

## Table of Contents

Table of Contents .....	v
Detailed Table of Contents .....	vi
List of Tables .....	xi
List of Figures .....	xv
Preface .....	xxi
Notes on Transliteration, Transcription, Orthography, Examples, and Abbreviations .....	xxiii
0. Introduction: Today's Exceptions—Yesterday's Rules .....	1
1. The Scene: From Prehistory to Peter I "the Great" .....	5
2. The Texts: Writing and Literature in Kievan Rus' and Muscovy .....	33
3. The Toolbox: Linguistic Tools for Analyzing the History of Russian .....	61
4. Morphology: Nouns .....	77
5. Morphology: Pronouns .....	101
6. Morphology: Adjectives .....	113
7. Morphology: Numbers and Numerals .....	127
8. Morphology: Verbs .....	135
9. Syntax .....	163
10. Phonology: Pre-Slavic and Common Slavic Vowels and Diphthongs .....	195
11. Phonology: Pre-Slavic and Common Slavic Consonants .....	217
12. Phonology: From Old Russian to Modern Russian .....	243
13. Phonology: Stress and Vowel Reduction .....	275
14. A Visit from Novgorod: The Language of the Birch Bark Letters .....	291
15. Epilogue: Reflections on a Triangle .....	303
Appendix 1: Morphological Tables .....	307
Appendix 2: Major Differences between Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian .....	325
Appendix 3: Chronology of Major Sounds Laws .....	329
Appendix 4: Example of Text Analysis .....	331
Bibliography .....	339
Indexes .....	349

## Detailed Table of Contents

Table of Contents .....	v
Detailed Table of Contents .....	vi
List of Tables .....	xi
List of Figures .....	xv
Preface .....	xxi
Notes on Transliteration, Transcription, Orthography, Examples, and Abbreviations .....	xxiii
<b>0. Introduction: Today's Exceptions—Yesterday's Rules .....</b>	<b>1</b>
0.1. Why Study the History of Russian? .....	1
0.2. How to Use This Book .....	2
<b>1. The Scene: From Prehistory to Peter I "the Great" .....</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1. Russian and Its Relatives in Present Day Europe .....	5
1.2. Russian and Its Ancestors .....	10
1.3. The Primordial Home of the Slavs .....	11
1.4. The Slavic Migrations .....	13
1.5. Rus'—The State .....	14
1.6. Rus'—The People .....	20
1.7. Mongols: Conflict and Collaboration .....	23
1.8. The Rise of the Muscovite State .....	24
1.9. Ivan IV "the Terrible": Russia in the 16th Century .....	26
1.10. The "Time of Troubles" (1598–1613) .....	27
1.11. Russia in the Seventeenth Century .....	30
1.12. Chronology: Overview of Historical Periods and Events in Tabular Form .....	31
1.13. Suggestions for Further Reading .....	32
<b>2. The Texts: Writing and Literature in Kievan Rus' and Muscovy .....</b>	<b>33</b>
2.1. Overture: Cyril and Methodius, the First Slavic Alphabet, and Old Church Slavonic .....	33
2.2. The Cyrillic Alphabet—A Practical Guide .....	36
2.3. Literary Genres and Works .....	40
2.3.1. Religious Literature: From Metropolitan Hilarion to Archpriest Avvakum .....	40

2.3.2.	<i>The Primary Chronicle (Povest' vremennyx let)</i> and Other Chronicles .....	44
2.3.3.	<i>Slovo o polku Igoreve, Zadonščina</i> and Military Tales .....	46
2.3.4.	<i>Russkaja Pravda</i> and Other Legal Texts .....	48
2.3.5.	Travel: Afanasij Nikitin's <i>Xoždenie za tri morja</i> .....	48
2.3.6.	The Correspondence between Andrej Kurbskij and Ivan IV "the Terrible" .....	49
2.3.7.	Birch Bark Letters .....	51
2.3.8.	Summing Up: Medieval and Modern Concepts of "Literature" .....	51
2.4.	Standard Language: The Situation in Kievan Rus' .....	52
2.5.	Standard Language: Sketch of Further Development .....	56
2.6.	Summary: Important Concepts .....	58
2.7.	For Further Reading .....	60
<b>3.</b>	<b>The Toolbox: Linguistic Tools for Analyzing the History of Russian</b> .....	<b>61</b>
3.1.	Synchrony and Diachrony .....	61
3.2.	Genetically and Typologically Related Languages .....	61
3.3.	History of Standard Languages vs. Historical Dialectology .....	62
3.4.	The Family Tree Model .....	63
3.5.	Methodology 1: Sound Correspondences, Sound Laws, and Linguistic Reconstruction .....	65
3.6.	Methodology 2: Borrowing and Analogy .....	67
3.7.	Methodology 3: Grammaticalization .....	69
3.8.	Methodology 4: Reanalysis .....	70
3.9.	Time: Absolute and Relative Chronology .....	70
3.10.	Space: The Wave Model for Innovation and Spread. Isoglosses .....	71
3.11.	Summary: Historical Linguistics in a Nutshell .....	72
3.12.	For Further Reading .....	74
<b>4.</b>	<b>Morphology: Nouns</b> .....	<b>77</b>
4.1.	Declension of Nouns in Contemporary Standard Russian .....	77
4.2.	The Declension System of Common Slavic and Old Russian .....	80
4.2.1.	The <i>ǫ</i> -Declension .....	81
4.2.2.	The <i>ŭ</i> -Declension .....	83
4.2.3.	The <i>ā</i> -Declension .....	84
4.2.4.	The <i>ĭ</i> -Declension .....	86
4.2.5.	The <i>ū</i> -Declension .....	87

4.2.6.	The C-Declension .....	88
4.2.7.	Overview of Old Rusian Declensions in Tabular Form .....	90
4.3.	Declension Classes: From Six to Three .....	90
4.4.	Number and Case .....	92
4.5.	Stems Ending in Hard and Soft Consonants .....	95
4.6.	Gender .....	96
4.7.	Subgender: Animacy .....	96
4.8.	Summary: Overview of Changes in Tabular Form .....	99
4.9.	For Further Reading .....	100
<b>5.</b>	<b>Morphology: Pronouns .....</b>	<b>101</b>
5.1.	Personal (1st and 2nd Persons) and Reflexive Pronouns .....	101
5.2.	Personal (3rd Person) and Relative Pronouns .....	103
5.3.	Demonstrative Pronouns .....	105
5.4.	Possessive Pronouns .....	107
5.5.	<b>ВЪСЬ</b> 'all' .....	108
5.6.	Interrogative Pronouns: <b>КЪТО</b> and <b>ЧЪТО</b> .....	108
5.7.	Summary .....	109
5.8.	For Further Reading .....	111
<b>6.</b>	<b>Morphology: Adjectives .....</b>	<b>113</b>
6.1.	Short and Long Forms in Common Slavic, Old Rusian, and Contemporary Standard Russian .....	113
6.2.	The Declension of Short Forms .....	115
6.3.	The Declension of Long Forms .....	116
6.3.1.	Overview .....	116
6.3.2.	The Masculine Nominative and Accusative Singular: Church Slavic Influence .....	119
6.3.3.	The Feminine and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular: "Trivial" Forms .....	119
6.3.4.	The Masculine and Neuter Genitive, Dative, and Locative Singular: Pronominal Influence .....	119
6.3.5.	The Feminine Genitive, Dative, and Locative Singular: Pronominal Influence .....	120
6.3.6.	The Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, and Instrumental Plural: "Trivial" Forms .....	121
6.3.7.	The Instrumental Singular and the Dative and Locative Plural: Haplology and Contraction .....	121
6.3.8.	Summary: The Origin of the Long Forms in Contemporary Standard Russian .....	122

6.4.	The Comparative and the Superlative .....	123
6.5.	Summary .....	125
6.6.	For Further Reading .....	126
<b>7.</b>	<b>Morphology: Numbers and Numerals .....</b>	<b>127</b>
7.1.	From Nouns and Adjectives to Something in Between .....	127
7.2.	The Number 1 .....	129
7.3.	The Number 2 .....	129
7.4.	The Numbers 3 and 4 .....	130
7.5.	The Numbers 5 to 9 .....	131
7.6.	The Number 10 .....	132
7.7.	The Numbers 11 to 19 .....	132
7.8.	The Tens .....	132
7.9.	The Hundreds .....	133
7.10.	Thousand .....	133
7.11.	Ordinal Numbers .....	133
7.12.	Summary .....	134
7.13.	For Further Reading .....	134
<b>8.</b>	<b>Morphology: Verbs .....</b>	<b>135</b>
8.1.	The Infinitive and the Supine .....	135
8.2.	The Present Tense .....	136
8.3.	The Four Past-Tense Forms .....	140
8.3.1.	The Aorist .....	140
8.3.2.	The Imperfect .....	142
8.3.3.	The Perfect .....	144
8.3.4.	The Pluperfect .....	145
8.3.5.	The Meaning of the Past-Tense Forms .....	146
8.3.6.	The Historical Development of the Past-Tense Forms .....	149
8.4.	The Future Tense .....	150
8.5.	Tense and Aspect .....	152
8.6.	The Imperative .....	154
8.7.	The Subjunctive .....	156
8.8.	The Participles .....	156
8.8.1.	The Structure of Participles and the Participle Suffixes .....	157
8.8.2.	The Agreement Endings .....	158
8.8.3.	The Development of Participles and Gerunds .....	159
8.9.	Summary .....	160
8.10.	For Further Reading .....	161

<b>9. Syntax</b> .....	<b>163</b>
9.1. Subject .....	163
9.2. Object .....	164
9.3. Predicative Nouns and Adjectives .....	166
9.4. Adverbials: Space .....	168
9.5. Adverbials: Time .....	171
9.6. Overview of Old Russian Prepositions. Preposition Repetition .....	175
9.7. Possessive Constructions .....	175
9.8. Passive Constructions .....	179
9.9. The Dative Absolute and Other Adverbial Constructions with Participles .....	180
9.10. Agreement .....	181
9.11. Clitics .....	183
9.12. Some Notes on Complex Sentences .....	187
9.12.1. Relative Clauses .....	188
9.12.2. Object Clauses .....	188
9.12.3. Adverbial Clauses: Time .....	189
9.12.4. Adverbial Clauses: Cause .....	189
9.12.5. Adverbial Clauses: Condition .....	190
9.12.6. Summary: Some Important Conjunctions Used in Complex Sentences .....	191
9.13. Summary .....	192
9.14. For Further Reading .....	192
 <b>10. Phonology: Pre-Slavic and Common Slavic Vowels and Diphthongs</b> .....	 <b>195</b>
10.1. Basic Concepts: Phoneme, Allophone, Minimal Pair, Complementary Distribution .....	195
10.2. Overview: Vowel Systems for Late Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Old Russian, and Contemporary Standard Russian .....	196
10.3. The <i>o/a</i> Merger and the Loss of Vowel Quantity .....	198
10.4. Syllable Structure in Common Slavic: “The Law of Open Syllables” .....	200
10.5. Loss of Final Consonants .....	202
10.6. Oral Diphthongs: Monophthongization .....	203
10.7. Nasal Diphthongs: The Rise and Fall of Nasal Vowels .....	205
10.8. Liquid Diphthongs: Pleophony and Metathesis .....	207
10.8.1. CORC: Word-Internal Liquid Diphthongs .....	207
10.8.2. ORC: Word-Internal Liquid Diphthongs .....	210

10.8.3. C̣bRC: Liquids Preceded by Jers .....	211
10.8.4. Summary of Liquid Diphthongs .....	211
10.9. Prothetic Consonants .....	211
10.10. Summary: Table of Correspondences .....	215
10.11. For Further Reading .....	215
<b>11. Phonology: Pre-Slavic and Common Slavic Consonants .....</b>	<b>217</b>
11.1. Overview: Consonant Systems for Late Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Old Russian, and Contemporary Standard Russian .....	217
11.2. Loss of Dorsal Plosives: Centum and Satem Languages .....	220
11.3. The “ <i>Ruki Rule</i> ” and the Emergence of /x/ .....	223
11.4. More on Common Slavic Syllables: Synharmony .....	226
11.5. First Palatalization of Velars .....	228
11.6. <i>J</i> -Palatalization .....	231
11.7. Second Palatalization of Velars .....	234
11.8. Third Palatalization of Velars .....	236
11.9. Fronting of Vowels after Soft Consonants .....	238
11.10. Summary of Consonant Changes .....	240
11.11. For Further Reading .....	242
<b>12. Phonology: From Old Russian to Modern Russian .....</b>	<b>243</b>
12.1. Overview: Phoneme Systems of Old Russian and CSR .....	243
12.2. The Fall and Vocalization of the Jers .....	246
12.2.1. Havlik’s Law .....	246
12.2.2. An Approach in Terms of Feet .....	248
12.2.3. Further Complications: Stress, Analogy, Tense Jers, and C̣bRC Groups .....	250
12.3. Some Consequences of the Fall of the Jers .....	251
12.3.1. Mobile Vowels .....	251
12.3.2. Emergence of Closed Syllables .....	252
12.3.3. Consonant Clusters: Assimilation and Dissimilation .....	252
12.3.4. Final Devoicing .....	254
12.3.5. Hard and Soft Consonants Word Finally .....	256
12.3.6. The Realization of /v, v’/ and the Emergence of /f, f’/ .....	257
12.3.7. The Merger of /y/ and /i/ .....	258
12.4. Dorsal Obstruents before /i/: [ky, gy, xy] → [k’i, g’i, x’i] .....	260
12.5. Depalatalization of /š’/, /ž’/, and /c’/ .....	262
12.6. Development of New Soft Post-Alveolar Fricatives .....	263
12.7. Transition from /e/ to /o/: Relative Chronology .....	264

12.8. The Fate of /ě/ (jat) .....	270
12.9. Summary .....	271
12.10. For Further Reading .....	273
<b>13. Phonology: Stress and Vowel Reduction .....</b>	<b>275</b>
13.1. Stress Patterns .....	275
13.1.1. Stress and Tone .....	275
13.1.2. Contemporary Standard Russian Stress .....	276
13.1.3. Common Slavic: Tone .....	280
13.1.4. Old Russian: From Tone to Stress .....	281
13.1.5. The Emergence of Modern Russian Stress Patterns: Analogy .....	284
13.2. Vowel Reduction: The Emergence of Akan'e .....	285
13.3. Summary .....	289
13.4. For Further Reading .....	290
<b>14. A Visit to Novgorod: The Language of the Birch Bark Letters .....</b>	<b>291</b>
14.1. Orthography: бытовая система письма .....	291
14.2. Phonology: The Question of the Second and Third Palatalizations .....	293
14.3. Phonology: Cokan'e .....	295
14.4. Phonology: Secondary Pleophony in CъRC Groups .....	295
14.5. Morphology: The Enigmatic <i>e</i> .....	296
14.6. Morphology: The Ubiquitous <i>ě</i> .....	298
14.7. Syntax: Clitics .....	299
14.8. The Role of the Old Novgorod Dialect in the History of the Russian Language .....	300
14.9. Summary: The Language of the Birch Bark Letters .....	301
14.10. For Further Reading .....	301
<b>15 Epilogue: Reflections on a Triangle .....</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Morphological Tables .....</b>	<b>307</b>
A1.1. Nouns .....	307
A1.1.1. The <i>ǫ</i> -Declension .....	307
A1.1.2. The <i>ŭ</i> -Declension .....	308
A1.1.3. The <i>ā</i> -Declension .....	309
A1.1.4. The <i>ĩ</i> -Declension .....	309
A1.1.5. The <i>ū</i> -Declension .....	310
A1.1.6. The C-Declension .....	311



A1.1.7. Overview of Old Russian Declensions in Tabular Form .....	312
A1.2. Pronouns .....	313
A1.2.1. Personal (1st and 2nd Persons) and Reflexive Pronouns .....	313
A1.2.2. Personal (3rd Person) and Relative Pronouns .....	314
A1.2.3. Demonstrative Pronouns .....	315
A1.2.4. Possessive Pronouns .....	316
A1.2.5. <b>Въсь</b> 'all' .....	316
A1.2.6. Interrogative Pronouns: <b>къто</b> and <b>что</b> .....	317
A1.3. Adjectives .....	317
A1.3.1. Short Forms of Adjectives .....	317
A1.3.2. Long Forms of Adjectives .....	318
A1.4. Numbers and Numerals .....	319
A1.4.1. The Number 1 .....	319
A1.4.2. The Number 2 .....	319
A1.4.3. The Numbers 3 and 4 .....	319
A1.4.4. The Numbers 5 to 9 .....	319
A1.4.5. The Number 10 .....	320
A1.5. Verbs .....	320
A1.5.1. The Present Tense: Thematic Verbs (classes I–IV) .....	320
A1.5.2. The Present Tense: Athematic Verbs (class V) .....	321
A1.5.3. The Aorist .....	321
A1.5.4. The Imperfect .....	322
A1.5.5. The Imperative .....	322
A1.5.6. Participles: Suffixes .....	322
A1.5.7. Participles: Agreement Endings (short forms in the nominative) .....	323

<b>Appendix 2: Major Differences between Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian .....</b>	<b>325</b>
A2.1. Morphology: Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives .....	325
A2.2. Morphology: Verbs .....	326
A2.3. Syntax: The Dative Absolute Construction .....	326
A2.4. Phonology: Liquid Diphthongs .....	326
A2.5. Phonology: Prothetic Consonants in Word-Initial Position .....	327
A2.6. Phonology: <i>J</i> -Palatalization and Consonant Groups + Front Vowels .....	327

<b>Appendix 3: Chronology of Major Sound Laws .....</b>	<b>329</b>
A3.1. The Pre-Slavic Period .....	329
A3.2. The Common Slavic Period .....	329
A3.3. The Old Russian Period .....	330
<b>Appendix 4: Example of Text Analysis .....</b>	<b>331</b>
A4.1. Text: Askold and Dir Attack Constantinople .....	331
A4.2. English Translation .....	331
A4.3. Historical Context .....	332
A4.4. Morphology .....	332
A4.5. Syntax .....	334
A4.6. Phonology .....	335
A4.7. Sociolinguistics .....	337
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>339</b>
<b>Index of Names .....</b>	<b>349</b>
<b>Subject Index .....</b>	<b>353</b>