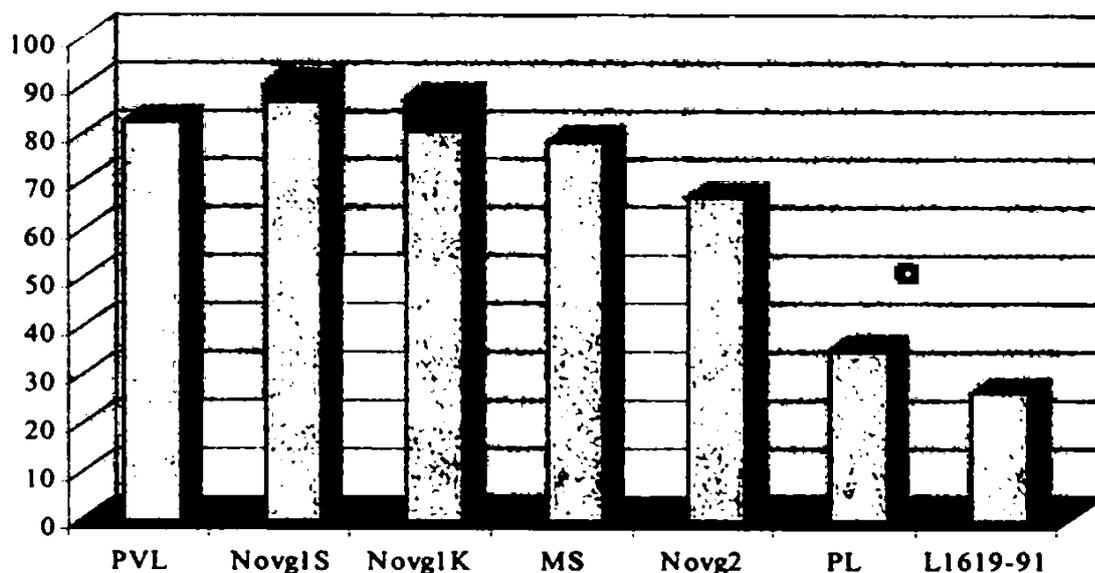
All sentences of type (1) in the chronicle texts describe the coming or bringing into existence of the referent of the NP functioning as new rheme. There are, however, no locative NPs in sentences of type (1), since all locative NPs syntactically function as parts of adverbs,

which precludes interpretation of the adjective as predicative if the adjective denotes a permanent quality. That is, the example sentences describing ‘coming into existence’ belong to type (5) if the NP is syntactically (part of) an adverb, and to type (1) if it is not. Sentences describing ‘appearance in context’ or ‘other’ belong to type (5) (or in a few cases, potentially type (7)) regardless of the case of the NP functioning as new rheme. By a sentence describing ‘appearance in context’ I have in mind a sentence with a verb that “brings” the NP functioning as new rheme “into a given context”, i.e., even if the referent of the NP already exists, its presence in the given context is completely new. Verbs frequently occurring in sentences of this type are *-дати, имати, видѣти*, and *обрѣсти*. By sentences of the type “other” I have in mind sentences with verbs that imply that the NP functioning as new rheme is preexisting in a given context. Verbs frequently found in this type of sentence are placement verbs, and the NP functioning as new rheme is often a prepositional complement of a placement verb. In the chronicle texts, SFs as well as LFs occur in NPs functioning as new rheme in all types of sentences represented in Table 2. NPs in the dative rarely occur in the listed types of contexts; genitive and locative NPs are also infrequent, and even fewer have SFs. There is no type of context in which only SFs occur; in each type of context in Table 2, additional factors play a role in determining whether an adjective is eventually realized as a SF or a LF. Below, a closer look is taken at the chronology of the development of the system of LFs and SFs in attributive position as displayed by the seven texts analyzed in this study.

The chronology of the development of the system of attributive SFs and LFs

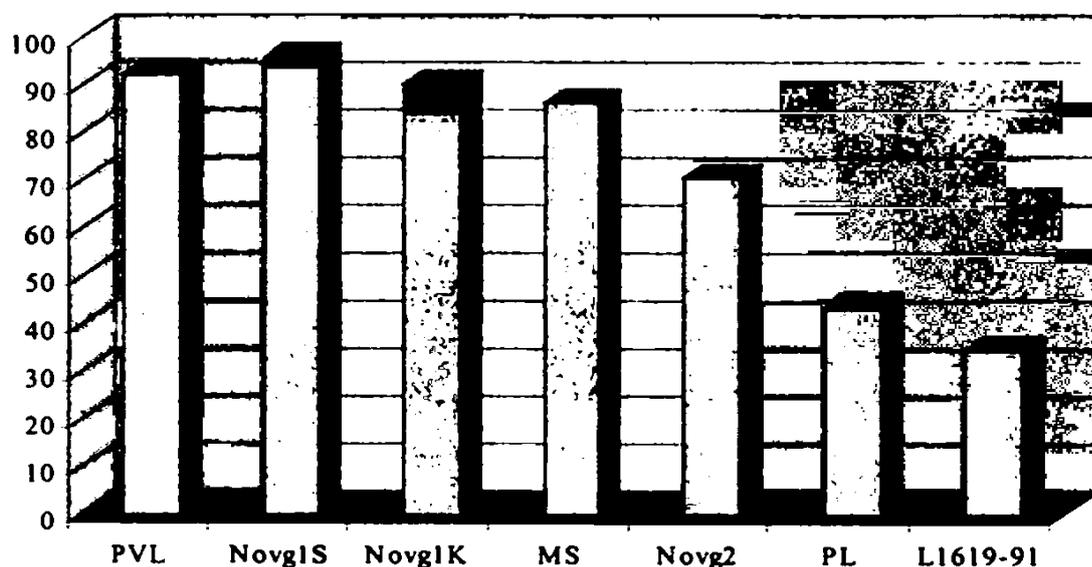
Chart 1 below shows the share of SFs in contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible, as represented by each text. The figures include singular as well as plural NPs in all cases displaying variation in the respective texts. With the exception of the slight increase in the share of SFs from *Повесть временных лет (PVL)* to *Синодальный список (NIS)* and *Комиссионный список (NIK)*, the share of SFs, as expected, decreases with time. Part of the reason for the increase from PVL to NIS and NIK is the high frequency of the NP *церковь камени* in these two texts. The dark areas in the top of those two columns show how much of the share is represented by this NP. Even so, the percentage of SFs in NIS is still slightly higher than in PVL, whereas NIK now has a slightly lower percentage of SFs than PVL.

Chart 1. All NPs in cases with variation.
NPs with SFs in percent of all NPs functioning as rheme.



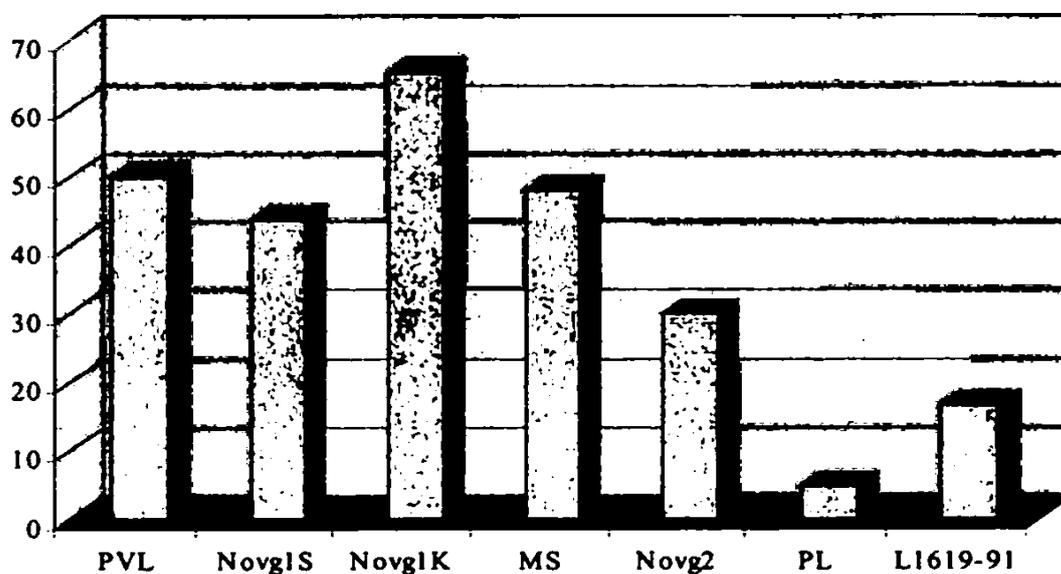
Of course, the distribution within all NPs covers some significantly different sub-distributions with respect to case and, in particular, number. Charts 2 and 3 show the distributions within singular and plural NPs respectively. The singular NPs show a clear falling tendency with the exception of the slight rise from PVL to NIS and NIK plus a very strong dominance of SFs in the earliest texts (90% and above in PVL, NIS and NIK (if *церковь камени* is included)). All of the four earliest texts have a SF percentage of 84 and above (also when *церковь камени* is not included).

Chart 2. Singular NPs in cases with variation.
NPs with SFs in percent of all NPs functioning as rheme.



In the plural, the falling tendency is far less clear, even though there is definitely a lower percentage of SFs in the later texts (Novg2, PL and Let1619-91) than in the earlier. Only one text, NIK, has a SF percentage above 50.

**Chart 3. Plural NPs in cases with variation (nom. + acc.).
NPs with SFs in percent of all NPs functioning as rHEME.**



Charts 4 and 5 show the development within singular NPs, nominative and accusative respectively.

**Chart 4. Nominative singular NPs.
NPs with SFs in percent of all NPs functioning as rHEME.**

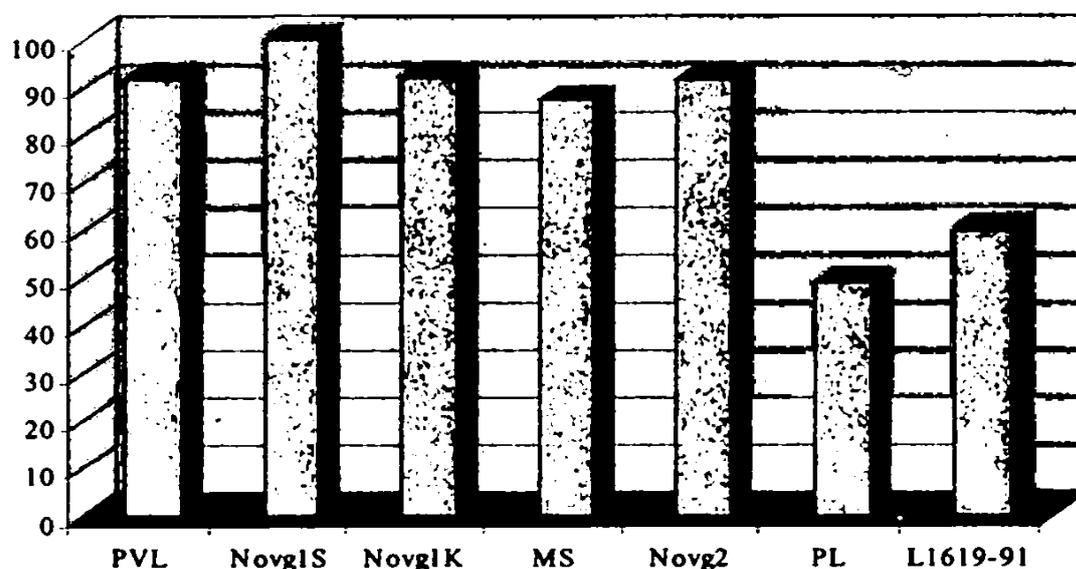
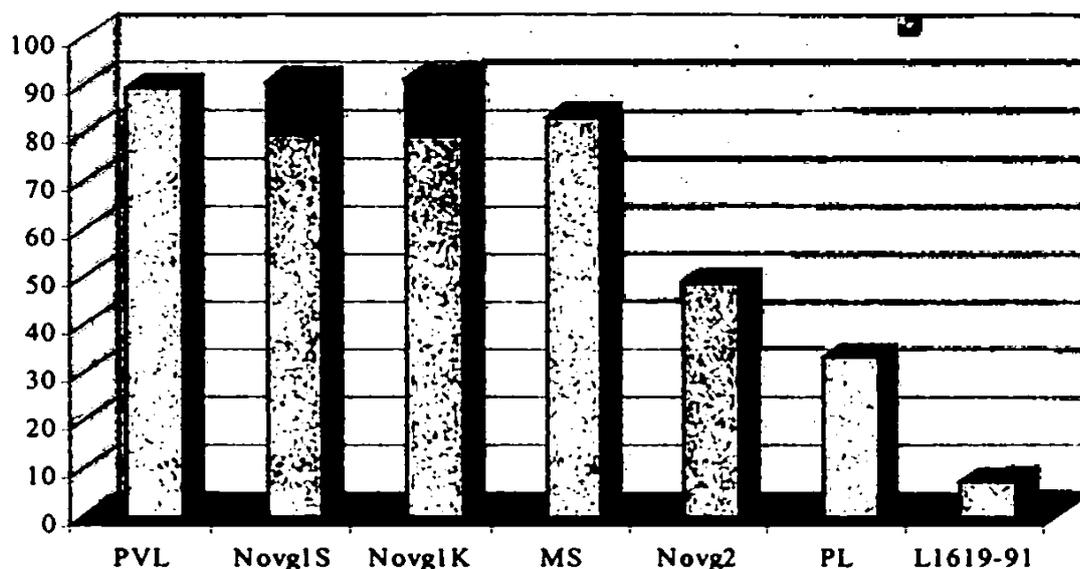


Chart 5. Accusative singular NPs.
NPs with SFs in percent of all NPs functioning as rheme.



The most apparent difference is that whereas there is a significant drop in the percentage of SFs already from MS to Novg2 in the accusative, a similar drop does not occur until one text later in the nominative, i.e., from Novg2 to PL. Within accusative NPs, the SF percentage drops as far as to 33 in PL and almost disappears in Let1619-91, whereas the percentage within nominative NPs stops dropping at 49 in PL and then increases to 60 in Let1619-91.

Even though the charts reflect only NPs functioning as rheme, i.e., contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible, each chart nevertheless covers a variety of idiosyncratic differences between NPs. This means that the charts can be used only as a broad indicator of tendencies in the evolution of the system of LFs and SFs. None of the charts can be interpreted as indicating a real difference in the distribution of SFs and LFs between the four earliest chronicle texts, PVL, NIS, NIK and MS, or between the two last texts, PL and Let1619-91. Between those two groups of texts, however, there is a major shift in the principles behind the distribution. Thus assuming that the first four texts follow one set of principles, and that the last two texts follow a different, but related set of principles, I shall try to identify factors that are likely to play a role in the choice between SF and LF within these two groups of texts. Novg2 seems to be at an intermediate stage; more like the first four texts in the nominative and in the singular and more like the last two texts in the accusative and in the plural. For this reason, Novg2 will be discussed separately.

Based on the findings of the previous chapters, it seems relevant to check for four different factors.

In some of the later chronicle texts, NPs with abstract nouns seem to be more likely to have LFs than NPs with concrete nouns. Does this distinction play a role in the first four texts?

The SF survives longer in predicative position (where it still occurs in modern Russian) than in any other environment. Does the possibility of interpreting an adjective as predicative (as, e.g., *зѣча + бысть зла* rather than *бысть + зѣча зла*) influence the choice between SF and LF?

Does the distinction between “new rheme” and “repeated rheme” influence the choice between SF and LF?

How do NPs in predicative position (i.e., NPs in constructions of the type $NP_1 = NP_2$, NP_1 *яко* NP_2 and appositional NPs) compare to NPs in non-predicative position in terms of distribution between SFs and LFs?

Since there are significant differences between singular and plural NPs in all the texts, it seems reasonable to first look at the development within singular NPs in all the texts, and then at the development within plural NPs in all the texts.

The development of the system of attributive SFs and LFs within singular NPs
Singular NPs in the first four texts: PVL, N1S, N1K and MS

Since the NPs reflected in the charts have the same communicative function, the drop in the percentage of NPs with SFs must be accounted for by other factors, some or all of them NP-internal.

There is a total of 382 nominative and accusative singular and genitive and dative and locative NPs functioning as rheme in the four texts, 340 with SFs and 42 with LFs. The numbers for N1S and N1K do not include the NP *церковь камену*.

In Table 3 below, the non-predicative NPs (352 of the 382 NPs, 314 with SFs and 38 with LFs) have first been divided into NPs with concrete nouns and NPs with abstract nouns, then into NPs where the adjective can be interpreted as predicative and NPs where this is not possible, and finally, into NPs functioning as new rheme and NPs functioning as repeated rheme. The percentage of NPs with SFs within each group has then been calculated.

Table 3. Singular non-predicative NPs functioning as rheme in cases with variation in PVL, NIS, NIK and MS

Type of NP	% SFs	Type of NP	% SFs
All NPs with concrete nouns	91% (229/252)	All NPs with abstract nouns	85% (85/100)
All NPs where adjective can be interpreted as predicative	90% (226/252)	All NPs where adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative	88% (88/100)
All NPs functioning as new rheme	91% (309/339)	All NPs functioning as repeated rheme	38% (5/13)

The percentage of SFs is a little higher within NPs with concrete nouns than within NPs with abstract nouns, and the percentage of SFs is also slightly higher within NPs where the adjectives can be interpreted as predicative than within NPs where this is not possible. However, since the vast majority of NPs in all of the four groups just mentioned have SFs and the percentages are only slightly different, there is no basis for concluding that any of the distinctions “abstract noun vs. concrete noun” or “interpretation of adjective as predicative possible vs. not possible” play a role in the choice between SF and LF.

Within NPs functioning as repeated rheme, only 38% have SFs. However, the total number of such NPs is too small (13 NPs) to be significant.

Of the 352 non-predicative NPs functioning as rheme, 38 (or 11%) have LFs. The explanation for these LFs must probably be found in a combination of idiosyncratic features of each NP, subjective decisions by the sender, and more or less “random” vacillation.

The 38 NPs with LFs are listed in Table 4 below. They constitute a heterogeneous group, but nevertheless, there are some recurring features that are likely to explain the LFs in many of the NPs.

Table 4. Singular NPs with LFs functioning as new rheme, nom. and acc., first four texts

Ex.	Redundant adjectives (3)
1	... сѣдитъ <i>врань черныи</i> , ... 'There sits a black crow, ...' (PVL, 6582, 130)
2	.. бысть <i>буря велиа вѣтренья</i> .. '... there was a powerful windy storm ...' (NIK, 6927, 411)
3	... обрѣлъ еси <i>бесцѣнное сокровище</i> , ... '... you have found an invaluable treasure, ...' (MS, 6964, 274)
	Non-restrictive adjectives (4)
4	... устройвъ ... <i>честныи монастырь</i> '... having created ... a venerable monastery ...' (NIS, 6706, 44)
5-7	... <i>святую литургию</i> соверши; ... '... [he] performed a holy liturgy; ...' (NIK, 6925, 408)
	Formulaic expression (5)
8-12	... <i>нужную и горкую смерть</i> подъяша '... they suffered a violent and bitter death' (NIS, 6746, 75)
	Fixed expression (1)
13	... посла ... <i>смертноносную язву</i> ... '... [he] sent a pest ...' (MS, 6980, 298)
	NP occurs almost exclusively with the LF (2)
14-15	... <i>бесчисленное множество</i> Татаръ ... '... [there was] an innumerable multitude of Tatars' (MS, 6988, 327)
	Adjective occurs almost exclusively in the LF (2)
16-17	... <i>большую рану</i> въсприяша, ... '... [they] suffered a great defeat, ...' (NIS, 6777, 87)
	NPs with abstract nouns (6)
18	... и возведе ... <i>на великую высоту</i> '... and it went up high ...' (MS, 6982, 302)
19	... таково <i>злое волнение</i> въста .. '... such a vicious revolt had arisen ..' (MS, 6985, 310)
20	... случися <i>горе немалое</i> ... '... significant grief was caused ...' (NIK, 6907, 395)
21	... не бѣ ... <i>праваго суда</i> , .. '... there was .. no fair application of law, ..' (NIK, 6953, 425)
22	... <i>чести великой</i> много видить '... [he] saw a lot of great honor' (NIK, 6843, 347)
23	... не бѣшет ... <i>миру крѣпкаго</i> '... there had been no stable peace' (NIK, 6899, 384)
	Verb denoting creation + concrete noun (9)
24	... <i>город каменыи</i> постави, ... въ два лѣта '... [he] put up a stone wall ... in two years' (NIK, 6841, 345)
25	Поставлена бысть <i>церкви каменная</i> ... 'A stone church was built ...' (NIK, 6862, 364)
26	Поставиша ... <i>церковь древяную</i> ^a 'They built ... a wooden church ...' (NIK, 6920, 403)
27	... постави ... <i>теремъ великыи</i> '... [he] built a large palace' (NIK, 6849, 353-354)
28	... соляти ... <i>колоколъ великыи</i> ^b ... '... to be cast ... a big bell ...' (NIK, 6850, 354)
29	... заложитъ <i>церковь каменую</i> ... '... [he] founded a stone church ...' (MS, 6999, 332)
30	... заложила <i>новую</i> [церковь] '... they founded a new [church] ...' (MS, 6988, 327)
31	... бысть <i>преславное чудо</i> пресвятыя богородица, ... '... there was a glorious wonder of the Holy Mother of God, ...' (MS, 6989, 328)
32	... <i>великое</i> ... <i>чудо</i> съвади ... '... [he] caused a great wonder; ...' (NIS, 6726, 59)

Verb denoting appearance in context + concrete noun (3)	
33	... привезоша ... <i>златую печать</i> ^b '... [they] brought ... a gold seal' (NIK, 6862, 364)
34	... <i>постав</i> Ипскон <i>рудожолтой</i> ... '... there was ... a piece of orange Ieperian cloth ...' (MS, 6984, 307)
35	... отпустил ... <i>воинство бесчисленное</i> '... he sent ... innumerable troops' (MS, 6988, 327)
Other verb + concrete noun (3)	
36	... <i>священа бысть</i> <i>церкви древяная</i> ... '... a wooden church ... was consecrated' (NIK, 6923, 405)
37	... <i>приведени быша</i> ... <i>на безлюдное мѣсто</i> , ... '... they had been led ... to an uninhabited place, ...' (MS, 6980, 297)
38	... <i>отйти</i> ... <i>в далнии монастырь</i> , ... '... to travel ... to a remote monastery, ...' (MS, 6981, 300)

^a These NPs have alternative readings with SFs in two other manuscripts.

^b This NP has an alternative reading in the instrumental case, *златою печатью*, in two other manuscripts.

The NP consisting of *смерть* modified by *горкую* or *горкую* and *нужную* (ex. 8-12) occurs five times in three different texts in the same type of context, i.e., as direct object of *прियाти* or *подъяти*, which indicates that it could have turned into a kind of fixed phrase designating a "type of death" used when innocent people are killed. This is probably a more compelling reason for the LF than the fact that four of the instances of this NP function as repeated rheme. Four other NPs, *великое чудо* (32), *злое волнение* (19), *бесцѣнное сокровище* (3) and *честьными монастырь* (4) also function as repeated rheme. Of these, *честьными монастырь* has a non-restrictive adjective and *бесцѣнное сокровище* has a redundant adjective, which is also a more likely explanation of the LF than the status of repeated rheme. The NP *смертноносную язву* (13) is a synonym for *морь* 'pest' (Sreznevskii, v. III, 760), which is likely to render the adjective more categorizing than qualifying.

Including the NPs mentioned above, 17 of the NPs (ex. 1-17) have redundant or non-restrictive adjectives, constitute or form part of a fixed or formulaic expression or have an adjective that either on its own (*большои*) or in combination with a certain noun (*бесчисленное* in combination with *множество*) occurs almost exclusively in the LF. With the exception of the NPs with a form of *большои*, the features of the NPs are linked to the relationship between noun and adjective, and they make mode b) of presentation either impossible (redundant and non-restrictive adjectives) or unclear (fixed or formulaic expressions, the NP *бесчисленное множество*).

If the remaining 21 NPs, the LFs are probably mainly a result of vacillation between SF and LF in an unstable system where the SF is disappearing. This is supported by the fact that

three NPs have SFs in different manuscripts and one has an alternative reading as a NP in the instrumental case. Only a few of the 18 NPs offer any indication of why the adjective has been realized as a LF instead of a SF. In *великую высоту* (18), the noun has an abstract referent, and the adjective *великии* does not add a genuinely new and unpredictable quality to an abstract entity, but merely emphasizes the lexical meaning of the noun. In the example ... *город каменни постави, ... въ два лѣта* (24), there is less emphasis on the material of the wall because the time span of its construction is mentioned; this might be a subjective reason for the sender to use a LF. In *преславное чудо* (31), the modifying genitive *пресвятыя богородица* makes the adjective redundant, since a wonder of the Holy Mother of God is always glorious, and in *далнии монастырь* (38), the meaning of *далнии* is more categorizing than qualifying, describing the location rather than a quality of the monastery.

There are 30 predicative NPs in the four earliest texts, 26 with SFs and four with LFs. All predicative NPs with SFs have concrete nouns and none of them have redundant adjectives. They are all of the type $\text{Noun}_1 = \text{Noun}_2 \wedge \text{Noun}_1 \sim \text{Adjective}_2$, where Noun_2 provides already known information, as in *Бѣ же Изяславъ мужь взоромъ красенъ ...* 'Iziaslav was a man beautiful of appearance' (PVL 6586, 133-134), or new information, as in *Буду свѣдѣтель скоръ ...* 'I shall be a swift witness' (PVL, 6576, 113). Adjective_2 always provides new and essential information.

The four predicative NPs with LFs are listed in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Predicative NPs with LFs in PVL, NIS, NIK and MS

Се же бѣаше не <i>огненни столтъ</i> , ... 'This [omen] was not a[n actual] pillar of fire, ...' (PVL, 6618, 187-188)
... еже есть <i>праздникъ новыи Русьскыя земля</i> '... which is a new holiday of the Russian land' (PVL, 6601, 145)
... узрѣша инныи полчищъ <i>свинью великую</i> , ... '... they saw another army, a large attack force, ...' (NIS, 6776, 87)
Но сие бысть <i>преславное чудо пресвятыя богородица</i> ... 'But this was a glorious wonder of the Holy Mother of God ...' (MS, 6982, 302)

Three of the four NPs with LFs, *огнени столъ*, *праздникъ новии Русьскыя земля* and *преславное чудо пресвятыя богородица*, do not fit into any of the two patterns characteristic of the NPs with SFs. The adjective cannot be separated from the noun. The NP *огнени столъ* denotes a type of omen, *праздникъ новии* represents a category of holidays (which is emphasized by the possessive genitive *Русьскыя земля*), and *преславное* denotes a quality always present in wonders of the Holy Mother of God (i.e., the possessive genitive *пресвятыя богородица* is decisive).

The motivations for the LFs in predicative NPs are essentially the same as in non-predicative NPs. The relationship between noun and adjective is such that it either makes mode b) of presentation impossible (when the referent of the NP represents a category), or unclear (in *преславное чудо пресвятыя богородица*).

Singular NPs in the last two texts: PL and Let1619-91

The last two texts, PL and Let1619-91, show no variation outside the nominative, accusative, and in the case of PL, the locative. In Table 6 below, nominative, accusative and locative singular non-predicative NPs from the last two texts have been divided into NPs with concrete and abstract nouns and into NPs with a possibility of interpreting the adjective as predicative and NPs without this possibility. The percentage of NPs with SFs has then been calculated for each group. As in the first four texts, the possibility vs. impossibility of interpreting the adjective as predicative does not seem to influence the choice between SF and LF. The distinction between concrete and abstract nouns, however, seems to be a major factor in determining whether an adjective is realized as a SF or a LF in the last two texts. A NP with an abstract noun is far less likely to have a SF than a NP with a concrete noun. The examples demonstrating this have already been discussed in detail in Chapter 7 (179ff.; 186ff.) and Chapter 8 (p. 202f.; 209f.).

Within nominative, accusative and locative singular NPs in the last two texts, there are only two NPs functioning as repeated rheme (the nominative *говор и шум велик* and the locative *великом месте*), so nothing can be said about the effect of this communicative function on the choice between SF and LF.

Table 6. Nominative and accusative singular non-predicative NPs functioning as rheme in PL and Let1619-91

Type of NP	% SFs	Type of NP	% SFs
All NPs with concrete nouns	61% (35/57)	All NPs with abstract nouns	13% (5/39)
All NPs where adjective can be interpreted as predicative	43% (30/70)	All NPs where adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative	38% (10/26)

There are only six predicative NPs functioning as rheme in the last two texts, two with SFs and four with LFs. They are all listed in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Predicative NPs in PL and Let1619-91

... таково же знамение было: <i>столп огнен</i> ... '... there was such an omen again: a fire column ...' (PL, 7135, 220)
Появилась галка ... бела, аки <i>голубь бел</i> , ... 'A white seagull appeared ... like a white dove, ...' (PL, 7112, 204)
... кричаше ... что он <i>прямой вор</i> , ... '... [they] shouted ... that he was a genuine criminal, ...' (PL, 7118, 214)
... ризу свою богателеснаго погребения, еже есть хитон, <i>многоценное богатество</i> '... his burial garb, which is a tunic, a very valuable object of value' (PL, 7133, 220)
И мяху народи, яко те рыбы – <i>прямое лихое дело</i> ¹ , ... 'And people thought that these fish were a real crime, ...' (Let1619-91, 7190, 198)
... пришел <i>бьяше</i> ... яко <i>волк хищный</i> на стадо Христово, крымский царевич ... '... like a ravenous wolf at the flock of Christ, the Crimean czarevič ... had arrived ...' (Let1619-91, 7154, 181)

Contrary to the NPs with SFs, the NPs with LFs have combinations of noun and adjective that render the adjectives to some extent redundant. The adjective *прямой* simply confirms the meaning of the noun or NP it modifies, the meaning of *многоценное* is inherent in *богатество* and merely adds emphasis, and *хищный* denotes a quality typically associated with a wolf.

¹ The NP *лихое дело* is a fixed NP meaning 'a crime'.

Singular NPs in Novg2

As already mentioned, the distribution of SFs and LFs within nominative singular NPs in Novg2 completely resembles that of the first four texts. Of 46 nominative singular non-predicative NPs in Novg2, only three have LFs, two of which have exact correspondents with SFs as illustrated in Table 8 below.

Table 8.

Nominative singular NPs with LFs functioning as rheme and their counterparts with SFs in Novg2

NPs with LFs	NPs with SFs
... в ряду было <i>великое смятение</i> '... there was great commotion in the trade district' (7048, 204)	... въ тѣ же поры <i>смятенье велико</i> стало, ... 'And at that time, a great commotion began, ...' (7080, 194)
Свершена бысть <i>церковь каменная</i> Благовѣщение ... 'The stone church of the Annunciation was completed ...' (7041, 203)	... свершена бысть <i>церковь каменна</i> святого Григория ... '... the stone church of St. Grigorii ... was completed ...' (7044, 204)
... которые люди есть на них <i>знамя смертоносное</i> , ... '... some people in Novgorod had a mortal sign on them, ...' (7080, 159)	

Of the 46 non-predicative NPs, only eight have abstract referents (including *великое смятение* and *смятенье велико* in Table 8) and only four have adjectives that cannot be interpreted as predicative (including *знамя смертоносное* in Table 8).

Of 38 non-predicative NPs in the accusative singular, 20 have LFs. This is not, however, a result of abstract nouns, since only one of the NPs with LFs (of a total three) has an abstract referent. 11 of the NPs with LFs and five of the NPs with SFs have adjectives that cannot be interpreted as predicative. There is no reason to believe that this has any influence on the choice between SF and LF, since that does not seem to be the case in any of the other texts.

The 20 accusative NPs with LFs are, seen as a group, unusual, because they are dominated by a few adjectives. Of the 20 NPs with LFs, 12 have a form of the adjective *нови* and three have a form of *большо*. As mentioned earlier, there is reason to believe that *большо* occurs in the SF only exceptionally. It is likely that each adjective has its own idiosyncratic

development of the LF replacing the SF, but the present study provides no basis for assuming that *нови* stops showing variation or shows less variation than other adjectives. It is a possibility, and it would then explain part of the high percentage of LFs in accusative singular NPs. The remaining five NPs with LFs are of the same type that often occur with the SF; two instances of *церковь каменную*, one of *церковь деревянную*² *наземную*³, one of *посох черной* and one of *великую тягость*, which has a counterpart with a SF, *тягость велику* in an almost identical context.

PL and Let1619-91 do not provide any basis for believing that the SF is lost in the accusative earlier than in the nominative, so this is an unlikely explanation for the distribution within accusative NPs in Novg2.

Plural NPs

All texts show variation in the nominative and accusative plural except PL, which has only LFs in the nominative plural. There is no variation in other cases in the plural in any text (with the exception of one NP with a SF in the instrumental plural in NIS).

In the plural, naturally enough, the choice between SF and LF is influenced by many of the same factors as in the singular. In addition, there is a number of factors that are relevant for plural NPs only. In the plural, it becomes clear to which extent all these factors are connected to the concept of individualization.

As with singular NPs, the first four texts seem to adhere to the same pattern of distribution. Then, beginning with Novg2, there is a noticeable change to a different pattern valid for PL and Let1619-91 as well.

Plural NPs in the first four texts: PVL, NIS, NIK and MS

The first four texts have a total of 81 non-predicative plural NPs, 42 with SFs and 39 with LFs. The NPs with SFs have highly individualized referents, whereas the referents of the NPs with LFs typically have a low degree of individualization. The difference in degree of individualization can be defined on the basis of three factors; 1) the character of the group of entities referred to by the plural NP; 2) relation to other entities; 3) relation to time. The differences are illustrated in Table 9 below.

² The manuscript has *делеванную*.

³ The NP *церковь наземную* is treated as a noun because *наземную* is a relative adjective.

Table 9. Plural NPs, degree of individualization (PVL, NIS, NIK, MS)

SF: High degree of individualization	LF: Low degree of individualization
<p>Known number: И поидоста 2 уноши к нему красна, ... '... And two fair youths approached him, ...' (PVL, 6582, 128)</p> <p>Implicit small number: Василии ... у святѣи Софѣи двери мѣдяны золочены устроить '... Vasiliï ... put up gilded brass doors at St. Sophia' (NIK, 6844, 347)</p> <p>Unified group of entities: Бысть же плетень межъ их и суметы снѣжныя великы ... 'But there was a wattle fence between them and big snowdrifts' (MS, 6964, 274)</p>	<p>Unknown, potentially large number: ... придоша и людье благовѣрнии, ... '... rious people also arrived, ...' (PVL, 6599, 139) (Subset of category)</p> <p>Dispersed group of entities: "Послахъ на вы различни болѣзни и смерти тяжкыя", ... 'I sent upon you diverse diseases and painful deaths, ...' (PVL, 6576, 113)</p>
<p>Related to one entity or unified group of entities: ... постився Даниль видѣнья велика сподобися; ... '... having fasted, Danil experienced great visions; ...' (PVL, 6582, 123)</p>	<p>Related to several entities, dispersed group: ... и прия Гюрги сыновыць въ мирѣ съ любовью, и волости имъ раздая достоинныя; ... '... and Georgii received [his] nephews in peace with love, and giving them volost's appropriate for their rank; ...' (NIS, 6663, 29)</p>
<p>Single occasion, "unified" time span: Олег же въспринимъ ... словеса величава, рече сице: "Нѣсть мене лѣпо судити епископу, ..." 'Oleg, resorting to ... stately words, spoke thus: "It is not appropriate for me to judge the bishop, ..."' (PVL, 6604, 150)</p>	<p>Several occasions, "dispersed" time span: ... постомъ явишася отци наши акы свѣтила в мирѣ, ... показавше труды великыя и въздержанье, ... 'By virtue of their fasts, our fathers appeared as luminaries in the world ... having shown great labors, and abstinence; ...' (PVL, 6582, 123)</p>

The most obvious manifestation of the individualization of referents of NPs with SFs is the fact that 15 of the NPs with SFs are preceded by an explicit number between 2 and 4, whereas only one NP with a LF has an explicit number, двѣ сабли булатныя (MS, 6980, 297), and this NP has a redundant adjective.

Many of the NPs with LFs are most appropriately interpreted as denoting (subsets of) categories, which means that they are presented in mode a) of presentation as defined in Chapter 1, 39. Mode a) of presentation relates the referent of a NP to a category of entities which constitute a category because they have a unifying feature. The referent of a noun in a

NP in mode a) of presentation is distinguished from other referents of the same noun only through the category it belongs to, not as an individual. Mode a) of presentation automatically lowers the degree of individualization.

The fact that several plural NPs have LFs even though they do not denote (subsets) of categories can probably be explained in terms of lack of individualization. In mode b) of presentation, the referent of a noun is singled out as an individual different from other referents of the noun by virtue of the feature denoted by the adjective. However, the factors listed in Table 9 under “low degree of individualization”, i.e., unknown number of entities, relation to a dispersed group of entities or time span makes the “singling out as an individual” unclear.

Certain adjectives can also lower the degree of individualization. The non-qualitative adjectives *частыи* ‘frequent’, *различныи* ‘different’ and *многовещныи* ‘many’ have a lexical meaning that gives the NP a “dispersed” and non-individualized reference. Modification by a redundant adjective is not able to single the referent of a noun out, since the feature denoted by the adjective is implicit in all referents of the noun.

The distribution of SFs and LFs in plural NPs in the first four texts is illustrated in Table 10 below.

Even though almost 50% (39 of 81) of the plural NPs have LFs, only five of these are left when NPs with low degree of individualization, NPs denoting (subsets) of categories and NPs with redundant or non-qualitative adjectives (*частыи* and *различныи*), are subtracted. That is, of plural NPs with a high degree of individualization, 89% (42 of 47) have SFs, a percentage similar to that of singular NPs in the first four texts.

Of these five NPs, one, *большие стяги* (MS, 6977, 289), has a form of *большои*, and one, *мрази лютии* (PVL, 6582, 129), refers to a recurring phenomenon (cf. Chapter 2, 56). The remaining three, *кровавыя луча* (NIK, 6907, 395) (which has an alternative reading with a SF in two other manuscripts), *езера великие* (MS, 6973, 285), and *поруки ... крѣткие* (MS, 6984, 306) seem to defy explanation.

The first four texts have a total of five predicative NPs in the nominative and accusative plural, three with SFs and two with LFs. The two NPs with LFs both denote categories of people; both are instances of *волныи люди* ‘free people’.

Table 10. Nominative and accusative plural non-predicative NPs in PVL, NIS, NIK and MS

	SF	LF				
	High degree of individualization	Low degree of individualization	Category	Non-qualitative adjective ^a	Redundant adjective	
PVL	9 ⁴	1	2	4	3	1
NIS	6	0	1	8	0	0
NIK	15	1	0	6	1	0
MS	12	3	1 ⁵	5	1	1
Total	41	5	4	23	5	2

^a частый, различный от многовещный

Plural NPs in the last two texts: PL and Let1619-91

PL and Let1619-91 have a total of 41 non-predicative plural NPs in the nominative and accusative, 36 with LFs and five with SFs. NPs denoting categories and NPs with non-qualitative or redundant adjectives are already mentioned in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8. In addition to these, there are six NPs, three from PL and three from Let1619-91, with “dispersed” reference. Five⁶ of these are listed in Table 11 below.

⁴ The only NP with a SF that does not fit into the description (it has “dispersed” reference and a redundant adjective), is *страшны мужы* (PVL, 6601, 146) (cf. Chapter 2, 72; 74).

⁵ This NP is ... *а князь велики ... кубки и ковши серебряны е и сороки съболей давал и кони, коемуждо по достоинству* ‘... and the great prince ... gave [them] silver goblets and ladles and soroks of zobel skins and horses, each according to his dignity ...’ (6984, 303).

⁶ The example not mentioned in the table has dispersed reference and is related to a dispersed group of entities, *д о в о д ы от боярских людей и от всяких велики е друг на друга, ...* ‘... serious aspersions [were cast] by the boyars and by all kinds of people on each other ...’ (PL, 7113, 205).

Table 11. Plural NPs, degree of individualization

SF: High degree of individualization	LF: Low degree of individualization
<p>Known number: ... несоша ... две державы царския круглы, ... '... they carried ... two round czar's orbs, ...' (7190, 200)</p> <p>Implicit small number: ... заморские рыбы, имущия многия плески, от них же яко усы долги и тонки яко власы, ... '... overseas fish with long tails; from them [extended] like a long and thin moustache like hairs, ...' (7190, 196)</p> <p>Unified group of entities: С рожества же Христова снегов было вельми много и мразы велики зело, в дорозех люди помирали 'From Christmas, there was a lot of snow and very strong frost; people died in the streets' (7192, 203)</p>	<p>Unknown, potentially large number: Того же году зделаны зубцы каменные по рву кругом Кремля-города, ... да подле Москвы реки ... по берегу зделаны зубцы же каменные ... 'The same year, stone merlons were built along the moat around the Kremlin fortification, ... and beside the Moscow river ... along the embankment, stone merlons were likewise built ...' (7108, 202)</p> <p>Dispersed group of entities: ... сташа во всех полках стрелцы и салдаты вооружшесе, ... в своих слобода[х] круг царства в Земляном граде и стражи укрепивше крепкие, ... '... in all forces armed strelcy and soldiers took up position, ... in their settlements around the czardom at the fortification of earth, having mounted strong guards, ...' (7190, 191)</p>
<p>Single occasion, "unified" time span: Того же году царь и великий князь Борис Федорович замыслил великое — ... : господень гроб злат, кован весь, ... и еуа[н]гелие злато, и сосуды златы, ... 'The same year, Czar and Great Prince Boris Fedorovič contemplated something great — ... : the Lord's grave, golden, completely cast, ... and a golden book of Gospels, golden utensils, ...' (7108, 202)</p>	<p>Several occasions, "dispersed" time span: ... под градом Веною быша великия бои; ... '... near the city of Vienna, there were great battles; ...' (7191, 203)</p> <p>Related to several entities, dispersed group: ... в разных путех собирают полки великия, ... '... [they] were gathering large forces in different territories, ...' (7190, 201)</p>

The distribution of LFs and SFs in nominative and accusative plural NPs is illustrated in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Nominative and accusative plural non-predicative NPs in PL and Let1619-91

	SF		LF			
	High degree of individualization	Low degree of individualization	Category	Non-qualitative adjective ^a	Redundant adjective	
PL	1	7	3	7	2	0
Let1619-91	4	3	3	9	1	1
Total	5	10	6	16	3	1

^a *разным от безчисленным*

As Table 12 shows, NPs with SFs constitute only 13% (5 of 41) of the total number of plural NPs functioning as rheme. Of plural NPs with a high degree of individualization, SFs constitute 33% (5 of 15), which is close to the percentage of SFs within singular NPs functioning as rheme (43% in PL and 34% in Let1619-91).

Of the 10 NPs in these texts which neither denote subsets of categories nor have dispersed reference or a non-qualitative or redundant adjective, two have a form of the adjective *большой, кормы большие* (PL, 7108, 203) and *пушки большие вестовые*⁷ (PL, 7114, 212), which might be enough to explain the LFs, since this adjective seems to occur in the SF only exceptionally. One NP, *малые части* (PL, 7113, 210), does not refer to a specific entity, but has almost adverbial meaning, which might explain the LF (cf. Chapter 7, 190).

The remaining seven NPs are all of a type that most often have SFs in the singular and in earlier chronicle texts. They all have concrete referents and four have adjectives denoting material. As argued in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, a possible explanation for the LFs might be the fact that there is little emphasis on the adjective in comparison with the noun, which

⁷ The NP *пушки вестовые* 'signal cannons' is seen as one noun, the adjective *вестовые* being relative.

means that the “singling out” of the referents of the nouns by virtue of the adjective is not very clear. This is true of the NPs *железные листы, золотые кресты, зело бурные ветры* (cf. Chapter 8, 205f.; 212f.), *ангели великие, избы дьячи каменные, хоромы и сени новые* (cf. Chapter 7, 184; 191). The only example where this does not hold true is ... *зачали делати раки серебряные кованья многоценныя ...* ‘... they began to make valuable caskets cast in silver ...’ (PL, 7106⁸, 199).

There are four predicative NPs in PL and Let1619-91, all of which have LFs. Two have redundant adjectives, *свинии слепии и безумныя* (Let1619-91, 7162, 182) and *лютыя зверие* (Let1619-91, 7162, 182), and one denotes a subset of a category, *верныя царевы слуги* (Let1619-91, 7190, 194). The last predicative NP is of the type $N_1 = N_2 \wedge N_1 \sim A_2$, where both N_2 and A_2 provide new information, in *двери – решетки железные* (PL, 7107, 202).

Plural NPs in Novg2

Novg2 has 10 plural NPs in the nominative and accusative, all non-predicative, seven with LFs and three with SFs. One of the NPs with LFs has an abstract referent and a redundant adjective, *муки лютыя*. The remaining NPs with LFs (including the NP with a LF coordinated with a SF) are found in contexts of the type where SFs often occur; they all have concrete referents and four have adjectives denoting material. This distribution seems to indicate that Novg2 resembles PL and Let1619-91, but there are too few examples for any such conclusion to be drawn.

Exceptions

In all texts with the exception of Let1619-91, a number of NPs do not fit into the pattern of distribution followed by the majority of NPs.

The majority of irregular NPs (39 of a total 50) either form part of what must be assumed to be petrified formulae or occur in contexts similar to the formulae.

The most frequently occurring formula consists of the NP *церковь камена* ‘stone church’ (including a few instances of *церковь древяна* ‘wooden church’) in the nominative or accusative followed by the name of the church and a verb denoting creation, completion or consecration. A NP of this type is classified as irregular when its referent is mentioned in the preceding context and, as a consequence of this, is definite. 12 irregular NPs form part of this formula. An additional three irregular NPs are found in contexts similar to the formula; i.e.,

⁸ The example is from a section included under 7106 with the headline *Протисано в сем летописце 93 и 4*.

contexts that have the same NP as the formula, but a different verb, or the same verb as the formula, but a slightly different NP. The formula has a small ‘subgroup’ consisting of a form of *церковь камена(я)/древяна(я)* plus the name(s) of the church(es) as the subject of an intransitive verb (*-горѣти* or *пастися*). The NP *церковь камена(я)/древяна(я)* functions as theme, for which reason NPs with SFs in this construction are classified as irregular. Four irregular NPs occur in this construction, including one instance of *стѣна камена*).

Another relatively frequent formula is the NP *мужь добрь* ‘good man’ (or *мужь* modified by other or additional adjectives denoting ‘virtuous’ qualities). In most cases, the NP is followed by a proper noun. NPs of this type are irregular when they have definite referents or function as theme. 14 irregular NPs form part of this formula, 11 of which have a form of the noun *мужь*. Two have *князя велика* and one has *добра князя*. It is possible that the two irregular NPs in the genitive in PL, *милостива пана* and *такого благочестива царя*, comprise variants of this formula.

Six irregular NPs form part of adverbial expressions in the locative which are likely to have become fixed. They all function as theme. Four are instances of the circumstantial adverb *в малѣ дружинѣ* and two of the temporal adverb *по малѣ временѣ/по мале времени*.

The construction with *церковь камена* has probably become formulaic because of its extremely high frequency. In the vast majority of NPs in this construction, a SF is expected, which means that only a small minority of the NPs in the construction are irregular. The irregular NPs which are subjects or direct objects of verbs denoting completion (*свершити* or *концати*) might not even be truly irregular, even though they have definite referents. It is possible that the SFs in these NPs should be interpreted as predicative, i.e., that *церковь камену* in *свершиша церковь камену* should be interpreted as consisting of a definite noun and a predicative adjective (cf. Chapter 5, 151).

The expressions with *мужь добрь* etc. are epithets of the dead or of people holding positions in the church hierarchy, which is already a formulaic use. It is likely that this formulaic use has caused the NPs to become irresponsive to context-determined variation between LF and SF.

Temporal expressions such as *по малѣ временѣ* completely lack individualization and will fit into any context in any communicative function. The same is true of circumstantial adverbs such as *в малѣ дружинѣ*. For this reason, they must be seen as fixed expressions, i.e., also a kind of formulae.

The remaining 11 (including *милостива пана* and *такого благочестива царя* from PL) irregular NPs constitute a heterogeneous group. There are various possible explanations of the

irregularity of these NPs – from idiosyncratic behavior to scribes' errors. Of course, in the non-standardized language of the chronicles, some irregularities should be expected.

Tatiščev

The historian Tatiščev's "*История российская*", which he probably began composing already in the early 1730's and repeatedly revised until his death in 1750 (Tatiščev, 12; 32ff.; 38), can in some ways be seen as a continuation of the chronicle genre. The first 12 chapters of "*История российская*" (79-141) contains, with the exception of SFs in quotes from older texts, only four potentially attributive SFs, in ... *хотя бога единого, т в о р ц а в с е м о ч н а, в с ю д у п р и с у д с т в е н н а и в с е м и л о с т и в а, и с п о в е д у е т* '...even if [one] professes one God, an almighty creator, present everywhere and ever merciful, ...' (Tatiščev, 99); *колик о ... п е р в о е б ы л о б е з р а з у м н о и в р е д н о, б о г о с л у ж е н и е м е р з с к о* 'the extent to which the first was senseless and harmful, church service loathsome' (98); *Н е с т о р, ... ж и л л е т а д о в о л ь н а* 'Nestor, ... lived plenty of years' (120); and *п у с т ы н н и к и н а и б о л е е о д е ж д ы к о ж а н ы н о с и л и* '[the] hermits most often wore leather clothes' (133). The first two NPs are appositions and are on the limit between attributive and predicative. Both interpretations are possible (the noun *богослужение* being coreferent by association with the context, which addresses pre-Christian idol worship). In addition, the first NP is similar to a quote from Scripture, which makes it archaic. The temporal expression *лета довольна* could very well be a fixed phrase. The only attributive SF is in *одежды кожаны*, which resembles many of the NPs with SFs in the chronicle texts because the adjective denotes material. However, a representation of attributive SFs this limited cannot constitute any active variation, which means that with Let1619-91, the SF dies out and survives only in a few, isolated expressions.

Final remarks

In the chronicle texts, variation occurs in the nominative, accusative, genitive and dative singular and in the nominative and accusative plural. However, only PVL, NIS, NIK and MS show signs of variation in the genitive, and only PVL, MS and Novg2 show any signs of variation in the dative. There are very few contexts in the genitive and the dative of the types where SFs typically occur. This is probably the main reason for the limited variation in these cases. All the texts have SFs in predicative position in both the genitive and the dative, so there is no reason to believe that variation in these cases at some point becomes impossible.

In all of the analyzed texts, rheme status of a given NP is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the adjective of the NP to be realized as a SF. There is an additional necessary condition: the NP must be presented in mode b) of presentation, where the link between noun and adjective is presented as established *at* the point of the utterance. Mode b) of presentation also singles the referent of a noun out from other referents of the same noun by virtue of the quality denoted by the adjective. A NP functioning as rheme can be presented in mode a) of presentation, which is the case when it has a non-restrictive adjective or is presented as a representative of a category. In mode a) of presentation, the link between noun and adjective is presented as established previously in time to the point of the utterance.

In the four earliest chronicle texts and to a large extent in Novg2, mode b) of presentation causes an adjective to be realized as a SF unless NP-internal factors prevent it. One preventive factor are redundant adjectives, which might be attributed to a noun in mode b) of presentation, but fail, so to speak, to fulfill the purpose of this mode of presentation. Another preventive factor are nouns with non-specific referents, which cannot be singled out from other referents of the same noun because of their non-specificness. In the plural, “dispersed” reference prevents an adjective from being realized as a SF. Finally, some adjectives can prevent a SF from being realized; this is true of adjectives which cause dispersed reference, e.g., *различныи* ‘different’, and of the adjective *большои*, which strongly favors the LF.

In the two last chronicle texts, PL and Let1619-91, mode b) of presentation seems to trigger a LF unless there is a particular reason for using a SF. The SF is used for emphasizing the quality denoted by the adjective, probably as a result of the sender’s subjective motivation. Use of the SF is largely limited to singular NPs with concrete referents, the type of NPs which provides the strongest basis for subjective emphasis.

In the first four chronicle texts, mode b) of presentation is, with relatively few exceptions, almost tantamount to use of the SF. In the two last texts, the SF survives only in the contexts where mode b) of presentation is particularly clear and where there is a particular reason to emphasize it.

The factors that cause the SF to be lost within mode b) of presentation are related to the NP-internal relationship between noun and adjective. The SF does not survive longer in NPs that function as subjects or direct objects of verbs that allow for predicative interpretation of the adjective. It also does not survive longer in predicative NPs than in non-predicative NPs. The fact that the SF survives longer in concrete NPs than in abstract NPs is also a result of the relationship between noun and adjective: mode b) of presentation is much clearer in NPs with (individualized) concrete referents than in NPs with (non-individualized) abstract referents.

Status as “repeated rheme” does not in and of itself cause the LF to be used, but it might increase the likelihood of a non-restrictive adjective to be used.

So far, I have adhered to the definition of “predicative” and “attributive” that distinguishes them in terms of presence or absence of a linking copula or semi-copula (cf. ODEG, 308). Jespersen’s definition is different: An attributive modifier is joined to a NP in a “junction”, whereas a predicative adjective is joined to a NP in a “nexus” (Jespersen, 114f.). And accordingly: “A junction is therefore a unit or single idea, expressed more or less accidentally by means of two elements. A nexus, on the contrary, always contains two ideas which must necessarily remain separate: the secondary term adds something new to what has already been named” (Jespersen, 116). Jespersen’s “nexus” is essentially mode b) of presentation, and so is Istrina’s “predicativity”.

In Jespersen’s terminology, adjectives in NPs presented in mode b) of presentation are predicative. Adjectives in predicative *position* thus constitute a subset of predicative adjectives. Of all predicative adjectives, adjectives in predicative *position* are the clearest possible manifestation of mode b) of presentation. If Jespersen’s definition is used, the development of the system of SFs and LFs can be seen as a reinterpretation of “predicative” from a *presentational* variant (mode b) of presentation) to a *positional* variant (presence of a linking copula).

Appendix 1 (Exact figures on which charts are based)

Chart 1

(p. 229)

	PVL	Novg1S	Novg1K	MS	Novg2	PL	L1619-91
Total	82.7 %	90.4 %	87.3 %	78.3 %	66.7 %	35.1 %	26.4 %
церковь камену	-	3.8 %	6.5 %	-	-	-	-
Without церковь камену	-	86.6 %	80.8 %	-	-	-	-

Chart 2

(p. 229)

	PVL	Novg1S	Novg1K	MS	Novg2	PL	L1619-91
Total	92.1 %	95.7 %	90.2 %	86.3 %	70.7 %	43.4 %	34.5 %
церковь камену	-	2.0 %	6.1 %	-	-	-	-
Without церковь камену	-	93.8 %	84.1 %	-	-	-	-

Chart 3

(p. 230)

	PVL	Novg1S	Novg1K	MS	Novg2	PL	L1619-91
Total	50.0 %	43.8 %	65.2 %	48.0 %	30.0 %	4.8 %	16.7 %

Chart 4

(p. 230)

	PVL	Novg1S	Novg1K	MS	Novg2	PL	L1619-91
Total	91.9 %	100.0 %	92.0 %	87.5 %	91.7 %	49.0 %	60.0 %

Chart 5

(p. 231)

	PVL	Novg1S	Novg1K	MS	Novg2	PL	L1619-91
Total	89.3 %	90.8 %	91.4 %	83.3 %	48.7 %	33.3 %	7.1 %
церковь камену	-	10.8 %	11.8 %	-	-	-	-
Without церковь камену	-	80.0 %	79.6 %	-	-	-	-

Appendix 2

Повесть временных лет, 6562-6618

(excl. Поучение Владимира Мономаха)

Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (5)

честная молитва (6582, 124)

блаженныи ... князь (6594, 136)

грѣшныи ... рабъ (6599, 140)

шелудивыи хыщникъ (6604, 151)

старецъ добрыи (6614, 186)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (16)

вѣрныи людье (6576, 115)

мужи ... невѣрныи (6579, 120)

помысли лукавни (6582, 122)

мужи смыслении (6601, 143)

мужи смыслении (6601, 143)

смыслении мужи (6601, 144)

лукавни сынове измаилеви (6601, 146)

безбожныѣ ... сынове Измаилеви (6604, 151)

безбожныи сынове измаилеви (6604, 152)

оканнии половци (6604, 152)

нечистыя челоуѣкы (6604, 153)

горы великия (6604, 167)

скверныи языкы (6604, 168)

челоуѣци благовѣрныи (6605, 179)

благовѣрныи челоуѣци (6610, 183)

благая мѣста (6618, 188)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (8)

новую церковь (6580, 121)

новую церковь (6580, 121)

блаженное стадо (6582, 125)

великую любовь (6582, 125)

добродѣтельное житѣе (6582, 131)

бешчисленное множество (6583, 131)

темьянъ благовонныи (6599, 140)

святыи дом (6604, 152)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (7)

супостаты противныя (6576, 115)

словесныя овця (6599, 140)

обычныя пѣсни (6599, 140)

люди вѣрныя (6599, 140)

обычныя молбы (6599, 140)

пѣсни обычныя (6601, 145)

святыя иконы (6604, 152)

Genitive singular NPs with LFs (4)

суетнаго ... свѣта (6594, 136)

добраго пастуха (6599, 140)

добраго ... житѣя (6599, 140)

злаго пути (6601, 145)

Dative singular NPs with LFs (1)

злому убийству (6576, 112)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (2)

велицѣи церькви (6601, 142)

трапезнищи каменѣи (6618, 187)

Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (3)

вранѣ черныи (6582, 130)

праздникъ новыи (6601, 145)

огненыи столпъ (6618, 188)

Nominative singular NPs with SFs (34)

звѣзда превелика (6573, 110)

песь ... шестоногъ (6573, 111)

трусъ великъ (6573, 111)

мужъ добль, ратень, ... лѣтъ и красень ..., и

милостивъ ... (6574, 111)

снѣгъ великъ (6575, 112)

сѣча зла (6575, 112)

свѣдѣтель скоръ (6576, 113)

мятежъ великъ (6579, 120)

вздержанье велико (6582, 125)

свершень челоуѣкъ (6582, 126)

сѣча зла (6586, 133)

мужъ ... красень и ... великъ, незлобивъ (6586, 133-134)

простъ мужъ (6586, 134)

мужъ хытръ ..., милостивъ ..., ласковъ ...,

смѣренъ ... и кротокъ, молчаливъ, рѣчистъ

(6597, 137)

- мужь не книжень, ... прость и *просторѣль*
(6597, 137)
- скопещь, высокъ ... (6597, 138)
- превеликъ зми (6599, 141)
- кругъ ... превеликъ (6600, 141)
- предивно ... *чюдо* (6600, 141)
- рать велика (6600, 141)
- брань люта (6601, 144)
- плачь *великъ* (6601, 145)
- плачь великъ* (6601, 145)
- языкъ нѣмь (6604, 167)
- ключь великъ (6604, 167)
- оконце мало (6604, 167)
- брань люта (6604, 168)
- брань крѣпка (6604, 170)
- град малъ (6605, 173)
- мужь благъ, и кротокъ и смѣрень (6614, 185)
- вода ... велика (6616, 187)
- столпъ огнень (6618, 187)
- столпъ облачень (6618, 188)
- столпъ огнень (6618, 188)
- Nominative plural NPs with LFs (2)**
- мрази лютии (6582, 129)
- людье благовѣрнии (6599, 139)
- Nominative plural NPs with SFs (3)**
- постници крѣпци (6582, 125)
- 2 уноши ... красна (6582, 128)
- врата мѣдяна (6604, 168)
- Accusative singular NPs with LFs (3)**
- бешисленое множество (6576, 115)
- смерть горкую (6594, 136)
- горкую смерть (6601, 146)
- Accusative singular NPs with SFs (25)**
- дождь ранъ и позденъ (6576, 113)
- раку камену (6580, 121)
- печаль велику (6582, 125)
- зелье ... сыро (6582, 125)
- дѣтшць болень (6582, 126)
- житье крѣпко (6582, 127)
- въздержанье ... жестоко (6582, 129)
- свиту вотоляну (6582, 129)
- раку мраморяну (6586, 133)
- любовь велику (6586, 134)
- великъ плачь (6594, 136)
- строенье банное камено (6597, 137)
- град ... камень (6597, 137)
- зарю велику (6599, 138)
- зарю велику (6599, 139)
- смысль буи (6604, 150)
- спасенье велико (6604, 151)
- дивьно ... *чюдо* (6604, 167)
- в-ыстобку малу (6605, 173)
- кровь неповинну (6605, 177)
- мысль добру (6610, 183)
- велико добро (6611, 183)
- велико спасенье (6611, 184)
- ужасть велику (6611, 184)
- побѣду велику (6611, 184)
- Accusative plural NPs with LFs (9)**
- различнии болѣзни (6576, 113)
- смерти тяжкыя (6576, 113)
- труды великыя (6582, 123)
- многовещныя ... раны (6601, 146)
- различныя печали (6601, 146)
- ина словеса хулная (6604, 152)
- человѣкы нечистыя (6604, 167)
- скоты ... нечистыя (6604, 167)
- горы высокия (6604, 167)
- Accusative plural NPs with SFs (8)**
- лучѣ ... кровавы (6573, 110)
- златы ... одежда (6573, 110)
- чюдеса велика (6579, 120-121)
- видѣнья велика (6582, 123)
- дугы зарны (6599, 138)
- страшны муки (6601, 146)
- словеса величава (6604, 150)
- дары великы (6605, 178)
- Genitive singular NPs with SFs (1)**
- воня благы (6580, 121)

Dative singular NPs with SFs (2)

языку странну (6601, 146)

грудну пути (6605, 173)

Locative singular NPs with SFs (8)

малѣ ... дружинѣ (6577, 116)

в дравянѣ рацѣ (6580, 121)

рацѣ каменѣ (6580, 121)

кельици малѣ (6582, 127)

старости добрѣ (6582, 127)

плачи велицѣ (6586, 133)

рацѣ мраморянѣ (6594, 136)

старости маститѣ (6614, 186)

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похотѣнья лукава (6582, 122)

Locative singular (2)

малѣ дружинѣ (6586, 133)

малѣ дружинѣ (6605, 172)

NPs with relative adjectives**Nominative singular**

теченье звѣздное (6573, 111)

усобная ... рать (6576, 112)

сила крестная (6576, 115)

постное ... время (6582, 123)

Nominative plural

срамнии удове (6573, 110)

точила винная и масляная (6576, 113)

власи главнии (6599, 139)

молитвении домове (6618, 188)

Accusative singular

образъ копиинны (6573, 110)

растворенье смертное (6574, 111)

силу крестную (6576, 115)

силу крестную (6576, 115)

казнь вѣчную (6576, 115)

пропастъ смертную (6579, 117)

постное время (6582, 122)

гѣнье церковное (6582, 122)

силу огньную (6582, 123)

пищу породную (6582, 123)

кланянье колѣньное (6582, 125)

кадило молитвенное (6599, 140)

принесенье божественное (6599, 140)

Accusative plural

хляби небесныя (6576, 113)

муки вѣчныя (6579, 120)

почитанья книжная (6582, 122)

Genitive singular

предѣла чюжего (6581, 122)

предѣла чюжего (6581, 122)

чюжею руку (6594, 136)

солнечнаго круга (6615, 185)

Dative singular

чюжен земли (6586, 134)

вѣчнѣи жизни (6594, 136)

вечеру ... суботному (6603, 149)

огню вѣчному (6604, 152)

Locative singular

заходѣ солнечнѣмь (6573, 110)

калѣ грѣховнѣмь (6576, 112)

небеснѣмь жилищѣ (6579, 120)

смертнѣмь часѣ (6599, 139)

чюжен волости (6604, 169)

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осмынька великая (6645, 25)

бещисльное число (6724, 56)

оканьнын воевода (6732, 63)

церкы каменная (6821, 94)

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скалы ... великыя (6712, 48)

благочыстивни князи рязаньстии (6726, 58)

прѣмудрии мужи (6732, 62)

оканьнии Половчи (6732, 62)

оканьнии Половчи (6732, 62)

злии челоуѣци (6738, 71)

иноплеменьнищи поганин (6746, 75)

безаконьнии ... Измаильти (6746, 75)

добрии мужи и жены (6746, 75)

оканьнии безбожннищи (6746, 76)

честныя иконы (6748, 77)

оканьнии преступнищи (6761, 80)

черныи люди (6763, 81)

оканьнии Татарове (6767, 83)

вѣрнии людие (6776, 87)

оканьнии крестопреступнищи (6776, 87)

добрии люди (6779, 90)

злии челоуѣци (6779, 90)

домове добрии (6819, 93)

злии челоуѣци (6819, 93)

недобрии [челоуѣци] (6819, 93)

оканьнии челоуѣци (6819, 93)

недобрии людие (6822, 94)

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Accusative singular NPs with LFs (6)

кадку малую (6669, 31)

церковь ... камяную (6681, 34)

тряпезу чюдьную (6712, 49)

горную и бѣдную память (6738, 70)

ветхыи [городь] (6818, 92)

святыи ангельскыи образъ (6838, 99)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (11)

прегрешения вольная и невольная (6696, 39)

замкы желѣзныя (6712, 46)

столпы серебряныя (6712, 48)

свѣтилна серебряная (6712, 49)

иконы бесцѣныя (6712, 49)

хресты честныя (6712, 49)

камяныя божнице (6725, 57)

злии челоуѣци (6728, 60)

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безбожныя сыны Измаиловы (6732, 62)

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ветхаго [моста] (6652, 27)

великаго сбора (6657, 28)

ветъхаго [моста] (6696, 39)

чистаго злата (6712, 49)

злыя ... мысли (6726, 58)

пречныя ... матерс (6732, 62)

стараго моста (6737, 68)

поганыя вѣры (6773, 84)

великои свиньи (6776, 86)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (2)

оканьнѣмь помыслѣ (6726, 58)

на святѣи тряпѣзѣ (6737, 68)

Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible**Nominative singular NPs with SFs (50)**

великъ страхъ (6632, 21)

буря велика (6633, 21)

метыль густъ (6635, 21)

вода ... велика (6635, 21)

вода ... велика (6636, 22)

пакость велика (6639, 22)

въстань велика (6640, 22)

мятежь ... великъ (6645, 24)

котора зла (6665, 30)

велика скърбь (6669, 31)

сильнъ морозъ (6673, 32)

церкви камяна (6674, 32)
 кощени мѣль (6682, 34)
 великъ мятежь (6682, 34)
 велика бѣда (6682, 34)
 знамение ... дивно (6649, 26)
 вода велика (6651, 26)
 бѣда ... велика (6689, 37)
 громъ ... страшнь (6695, 38)
 взятіе ... велико (6712, 48)
 пожаръ великъ (6719, 52)
 страшно чюдо и дивно (6724, 56)
 сѣча зла и люта (6732, 63)
 громъ страшнь (6732, 63)
 дѣжъ великъ (6736, 66)
 вода велика (6736, 67)
 горе ... велико (6738, 69)
 мужъ блажь (6738, 70)
 мятежь великъ (6740, 71)
 велика сѣча (6748, 77)
 сѣча ту велика (6750, 78)
 радость велика (6758, 80)
 свѣтъ золь (6763, 81)
 вѣсть ... зла (6765, 82)
 мятежь великъ (6767, 82)
 мразъ великъ (6767, 83)
 мятежъ великъ (6773, 84)
 страшно побоище (6776, 86)
 зло велико (6776, 86)
 дивно ... оружие (6776, 86)
 баскакъ великъ володнмирьскыи (6777, 88)
 горе велико (6779, 90)
 пагуба велика (6779, 90)
 дороговъ велика (6811, 91)
 туга велика (6811, 91)
 мѣсто ... силно, твердо (6819, 93)
 сѣча зла (6823, 94)
 посоль силенъ (6825, 95)
 сѣча зла (6826, 96)
 посоль силенъ (6835, 98)

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 безбожнии Татарове (6744, 74)
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 денье зли (6642, 23)
 другыя 3 великы [кругы] (6649, 26)
 2 недѣли пълне, ..., теплѣ велми (6653, 27)
 агньци непорочьни (6726, 58)
 послы великы (6831, 97)
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 честьныи монастырь (6706, 44)
 великое ... чюдо (6726, 59)
 нужную и горкую смерть (6746, 75)
 свињю великую (6776, 87)
 большюю рану (6777, 87)
 болшюю рану (6824, 95)
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 церковь камяну (6623, 20)
 городъ камянь (6624, 20)
 церковь камяну (6625, 20)
 церковь камяну (6627, 21)
 церковь камяну (6635, 21)
 тръpezницю камяну (6635, 21)
 церковь камяну (6643, 23)
 мость ... новъ (6652, 27)
 церковь камяну (6653, 27)
 церковь камяну (6661, 29)
 церковь ... камяну (6664, 29)
 большю ... рану (6672, 31)
 церковь камяну (6675, 32)
 церковь камяну (6680, 34)
 церковь нову (6684, 35)
 церковь камяну (6687, 36)
 церковь камяну (6688, 36)
 церковь ... камяну (6692, 37)
 церковь нову (6692, 37)
 церковь камяну (6693, 38)
 церковь камяну (6693, 38)
 церковь камяну (6696, 39)
 мость новъ (6696, 39)

- церковь нову (6697, 39)
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 церковь ... камяну (6703, 42)
 церковь нову (6703, 42)
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 црковь камяну (6704, 42)
 церковь камяну (6706, 43)
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 церковь камяну (6706, 44)
 церковь камяну (6706, 44)
 церковь камяну (6707, 44)
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 церковь камяну (6727, 59)
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 церковь камяну (6732, 63)
 церковь ... камяну (6734, 65)
 жалобу велику (6736, 66)
 крамолу велику (6736, 67)
 мысль злу (6763, 81)
 свѣтъ золь (6767, 82)
 городъ новъ (6770, 83)
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 пещеру непроходну (6776, 86)
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 церковь камену (6813, 92)
 мость новъ (6813, 92)
 церковь камену (6816, 92)
 городъ ... новъ (6818, 92)
 церковь камену (6818, 93)
 другую камену ... церковь (6818, 93)
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 мѣртвая мяса (6738, 70)
 мужи добрыѣ (6776, 86)
- мужи нарочитыи (6808, 91)
 волости ... достойныя (6663, 29)
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 4 церкви деревяны (6811, 91)
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 мужа свята (6638, 22)
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 ясна дни (6653, 27)
 ясна дни (6653, 27)
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 мужа добра (6731, 61)
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 мужа кротка и смѣрена (6738, 70)
 кровопролития велика (6763, 81)
 мужа добра (6776, 85)
 мужа добра (6776, 86)
 мужа добра и смѣрена (6779, 89)
 мужа честна (6837, 98)
 мужа ... достойна (6838, 99)
 мужа добра и смѣрена (6838, 99)
Locative singular with SFs (9)
 на мале часу (6688, 36)
 в силѣ тяжцѣ (6743, 74)
 в силѣ велицѣ (6745, 74)
 в силѣ велицѣ (6748, 77)
 в малѣ дружинѣ (6753, 79)
 в малѣ дружинѣ (6774, 85)
 в силѣ велицѣ (6777, 87)
 в силѣ велицѣ (6808, 91)
 на камени висоцѣ (6819, 93)
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церковь камяну (6710, 45)
 церковь камяну (6719, 52)
 церковь камяну (6727, 59)
 церковь камяну (6732, 63)
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 мужа храбра (6642, 23)
 мужа добра (6734, 65)
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 мужа блага, смерена (6738, 70)
 мужа честна (6750, 78)
 мужа добра (6770, 83)
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 добра князя (6771, 84)
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 мастеръ порочныи (6776, 86)
 сила крестная (6776, 87)
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 днѣвнии [сторожи] (6725, 57)
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Accusative singular
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 память вѣчьную (6706, 44)
 зажъжение градное (6712, 47)
 служебное еуангелие (6712, 49)
 вѣчьную муку (6726, 58)
 муку вѣчьную (6726, 58)
 муку вѣчьную (6776, 87)
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 чюжая имѣния (6819, 93)

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поганыи Татарова (6847, 350)

церкви каменныи (6848, 351)

[церкви] деревянныи (6848, 351)

злии челоуѣщи (6848, 351)

чорныи люди (6850, 356)

добрыя ... жены и дѣвица (6880, 372)

святыя церкви (6880, 372)

поганыи Измаилтяне (6888, 376)

безбожнни Татарове (6888, 377)

людие богобоязливии (6926, 410)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (14)

крестъ ... великыи (6841, 345)

город каменныи (6842, 346)

другую [церковь] ... каменую (6847, 347)

праведныи гнѣвъ (6850, 355)

великыи пожаръ (6853, 357)

латыньское богумерзьское служение (6857, 361)

богомерьское служение (6907, 395)

церковь ... златоверхую (6918, 402)

бѣду страшную и грозную (6925, 408)

сборъ великыи (6927, 412)

старую церковь (6945, 419)

злую смерть (6948, 420)

стѣну каменую (6953, 424)

преславное чудо (6954, 427)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (8)

высокыя мысли (6839, 343)

церкви святыя (6857, 361)

святыя божиа церкви (6888, 377)

винныи люди (6894, 380)

церкви святѣи (6907, 397)

нныя потребныя мѣста (6950, 422)

денгѣ ... серебряныя (6954, 426)

старыи денги (6954, 427)

Genitive singular NPs with LFs (9)

святыя и честныя главы (6856, 361)

болшаго кровопролитья (6901, 386)

словеснаго стада христова (6907, 394)

бѣглаго цесаря (6907, 395)

святыя службы (6923, 405)

грозы ... страшныя (6926, 410)

возмущения ... великаго (6926, 410)

святыя службы (6929, 414)

скорби ... великыя пожарныя (6950, 423)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (11)

преименитѣи церкви (6868, 366-367)

старои основѣ (6873, 369)

преименитин церкви (6896, 382)

имени ... святемъ (6907, 394)

храмѣ ... святемъ (6907, 394)

старои основѣ (6942, 417)

старои основѣ (6946, 419)

старомъ мѣстѣ (6947, 420)

старои основѣ (6949, 421)

старои основѣ (6950, 422)

старои основѣ (6953, 425)

Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (4)

церкви каменная (6862, 364)

горе немалое (6907, 395)

церкви деревяная (6923, 405)

буря велиа вѣтрняя (6927, 411)

Nominative singular NPs with SFs (46)

звѣзда свѣтла (6839, 343)
 дождь силенъ (6845, 348)
 вода велика (6846, 348)
 побоище велико (6851, 356)
 мятежь ... великъ (6852, 357)
 замятия велика (6853, 358)
 морь силенъ (6860, 362)
 морь силенъ (6860, 363)
 смерть ... тяжка и напрасна (6860, 363)
 вода ... велика (6864, 364)
 громъ ... силенъ (6865, 364)
 мятежь силенъ (6867, 365)
 проторжь не мала (6867, 366)
 мятежь силенъ (6868, 366)
 морь силенъ (6868, 367)
 пожаръ золь (6876, 370)
 пагуба велика (6880, 371)
 сила велика татарская (6888, 376)
 поле чисто (6888, 376)
 морь великъ (6897, 383)
 морь силенъ (6898, 383)
 съца зла (6907, 395)
 звѣзда хвостата (6910, 397)
 лед силенъ (6914, 399)
 велико зло (6915, 399)
 чюдо ... страшно (6917, 401)
 болезнь ... тяжка (6922, 405)
 морь страшень (6925, 408)
 дождь умножень (6927, 411)
 рѣка силна (6927, 411)
 громъ страшень (6927, 411)
 морь ... великъ (6928, 412)
 вода велика (6929, 413)
 трусь ... великъ (6929, 413)
 дождь прапрудень (6929, 413)
 морь великъ (6929, 414)
 вода ... мала (6938, 416)
 вода велика (6944, 418)

князь лют и немилостивъ и серебролюбивъ ...
 чловѣкъ (6948, 420)
 пакость ... велика (6950, 423)
 погибель велика (6953, 424)
 изъѣжа велика (6953, 425)
 знаменье велико (6953, 426)
 съча велика (6953, 426)
 скорбь велика (6954, 427)
 облакъ тученосень (6954, 427)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (3)

люди молодыи (6874, 369)
 люди молодыи (6885, 374)
 боры частыя (6953, 425)

Nominative plural NPs with SFs (7)

три церкви древяны (6864, 364)
 огнени зари (6868, 367)
 двѣ церкви камены (6924, 407)
 4 церкви камены (6826, 410)
 молнии огненъ (6929, 413)
 4 церкви камены (6929, 414)
 двѣ церкви камены (6932, 415)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (10)

город каменыи (6841, 345)
 горкую и нужную смерть (6847, 350)
 теремъ великыи (6849, 354)
 колоколь великыи (6850, 354)
 златую печать (6862, 364)
 нужную и горкую смерть (6880, 372)
 3-ю ... церковь древяную (6920, 403)
 святую литургию (6924, 406)
 святую литургию (6925, 408)
 святую литургию (6950, 422)

Accusative singular NPs with SFs (106)

город камень (6839, 343)
 праздникъ свѣтель (6839, 343)
 церковь камену (6843, 346)
 острогъ камень (6843, 346)
 церковь камену (6844, 347)
 мость новъ (6844, 347)
 мость новъ (6846, 349)

- мость новъ (6848, 352)
 полату камену (6858, 362)
 церковь камену (6860, 362)
 церковь камену (6863, 364)
 церковь камену (6864, 364)
 церковь камену (6864, 364)
 церковь камену (6865, 364)
 церковь древяну (6866, 364)
 церковь камену (6867, 364)
 церковь камену (6867, 365)
 церковь камену (6868, 367)
 церковь камену (6870, 368)
 церковь камену (6870, 368)
 церковь камену (6872, 368)
 церковь камену (6873, 369)
 церковь камену (6873, 369)
 церковь камену (6873, 369)
 церковь камену (6877, 371)
 другую церковь камену (6877, 371)
 церковь камену (6879, 371)
 церковь камену (6882, 372)
 церковь камену (6885, 375)
 церковь камену (6886, 375)
 церковь камену (6887, 375)
 другую церковь камену (6887, 375)
 долгъ час (6888, 377)
 церковь камену (6889, 377)
 город камень (6892, 379)
 церковь камену (6894, 380)
 город Порховъ камень (6695, 381)
 город Порховъ камень (6695, 381)
 праздникъ свѣтель (6695, 383)
 церковь камену (6897, 383)
 церковь камену (6898, 383)
 монастырь новъ (6898, 383)
 велико нелюбие (6699, 385)
 церковь ... камену (6900, 385)
 церковь ... камену (6901, 386)
 церковь камену (6902, 386)
 церковь древяну (6902, 387)
 честь велику (6903, 387)
 церковь камену (6903, 387)
 церковь камену (6905, 388)
 слово добро (6905, 390)
 слово добро (6905, 390)
 церковь камену (6906, 393)
 церковь камену (6906, 393)
 честь велику (6907, 394)
 церковь камену (6907, 394)
 живот многолѣтенъ (6907, 394)
 честь велику (6907, 396)
 город камень (6908, 396)
 церковь камену (6908, 396)
 луць ... свѣтель (6910, 397)
 церковь камену (6910, 397)
 церковь камену (6910, 397)
 церковь камену (6911, 397)
 церковь камену (6915, 400)
 церковь камену (6915, 400)
 церковь камену (6915, 400)
 маковищо болшую златоверху (6916, 400)
 теремець камень (6917, 401)
 пекленищу камену (6917, 401)
 церковь камену (6918, 402)
 чюдотворную церковь камену (6919, 403)
 церковь камену (6920, 403)
 церковь древяну (6920, 403)
 церковь камену (6921, 404)
 церковь камену (6921, 404)
 церковь камену (6922, 405)
 церковь камену (6923, 405)
 церковь камену (6927, 412)
 церковь древяну (6927, 412)
 церковь камену (6927, 412)
 церковь камену (6938, 415)
 другую стѣну камену (6938, 416)
 церковь древяну (6940, 416)
 церковь камену (6940, 416)
 церковь древяну (6940, 416)
 церковь камену (6941, 416)

церковь камену (6942, 417)
 церковь камену (6943, 418)
 церковь камену (6944, 418)
 церковь камену (6945, 419)
 ключнищо хлѣбную камену (6947, 420)
 колоколннцо камену (6947, 420)
 мятежь великъ (6948, 420)
 церковь камену (6948, 421)
 комнату камену (6848, 421)
 церковь камену (6950, 423)
 церковь камену (6950, 423)
 комнату каменну (6950, 423)
 духовницу камену (6951, 423)
 сторожну камену (6951, 423)
 церковь камену (6951, 423)
 церковь камену (6953, 424)
 церковь камену (6953, 425)
 церковь камену (6953, 425)
 церковь камену (6953, 425)
Accusative plural NPs with LFs (5)
 кровавья луча (6907, 397)
 иныя вещи новыя (6949, 421)
 церковныя служебныя съсуды серебряныя
 (6950, 422)
 иныя сосуды серебряныя (6950, 422)
 новыи [денги] (6954, 427)
Accusative plural NPs with SFs (8)
 двери мѣдяны (6844, 347)
 ризы хрестъцаты (6854, 358)
 ризы крестъцаты (6860, 364)
 двѣ церкви камены (6891, 379)
 двѣ церкви камены (6918, 402)
 двѣ церкви камены (6923, 405)
 двѣ церкви камены (6931, 414)
 поварьнѣ камены (6950, 423)
Genitive singular NPs with LFs (3)
 чести великои (6843, 347)
 миру крѣпкаго (6899, 384)
 праваго суда (6953, 425)

Genitive singular NPs with SFs (3)

мужа добра (6846, 348)
 человекѣ добра (6850, 354)
 суда права (6953, 425)

Locative singular NPs with SFs (2)

скорби велицѣ (6883, 373)
 сили велицѣ (6890, 378)

Irregular NPs

Nominative singular (7)

муж добръ (6850, 355)
 множество бешислено (6860, 363)
 церковь камена (6911, 398)
 церковь камена (6922, 404)
 церковь камена (6935, 415)
 стѣна камена (6945, 419)
 церковь ... камень (6945, 419)

Accusative singular (4)

церковь камену (6869, 368)
 церковь камену (6890, 378)
 церковь камену (6892, 380)
 слово добро (6905, 390)

Genitive singular (5)

мужа добра, разумна и ... рассмотрелива (6867,
 365)
 князя велика (6889, 378)
 мужа добра, тиха, смирена (6896, 382)
 слова добра (6905, 390)
 тольста городка (6906, 393)

Locative singular (3)

малѣ времянѣ (6950, 423)
 малѣ дружинѣ (6953, 425)
 малѣ дружинѣ (6953, 426)

NPs with relative adjectives

Nominative singular

сынѣ хрестъныи (6849, 354)
 скоть рогатыи (6849, 354)
 запасѣ церковныи (6898, 384)
 причетѣ церковныи (6926, 410)
 общини манастирь (6926, 411)
 церкви сборная (6953, 426)

Nominative plural

жигъии люди (6906, 391)

жигъии люди (6906, 393)

Accusative singular

дань полѣтною (6851, 357)

церковныи чинъ (6870, 368)

грамоту человальную (6901, 386)

грамоту цѣловальную (6901, 386)

хрестъную грамоту (6905, 389)

грамоту крестъную (6905, 389)

възметную грамоту (6907, 393)

грамоту възметъную (6907, 393)

благословение духовное (6907, 394)

миръ вѣчныи (6920, 403)

особную рать (6926, 410)

усобную рать (6926, 410)

чепь поннкадилную (6927, 411)

вѣчныи миръ (6928, 413)

грамоту розметную (6949, 421)

память вѣчную (6950, 422)

церковь теплую (6954, 427)

Accusative plural

благая земьяная (6890, 378)

грамоты възметныи (6920, 403)

городняя ворота (6929, 413)

священныя одежда (6950, 422)

Genitive singular

иконной круты (6880, 372)

усобныя рати (6892, 379)

иконы ... молебной (6918, 401)

церкви сборныя (6953, 426)

Locative singular

въ церкви ... сборной (6953, 426)

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Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (21)

храбрыи человекъ (6955, 269)
 силнаа ... буря (6967, 276)
 пречистаа мати (6969, 277)
 освященный съборъ (6969, 277)
 освященный соборъ (6973, 278)
 необычное [солнце] (6977, 283)
 целбоносныи ... гробъ (6977, 287)
 бесчисленное ... множество (6980, 292)
 освященный соборъ (6980, 293)
 целбоносныи гробъ (6980, 293)
 освященный съборъ (6980, 294)
 дымняа воня (6980, 295)
 священный соборъ (6981, 301)
 другое необычное [солнце] (6983, 303)
 обычное [солнце] (6983, 303)
 камень великои (6984, 309)
 соборнаа и великаа церковь (6987, 323)
 великаа соборнаа апостольскаа церковь (6987, 324)
 освященный соборъ (6987, 324)
 священный соборъ (6999, 331)
 священный соборъ (6999, 332)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (19)

скорые Татарове Седнахматовы (6957, 270)
 три солнца необычные (6977, 283)
 старыи посадники (6977, 284)
 безсловеснаа животнаа (6977, 285)
 чудотворныа ... мощи (6977, 287)
 христоролюбивии князи (6980, 295)
 панове честнии (6980, 296)
 святыа мощи (6980, 296)
 благовѣрнии велиции князи (6981, 298)
 церкви каменные (6985, 309)
 которые дворци малые (6985, 309)
 старые посадники (6986, 312)
 доброволнии люди (6986, 312)

старые посадники (6986, 314)
 старые тысяцкые (6986, 314)
 черные люди (6986, 314)
 мужи волнии (6986, 314)
 честныа мощи (6987, 324)
 целбоносныа мощи (6987, 325)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (33)

пречистую матеръ (6958, 270)
 церковь каменую соборную (6958, 271)
 пречистую матеръ (6959, 272)
 пречистую матеръ (6959, 272)
 освященный съборъ (6964, 273)
 чудотворную икону (6964, 273)
 чудную икону (6964, 274)
 причистую матеръ (6968, 276)
 узкое мѣсто (6977, 282)
 узкое мѣсто (6977, 282)
 пречистую матеръ (6977, 286)
 богомерзкое ... воинство Татарское (6977, 287)
 пречистую матеръ (6977, 289)
 реку ... великую (6977, 289)
 пречистую матеръ (6977, 289)
 бесчисленное множество (6977, 289)
 великое мѣсто (6977, 289)
 пречистую матеръ (6980, 294)
 новую церковь (6980, 295)
 пречистую матеръ (6980, 298)
 почеть великую (6981, 299)
 тщую ... стѣну (6982, 302)
 пречистую матеръ (6986, 316)
 церковь деревяную (6987, 323)
 каменое дѣло (6987, 324)
 новую церковь (6987, 324)
 октенью великую (6987, 325)
 новую великую церковь (6987, 325)
 раку деревяную (6987, 325)
 старую церковь (6988, 327)
 большую полату (6999, 332)
 двор ... новои (7000, 333)

- старои ... дворъ деревянои (7000, 333)
- Accusative plural NPs with LFs (9)**
- старые боры (6968, 276)
- дубы великие (6968, 276)
- игумены честныа (6973, 278)
- святыа церкви (6977, 282)
- поминки великие (6980, 292)
- святыа иконы (6980, 294)
- стѣны новыа (6983, 303)
- святыа церкви (6988, 327)
- святыа церкви (6988, 327)
- Locative singular NPs with LFs (14)**
- далиѣи пустыне (6955, 268)
- пречистѣи матери (6958, 270)
- раннеи зорѣ (6977, 280)
- раннеи зоре (6977, 280)
- преславном видѣнии (6980, 294)
- новои церкви (6980, 295)
- пречистѣи матери (6980, 295)
- новои церкви (6980, 295)
- священном съборе (6980, 295)
- церкви ... древянои (6981, 299)
- новоначалномъ храмѣ (6981, 299)
- каменои [церкви] (6982, 302)
- пречистѣи ... матери (6988, 326)
- старои основѣ (6999, 332)
- Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible**
- Nominative singular NPs with LFs (5)**
- преславное чюдо (6982, 302)
- постав Ипскои рудожолтон (6984, 307)
- таково злое волнение (6985, 310)
- бесчисленное множество (6988, 327)
- преславное чюдо (6989, 328)
- Nominative singular NPs with SFs (35)**
- сѣча зла (6958, 270)
- буря велика (6958, 271)
- туча велика (6958, 271)
- громъ страшень (6958, 271)
- засуха ... велика (6959, 271)
- громъ страшень (6962, 273)
- рать велика (6964, 274)
- церковь камена (6966, 275)
- церковь камена (6868, 276)
- туча страшна и грозна ... и темна (6968, 276)
- буря ... силна (6968, 276)
- вихоръ страшен (6968, 276)
- туча велми грозна (6968, 276)
- молния ... велика (6968, 276)
- велико неустроение (6977, 284)
- възмятение велико (6977, 285)
- топот конский страшень (6977, 289)
- звезда велика (6980, 293)
- луч ... долог, ... толсть, свѣтел (6980, 293)
- звезда ... хвостата (6980, 293)
- буря ... велика (6980, 293)
- честь велика (6980, 296)
- честь велика (6981, 298)
- печаль немала (6982, 302)
- дождь велик (6983, 303)
- ковшь золот (6984, 307)
- лошак сѣрь (6984, 307)
- лошак пѣгъ (6984, 307)
- ковшь золотъ (6984, 307)
- миса серебряна (6984, 307)
- круг ... велик (6984, 308)
- громъ страшен (6984, 309)
- моланья велика (6984, 309)
- дождь силен (6984, 309)
- мороз ... велик (6985, 310)
- Nominative plural NPs with LFs (7)**
- честнии архимандриты (6955, 267)
- различнаа исцеленна (6971, 278)
- волныи ... люди (6977, 284)
- волныи ... люди (6977, 285)
- игумени честнии (6980, 293)
- непоставнии людие (6984, 305)
- молодые люди (6984, 307)
- Nominative plural NPs with SFs (5)**
- суметы снѣжныа великы (6964, 274)

- дары великы (6980, 296)
 великы чѣпи желѣзны (6981, 300)
 поставки ... рудожелты (6984, 307)
 мрази велици (6989, 328)
Accusative singular NPs with LFs (8)
 бесцѣнное сокровище (6964, 274)
 безлюдное мѣсто (6980, 297)
 смертноносную язву (6980, 298)
 далнии манастирь (6981, 300)
 великую высоту (6982, 302)
 новую [церковь] (6988, 327)
 воинство бесчисленное (6988, 327)
 церковь каменую (6999, 332)
Accusative singular NPs with SFs (40)
 пирь велик (6955, 267)
 честь велику (6955, 268)
 честь велику (6955, 268)
 церковь ... камену (6958, 271)
 полату камену (6958, 271)
 церковь камену (6967, 276)
 честь велику (6968, 276)
 церковь камену (6969, 277)
 безчеловѣчень разумъ (6977, 285)
 храмъ великъ (6980, 293)
 раку древяну (6980, 294)
 нову камену [раку] (6980, 295)
 голуб бѣл (6980, 296)
 милостыню доволну (6980, 296)
 велику честь (6980, 296)
 гробъ камен (6981, 298)
 рыдание велико (6981, 298)
 кричание велико (6981, 298)
 честь велику (6981, 298)
 честь ... велику (6981, 300)
 жеребець буръ (6984, 307)
 понагаю сизову (6986, 322)
 чарку сердоличну (6986, 322)
 мису сребряну (6986, 322)
 чепь злату (6986, 323)
 чару золоту (6986, 323)
 чару золоту (6986, 323)
 ковшь золоть (6986, 323)
 кружку злочену сребряну (6986, 323)
 кубок складной золочен (6986, 323)
 мнсу сребряну (6986, 323)
 кубок золочень (6986, 323)
 поясъ золочен (6986, 323)
 церкви камену (6987, 323)
 древяну раку (6987, 324)
 церковь камѣну (6991, 330)
 трепезу камѣну (6991, 330)
 церковь камену (6992, 330)
 град камен (7000, 333)
 новой дворъ камень (7000, 333)
Accusative plural NPs with LFs (6)
 крѣпкия доспѣхи (6964, 274)
 озера великы (6977, 286)
 болшии стяги (6977, 289)
 двѣ сабли булатны (6980, 297)
 поруки ... крѣпкыи (6984, 306)
 ковши сребряны (6984, 308)
Accusative plural NPs with SFs (7)
 копна ... долга (6964, 274)
 ризы черническыя новы (6971, 278)
 болота ... непроходимы (6977, 286)
 милостыня доволны (6977, 287)
 знамена ... жѣлты (6977, 289)
 поминки легкы (6982, 302)
 надгробинци камены (6987, 325)
Genitive NPs with SFs (1)
 города древена (7000, 333)
Dative NPs with SFs (2)
 грому страшну ... превелику (6968, 276)
 вѣтру ... напрасну (6980, 292)
Locative singular NPs with SFs (4)
 велицѣ печали (6959, 271)
 камене же рацѣ (6987, 325)
 древянѣ гробѣ (6987, 325)
 гробѣ каменѣ (6987, 325)

Irregular NPs**Nominative singular (1)**

велико ... вѣньство (6959, 272)

Accusative singular (4)

церковь камену (6962, 273)

полату кирпичну (6983, 303)

раку камену (6987, 325)

церковь камену (6999, 332)

NPs with relative adjectives**Nominative singular**

рать пѣшаа (6958, 270)

соборнаа церковь (6969, 277)

церковь обѣтная (6976, 281)

православнаа христианка (6977, 281)

судоваа рать Татарьскаа (6977, 282)

коннаа рать (6977, 283)

лѣтнее ... время (6977, 286)

рать пѣшаа (6977, 288)

народное множество (6980, 294)

православное ... множество (6980, 294)

православное ... множество (6980, 296)

дворецъ житничной (6981, 300)

градънаа кровля (6981, 300)

приправа ... городнаа (6981, 300)

житничной двор городной (6981, 300)

пирь отпускной (6984, 308)

православное ... множество (6987, 325)

кровля граднаа (6988, 326)

Nominative plural

люди житии (6964, 275)

коннии ... Татарове (6977, 283)

судовые Татарове (6977, 283)

житие людие (6977, 284)

житѣи люди (6977, 284)

житии людие (6977, 285)

житѣи ... люди (6977, 286)

житии ... людие (6977, 289)

православнии христиане (6980, 295)

началнии священници (6980, 296)

лѣта урочные (6984, 307)

житѣи люди (6986, 313)

Accusative singular

пѣшую рать (6958, 270)

пристрои градной (6959, 272)

градными народ (6959, 272)

вѣчныи колокол (6964, 275)

утрен ... день (6970, 278)

судовую рать (6977, 281)

рать ... судовую (6977, 283)

соборную ... церковь (6977, 287)

народное кричанье (6981, 298)

чюжую вѣру (6981, 299)

житничной двор городной (6981, 300)

дѣло церковное (6981, 300)

овошь огородной (6985, 310)

опасную свою грамоту (6986, 312)

список целовальной (6986, 320)

запись целовальную (6986, 320)

запись ... целовальную (6986, 320)

колокол ... вечной (6986, 323)

рать судовую (6986, 323)

грамоту докончальную (6999, 332)

Accusative plural

грамоты проклятые (6956, 269)

проклятые ... грамоты (6957, 270)

градные забрала (6968, 276)

постныа дни (6976, 279)

временныа книги (6977, 283)

грамоты розметные (6977, 286)

соборныа церкви (6977, 287)

священныа одежда (6980, 294)

надгробныа пѣсни (6980, 294)

надгробнаа пѣния (6981, 298)

иконы ... праздничные (6984, 309)

опасные грамоты (6986, 318)

грамоты докончальные (6986, 322)

грамоты ... докончальные (6986, 322)

молебнаа пѣния (6987, 324)

священныа одежда (6987, 325)

Locative singular

соборной церкви (6969, 277)

стенѣ городной (6981, 300)

дѣле церковном (6981, 300)

опасной грамотѣ (6986, 313)

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Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (14)

трапеза новая (7055, 150)

изба дерѣвеная (7057, 152)

древняя пустыня (7070, 152)

двор плятенон (7077, 158)

колокол новон (7080, 158)

трапеза дерѣвеная (7069, 174)

святыи соборъ (7012, 175)

храмъ дерѣвенон (7070, 175)

дерѣвеная пустыня (7070, 175)

жена старая (7080, 192)

свеча болшая мѣстная (7080, 193)

старон игумен (7080, 194)

священныи соборъ (7012, 200)

церковь древяная (7043, 204)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (2)

лошади добрыи (7080, 193)

дальние священници (7080, 195)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (2)

старую церковь каменую (7077, 175)

церковь ... старую (7077, 175)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (5)

дѣла злая (7080, 155)

колоколници ... дѣревеныи и каменные (7079, 162)

подпоры дрвенныи (7056, 177)

колоколы ... болшии (7080, 193)

подпоры древяные (7056, 201)

Dative singular NPs with LFs (4)

деревенон церкве (7008, 153)

страшному грому (7038, 176)

страшнои трубе (7038, 176)

страшному грому (7038, 201)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (7)

церкви ... каменон ... болшен (7055, 149)

новом мѣстѣ (7057, 152)

благочестивон царици (7060, 180)

христелюбивом воинстве (7060, 180)

старом мѣсте (7080, 192)

старом окладѣ (7041, 203)

старон основѣ (7065, 204)

Contexts where both the LF and the SF are possible

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (4)

знамя смертоносное (7080, 159)

нищен старецъ (7079, 196)

церковь каменная (7041, 203)

великое смятение (7048, 204)

Nominative singular NPs with SFs (44)

вода велика (7048, 147)

тма велика (7050, 148)

страх ... необычень (7050, 148)

страх ... необычень лют (7050, 148)

облак дымень (7050, 148)

гром ... грозень (7050, 148)

дымъ густъ (7050, 148)

страх великъ (7050, 148)

трус ... страшен (7050, 148)

вода велика (7052, 148)

пожар зол (7016, 150)

беда велика (7016, 150)

вихрь великъ (7016, 150)

буря силна (7060, 150)

дождь велик (7060, 150)

гром велик (7060, 150)

туча велика (7067, 152)

мороз ... великъ (7067, 152)

снѣгъ велик (7071, 152)

град ... велик (7073, 152)

вихрь велик (7080, 160)

падорога велика (7080, 160)

вихрь ... силенъ (7080, 162)

вѣтръ ... силенъ (7080, 162)

туча велика (7077, 174)

громъ страшень (7038, 176)

моръ велик (7060, 180)

туча ... страшна дождева (7060, 182)

туча велика снежная (7063, 182)

- вода велика (7063, 183)
 смятенъе велико (7080, 194)
 гром страшен (7038, 201)
 пожаръ ... великъ (7031, 202)
 тучя ... велика (7031, 202)
 золь пожаръ (7039, 203)
 церковъ каменна (7041, 203)
 градъ великъ (7043, 204)
 тучя грозна (7043, 204)
 церковъ каменна (7044, 204)
 церковъ каменна (7044, 204)
 церковъ каменна (7045, 204)
 вода велика (7048, 204)
 пожаръ золь (7049, 204)
 церковъ каменна (7069, 205)
Nominative plural NPs with LFs (2)
 столпы ... красныи и синни (7069, 174)
 воды прибыльные (7062, 182)
Nominative plural NPs with SFs (1)
 горы высоки велики (7050, 148)
Accusative singular NPs with LFs (20)
 церковъ деревяную наземную (7049, 147)
 гроб болшой (7057, 152)
 понахиду ... болшую (7057, 152)
 церковъ каменую (7076, 157)
 образ новои (7076, 157)
 церковъ каменую (7079, 158)
 новую раку (7079, 158)
 гроб новои (7079, 158)
 место новое (7078, 159)
 мѣсто новое (7080, 159)
 вергъ новои (7080, 159)
 колокол новои (7079, 161)
 плиту новую (7059, 180)
 новои ларець (7066, 183)
 колокол новои (7080, 193)
 посох черной (7079, 189)
 свѣщо болшую мѣстную (7080, 193)
 колокол новои (7080, 193)
 новои городъ (7043, 204)
 великую тягость (7045, 204)
Accusative singular NPs with SFs (19)
 клазъ великъ (7016, 150)
 яму велику (7057, 152)
 голубъ злат (7080, 159)
 чару серебряну позолочену (7079, 161)
 поучение ... достойно (7080, 162)
 поучение ... полезно ... достойно (7080, 162)
 долго время (7069, 174)
 колоколь ... великъ (7038, 176)
 церковъ камену (7062, 182)
 церковъ камену (7062, 182)
 тѣло цило (7080, 192)
 колоколь ... великъ (7038, 201)
 мельницу каменну (7024, 202)
 церковъ каменну (7031, 202)
 церковъ древяну моровую (7041, 203)
 тягость велику (7042, 203)
 церковъ каменну (7065, 204)
 церковъ каменну теплую (7066, 204)
 церковъ древяну (7061, 205)
Accusative plural NPs with LFs (5)
 муки лютыя (7080, 155)
 своды каменные (7056, 177)
 теремци каменные (7056, 177)
 своды каменные (7056, 201)
 гривны златые (7056, 202)
Accusative plural NPs with SFs (2)
 два года неполны (7014, 200)
 [гривны] сребряны (7056, 202)
Dative singular NPs with SFs (1)
 грозду зрѣлу (7080, 155)
Locative singular NPs with LFs (3)
 пюрмѣ ... деревенон (7059, 163)
 новом мѣсте (7059, 179)
 стули ... каменной бѣлой (7080, 193)
Locative singular NPs with SFs (1)
 мале дружине (7080, 193)

Irregular NPs**Nominative singular (1)**

церковь каменна (7043, 204)

Accusative plural (1)

суды велики (7016, 150)

Genitive singular (1)

яична желтка (7043, 204)

NPs with relative adjectives**Nominative singular**

теплая церковь (7049, 147)

церква ... теплая (7053, 147)

[бумага] книжная (7053, 147)

верхъ полатной (7050, 148)

царь православныи (7080, 159)

царь православныи (7080, 160)

брус перекладной (7059, 163)

сѣмя огуречное (7063, 183)

рогатон животь (7080, 193)

царь православныи (7080, 193)

царь православныи (7080, 193)

царь православной (7080, 194)

царь православной (7080, 194)

царь православныи (7080, 194)

царь православныи (7080, 194)

настольная грамота (7080, 195)

опришной бояринъ (7079, 196)

стѣна городная (7031, 202)

Nominative plural

соборные старцы (7080, 194)

люди кабалные (7080, 194)

свечи мѣстыи (7062, 182)

солнычныя лучи (7060, 163)

Accusative singular

церковь теплую (7055, 149)

церковь теплую (7057, 151)

падную болезнь (7074, 156)

ратныи ... гроб (7079, 158)

заутреннее время (7080, 158)

молебную грамоту (7080, 162)

грамоту молебную (7080, 162)

избу ... темяную (7077, 173)

божественую литоргию (7059, 173)

свѣщу негасимую (7056, 177)

божественую литоргию (7059, 173)

тюрму смертную (7043, 203)

свѣщу неугасимую (7056, 202)

смертную казнь (7045, 182)

божественую литургию (7080, 195)

настольную грамоту (7080, 195)

Accusative plural

столы трапезныя (7056, 151)

ризы казенныи (7056, 151)

двери церковныи (7008, 153)

двери церковныи (7008, 154)

грамоты ... жаловалныи (7078, 158)

стихи богородичныи (7079, 161)

стихи богородичныи (7079, 161)

избы судебныи (7080, 162)

двери церковныи (7059, 180)

иконы ... скорописныи (7066, 190)

Dative singular

соборной церкви (7038, 176)

соборной церквѣ (7038, 201)

Locative singular

опришной сторонѣ (7080, 160)

церкви ... съборьней (7034, 176)

земном дѣле (7066, 183)

церкви ... соборнии (7034, 201)

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благочестивый государь царь (7102, 197)
 дождь сильный (7102, 198)
 новый чудотворец (7112, 199)
 столовая брусеная (7107, 201)
 храм каменной, большой, соборной (7108, 202)

большая братия (7114, 213)

великий государь (7114, 213)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (4)

люди разумная и смиренная (7090, 194)

образы чудотворная (7108, 202)

воеводы большие (7114, 212)

вселенная глаголы (7123, 219)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (21)

таржественной день (7090, 194)

пушку большую (7092, 195)

праведную молитву (7102, 197)

руды золотую и серебряную (7104, 198)

большой колокол (7106, 201)

великое время (7106, 201)

старой образ (7107, 202)

новой образ (7107, 202)

оклад старой (7107, 202)

двор ... конюшенной ... большой (7109, 203)

рати ... великую (7112, 204)

великую ... добродетель (7112, 204)

старой Борисовской двор (7111, 206)

слово прямое (7113, 208)

слово ... царское прямое (7113, 208)

христианство широкое (7113, 209)

любительную ... дочь (7113, 209)

великое ... дело (7113, 210)

большую ... церковь соборную (7113, 210)

платье черное (7114, 212)

платье черное (7114, 213)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (7)

дальние земли (7112, 204)

ворота святые железные (7112, 204)

большая места (7114, 213)

древняя лета (7114, 214)

древние лета (7115, 215)

изменные слова (7118, 216)

поместья старья (7121, 220)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (6)

дровяном граде (7102, 197)

каменом подклете (7107, 201)

большой дороге (7107, 202)

великом месте (7108, 202)

большой церкви (7113, 205)

дому честнем (7113, 208)

Contexts where both the SF and the LF are possible**Nominative singular NPs with LFs (25)**

пушка большая (7097, 196)

ожерелейцо жемчужное (7099, 197)

храм каменной (7112, 200)

храм каменной (7112, 200)

храм каменей (7112, 200)

полата каменная (7112, 200)

колокол большой (7107, 202)

образец ... дровяной (7107, 202)

казна ... великая (7108, 202)

колокол большой (7108, 202)

великая честь (7108, 203)

честь ... великая, любительная (7110, 203)

сыск ... великой (7111, 204)

большое опасение (7113, 210)

великое волнение (7113, 211)

волнение великое (7114, 212)

голод великой (7114, 212)

говор великой (7115, 214)

прямой вор (7118, 214)

насильство ... великое (7119, 216)

голод ... великой (7119, 217)

голод ... великой (7121, 218)

многоценное богатество (7133, 220)

столп огненной (7134, 220)

глач великой (7153, 220)

Nominative singular NPs with SFs (24)

война велика (7085, 193)
 ремешик мал (7089, 193)
 птица велика, голосиста (7091, 194)
 город ... хорош (7096, 196)
 пояс мраморен зелен да красен (7096, 196)
 велика война (7100, 196)
 град камен (7102, 196)
 буря силна (7102, 197)
 храм камен (7112, 200)
 храм камен (7112, 200)
 храм камен (7112, 200)
 храм камен (7112, 200)
 плотина камена (7112, 200)
 храм камен (7112, 200)
 град ... деревян (7108, 202)
 храм камен (7108, 203)
 храм ... камен (7110, 203)
 галка ... бела (7112, 204)
 голубь бел (7112, 204)
 шум велик (7115, 214)
 плач велик (7115, 214)
 свет велик (7115, 214)
 голос толст (7115, 214)
 столп огнен (7135, 220)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (11)

решетки железные (7107, 202)
 нищие миряне (7108, 202)
 зубцы каменные (7108, 202)
 зубцы каменные (7108, 202)
 кормы большие (7108, 203)
 большие дворяне (7108, 203)
 дары безчисленные (7110, 203)
 безчисленные тысячи (7110, 203)
 доводы ... великие (7113, 205)
 пушки большие вестовые (7114, 212)
 хоромы и сени новые (7115, 215)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (16)

руды золотую и серебряную (7104, 198)
 плотину каменную (7112, 200)

малое время (7106, 201)
 стрельбу пищальную великую (7106, 201)
 взруб каменной (7106, 201)
 неизреченную богатую душевную глубину (7108, 202)
 немалое время (7111, 206)
 великую рать (7111, 206)
 большое стрельбище (7111, 206)
 великую казну (7113, 207)
 злое ... умышление (7114, 214)
 немалое время (7115, 215)
 немалое время (7115, 215)
 великое воровское дело (7119, 216)
 насилие великое (7119, 216)
 страшное видение (7119, 217)

Accusative singular NPs with SFs (8)

храм камен (7102, 197)
 град полотняной новотворен (7106, 201)
 оклад злат многоценен (7107, 202)
 еуа[н]гелие злато (7108, 202)
 крест злат (7108, 202)
 церковь камену (7112, 205)
 крест злат (7111, 206)
 год не полон (7113, 207)

Accusative plural NPs with LFs (9)

срамная слова (7090, 194)
 такая слова простыя (7090, 194)
 избы диячьи каменные (7099, 196)
 лавки каменные (7102, 196)
 мудрыя мужи (7106, 198)
 раки серебряные кованыя многоценныя (7112, 199)

ангели великие (7108, 202)
 суды серебряныя (7113, 207)
 малые части (7113, 210)

Accusative plural NPs with SFs (1)

сосуды златы (7108, 202)

Locative singular NPs with LFs (5)

зипунце камчатe (7099, 196)
 большом по[л]ку (7100, 196)

- великой кручине (7102, 196)
 колокольнице деревяной (7108, 202)
 великом месте (7108, 202)
Locative singular NPs with SFs (1)
 великой нуже (7119, 216)
Irregular NPs
Nominative singular (1)
 муж благ (7119, 217)
Genitive singular (2)
 милостива пана (7113, 208)
 благочестива царя (7123, 219)
NPs with relative adjectives
Nominative singular
 брат родной (7112, 199)
 брат ... родной (7112, 199)
 рыбная ловля (7108, 202)
 глад хлебной (7109, 203)
 прямой царевич (7111, 206)
 причет церковный (7113, 207)
Nominative plural
 книги царственные (7113, 205)
 служилые и жилецкие люди (7111, 206)
 служилые жилецкие люди (7113, 206)
 служивые люди (7113, 211)
 служилые и жилецкие люди (7114, 212)
 колоколы осадные (7114, 212)
 царственные книги (7114, 213)
 сторожи церковные (7115, 214)
 радные служилые люди (7119, 217)
 служилые люди (7120, 217)
 служилые люди (7120, 217)
 служилые люди (7120, 217)
 служивые и жилецкие люди (7120, 217)
Accusative singular
 время осадное (7089, 193)
 вечную жизнь (7106, 198)
 излюбленную запись (7106, 201)
 службу церковную (7108, 202)
 книжное сказательство (7111, 205)
 соборную церковь (7114, 211)
 помост ... церковной (7115, 214)
 благодать божию спасительную (7120, 219)
Accusative plural
 треоды пос[т]ныя и цветныя (7112, 200)
Locative singular
 гладном году (7108, 203)
 соборной церкви (7113, 207)
 ратной збруе (7113, 210)
 соборной церкви (7114, 214)
 соборной церкви (7153, 220)

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Contexts usually generating a LF

Nominative singular NPs with LFs (25)

смертоносная язва (7162, 182)

великий государь (7169, 183)

великий ... государь (7169, 183)

благочестивый ... государь (7169, 183)

решотка железная (7184, 186)

честное тело (7187, 186)

освященный собор (7190, 187)

благочестивый государь (7190, 187)

благочестивый государь (7190, 188)

великий государь (7190, 190)

великий государь (7190, 190)

великий государь (7190, 190)

великий государь (7190, 191)

великий государь (7190, 191)

великий государь (7190, 191)

великий государь (7190, 193)

благочестивая государыня (7190, 194)

суетный ... мятеж (7190, 195)

безумный пьяница (7190, 196)

святая соборная церковь (7191, 203)

великий пожар (7191, 203)

святая церковь (7191, 203)

круг великий (7191, 203)

великий круг (7191, 203)

каменное здание (7193, 203)

Nominative plural NPs with LFs (35)

святая мощи (7160, 181)

злочестивая изменницы (7176, 184)

окаянные врази (7178, 185)

благородная царевна (7190, 187)

благочестивая цари (7190, 187)

благочестивые цари (7190, 187)

злые человецы (7190, 188)

простии ... человецы (7190, 182)

тщетная лживая глаголы (7190, 188)

странные люди (7190, 189)

окаянные стрелцы и солдаты (7190, 191)

великие государи (7190, 194)

благочестивая царица (7190, 194)

благородная царевна (7190, 194)

благочестивая ... великие государи (7190, 194)

благочестивая государыня (7190, 194)

ложная смутница (7190, 196)

ложная смутница (7190, 196)

великие государи (7190, 196)

великие ... государи (7190, 196)

благородная царевна (7190, 196)

убийцы ... злые (7190, 197)

великие государи (7190, 197)

несмысленные народы (7169, 183)

великие государи (7190, 199)

великие государи (7190, 200)

великие государи (7190, 200)

жестокосердые и немилостивые человецы
(7190, 201)

великие государи (7190, 201)

зломые люди человецы (7190, 196)

благочестивая царица (7190, 202)

великие государи (7191, 203)

древянные твердости (7191, 203)

святая ... иконы местные большие (7191, 203)

честные кресты (7191, 203)

Accusative singular NPs with LFs (36)

прошение слезное (7154, 181)

святую обитель (7154, 181)

освященный собор (7154, 181)

праведный ... гнев (7162, 182)

праведный гнев (7162, 182)

смертоносную язву (7162, 182)

святую литургию (7165, 183)

безумную шатость (7169, 183)

мятеж тщетный (7169, 183)

блаженную ... душу (7178, 185)

суетное шатание (7178, 185)

пречистую ... богородицу (7190, 187)

доброе дело (7190, 187)

честное ... тело (7190, 188)

плачевное время (7190, 189)
 немилосердную жесточь (7190, 194)
 царскую пресветлую милость (7190, 195)
 шумной мятеж (7190, 194)
 зломятежное суровство (7190, 195)
 ругательную смерть (7190, 195)
 злокозненное суровство (7190, 196)
 ложную ярость (7190, 196)
 неуклонную злобость (7190, 197)
 икону святую (7190, 197)
 неповинную главу (7190, 197)
 незлобивое агня (7190, 197)
 праведный ... гнев (7190, 198)
 превеликое дело (7190, 199)
 благий совет (7190, 199)
 святую соборную и апостольскую церковь
 (7190, 200)
 святую соборную и апостольскую церковь
 (7190, 200)
 святую и великую соборную церковь (7190, 200)
 святую великую соборную и апостольскую
 церковь (7190, 200)
 железную кровлю (7191, 203)
 святую и соборную церковь (7191, 203)
 святую соборную церковь (7191, 203)
Accusative plural NPs with LFs (10)
 тела ... мертвыя (7162, 182)
 мертвыя тела (7162, 182)
 прелестныя ... письма (7178, 185)
 плевелныя и смутныя и раскольныя глаголы
 (7190, 192)
 плевелныя, неистовыя и раскольныя, смутныя
 глаголы (7190, 192)
 обычныя устроенныя кони (7190, 196)
 нечестивыя руки (7190, 196)
 кровавыя трупы (7190, 198)
 великия вины (7190, 202)
 несправедныя налоги (7190, 202)

**Contexts where both the SF and the LF
 are possible**
Nominative singular NPs with LFs (6)
 збор большой (7190, 200)
 безчисленное множество (7190, 201)
 непокоривое преслушание (7190, 197)
 всегубительное страхование (7190, 192)
 прямое лихое дело (7190, 198)
 волк хищный (7154, 181)
Nominative singular NPs with SFs (9)
 пожар ... велик (7176, 184)
 пожар ... велик (7184, 186)
 пожар ... велик (7193, 203)
 пожар ... велик (7196, 204)
 огонь ... велик (7193, 204)
 ужас ... страшен (7190, 187)
 пожар ... ужасен (7191, 203)
 подобен пожар (7197, 204)
 великий круг светел (7191, 203)
Nominative plural NPs with LFs (6)
 бурныя ветры (7196, 204)
 великия бои (7191, 203)
 златыя кресты (7190, 200)
 свинии слепни и безумныя (7162, 182)
 лютыя зверие (7162, 182)
 верныя царевы слуги (7190, 194)
Nominative plural NPs with SFs (3)
 ветры ... хладны и бурны (7190, 192)
 усы долги и тонки (7190, 196)
 мразы велики (7192, 203)
Accusative singular NPs with LFs (13)
 христолюбивое воинство (7154, 181)
 ров четырехугольный (7190, 201)
 каменный столп (7190, 201)
 безделную речь (7190, 196)
 крепкую заповедь (7190, 189)
 доброй совет (7190, 199)
 надежную милость (7190, 199)
 мысль злую (7190, 188)
 истеснение великое (7190, 188)

- ярость сердечную (7190, 191)
 злое дело (7190, 188)
 множественное число (7178, 185)
 святую и божественную литургию (7190, 200)
Accusative singular NPs with SFs (1)
 довольно время (7090, 198)
Accusative plural NPs with LFs (14)
 нелепая глаголы (7190, 194)
 плевелная глаголы (7190, 201)
 скверная глаголы (7190, 195)
 глаголы прелестная (7190, 188)
 гласы ... прелестная (7190, 192)
 мятежные слова (7190, 189)
 злая руки (7190, 197)
 зломысленные козни (7190, 188)
 разная стрелецкая стражи (7190, 198)
 стражи ... крепкие (7190, 191)
 полки великая (7190, 201)
 многоценная одежды (7162, 182)
 железная листы (7190, 201)
 медные денги (7164, 182)
Accusative plural NPs with SFs (1)
 державы царская круглы (7190, 200)
NPs with relative adjectives
Nominative singular
 соборное молебное хождение (7154, 181)
 моровое поветрие (7162, 182)
 всенародное сетование (7176, 184)
 всемирное сетование (7178, 184)
 всемирное сетование (7190, 187)
 теплота солнечная (7190, 192)
 красота дневная (7190, 192)
 солнечная теплота (7190, 192)
 междоусобное кровопролитие (7190, 198)
 сияние солнечное (7190, 199)
 всенародное множество (7190, 200)
 казнь смертная (7190, 202)
 запасная конюшня (7193, 203)
- Nominative plural**
 ополченныя московския ратныя люди (7178, 185)
 православныя хрестяне (7190, 187)
 думныя дворяне (7190, 188)
 служилые люди (7190, 188)
 всенародныя прелестники (7190, 189)
 полатныя ближние люди (7190, 190)
 выборные стрельцы и солдаты (7190, 191)
 начотные денги (7190, 191)
 караулныя стрельцы (7190, 192)
 лавочныя сидельцы (7190, 192)
 думные люди (7190, 193)
 комнотные ближние (7190, 193)
 древка копейные (7190, 193)
 служилые люди (7190, 200)
 православни хрестияне (7190, 200)
 очные ставки (7198, 205)
Accusative singular
 смертный грех (7162, 182)
 божественную службу (7165, 183)
 святителную ризу (7165, 183)
 междособную брань (7178, 185)
 платие ... служилое (7189, 186)
 утрий ... день (7190, 187)
 всенародный мятеж (7190, 188)
 соборную церковь (7190, 189)
 печаль ... всемирную (7190, 189)
 камень белой и бутовой (7190, 189)
 очную ставку (7190, 190)
 вечный покой (7190, 190)
 тюремной двор (7190, 190)
 утрий ... день (7190, 195)
 многомятежное время (7190, 197)
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 утрий ... день (7190, 200)
 соборную церковь (7190, 200)
 молебное сословие (7191, 202)
 соборную церковь (7191, 203)
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Accusative plural

- понизовые грады (7178, 185)
окрестные [грады] (7178, 185)
подмосковныя грады (7178, 185)
вечныя ... обители (7190, 187)
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домашние заводы (7190, 191)
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окрестные государства (719¹, 204)
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¹ The last digit is missing from the manuscript.

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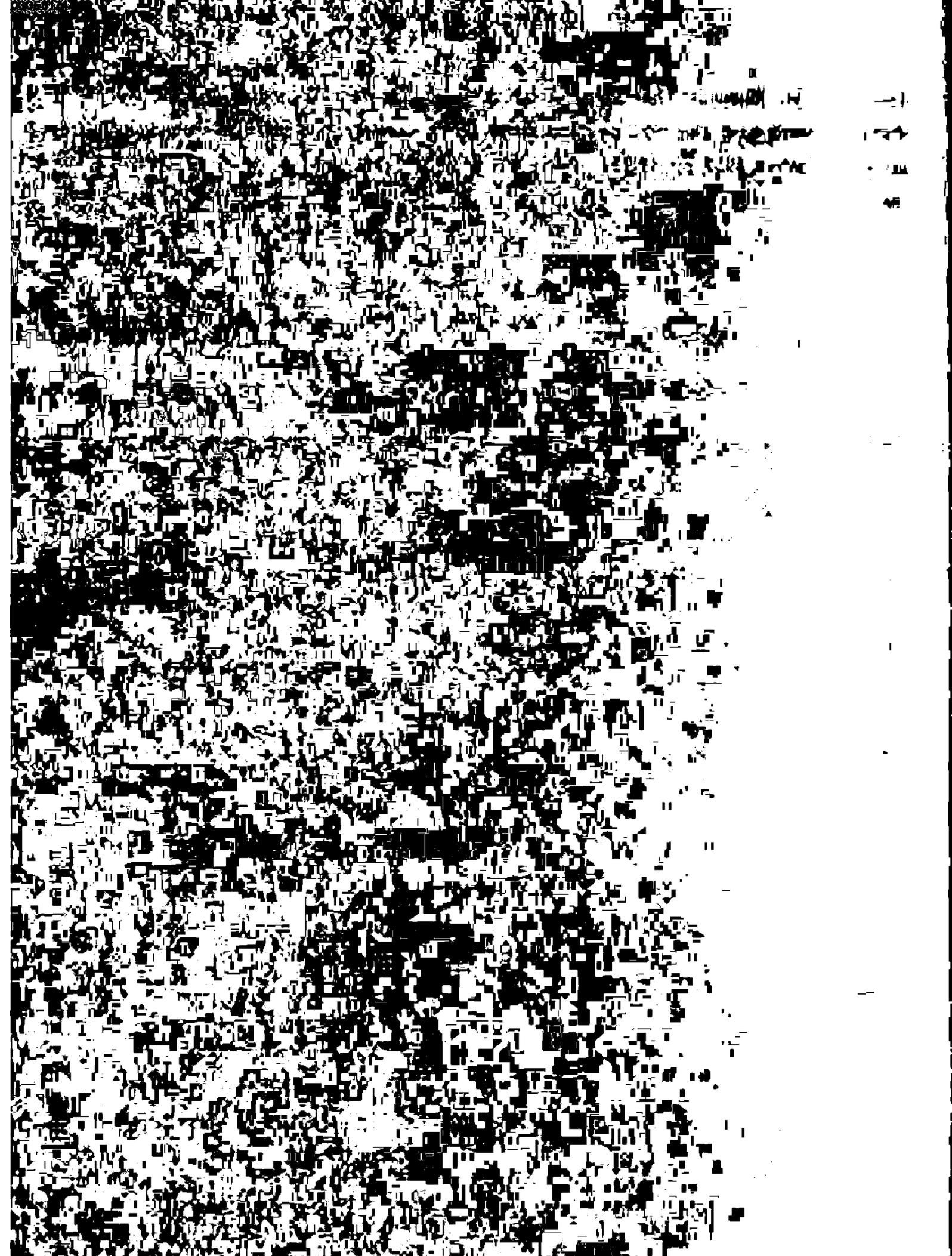
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Slavistische Beiträge

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