This paper describes the Old Russian construction involving verbs of perception, thought, and communication. In this construction, a single semantic argument corresponds to two syntactic constituents: a direct object and a finite subordinate clause, the subject of which is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause. The Old Russian construction is seen as an instantiation of

\[1\] This work was supported by ОИФН РАН (project “Синтаксический анализ древнерусских текстов” within the program “Генезис и взаимодействие социальных, культурных и языковых общностей”).
a cross-linguistic option in the argument structure of these verbs (above all, of the perception verbs), that is, to take the subject of the subordinate clause as the direct object.

Key words
verbs of perception, thought, and communication; subject of subordinate clause as object of matrix verb

Verbs of perception, thought, and communication occur in different syntactic constructions. These verbs take some predication as a main argument, but the subject of the predication may also be attached to them as a direct object, in which case the predication is expressed by a nominal or non-finite verb form. The resulting constructions are double accusative, accusative with participle and accusative with infinitive (accusativus cum infinitivo). The alternative model is one in which the subject of the subordinate clause is attached directly to its subject position. The model with subordinate finite clauses has the tendency to displace constructions with non-finite verb forms [Зализняк 1981: 25; Coleman 1985: 327; Harbert 1977: 136].

In Old Russian, perception verbs most often require subordinate finite clauses, cf. the Kievan Chronicle: Глѣбъ же оверхъ уже надѣеть на ны Мѣстиславъ ‘Gleb saw Mstislav coming against him’, lit. ‘Gleb saw that Mstislav is coming against him’ [ПСРЛ II: 363.27–28]; слышавъ уже надѣеть сватъ е Дюрь вь Русь ‘having heard that his co-father-in-law Yuri was going to Rus’ [ПСРЛ II: 455.22] and many others. The subject of the perceived action in these cases is the subject of the subordinate clause.

Quite often, verbs of perception in Old Russian texts govern the accusative with participle:

оБѣрѣша Половци идущь полкъ пристроишасѧ противу
see.3pl.past Cuman.nom.pl regiment.acc.sg come.partc.pres.acc.sg against
‘The Cumans saw the regiment coming, and are poised against it’ [ПСРЛ I: 172.3–4]. See further examples in [Потебня 1958: 308–316].

More rarely, a double accusative is observed with verbs of perception:

а ныне слышю боленоу сестроу
and now hear.1sg.praes sick.acc.sg sister.acc.sg
‘I hear that my sister is sick’ [Зализняк 2004: 158].

The use of the accusativus cum infinitivo was alien to medieval Slavic languages. At the same time, in Old Church Slavonic as well as in Old Russian texts, primarily chronicles, one encounters a peculiar construction, similar in part to the accusativus cum infinitivo. The construction involves a verb of perception, thought, or communication; its single semantic argument corresponds to two
Subject of Subordinate Clause as Object with Verbs of Perception, Thought, and Communication in Old Russian

syntactic constituents: a direct object and a finite subordinate clause, the subject of which is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause.²

Several examples of the construction in question have been found in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospel:

\( \text{сосѣди же и иже и видѣли бѣахѫ прѣжде ѣко слѣпъ бѣ} \)

\( \text{сосѣди же и иже и видѣли бѣахѫ прѣжде ѣко слѣпъ бѣ} \)

\( \text{сосѣди же и иже и видѣли бѣахѫ прѣжде ѣко слѣпъ бѣ} \)

\( \text{сосѣди же и иже и видѣли бѣахѫ прѣжде ѣко слѣпъ бѣ} \)

In all three places cited here, the Slavonic translation follows the Greek text closely, rendering all the words in their original order.

But the construction under consideration is attested not only as syntactic borrowing in translations. It occurs in original Slavic texts as well. In Old Russian texts, constructions with the subject of the subordinate clause

² The defining property of accusativus cum infinitivo is precisely the presence of two syntactic arguments (a direct object and an infinitive) corresponding to a single embedded predication, in contrast to predicates such as to force/encourage/ask somebody to do something, which have two distinct semantic roles [Harbert 1977: 123–136; Bolkestein 1979: 20–22; Злізняк 1981: 16–24; Pinkster 1990: 126–128; Schoof 2004: 71, 105, 149–150, 162–163].

The verb of perception can govern simultaneously a direct complement and a subordinate clause, the subject of which differs from the direct object: кн҃зь же зрѣвъ рѧдъ ихъ · оже хотѧть крѣпъ животъ свои ѿдати · и не поѥха 'the prince having seen their formation that they would fight hard for their lives, did not ride out' Novgorod First Chronicle, f. 93v. Here, the direct object realizes the object of immediate perception, whereas the subordinate clause expresses the mental conclusion: the prince had seen the formation of the men of Novgorod and concluded that they would fight hard.
as the direct object of the main verb are rare. Most often the construction is used with verbs of visual perception. Here is an example from the Kievan Chronicle:

"сe же видихомъ полki Половѣцькии.

prtcl prtcl see.1pl.past regiment.acc.pl Cuman. acc.pl

ѡже мнози соуть" that.comp numerous.nom.pl be.3pl.praes

‘we saw that the Cuman regiments were numerous’ [ПСРЛ II: 640.16].

The subject of the perceived action or state in such a construction typically is not overtly explicated in the subordinate clause. Being attached as the direct object to the main verb, it becomes thematized, while the subordinate clause is the focus component of the utterance. This may be shown, for example, in the context of the Galician Chronicle:

"видивъ люди сюко испилисѧ.

see.partc.past.nom.sg subordinate.acc.pl refl.poss.acc.pl that.comp were.drunk

‘[Daniel of Galicia] saw that his subordinates were drunk’, lit. “saw his subordinates that [they] were drunk” [ПСРЛ II: 758.24].

The meaning of the proposition is not that Daniel of Galicia saw his soldiers, but that he saw that they were drunk. The focus of the speaker is not the subject, but rather his condition, yet nonetheless the subject is placed in the main clause. Similarly, in the context of the Primary Chronicle:

"съглѧдахъ колодникъ.

see.1Sg.Past convict. Acc.Pl that.comp in boots

в сапозѣ вси" be.3pl.praes all.nom.pl

‘I made out that all the convicts are in boots’ [ПСРЛ I: 84].

It is important that the convicts were shod in boots: on this basis the speaker concluded that they can not be forced to pay tribute.

The direct object of the verb видѣти can serve not only as the subject but also as the object of the subordinate clause predicate. However, the only reliable example, from the Galician Chronicle, is observed in an impersonal subordinate clause, and the object depends on the infinitive, which does not refer to directly observable actions:

"видѣти же Кремѧнѣць и градѣ.

see.partc.past.nom.sg prtcl Kremenets. acc and city.acc.sg

Даниловѣ.

Danilov.acc.sg that.comp невозможно прияти емоу impossible take.inf he.dat.sg

‘having seen that he can not take Kremenets and Danilov city’ [ПСРЛ II: 786.12].
Apparently, in the following context of the Kievan Chronicle according to the Hypatian codex, the direct object of the main clause also refers to an object, but not the subject of the predicate of a subordinate clause, whilst the subject of the subordinate clause is indefinite-personal (Izyaslav’s enemies):

и видивше Изыславчи кнѧзѧ своего и Лого juegos.
and see.PARTC.PAST.NOM.PL Izyaslav’s.supporter.NOM.PL that.COMP refl.POS.PASS.ACC.SG and habitants.of.Logožsk.ACC.PL that.COMP without

и дашаца.
and surrender.3PL.PAST

‘and Izyaslav’s supporters, having seen that their prince and the habitants ofLogožsk were taken unharmed, surrendered’, where суть is a predicate in active voice, that is “took” [ПСРЛ II : 292.25–27]. However, in the same context, in the Laurentian Chronicle the direct object refers to the subject of the subordinate clause: и видѣвши Изыславци кнѧзѧ своего. и Лого juegos.

и дашаца [ПСРЛ I : 298.19–20]; here иaje is not in the Radzivilovskii and Academy codices) сев пакости суть перекит.

и дашаца [ПСРЛ I : 298.19–20]; here иaje seems to be a secondary replacement of the original вже, but the participle passive перекит may be original, and the reading of the Hypatian codex a corruption.

In the Teachings of Vladimir Monomakh — а се въм повѣдамо. дѣти моя трудъ свои.

и дашаца [ПСРЛ I : 247] — the direct object трудъ may not be the subject of the predicate сѧ есмь тружалъ if the clause is attributive (‘I will tell you about those works that I have undertaken’) or specifying (‘I will tell you about the works, namely, those I undertook’).

In oblique case with an adjective denoting quantity, the coreferential subject is overtly expressed:

видивше Половци сторожи Изыславли
see.PARTC.PAST.NOM.PL Cumans.NOM.PL guard.ACC.SG of.Izyaslav

и есть
that.COMP few.NEUTR.NOM.SG they.GEN be.3SG.PRAES

‘The Cumans, having seen that the guard detachment ofIzyaslav was of small number’ [ПСРЛ II : 425.20–21].

The above-considered construction is also used with the verb слышати, cf. in the Galician Chronicle: слышав же Данилъ рѣчи ихъ вже иако полны соть листи ‘Daniel, having heard their speeches <and having felt> that they are full of lies’ 790.28. Here, the verb слышати is semantically complex, implying both auditory and mental perception: Daniel had perceived the speeches by ear and realized that they were false (cf. footnote 2 above).

The specificity of the construction comes through clearly in comparison with apparently similar contexts, where the direct object points to the immediate source of information, as in an example from Рѣлѧ: Онъ слышавь гало Афьона иако гасе великич силу ихь и вь не <…> Νικοκλῆς какоў тиніс іатроў лёго-
ντος, ὅτι ἔχει δύναμιν (var. λέγοντος ἔχειν δύναμιν), 'he heard a bad doctor, how he said that he had great strength, and answered' Archive codex 93.1 [ΠΕΛΑ: 799]. Here, the predicate of the subordinate clause does not disclose new unpredictable information. This context indicates only the direct perception of the action-process. In contrast to the construction described above, such contexts are possible in modern Russian, and the subordinate clause is introduced with the conjunction ἀπὸ 'how' (слуша́л врача, как он говорил... 'I heard how the doctor spoke...'), while the construction under discussion has no exact equivalent in modern languages, and in translation the clause is introduced with the conjunction ὅτο 'that' (see examples above). The same distinction is observed in German, cf. the example cited by Potebn’a [1958: 299] from the Deutsche Grammatik of J. Grimm: “ich höre den vogel, wie er singt (audio avem canentem),” ‘I hear the bird singing’ — the direct perception of the speaker is implied (in the ancient and some modern European languages the accusativus cum participio is used in such situations) and “ich höre, dasz der vogel singt (audio avem canere),” ‘I hear the bird sing’ — the immediate perception by the listener is not implied (in the ancient and some modern European languages the accusativus cum infinitivo is used in such situations).

With verbs of auditory perception and communication in Old Russian, the direct object can denote not only the immediate but the remote object of perception [ПОТЕБНЯ 1958: 295–299; КРЫСЬКО 2006: 161–162]: слышалъ есмь мужество ваше ‘I heard about your bravery’ Pskov Third Chronicle (Псков. Лет. II: 83–84), etc., see [СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ III: 438]; и яко огъядаша нѣмци новгородскн пилиць. пом’ядаша за рѣкѣ ‘When the Germans learned of the Novgorod regiment, they ran across the river’ Novgorod First Chronicle, f. 147; написалъ малиха. яко тои уби цы моего ‘he wrote about Malik that ‘he killed my father’ History of the Jewish War of Josephus, 355d 34–35 (different in the Greek original) [ИИВ: 86], etc. As A. A. Potebn’a has pointed out [ПОТЕБНЯ 1958: 299], the accusative of distant object is a necessary precondition for the emergence of the accusativus cum infinitivo construction. Analogically, it is a prerequisite for the use of the direct object denoting the subject of the subordinate clause:

а Мьстислава пов’ядаша. шаге пошелъ.
and Mstislav.ACC tell.3PL.PAST that.COMP go.3SG.PAST
с Телебугою на Лвовъ.
with Telebuga.INSTR to Lvov.ACC
‘they told about Mstislav, that he was gone with Telebuga to Lvov’
Volyn Chronicle [ПСРЛ II: 900.2–3].

3 The accusativus cum infinitivo ἀπὸ 'how' seems to render the reading of certain Greek copies λέγοντος ἔχειν δύναμιν.

4 The conjunction яко here introduces not a subordinate clause, but rather direct speech, i.e., it performs the function of an opening quotation mark.
This same construction may depend on verbs of thinking:

\[
\text{мнѧще} \quad \text{ирода} \quad \text{воѧ} \quad \text{єго.}
\]

think.PARTC.PRAES.NOM.PL Herod.ACC and soldier.ACC.PL he.GEN

\[
\text{іако} \quad \text{ужасошасѧ} \quad \text{страхомъ}
\]

that.COMP were afraid fear.INSTR.SG

‘thinking that Herod and his soldiers were afraid’ (different in the Greek original) History of the Jewish War of Josephus, 361b 26–27 [ИИВ: 99];

\[
\text{мнѧста} \quad \text{мѧ} \quad \text{ко съплю}
\]

think.3DUAL.PAST me.ACC that.COMP sleep.1SG.PRES

‘they thought that I was asleep’ Lobkovskii Prologue from the 13th century [СДЯ XI–XIV, 5: 93].

But the remote object often becomes the indirect object of the matrix verb, cf. in the Kievan Chronicle:

\[
\text{и съплю ѹко ѹжасошасѧ страхомъ}
\]

think.3DUAL.PAST me.ACC that.COMP sleep.1SG.PRES

‘they thought that I was asleep’ Novgorod First Chronicle f. 161.

Exactly the same construction is found in ancient languages, inasmuch as the use of the accusativus cum infinitivo, typical with the verb meaning ‘to know,’ is not possible with an indirect question, cf. ancient Greek: ὅστις ποθ’ ὑμῶν Λάιον τὸν Λαμύδακον κάτωδεν ἀνδρὸς έκ τίνος διώλετο ‘Every one of you who knew because of which man Laius, the son of Labdacus, perished…’ Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus 216 [ЖЕЛТОВА, ЖЕЛТОВ 2007: 101].

In Old Russian the construction with the subject of the subordinate clause as the direct object of the main verb was not bookish: it is found primarily in chronicles, usually with the Eastern Slavic conjunction \( \text{ѡже} \) (only in the Galician Chronicle, in which the author stylizes his text under the influence of Church Slavonic, is the literary conjunction \( \text{iako} \) used in this construction).

The Old Russian construction with the subject of the dependent predication as the direct object of the main verb resembles the accusativus cum infinitivo in living European languages not only in structure but also in function. It also often occurs after verbs of perception, above all with the visual.

This same construction may depend on verbs of thinking:
resembles the situation in German [Harbert 1977: 121–122], French, and Spanish; in Italian the accusativus cum infinitivo is used most often without any restriction after the verb *videre* ‘see,’ while its use after verbs of auditory perception is stylistically limited [Schwendener 1923: 8, 12] and the use in other positions is specific to literary language. As in Old Russian, in colloquial Italian the subject of the accusativus cum infinitivo is in explicit dependence on the main verb as its object, while in Latin the object of the main verb is the entire accusativus cum infinitivo [Schwendener 1923: 3].

Old Russian material confirms that a characteristic feature of verbs of perception, thought, and communication in Indo-European and some non-Indo-European languages was the ability to subordinate the subject of the dependent predication as a direct object [Сердобольская 2005]. This feature had different manifestations, including the described Old Russian construction.

References

Грковић-Мејзор 2010
Грковић-Мејзор Ј., “О конструкцији акузатива с партиципом (типолошки и когнитивни аспекти)”, Јужнословенски филолог, LXVI, 187–204.

Желтова, Желтов 2007

Зализняк 1981
Зализняк Анна А. “Об одном способе оформления вставленного предложения в латинском, древнегреческом и русском языках (так называемая конструкция accusativus cum infinitivo)”, в: Филология. Исследования по древним и новым языкам. Переводы с древних языков, Москва, 15–28.

Зализняк 2004
Зализняк А. А., Древненовгородский диалект, Москва.

ИИВ

Крысько 2006
Крысько В.Б., Исторический синтаксис русского языка: объект и переходность, Москва.

Потебня 1958
Потебня А. А., Из записок по русской грамматике, I–II, Москва.
Subject of Subordinate Clause as Object with Verbs of Perception, Thought, and Communication in Old Russian

Псков. Лет. II

ПСРЛ I

ПСРЛ II

Пчела
"Пчела": Древнерусский перевод, изд. подгот. А. А. Пичхадзе, И. И. Макеева, I, Москва, 2008.

СДЯ XI–XIV 1–8–

Сердобольская 2005
Сердобольская Н. В., Синтаксический статус актантов зависимой нефинитной предикации, дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Москва.

Срезневский I–III

Bolkestein 1979

Coleman 1985

Harbert 1977

Pinkster 1990
Pinkster H., Latin Syntax and Semantics, London.

Schoof 2004

Schwendener 1923
Schwendener U., Der Accusativus cum Infinitivo im Italienischen, Säckingen am Rhein.

Anna Abramovna Pichkhadze, d.ф.н.
Институт русского языка им. В. В. Виноградова РАН
119019 Москва, ул. Волхонка, д. 18/2
Russia / Россия
rusyaz@yandex.ru