

## American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages

---

Oblique Passivization in Russian

Author(s): George Fowler

Source: *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 519-545

Published by: American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/310146>

Accessed: 05/02/2010 15:14

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=aatseel>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Slavic and East European Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# OBLIQUE PASSIVIZATION IN RUSSIAN

---

George Fowler, Indiana University

**1. Introduction.** Russian verbs can take NP complements in four cases: Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The Accusative case is the most productive, and can be considered the default case marking for direct objects under any syntactic analysis. The precise status of complements in the other three cases remains an open question. This article addresses one empirical question that bears directly on this issue: the extent to which oblique-complement verbs permit the formation of passive constructions, creating pairs of related sentences such as those given in (1):

- (1) a. Борисов управляет фабрикой<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘Borisov manages the factory.’  
b. Фабрика управляется Борисовым.  
‘The factory is managed by Borisov.’

Despite the considerable interest that oblique passivization holds for the syntax of Russian case, there are only scattered references to it in the literature, and various contradictory views have been expressed. Freidin (1992: 206–07) states that it never occurs. Růžička (1967: 1730) and Comrie (1980: 217) mention it as a sporadic possibility. Neidle (1988: 169, 172) states that it occurs only rarely and exceptionally, while Siewierska (1988: 254–55) remarks that it is a regular phenomenon throughout Slavic for the Genitive and Instrumental cases.<sup>1</sup> The present study provides Russian evidence of the general validity of oblique passivization. I ultimately argue that Genitive and Instrumental complements in Russian should be regarded as direct objects, despite their oblique case marking, while Dative complements are fundamentally distinct from other oblique verbal complements, in terms of either syntactic configuration or semantic roles. This conclusion confirms Siewierska’s general statement for Russian, while the evidence in support of this conclusion permits us to formulate a more precise conception of “direct object” in Russian.

**2. The Range of Oblique Verbal Complements.** The data considered in this article include only verbs and complements that manifest what Russian grammars call “strong government” (Švedova 1970: 490). I exclude the kind of weak government exemplified in (2), even though standard dictionaries give [кем] as a label for Instrumental government midway down the entry for *работать* ‘work’.

- (2) Он работает инженером<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘He works as an engineer.’

The Instrumental NPs that accompany such verbs are not closely associated complements, but rather circumstantial adverbial NPs—they are not essential to the verb’s core meaning or usage, but rather supplement it; moreover they are fully productive—not lexically specified in any way.

I also exclude oblique NPs associated with verbs in *-ся*, such as *заниматься* ‘study; occupy oneself’ or *бояться* ‘be afraid of’: they are not candidates for passivization under any circumstances due to the morphological fact that the verb already contains the potential voice marker *-ся*, which preempts its addition in the creation of a derived passive. Also ruled out are verbs which are commonly identified as copular or copula-like, e.g., *быть* ‘be’ or *стать* ‘become’. Finally, I will not consider the Instrumental second predicate with three-place verbs, as in (3).

- (3) a. Мы считаем его<sub>ACC</sub> дураком<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘We consider him a fool.’  
b. Мы выбрали его<sub>ACC</sub> президентом<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘We elected him president.’

These verbs already have an Accusative object, and Russian verbs, naturally, do not simultaneously take two direct objects. Moreover, the Instrumental complement can never become the subject via passivization, so the question of the status of the Instrumental complement with respect to this process does not arise.

These exclusions leave us with a core set of two-place verbs that take complements in three cases: Genitive, Instrumental, and Dative.

Instrumental-complement verbs form a rather semantically consistent set united by the notion of ‘control’ in one form or another.<sup>2</sup> An inventory of 17 verbs from standard dictionaries is given in Table 1.<sup>3</sup>

In the standard language all of these verbs obligatorily require that their complements be marked with the Instrumental case—no variation in case-marking is acceptable. Genitive complements, however, usually alternate with the Accusative case, primarily as a result of the semantics of the

Table 1. Instrumental-Complement Verbs

ведать/— 'manage, be in charge of'	овладевать/овладеть 'take possession of, master'
верховодить/— 'lord it over'	править/— 'rule over, govern'
владеть/— 'own, possess'	предводительствовать/— 'lead, be the leader of'
ворочать/— 'have control of'	пренебрегать/пренебречь 'scorn, despise, disdain'
дорожить/— 'value'	располагать/— 'have at one's disposal'
заведовать/— 'superintend'	руководить/— 'lead, guide, direct'
злоупотреблять/злоупотребить 'misuse'	торговать/— 'deal in, trade in'
командовать/— 'be in command of, command'	управлять/— 'manage, administer, be in charge of, run'
обладать/— 'possess, be possessed of'	

Table 2. Genitive-Complement Verbs

достигать/достигнуть, достичь 'achieve'	искать/— 'seek'
жаждать/— 'thirst for'	накупать/накупить 'buy a lot of'
ждать/— 'wait for, expect'	ожидать/— 'expect'
желать/пожелать 'desire'	просить/попросить 'request'
заслуживать/заслужить 'deserve'	требовать/потребовать 'demand'
избегать/избежать 'avoid'	хотеть/— 'want'

object. The Genitive-complement verbs that we will consider are listed in Table 2.

In Table 2 the verb *накупить* 'buy a lot of' is taken as representative of the large number of quantitative verbs in the prefix *на-* (*набрать* 'gather a lot of', *наговорить* 'say a lot of', etc.), as well as other genitive-inducing prefixal formations.<sup>4</sup> They take the Genitive, as illustrated in (4a), except when an overt quantifier is present, as in (4b). In that case, the complement NP is Accusative, and the Genitive case marking on the quantified noun is due to the quantifier, rather than the verb.

- (4) a. Он накупил книг<sub>GEN</sub>.  
'He bought a whole lot of books.'
- b. Он накупил кучу<sub>ACC</sub> книг<sub>GEN</sub>.  
'He bought a bunch of books.'

Russian monolingual dictionaries (the *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* [SSRLJ] and others) characterize Genitive-complement verbs inconsistently. A verb like *ждать* 'wait', which takes both Genitive and Accusative complements, is characterized as both transitive and intransitive, depending solely upon the case of the object, while verbs in *на-*, which take the Genitive more consistently, are labeled as exclusively transitive.<sup>5</sup> The dictionaries take this line because they regard the Genitive case with *на-* verbs as an instance of the partitive Genitive. This policy is questionable, since the Genitive is obligatory with *на-* verbs and optional, even highly marked, with ordinary partitive objects.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, a considerably longer list of representative verbs that take lone Dative complements is given in Table 3.

Many verbs of communication and gesture could be added to *кивать* 'nod' in Table 3: *махать* 'wave', *моргать* 'wink', *аплодировать* 'applaud', etc. However, these are fundamentally intransitive verbs that need not take any VP-complement at all. They differ radically from most of the verbs in Table 3, which are two-place predicates and therefore "feel" transitive: *завидовать* 'envy', *мешать* 'bother', *мстить* 'take revenge against',

Table 3. Dative-Complement Verbs

благоприятствовать/— 'favor'	предшествовать/— 'precede'
верить/поверить/— 'believe'	препятствовать/воспрепятствовать
внимать/внять/— 'heed, hear' [arch., poet.]	'hinder, impede, hamper'
возражать/возразить 'object'	принадлежать/— 'belong to'
вредить/повредить 'injure'	противодействовать/— 'oppose,
вторить/— 'echo, repeat'	counteract'
грозить/пригрозить 'threaten'	противоречить/— 'contradict'
досаждать/досадить 'annoy, vex'	радеть/порадеть 'oblige'
завидовать/— 'envy'	следовать/последовать 'follow'
изменять/изменить 'betray, be unfaithful to'	служить/послужить 'serve'
кивать/кивнуть 'nod'	содействовать [biaspectual] 'assist'
льстить/полюстить 'flatter'	соответствовать/— 'correspond'
мешать/помешать 'bother, disturb, hinder'	сопутствовать/— 'accompany'
подражать/— 'imitate'	сочувствовать/— 'sympathize'
подходить/подойти 'suit, fit'	угождать/угодить 'please, oblige'
помогать/помочь 'help'	угрожать/— 'threaten'
потакать/— 'indulge'	удовлетворять/удовлетворить 'satisfy'

and the others all exemplify strong government. Another class of verbs that has been systematically omitted from Table 3 encompasses verbs of command and permission, such as *приказать* 'order', *запретить* 'forbid', *позволить* 'permit', etc. These verbs take infinitive complements along with the Dative NP, which gives them the argument structure of three-place predicates.

**3. Passive Constructions in Russian.** Now that we have defined the range of verbs to be considered, let us establish the inventory of passive processes that can be applied to them. Following Babby (1993: 5–11), I take passivization to refer to a remapping of a verb's argument structure onto syntactic configuration such that the verb's external semantic role (e.g., Agent) is internalized, i.e., incorporated into the verb itself; the maximum set of constructions in which this occurs in Russian is enumerated in (5).

(5) Passive sentences

Perfective (based on short-form past passive participle)

Imperfective (based on verb in *-ся*)

Participial clauses

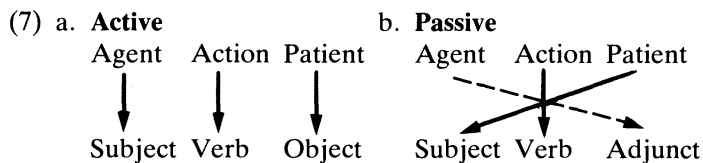
Past passive participle

Present passive participle

The most canonical and least disputable passive construction is the perfective sentential passive, containing a past participle and a form of the verb 'be', as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. Работники<sub>NOM</sub> закончили консервацию<sub>ACC</sub>.  
'The workers finished the conservation works.'  
b. Консервация<sub>NOM</sub> была закончена работниками<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
'The conservation works were finished by the workers.'  
[Siewierska 1988: 245]

The present analysis is compatible with two conceivable views of passivization: 1) passive sentences like (6b) are derived directly from their active equivalents, such as (6a), through an explicitly syntactic process, as in older transformational grammar (e.g., Babby and Brecht 1975); or 2) passive sentences result from a morpholexical process that adds the suffix *-ен* prior to lexical insertion (e.g., Babby 1993).<sup>7</sup> Under either approach, passive and active sentences correspond precisely because the arguments of the verb have been remapped. This is illustrated descriptively in (7), where the direct mapping of the active sentence gives way to the crossing pattern of the corresponding passive.<sup>8</sup>



The one constant to all passive sentences in Russian is that the notional Patient occurs as the grammatical subject.<sup>9</sup> The treatment of the Agent argument is not consistent. In many sentences, it occurs as an Instrumental NP, e.g., in (6b). However, agentless passives are also possible; one example is given in (8).

- (8) Ваша книга<sub>NOM</sub> была заказана во вторник, чтобы получить ее вовремя.  
'Your book was ordered on Tuesday in order to receive it in time.'

This sentence is clearly passive on formal and semantic grounds: even though the Agent is not expressed overtly, it can be inferred that the action was performed by someone; we can readily add an Instrumental phrase such as *моим сотрудником* 'by my coworker'; and it takes a purpose clause whose implicit subject is identical to the implicit agent of the upper clause.

Passives formed from imperfective verbs by addition of the particle *-ся* are a bit more disputable.<sup>10</sup> I follow Siewierska (1988) in assuming that some verbs in *-ся* are indeed passives, at least when the action of the verb is to be interpreted as agentive, as in (9).

- (9) Посуда<sub>NOM</sub> моется служанкой<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
 ‘The dishes are washed by the servant-girl.’

Of course, the vast majority of verbs in *-ся* are not passives; there are also intransitives (nonagentive), true reflexives, reciprocals, and lexicalized verbs like *бояться* ‘be afraid’. A thorough overview of the different types of mappings between semantics and syntax attested among Russian verbs in *-ся* is given by Brecht and Levine (1984).

In a survey of the typological properties of passive constructions, Keenan (1985: 254) states that there is no formal distinction in Russian between “reflexives”<sup>11</sup> and *-ся* passives without overt agents, so that the distinction must be made on purely semantic grounds: a verb is passive when an agent is inferred. However, the semantic distinction between agentive and nonagentive *-ся* constructions—fuzzy and unsatisfactory when no overt agent is present—is in fact reinforced by a formal distinction: *-ся* passives do not take perfective pairs<sup>12</sup> (instead, the alternative sentential passive incorporating the past passive participle is used), while other verbs in *-ся* do have perfective counterparts: intransitives (e.g., *начинаться/начаться* ‘begin’), reflexives (*умываться/умыться* ‘wash up’), reciprocals (*встречаться/встретиться* ‘meet’), etc. Accordingly, I assume that *-ся* passives do “count” in considering the range of oblique passivization.

Passive participles do not strictly fit the schematic definition of passivization in terms of the mapping between arguments and grammatical relations, as given in (7), because they have no overt grammatical subject. Nevertheless, they do host an opposition between active and passive formations which is parallel to the distinction between active and passive sentences. We might combine participles and sentential predicates into one all-encompassing voice opposition in two acceptable ways. First, we could simply define the “subject” of a verbal participle to be that NP which imposes gender and number agreement on it. This is intuitively reasonable, since the subjects of clauses also impose gender and number agreement on finite verbs. Sentences lacking subject-verb agreement are impersonal, or subjectless, and thus exhibit default agreement (neuter singular), but participial clauses are never “subjectless”, and therefore always show gender and number agreement. Alternatively, we could avoid referring to subject by identifying a passive construction as one in which the Patient argument takes over the unmarked grammatical function ordinarily associated with the Agent argu-



ment. The choice between these alternatives depends upon one's theoretical inclinations; both formulations pick out the same mapping between argument structure and syntactic relations.

Just as with sentential passives, passive participles can be classified according to aspect: past passive participles are formed productively from perfective verbs,<sup>13</sup> while present passive participles are formed from imperfective verbs.<sup>14</sup> The distribution of passive forms with respect to aspect is summarized in (10).

(10)

	Imperfective	Perfective
Sentential	-ся reflexive passive	-ен passive
Participial	Present passive participle	Past passive participle

Having defined the inventory of constructions that can be considered passive, let us now consider the extent to which these passive constructions occur with oblique-complement verbs.

**4. Passivization of Oblique-Complement Verbs.** A number of the Instrumental-complement verbs listed in Table 1 form reliable *-ся* passives; examples of these forms are given in (11).<sup>15</sup>

- (11) a. Русская армия *управлялась* Кутузовым, с его штабом, и государем из Петербурга.  
 'The Russian army *was run* by Kutuzov, with his staff, and by the sovereign from Petersburg.' [Tolstoj]
- b. Тем самым один из наиболее высоких уровней языка *пренебрегается* исследователями.  
 'In this way, one of the highest levels of language *is neglected* by researchers.'
- c. Русь долго *правилась* варягами.  
 'Rus' *was ruled* for a long time by the Varangians.'
- d. Время отпуска часто *злоупотребляется* студентами.  
 'Vacation time is often *misused* by students.'
- e. В Америке иностранные языки вообще никем не *овладеваются*.  
 'In America foreign languages *aren't mastered* by anyone at all.'

A somewhat greater percentage of these verbs form present passive participles; several examples are given in (12).

- (12) a. . . . отряд, *предводительствуемый* отважным командиром. . .  
 ‘. . . a detachment *led* by a courageous commander. . .’ [SSRLJ]
- b. Кутузов чрез своего лазутчика получил первого ноября известие, ставившее *командуемую* им армию почти в безвыходное положение.  
 ‘Kutuzov through his scout received on November 1 information that placed the army *commanded* by him in an almost inextricable position.’  
 [Tolstoj]
- c. *Пренебрегаемый* тобой молодой человек оказался отличным помощником.  
 ‘The young man *disdained* by you turned out to be an excellent assistant.’

The incidence of passive constructions with Instrumental-complement verbs is summarized in Table 4.

In Table 4 (as well as in Table 5 below) plus signs indicate that the passive construction occurs for the given verb; minus signs signify that it does not

Table 4. Passivization of Instrumental-Complement Verbs

	Imperfective		Perfective	
	-ся Passive	Pres. Pass. Participle	-ен Passive	Past Pass. Participle
ведать/—	—	—		
верховодить/—	—	—		
владеть/—	—	—		
ворочать/—	—	—		
дорожить/—	—	—		
заведовать/—	—	?		
злоупотреблять/злоупотребить	+	+	+	+
командовать/—	—	+		
обладать/—	—	?		
овладевать/овладеть	?	—	—	—
править/—	+	—		
предводительствовать/—	—	+		
пренебрегать/пренебречь	+	+	+	+
располагать/—	—	—		
руководить/—	—	+		
торговать/—	—	—		
управлять/—	+	+		

occur; and question marks indicate hesitation or serious conflict among my informants. Blank spots indicate that no form is expected, e.g., based on the distribution of passive forms spelled out in (10). We will return to the minus signs in section 5 (and note that they represent over 50% of the possible passive forms). There is no definitive printed source for determining whether or not a given present passive participle actually occurs; the data in Table 4 represent informant consensus.

Genitive-complement verbs are even more consistent in forming passive constructions than Instrumental-complement verbs. Examples of sentential passives involving Genitive-complement verbs are given in (13), while several participial examples are given in (14).

- (13) a. Цель была *достигнута*.  
 ‘The goal was *achieved*.’ [Růžička 1967: 1730]
- b. Опять призадумался человек над собою, и порешил искать счастья в семейной жизни, завсящей, повидному, меньше всего от внешних случайностей, но не дала того, что *искалось*, и семейная жизнь.  
 ‘Again the man fell into thought about himself, and he decided to seek happiness in family life, which depended the least, it would seem, on external chance, but even family life didn’t provide what *was being sought*.’ [N. V. Šelgunov]
- c. На носу была *набросана* земля.  
 ‘A lot of earth was *tossed* onto the bow [of the ship].’ [Gončarov]
- d. Его выступление *ожидается* всеми с огромным нетерпением.  
 ‘His appearance *is awaited* by everybody with great impatience.’
- e. Вообще, в нашем доме *избегалось* все, что могло давать пищу воображению.  
 ‘In general, in our house everything *was avoided* that could give food for the imagination.’ [Saltykov-Ščedrin]
- f. Требуемый эффект . . . *достигается* нами посредством введения в определение последних условия. . .  
 ‘The required effect . . . *is achieved* by us through introduction into the definition of the latter the condition. . .’
- (14) a. . . . уважение, *заслуженное* солдатами на поле бнтвы. . .  
 ‘. . . respect *earned* by soldiers on the field of battle. . .’
- b. Мы получили *желаемые* начальством результаты.  
 ‘We obtained the results *desired* by our superiors.’

The examples in (13–14) have been selected because informants agree that in the corresponding active sentences the Genitive case would be most natural, e.g., for (13a) *достигнуть цели*<sub>GEN</sub> ‘achieve the goal’ is more

Table 5. Passivization of Genitive-Complement Verbs

	Imperfective		Perfective	
	-ся Passive	Pres. Pass. Participle	-ен Passive	Past Pass. Participle
достигать/достигнуть, достичь	+	?	+	+
жаждать/—	—	—		
ждать/—	—	—		
желать/пожелать	—	+		
заслуживать/заслужить	+	?	+	+
избегать/избежать	+	+	—	—
искать/—	+	?	? <sup>17</sup>	?
накупать/накупить	+	?	+	+
ожидать/—	+	+		
просить/попросить	—	—	+	+
требовать/потребовать	+	+	?	+
хотеть/—	—	—		

acceptable than <sup>?</sup>*достигнуть цель*<sub>ACC</sub>.<sup>16</sup> Example (13b) is especially instructive. First, *искать* 'seek' is paired with the abstract noun *счастье* 'happiness', with which we would expect the Genitive. Second, and most convincing, the active and passive counterparts both occur in the same sentence, and the active example **is** in the Genitive. Moreover, some speakers, including two of my informants, strongly prefer the Genitive case with most of the variable verbs in Table 5, and their passivization judgments do not diverge significantly from those of the other informants, for whom the Genitive is less predominant (but still possible in all cases).

A summary of the data is given in Table 5.

With both Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs, we have found there to be considerable potential for the creation of passive constructions. But when we turn to the set of Dative-complement verbs, we find hardly any trace of any passive forms. Consider the typical examples in (15) and (16), where the ungrammatical (b) sentences have been created by brute-force passivization of the normal (a) sentences:

- (15) a. Его сведения соответствуют действительности.  
'His information corresponds to reality.'  
b. \*Действительность соответствуется его сведениями.  
\*\*'Reality is corresponded to by his information.'
- (16) a. Иванов помог нашему сотруднику.  
'Ivanov helped our associate.'

- b. \*Наш сотрудник был поможен Ивановым.  
 \*‘Our associate was helped by Ivanov.’

Passivization of Dative complements is clearly counter to the intrinsic grammatical system of Russian; informants presented with such examples have trouble even deciphering the intended meaning. Clearly the status of passivization with Dative-complement verbs is an order of magnitude different from the situation with Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs.<sup>18</sup> I will return below to the reason why Datives should be so different in this respect from other oblique-complement verbs.

The ungrammaticality of (15b) and (16b) notwithstanding, a few scattered traces can be found of passive constructions based on Dative-complement verbs from Table 3. Three sentential examples are given in (17), and three participles are given in (18).

- (17) a. Ты *отомщен* вполне, давно  
 А кем и как—не все ль равно?  
 ‘You are *avenged* fully, long ago,  
 But by whom and how—does it really matter?’ [Lermontov]
- b. Корабль был *поврежден*. . .  
 ‘The ship was [irreparably] *damaged*. . .’ [Fedin]
- c. Нежданов, вероятно, сам не подозревал, до какой степени его самолюбие было польщено ее обхождением с ним.  
 ‘Neždanov, probably, didn’t even notice himself to what extent his pride was flattered by her behavior with him.’ [Turgenev]
- (18) a. Священник, *предшествуемый* дьяконом, приближался к церкви.  
 ‘The priest, *preceded* by the deacon, approached the church.’ [Čexov]
- b. ‘. . . *угрожаемая* при обстреле сторона. . .’  
 ‘. . . the side *threatened* during shelling. . .’ [RG 1:668]
- c. . . . стихотворений, знаемых всеми наизусть и столь неудачно поминутно *подражаемых*. . .  
 ‘poems, known by heart to all and continually *imitated* so unsuccessfully. . .’ [Puškin]

Vinogradov (1982: 186) states that present passive participles such as those in (18) were deliberately and artificially created in the second half of the 18th century to translate certain French participles, e.g., *предшествуемый* corresponding to French *précédé*. Several of them have remained in the language as isolated forms associated with the paradigms

of a few verbs, but they have never achieved significant productivity; a few other isolated examples from Vinogradov are given in (19).

- (19) a. . . . ежели хорошо *услужен* быть хочет. . .  
 'if he wants to be well *served*'  
 [Vinogradov 1982: 186; "Trubnja", 1769; cf. Fr. *servir*]
- b. . . . если ты уступишь мне Эстонию, *угрожаемую*  
 Сигизмундовым властолюбием. . .  
 '. . . if you yield to me Estonia, *threatened* by Sigmund's lust for  
 power. . .'  
 [Vinogradov 1982: 186; Karamzin; cf. Fr. *menacer*]

Vinogradov classes such examples together with phrasal calques from French, such as *он хвастался иметь перо золотое*, cf. French *qu'il se vantait d'avoir une plume d'or*. Some such translations caught hold in Russian, such as *предшествуемый* and *угрожаемый*; others did not, such as *услужен* in (19a).

The examples in (17) have separate explanations. The verb *мстить/отомстить* 'avenge; take revenge against', although currently a Dative-complement verb, can take an Accusative object as an archaic variant. Since the only examples I have uncovered are as old as the one in (17a), it is reasonable to suggest that they represent the older variant of the verb's government. On the other hand, *повредить* 'injure' participates in two aspectual pairs: *вредить/повредить* and *повредить/повредить*. The first pair takes the Dative, but the second takes the Accusative. As the distinct meaning of the latter is 'irreparably damage an inanimate object', we can conclude that the participle *поврежденный* is derived from *повредить* from the second pair, and the apparent anomaly in (17b) disappears. Finally, the verb *льстить/польстить* has an archaic variant which takes the Accusative, as attested in the expression *льстить себя надеждой* 'console oneself with the hope', or such examples as (20):

- (20) a. Себя и вас надеждой льщу, что сын ваш жив.  
 'I console myself and you with the hope that your son is alive.'  
 [L. Tolstoj]
- b. Отдаленное завоевание могло льстить честолюбивого  
 Генриха, но он не имел средств отправить войско.  
 'A distant conquest could flatter the vainglorious Genrix, but he  
 did not have the means to send an army.'  
 [N. Polev]

Moreover, *польщенный* has a separate entry in several Russian dictionaries, where it is defined as 'satisfied by something flattering to oneself', which is not a directly passive participle within the paradigm of *льстить/*

*польстить*, but rather represents a participial adjective (Babby 1993: 19–20). Thus, this example too can be dismissed as archaic or misleading.

It has been shown in this section that a significant portion of Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs permit passivization, while traces of passivization with Dative-complement verbs are minimal and generally explicable as archaisms or loan translations from French. In this respect, Instrumental and Genitive complements pattern with Accusative direct objects, while Dative complements do not.

**5. Unattested Passive Forms.** If passivization is in principle possible with Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs, but excluded for those verbs that take Dative complements, why are passive forms not attested for all of the verbs in Tables 1 and 2? In section 6 an analysis is presented under which the former are classed as syntactic direct objects, differing from Accusative objects only in surface morphological case marking. The oblique passivization data presented thus far demonstrate that Instrumental and Genitive complements **could** be direct objects. In this section it is shown that oblique passivization respects general limitations on passivization of Accusative direct objects, and that the extension of the class of direct objects to encompass these oblique NPs is motivated not only positively (the occurrence of passive constructions), but also negatively (passivization is limited in the same way with both Accusative and Instrumental/Genitive objects).

First, it is worth noting an important methodological point: in cases of linguistic variation where one variant represents the occurrence of a certain process (in this case, passivization) and the other represents the failure of that process to occur (the absence of certain potential passive forms in Tables 1 and 2), it is almost invariably preferable to assume that the grammar allows for the process (i.e., passivization is possible with Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs), while other extra-grammatical factors (in this case, the semantics of the verb and Patient) may interfere with the process. The reverse hypothesis is difficult to countenance: that passivization should be grammatically excluded with Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs, but **something**—semantics, pragmatics, speakers' whim—triggers the formation of a variety of ungrammatical passive forms, overcomes the grammatical prohibition against them, and “bootstraps” them to acceptability. However, when a process cannot occur (here, passivization with Dative-complement verbs), and the apparent exceptions can be explained away on historical or other grounds, we may be confident that the grammar rules out the process.

Passivization is not a universal litmus test for determining whether or not a verb takes a direct object; transitivity is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for passivization. Many uncontroversially transitive verbs in Rus-

sian fail to exhibit any trace of passivization. So, for example, the passive sentence in (21) is ungrammatical:<sup>19</sup>

- (21) \*Эти факты знаютя всеми нашими студентами.  
 ‘These facts are known by all our students.’

Two semantic aspects of the VP in (21) are relevant: the predicate contains an **atelic stative** verb, and the object is an **unaffected Patient**. Briefly, **stative** predicates are opposed to dynamic predicates, in that the character of the situation denoted by the verb does not vary internally (Comrie 1976: 48–51). Thus, *знать* ‘know’ refers to an essentially static situation: the subject’s knowledge is fixed in any sentence containing this verb. Statives are canonically imperfective in Russian; when they become perfective, they must generally become dynamic as well. The verb *узнать* ‘find out, learn’ is a perfective verb which differs from *знать* along the stative/dynamic axis, but minimally in other semantic respects: it describes a situation in which an initial state of non-knowledge, or unconfirmed knowledge, gives way to a state of knowledge. The perfective is also **telic**, i.e., it builds toward a terminal point (Comrie 1976: 44–48), in the case of *узнать*, the attainment of knowledge. **Unaffected Patients** are those in which the action of the verb is not transmitted directly onto the Patient; for example, the object of *see* is not affected by the verb in the situation described by the situation *Oleg saw the vase*, whereas it is directly affected in *Oleg broke the vase*.

Not coincidentally, these two semantic categories influence passivization in a host of different languages. A useful summary of various typological considerations involved in passivization is provided by Keenan (1985), who establishes a number of implicational universals which indicate that passivization of VPs incorporating stative verbs and/or non-affected objects is typologically secondary to other types of passivization. Keenan generalizes that all languages which have a recognizable passive construction apply it to activity verbs, but not all apply it to stative verbs. Moreover, although not stated in such terms by Keenan, it is clear that the stative/dynamic opposition is not an all-or-nothing proposition. Some languages permit any syntactic direct object whatsoever to be passivized, even with highly stative verbs, as in the Bantu language Kinyarwanda, where the highly stative active clause in (22a) gives rise to the passive equivalent in (22b):

- (22) a. Ishaâti i-fit-e                    ibifuungo bibiri.  
 shirt it-have-ASP buttons two  
 ‘The shirt has two buttons.’  
 b. Ibifuungo bibiri bi-fit-w-e                    n’ishaâti.  
 buttons two they-have-PASS-ASP by shirt  
 ‘Two buttons are had by the shirt.’ [Keenan 1985: 250]



English permits passivization of some, but not all stative verbs. Verbs characterized as “highly stative” by Keenan, such as *cost*, *weigh*, *be*, and possessive *have*, generally do not permit passivization in English, as in (23a–b). Yet other semantically stative verbs **do** permit passivization, as in (23c–d).

- (23) a. \*Two buttons are had by the shirt.  
 b. \*One dollar was costed by the newspaper.  
 c. These facts are known by all our students.  
 d. These apartments are owned by landlords who live in London.

Keenan further notes that “distinct passives in a language may vary according to degree of affectedness of the [passive] subject. . .” (1985: 269), although he characterizes this conditioning factor as less important than others. This variation is demonstrated by the Russian translations of the English sentences cited previously to illustrate the distinction between affected and nonaffected Patients:

- (24) a. Ваза была разбита Олегом.  
 ‘The vase was broken by Oleg.’  
 b. ?\*Ваза была увидена Олегом.  
 ‘The vase was seen by Oleg.’

The first example, containing an affected Patient, is markedly better than the second, in which the Patient is nonaffected. Note that the difference in acceptability is not correlated with the stative/dynamic opposition, as the perfective *увидеть* is not stative (in contrast to its imperfective partner *видеть*), but is rather a telic achievement verb, and thus eligible for passivization. Russian, then, is a language in which this factor is relevant to the formation of passives, although it is not important in English.

These distinctions enable us to account for most of the missing passives in Table 4. Some of these Instrumental-complement verbs are clearly statives: *владеть* ‘own, possess’, *дорожить* ‘value’, *распологать* ‘have at one’s disposal’, etc. But what is the difference among the various verbs denoting ‘control, manage, run’? Statives and dynamic activities, as strictly semantic notions, can conveniently be viewed as **prototypes** (Langacker 1987). Statives are generally atelic, which accounts for the fact that they do not naturally form aspectual pairs. Certain verbs from this set, such as *ведать* ‘manage, be in charge of’, are associated with the stative prototype, and thus reflect a conceptualization along the lines of ‘be in control/charge of’ or ‘have the status of being in charge’; other verbs are associated with the opposite pole, and thus conceptualize the situation as ‘actively engage in the managing/control of’. The dynamic prototype in-

volves an affected Patient, while the Patients of stative verbs are unaffected (the verb establishes a static relationship between the subject and object, rather than applying an action directly to the Patient). A few verbs, such as *руководить* 'lead, guide, direct' or *заведовать* 'superintend, be in charge of', can be regarded as associated cognitively with both poles, and therefore they have spotty passive properties.<sup>20</sup>

One possible problem is *торговать* 'deal, trade', which is clearly an activity. Most likely it really does not belong in this list. It often occurs with no NP complement, as in (25):

- (25) Еще наши прадеды с Китаем торговали.  
'Our forefathers were already trading with China.'

We can regard *торговать* as a simple intransitive verb; any Instrumental NP associated with it is a circumstantial adjunct, just as in (2). The sole difference is that by virtue of its lexical meaning, *торговать* tends to take such an adjunct NP rather more frequently.

The same approach also helps us understand the missing Genitives. The verbs *хотеть* 'want', *жаждать* 'thirst for', and *желать* 'desire' are statives with unaffected objects; hence, they do not naturally form passives. The verb *ждать* may be either a stative or an activity, but in any case the object is unaffected.

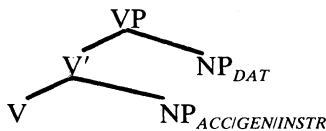
A further consideration is morphology. Present passive participles are heavily influenced by morphological factors. For example, *ждать* cannot readily form one because the lack of mutation of the stem-final consonant, combined with the non-syllabic stem, forces an unpalatable choice between two awkward-sounding forms: \**ждёмый* and \**ждомый*. Zaliznjak (1977: 86) lists additional morphological limitations on the formation of this participle; a case in point is *править*, which belongs to a stem-type (the suffix *-и*) characterized as "difficult" (Russ. *затруднительно*). The occurrence of a clausal passive in (11c) demonstrates that this verb is semantically suited for passivization; therefore the absence of a present passive participle must be ascribed to this well-established morphological difficulty. Similarly, the perfective verb *избежать* 'avoid' does not form a past passive participle, although it would be semantically suitable (and the imperfective pair exhibits some evidence of passivization). One contributing factor is that the formation of participles from verbs of this stem type can be morphologically awkward; *RG* (1: 671) notes that the forced stress shift to the syllable preceding a stressed *-а* in the infinitive, as in *избежать* → \**избёжанный*, is difficult. Moreover, the entire stem class is overwhelmingly intransitive, and there is considerable vacillation in the formation of participles from verbs in this class which are converted to transitive through addition of a prefix.

Thus, we may conclude from the data in section 4 that oblique-complement verbs comprise not one, but two separate groups. Verbs which take Instrumental and Genitive complements pattern together with ordinary transitive verbs which take Accusative direct objects, while Dative-complement verbs are separate. In the final section we can take up the question of why this should be so. The failure of some Instrumental- and Genitive-complement verbs to form passives reflects both natural processes governing the formation of all passives in Russian and certain morphological facts about individual verbs which take oblique complements.<sup>21</sup>

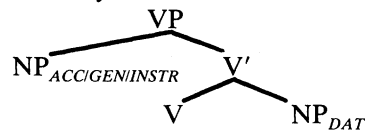
**6. Discussion.** Passivization is a morpholexical operation that relates argument structure to syntactic organization; see Babby (1993) for a thorough treatment of the issues that arise. Accordingly, the set of verbal complements eligible for rearrangement must be characterizable in morpholexical terms. In order to account for the oblique-passivization data spelled out in this article, two provisions must be made: 1) Dative complements of two-place verbs must be distinguished formally from other oblique-case complements (Genitive and Instrumental); and 2) Genitive and Instrumental complements must be associated with Accusative complements. We could simply state the necessary generalization in terms of surface case marking: “Dative complements do not undergo passivization”. However, this statement is strictly stipulative; a more satisfying account must suggest *why* the Dative case is special. Such an explanation can be sought by identifying Dative NPs as syntactically distinct from Accusatives, or as semantically unique.

Under a syntactic account, two general possibilities have been suggested in the literature, as represented in (26).

(26) a. Franks 1995



b. Bailyn 1995



The structure in (26a) postulates that Dative NPs are higher within the syntactic tree than Accusatives (Franks 1995), while the reverse proposal in (26b) has also been argued for (Bailyn 1995). In either case, it is plausible to assume that the semantic value of Dative indirect objects is mapped to the distinctive syntactic configuration. The specific syntactic analysis of Dative case assignment depends upon theoretical and empirical factors which would take us far beyond the scope of the present article. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that Datives are formally distinct, that Genitive and Instrumental complements occur in the position of Accusative direct objects, and that Dative NPs have the same semantic range in

two-place verbs of the class listed in Table 3 as when they are canonical indirect objects. Let us now consider the last point.

Datives cooccur with Accusative direct objects naturally in three-place verbs, as in sentences like those in (27).

- (27) a. Иван<sub>NOM</sub> дал книгу<sub>ACC</sub> брату<sub>DAT</sub>.  
 'Ivan gave the book to his brother.'  
 b. Иван<sub>NOM</sub> купил брату<sub>DAT</sub> книгу<sub>ACC</sub>.  
 'Ivan bought his brother a book.'

Two canonical semantic functions of the Dative are illustrated in these examples: the Dative NP in (27a) is a Recipient, or indirect object proper, while in (27b) it is a Benefactive. It is possible to unite these two functions into one vague category as well, but the question of whether there is one universal semantic invariant for the Dative case is not crucial for the present argument. The point illustrated by (27) is that the Dative case is semantically distinct from the direct object, and that both direct and indirect objects can cooccur in three-place predicates.

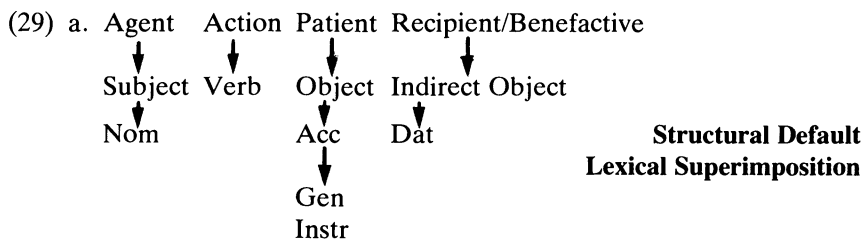
The same semantic value of Recipient/Benefactive occurs consistently in verbs which take a lone Dative complement, as enumerated in Table 3. For example, the complements of *помогать/помочь* 'help', *льстить/полвстить* 'flatter', *подходить/подойти* 'suit', *служить/послужить* 'serve', *угождать/удодить* 'please, oblige' are all clear Benefactives, while the complements of *кивать/кивнуть* 'nod' and other verbs of communication can be thought of as a variety of Recipient. On the other hand, the complement of verbs such as *досаждать/досадить* 'annoy, vex', *мешать/помешать* 'bother', *надоедать/надоесть* 'tire, "feed up"', or *угрожать* 'threaten' could be termed a Malefactive, i.e., a Benefactive with a minus sign instead of a plus sign. If the arguments in a three-place predicate like *дать* 'give' are mapped to the syntactic constituents as in (28a), which follows the model of (7), then lone Dative complements must reflect the mapping in (28b).

- (28) a. **Three-place predicate**
- |         |        |         |                       |
|---------|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| Agent   | Action | Patient | Recipient/Benefactive |
| ↓       | ↓      | ↓       | ↓                     |
| Subject | Verb   | Object  | Indirect Object       |
- b. **Dative-complement predicate**
- |         |        |                       |
|---------|--------|-----------------------|
| Agent   | Action | Recipient/Benefactive |
| ↓       | ↓      | ↓                     |
| Subject | Verb   | Indirect Object       |

Syntactic indirect objects are automatically marked with the surface Dative case, which can be viewed as the default selected in the syntax for arguments in this class. In this respect, indirect objects differ sharply from direct objects, which display not only the default Accusative case marking, but also lexical case marking for Genitive and Instrumental (Babby 1984).

While Dative complements are syntactically and semantically distinct from Accusative direct objects, Genitive and Instrumental arguments are not distinct in either respect. Semantically they are indistinguishable from ordinary Patients (this is precisely the idea behind Babby's lexical case marking), while syntactically they do not cooccur with Accusative objects. (Although Instrumental NPs are often found alongside Accusative objects, as in *Иван резал хлеб ножом* 'Ivan cut the bread with a knife', these are adjuncts and not candidates for direct object status.)<sup>22</sup>

The data on oblique passivization provide substantial support for the general theory of case elaborated by Leonard Babby during the 1980s.<sup>23</sup> Under this theory, grammatical cases such as the Russian Accusative are automatically assigned to certain syntactic configurations. However, individual lexical items may supersede the structural default by superimposing their own specific case requirements. Thus, the verbs in Table 1 obligatorily overrule the default Accusative and require the Instrumental, while the verbs in Table 2 superimpose the Genitive. The relation between lexical and configurational case assignment can be summarized as in (29).



Under this account, Genitive and Instrumental complements of verbs which assign oblique lexical case are eligible for passivization because in syntactic terms, they are actually direct objects, with a superficial veneer of oblique morphological case.<sup>24</sup> Following Franks (1995: 33–34; 349; forthc.) and a host of general syntactic literature on passivization, I assume that passive morphology “absorbs” the case assigned to the object; it moves to subject position in order to receive case. In terms of (29), this means that the structural default case is absorbed. In cases of oblique passivization, elimination of the structural default case assignment by the verb means that

lexical superimposition cannot take place: the input to that process has been eliminated by case absorption.<sup>25</sup>

If Instrumental and Genitive complements are actually direct objects, they should exhibit other syntactic behavior which associates them with direct objects and differentiates them from indirect objects. Just such behavior is illustrated by facts involving control of second predicates, or predicate nominals. Nichols (1981: 68) observes that the only possible controllers are subjects, direct objects, and “inverse subjects”;<sup>26</sup> simple examples are given in (30).

- (30) a. *Он* шел веселый.  
‘He walked along happy.’  
b. *Считают его* гением.  
‘They consider him a genius.’  
c. *Мне* здесь весело жилось ребенком.  
‘Life was happy for me here as a child.’ [Nichols 1981: 68]<sup>27</sup>

Second predicates controlled by direct objects occur in two forms: a default Instrumental and an agreeing Accusative, as illustrated in (31).

- (31) a. *Мы* видели *его* спящим<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘We saw him sleeping.’  
b. Сначала *машину* взвешивают пустую<sub>ACC</sub>.  
‘First they weigh the truck empty.’

If Instrumental and Genitive complements are actually syntactic direct objects, as argued here, they should potentially be able to serve as controllers for second predicates. The possibilities are somewhat limited, as the majority of verbs do not support the additional predication required for this structure.<sup>28</sup> However, whenever it is possible to construct sentences which are not semantically anomalous, they are indeed well-formed; two examples of second predicates controlled by oblique objects are given in (32).

- (32) a. *Они* избегали *его*<sub>GEN</sub> пьяного<sub>GEN</sub><sup>29</sup> пьяным<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘They avoided him when he was drunk.’  
b. *Они* пренебрегали *ею*<sub>INSTR</sub> пьяной<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
‘They disdained her when she was drunk.’<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, Dative complements cannot control second predicates under either agreement pattern, as illustrated in (33).

- (33) a. *Они* завидовали *ему*<sub>DAT</sub> \*пьяному<sub>DAT</sub>/\*пьяным<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
\*‘They envied him when he was drunk.’

- b. Они служили ему<sub>DAT</sub> \*пьяному<sub>DAT</sub>/\*пьяным<sub>INSTR</sub>.  
 \*‘They served him when he was drunk.’

Thus, Dative complements are distinguished from Genitive and Instrumental complements: only the latter are empowered to control second predicates. This is a central property of Accusative direct objects, and serves as powerful confirmation that the oblique complements of Genitive- and Instrumental-assigning verbs are in fact direct objects.

**7. Conclusion.** This article has investigated the extent to which the phenomenon of oblique passivization occurs in Russian. It has been shown that, as a rule, Genitive- and Instrumental-complement verbs do indeed form passives, while Dative-complement verbs do not. Missing passive forms can be accounted for by typological factors which affect the formation of passives in many languages: stative verbs and unaffected Patients tend to inhibit the formation of passives. A theory of case assignment such as that of Babby (1984) or Fowler (forthc. b) permits a principled account of how grammatical case can be superseded by lexical case due to specific properties of individual lexical verbs. Viewed in this light, the phenomenon of oblique passivization is limited to structural objects, regardless of their surface case marking. Strong confirmation of their object status is provided by their ability to control second predicates. Dative complements are structurally distinct from direct objects, Accusative or oblique. The exact nature of the structural distinction between Datives and other NPs was left unspecified.

The data considered in this paper enable us to give a new and unified definition of “transitivity”: a transitive verb is one which takes a structural direct object, regardless of its surface case marking. This definition resolves a long-standing conflict in traditional Russian grammars, where transitivity is keyed to the surface case of the verbal complement: Accusative-complement verbs are transitive, as are those whose complements bear the partitive Genitive, the Genitive of negation, or the quantitative Genitive due to the prefix *на-*; but verbs like *искать* ‘seek’ or *избежать* ‘avoid’ are not regarded as transitive, nor are Instrumental-complement verbs such as *управлять* ‘manage’. This article has demonstrated that the latter two types can profitably be regarded as transitive as well, governing direct objects that happen to be marked in an oblique surface case. The occurrence of passivization is the best evidence of direct object status, but strong confirmation is provided by the ability of Genitive and Instrumental complements to control second predicates.

## NOTES

- 1 Siewierska gives four examples from Polish, but adduces no additional data or literature to confirm her assertion.
- 2 This vague lexical notion of 'control' cannot simply be superimposed on the syntactic category of direct object to trigger the Instrumental case automatically. Rather, the common semantic thread shared by these verbs is part of the organization that speakers impose on relatively arbitrary lexical information. Full justification of this claim is beyond the scope of the present article, but it is argued at length in Fowler (forthc. b). The assertion that the semantics of 'control' makes the Instrumental "predictable" can be confronted with one piquant counter-example: the verb *контролировать*, which takes the Accusative case. However, this example is a trifle unfair, because it really means 'subject [an individual] to control' rather than merely 'control', and could thus plausibly be excused from the list in Table 1. At any rate, the important point is that semantic generalizations of this sort are best reserved for the mental organization of the lexicon, rather than employed as cornerstones of formal syntax.
- 3 Table 1, as well as the subsequent inventories of Genitive-and Dative-complement verbs, is intended to be fairly complete and fully representative, but not necessarily exhaustive. Verbs are given as the traditional imperfective/perfective aspectual pairs, despite the fact that this lexicographic tradition obscures the essence of the relation between perfective and imperfective verbs; cf. Fowler (forthc. a); dashes indicate that the expected pair does not occur. Aspect is relevant chiefly in considering the various passive forms that arise for each verb. It is interesting to note that so many oblique-complement verbs are unpaired.
- 4 Not only are the established verbs (i.e., recorded in standard dictionaries) in the category too numerous to enumerate, but new examples can be formed so productively from existing transitive verbs that they form a completely open class.
- 5 For example, *SSRLJ* characterizes *накупить* from (4) as "перех. (что и чего)". The variation in government registered in the dictionary refers precisely to the pattern illustrated in (4): *SSRLJ*, which is generally rich in textual examples of usage, gives not a single example for verbs in *на-* with this quantitative meaning in which an NP without an overt quantifier occurs in the Accusative case; the Accusative is reserved for overt quantifiers, as in (4b).
- 6 *RG* (1980, 1: 614) accepts the idea that verbs are still transitive even when negated objects are Genitive; and it even refers to verbs which host an active Accusative/Genitive variation, such as *ждать* 'wait', *просить* 'request', or *хотеть* 'want', as "transitive".
- 7 I incline toward a mixed morphological/syntactic analysis along the lines of Franks [forthc.]; however, nothing here crucially depends upon this assumption.
- 8 This diagram was suggested by discussion in Brecht and Levine (1984: 118–19); it is also a variant of the "theta-grids" adopted by Babby (1993).
- 9 Other languages, including Polish and Ukrainian among the Slavic family, exhibit various types of impersonal passives where this remapping is not found.
- 10 Contrasting views of the issues surrounding reflexive passives are given in Siewierska (1988) and Gerritsen (1988). Siewierska concludes that a reflexive passive must be accepted for Russian (though not for all other Slavic languages), in view of the possibility of expressing the Agent overtly via an Instrumental phrase. Gerritsen argues that the term "passive" is a misnomer when applied to verbs in *-ся* in Russian, in view of the variety of semantic possibilities.
- 11 Keenan uses "reflexive" as a catch-all term for "everything except passive".
- 12 *RG* (1: 616) includes a note to the effect that it is barely possible for some *-ся* passives to form a perfective. None of the examples given is particularly convincing as a passive, e.g., (i) Скоро из этого самовара дольются крутым кипятком стаканы.



'Soon the glasses will be filled up with fiercely boiling water from this samovar'

[Kataev]

- 13 Past passive participles can also be formed, in principle, from simplex (unprefixed) imperfective verbs. I will ignore this possibility here, because: 1) the productivity of this formation is somewhat controversial; and 2) only one of the unprefixed imperfective Genitive- or Instrumental-complement verbs considered in this paper forms such a participle; cf. fn. 17.
- 14 Apparent present passive participles formed from perfective verbs, such as *допустимый* 'allowable', are lexicalized adjectives of participial origin; cf. Townsend (1975: 235).
- 15 Sources are identified for textual attestations; examples with no indicated source were provided by informants.
- 16 The Genitive-complement data can be a bit more difficult to evaluate, because many of the verbs occur in active sentences with both Accusative and Genitive complements, depending on the semantics of the NP (greater definiteness, abstractness, specificity, etc., evokes the Accusative, while less of these semantic properties tends to encourage the Genitive). Miloslavskij (1981: 76–77) goes so far as to elevate this Accusative/Genitive variation to the status of a separate case, dubbing it the Attendant case (*ждательный падеж*). However, if the claim is not made that passive sentences are derived directly by syntactic transformation from underlying active sentences, then it is not necessary to identify the case of the unpassivized NP, since it occurs only as the subject. The fact that it is so difficult to formulate rigorous rules for the case of the complement to certain verbs (*ждать* 'wait for, expect', *искать* 'seek', etc.) is in itself an argument that the complements have the same syntactic status, regardless of the surface case marking; the variation in case comprises a semantically meaningful opposition only if that is the only variable involved.
- 17 Some of my informants were willing to create and use a past passive participle from *искать* 'seek'.
- 18 I refrain from repeating the list of verbs from Table 3 in a separate table here, as there would be nearly uniform minus signs; the rare attested form are discussed below.
- 19 Note, however, the passive participle derived from this same verb by Puškin in (18c); this usage is yet another French-influenced archaism.
- 20 Syntax of the generative type is generally taken to reflect discrete categories and choices, while semantics may involve more complicated or fuzzier oppositions. For example, the Russian Genitive of negation is simple in plain morphosyntactic terms: the object of a negated verb is either Accusative or Genitive. Yet the semantic trigger for this simple formal dichotomy is immensely complex, as demonstrated most vividly in Timberlake (1975) and documented in exhaustive detail in Mustajoki (1985), Mustajoki and Heino (1991). Similarly, the dichotomy at issue here is discrete: a passive form either does or does not occur. The variation between speakers reflected in Table 4, as well as the borderline productivity of some passivization processes discussed here, shows that this simple morpholexical process is the tip of a much more complicated semantic iceberg.
- 21 The relatively small number of oblique-complement verbs makes these isolated morphological factors more prominent here than in the language as a whole.
- 22 There is exactly one exception: the verb *лишить*, which takes both Accusative and Genitive arguments, as in (i):
  - (i) Судьи<sub>NOM</sub> лишили его<sub>ACC</sub> гражданства<sub>GEN</sub>.  
'The judges stripped him of his citizenship.'

This example is problematic for any theory of case-assignment in Russian. I assume that since only the Accusative object can passivize, *гражданства* is not the same kind of lexically oblique direct object as the other examples considered in this paper. Instead, it must be a true oblique argument.
- 23 An excellent illustration of the kind of data Babby's case theory is designed to account for

- is given in Babby (1984), where it is presented in a relatively non-theory-specific way; a survey of its application to a range of problems is provided in Freidin and Babby (1984). While Babby has continued to develop his approach to case in more recent publications, and others have extended it in various respects (e.g., Bailyn 1995; Franks 1995; Fowler *forthc.* b), the crucial conceptual core is already in place in these two articles.
- 24 Indeed, it is not obvious that there is any principled reason why the Dative case could not also be assigned lexically to direct objects. Examples of passive phenomena associated with Dative-complement verbs were given in (17) and (18), and were explained away as archaisms or artificial elements in modern Russian. If that explanation is unappealing, the alternative of exceptional lexical case superimposition is also conceivable.
  - 25 An anonymous *SEEL* reviewer asks why there is no violation of the Projection Principle, which states generally that lexical information must be respected at all levels of the syntactic representation of a sentence. The verbs in Tables 1 and 2 lexically specify an oblique case, but it is suppressed under passivization. Several answers are possible, but one is the following: lexical case specification is a morphological replacement operation, which states that syntactic Accusative case is replaced by morphological Instrumental or Genitive case. If syntactic Accusative case is absorbed by passive morphology, which is a well-accepted facet of the analysis of passive constructions, then this morphological replacement operation is never triggered. In other words, lexical case marking does not state that the verb must assign Instrumental or Genitive case to its object; rather, it states that the object, if it is case-marked, must not appear in the structural default Accusative case.
  - 26 Inverse subjects are Dative NPs in the function of logical subject (Russian *субъект*, as opposed to *подлежащее* 'grammatical subject'). It is a controversial question whether or not they should be viewed as subjects in the formal grammatical sense, and well beyond the scope of this article.
  - 27 Controllers are italicized. Note that the range of possible controllers is the same for both nouns and adjectives as predicate nominals.
  - 28 Nichols states (1981: 70) that her corpus included only one oblique controller, but it was the prepositional phrase *с ним* 'with him', and this is irrelevant to the issue at hand.
  - 29 Informants prefer the agreeing form in (32a), but we can be certain that the morphological forms are Genitive and not Accusative because *убегать/убежать* obligatorily governs the Genitive. The Genitive *пьяного* cannot be a postponed NP-internal modifier rather than a second predicate, for two reasons: first, pronouns generally do not take NP-internal adjectives; and second, the English gloss accurately captures informant judgments as to the meaning of this sentence, which corresponds only to a second predicate. In (32b) we cannot tell whether the Instrumental case of the second predicate is an agreeing or default form, but it does not matter: the crucial point is that it can be controlled at all.

## WORKS CITED

- Babby, Leonard H. 1984. "Case Conflicts and Their Resolution". *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 6: 1–21.
- Babby, Leonard H. 1993. "A Theta-Theoretic Analysis of *-En-* Suffixation in Russian". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 1.1: 3–43.
- Babby, Leonard H. and Richard D. Brecht. 1975. "The Syntax of Voice in Russian". *Language* 51: 342–66.

- Bailyn, John. 1995. *A Configurational Approach to Russian "Free" Word Order*. Cornell University Ph.D. dissertation.
- Brecht, Richard D. and James S. Levine. 1984. "Conditions on Voice Marking in Russian", in Michael S. Flier and Richard D. Brecht, eds. *Issues in Russian Morphosyntax*, 118–37. Columbus, OH: Slavica.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1980. "Nominalizations in Russian: Lexical Noun Phrases or Transformed Sentences", in Catherine V. Chvany and Richard D. Brecht, eds. *Morphosyntax in Slavic*, 212–20. Columbus, OH: Slavica.
- Fowler, George. [forthc. a]. "An Articulated Theory of Aspect and Prefixation in Russian". To appear in Jindřich Toman, ed. *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 3*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.
- Fowler, George. [forthc. b]. *The Major Case Constructions of Russian*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Franks, Steven. 1995. *Parameters in Slavic Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Franks, Steven. [forthc.]. "Empty Subjects and Voice-Altering Morphemes in Slavic", to appear in *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, 39–40.
- Freidin, Robert. 1992. *Foundations of Generative Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Freidin, Robert and Leonard H. Babby. 1984. "On the Interaction of Lexical and Structural Properties: Case Structure in Russian". *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics 6*: 71–105.
- Gerritsen, Nelleke. 1988. "How Passive Is 'Passive' -*sj*?" *Dutch Contributions to the Tenth International Congress of Slavists, Sofia. Linguistics*, 97–179. Amsterdam: Rodopi. (*Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 11.)
- Keenan, Edward L. 1985. "Passive in the World's Languages", in Timothy Shopen, ed. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, v. 1, 243–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, v. 1. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Larson, Richard K. 1988. "On the Double Object Construction". *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.3: 335–91.
- Miloslavskij, I. G. 1981. *Morfologičeskie kategorii sovremennogo russkogo jazyka*. Moscow: Prosvetščenie.
- Mustajoki, Arto. 1985. *Padež dopolnenija v russkix otricatel'nyx predloženyjax 1: Izyskanija novyx metodov v izučenyi staroj problemy*. Helsinki: Helsinki University. (*Slavica Helsingiensia*, 2.)
- Mustajoki, Arto and Hannes Heino. 1991. *Case Selection for the Direct Object in Russian Negative Clauses*. Helsinki: Helsinki University. (*Slavica Helsingiensia*, 9.)
- Neidle, Carol. 1988. *The Role of Case in Russian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Nichols, Johanna. 1981. *Predicate Nominals: A Partial Surface Syntax of Russian*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (*University of California Publications. Linguistics*, 97.)
- [RG] 1980. *Russkaja grammatika*, 2 v. Moscow: Nauka.
- Růžička, Rudolf. 1967. "Korrelation und Transformation", in *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, 11 October 1966*, III: 1709–33. The Hague: Mouton, 3 v. (*Janua linguarum. Series maior*, 31–33.)
- Siewierska, Anna. 1988. "The Passive in Slavic", in Masayoshi Shibatani, ed. *Passive and Voice*, 243–89. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- [SSRLJ] 1950–63. *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moscow: Akademija nauk SSSR, 17 v.
- Švedova, N. Ju., ed. 1970. *Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moscow: Nauka.

- Timberlake, Alan. 1975. "Hierarchies in the Genitive of Negation". *Slavic and East European Journal* 19.1: 128–38.
- Townsend, Charles E. *Russian Word-Formation*. Cambridge, MA: Slavica, 1975.
- Vinogradov, V. V. 1982. *Očerki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka XVII–XIX vekov*, 3rd ed. Moscow: Vysšaja škola.
- Zaliznjak, A. A. 1977. *Grammatičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Moscow: Russkij jazyk.