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SEMANTICS OF CASE: THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE IN RUSSIAN

by

Zoya Valkova

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

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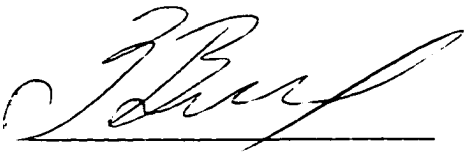

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Semantics of Case: The Partitive Genitive in Russian* submitted by *Zoya Valkova* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Linguistics.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation seeks to link interpretations of the semantics of the partitive genitive case in Russian (the genitive in -u), as opposed to the regular genitive (the genitive in -a), with the study of case meaning as an expressive characteristic of language in historical and literary contexts. Some aspects of Jakobson's theoretical views and his framework for presenting case in Russian, and the partitive genitive in particular, are presented in this work in correlation with Husserl's principle of intentionality and phenomenology. The presentation of Jakobson's theoretical perspective shows that his understanding of the expressive function of language, rooted in phenomenology, and hence the expressive meaning of the partitive genitive, cannot account for desire-feeling or the emotional expressions in which the partitive genitive occurs, in that such expressions are always bound up with the individual significance which things or the objects have for the speakers in their culture. Therefore, the proposed interpretations of the meaning of the partitive genitive combine Husserl's and Jakobson's principle of intentionality and part-whole relations, and Taylor's expressive account of meaning, with the result that the meaning of the partitive genitive is interpreted in the domain of the expressive dimension of language (desire with the genitive in -u versus some belief about the object with the genitive in -a).

This work also presents some theoretical approaches to the semantics of case and the partitive genitive which utilize Jakobson's theoretical principles and interpret or elaborate on his approach. Such approaches define the partitive genitive objects solely in the domain of the representational dimension of language, that is, the meaning of the partitive genitive conveys some quantity

of the object world; they thus misrepresent Jakobson's insight and fail to capture the complex nature of the partitive genitive.

Although the development of a broad hypothesis of case semantics in the domain of the expressive dimension of language is beyond the scope of this study, Taylor's expressive account of meaning used in the interpretations of the partitive genitive raises many basic theoretical issues which require the integration of insights into particular cases with broader theoretical concerns in examining case.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

1. Introduction

The partitive genitive in Russian as a distinct case was first defined in the investigations of Bogoroditskii (1912.1939). According to Bogoroditskii (referred to and quoted in Deianova & Stanisheva 1976) certain masculine nouns in the singular, that is, nouns with the meaning of substance, collectivity and abstraction tend to take the -u ending rather than the -a ending in the genitive case. These noun classes which take the -u ending are said by Bogoroditskii to have two categorial meanings. The first categorial meaning is called genitive of quantity (*"roditel'nyi kolichestva"*); that is, those constructions in which the genitive in -u is dominant (e.g., *nabralos' dovol'no mnogo narodu* "quite a lot of people [-u] gathered." *kusochek syru* "a small slice of cheese [-u]"). The second categorial meaning is called genitive of partitive quantity (*"roditel'nyi chastichnogo kolichestva"*) on the basis of the regular occurrences of the -u ending with the above noun classes (e.g., *prinesi nam kvasu* "bring us kvass [-u]." *poniukhai tabaku* "smell the tobacco [-u]"). The occurrence of the -a ending in such constructions is said to be rare. The second categorial meaning of the genitive case, that is, the "genitive of partitive quantity," which is not well distinguished from the "genitive of quantity," Bogoroditskii defined as a separate genitive case which he called "casus partitivus."

In 1947 Vinogradov (1972) postulates that the genitive case has four basic meanings, the second one being the genitive of separation (*"kolichestvenno-*

otdelitel'nyi padezh"), that is, the partitive genitive. This meaning, which is distinguished semantically rather than morphologically from the genitive case, is split into six submeanings. Vinogradov relates these submeanings mainly to the semantics of some verbs, to which some additional meanings with certain prepositions were added.

In the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a, section 1179-1181) the partitive genitive, termed "the genitive with the -u inflection," is presented as encompassing a group of nouns of masculine gender which belong to declensional type I and take -u (-iu) inflection. It is said that the partitive genitive constructions refer to a whole from which a certain part (quantity) can be separated (e.g., *chashka chaiu* "a cup of tea [-u]," *kupit' sakharu* "to buy sugar [-u]," *malo (mnogo) dymu, snegu* "a little bit of (a lot of) smoke [-u], snow [-u]". To the above defined constructions some constructions containing the negative particle *net* are also added (e.g., *net snegu* "there is no snow [-u]"). Such words that stand for uncountable objects are split in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a) into four noun classes which take the -u ending in the genitive case. The labels given below are those applied in the Russian Academy Grammar.

1. nouns with a meaning of substance, such as *aspirin* "aspirin," *vozdukh* "air," *dym* "smoke," *kon'iak* "cognac," *pesok* "sand," *sneg* "snow," etc., (a total of 254 words);

2. nouns referring to different physical states, such as *krik* "shrill or cry," *smekh* "laughter," etc., as well as nouns referring to natural phenomena, such as *veter* "wind," *moroz* "frost," *svet* "light," etc., (a total of 34 words);

3. nouns referring to abstract concepts connected with one's activity or state, such as *talant* "talent," *iumor* "humour," *risk* "risk," *skandal* "scandal," etc., (a total of 21 words);

4. nouns with a meaning of indivisable plurality, such as *narod* "people," *dolg* "duty," etc., (a total of 9 words).

The Russian Academy Grammar (1980a) also considers that in many cases the nouns belonging to the above four classes can take the -a (-ia) inflection, that is, the genitive in -u and -a are alternative case forms when the genitive refers to quantity. Further, it is noted that "if the genitive case is not used in its quantitative meaning" (486), only the forms with the -a inflection are used (e.g., *proizvodstvo syra* "production of cheese [-a]," *tsvet snega* "the color of snow [-a]").

In addition to the above considerations, it is noted (section 1113) that the -u and -a forms are variants which can first, differ stylistically and, second, can partially differ semantically. The choice of the -u inflection is defined by several factors. First, with reference to the lexical meaning of the word, the -u inflection is taken only by those nouns that refer to inanimate objects which cannot be counted. Second, the choice of the -u inflection is subordinated to its sphere of use; for example colloquial styles and literature genres in which those styles occur and in which the above defined nouns have a high frequency of use. The Russian Academy Grammar considers that the use of the -u inflection in contemporary literary Russian is obligatory in two cases: first, in certain phraseological constructions; second, with diminutives. The use of the -u inflection is stated to be normal if the noun which takes it is "the main subject of some sentences" (488). For example:

(1) *Svetu malo.*

"There is not enough light [-u]."

(2) *Dymu polno.*

"It is full of smoke [-u]."

(3) *Snegu tam namelo!*

"Snow [-u] piled up there!"

(4) *Snegu!*

"Snow [-u]!"

(5) *Chaiu!*

"Tea [-u]!"

In the second volume of the Russian Academy Grammar (1980b, sections 2545 and 2550-2554) sentences, referred to as types *Narodu!* "People," and *Chaiu* "Tea" (for example, *Chaiu goriachego!* "Hot tea [-u]!") are considered to have distinct colloquial and expressive nuances. Therefore, sentences (1) through (5) should be considered as colloquial and expressive. However, the above nuances are said to be related to the word order of the sentences, their intonation, and the use of the genitive case as a whole, not the genitive in -u in particular.

It is concluded in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a) that the use of the partitive genitive with the -u inflection is decreasing; the genitive -a inflection, which can also mark quantity, is preferred mainly because of its normative character.

The description of the partitive genitive in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a) yields the following interpretation. There are grounds to acknowledge that the genitive with the -u inflection is a separate case in Russian. First, it is semantically specific, that is, it is defined as a case which expresses quantity for which reason the -u forms are called "the partitive genitive" case. Second, it is specified with reference to the lexical meaning of uncountable nouns and is obligatorily used with diminutives and in some phraseological constructions. Third, it is syntactically motivated, that is, the partitive genitive is used as a "main subject in some sentences" and is sometimes expressively marked (1980b). Fourth, it is used colloquially. But at the same time the genitive with the -u inflection appears to be semantically non-specific. It is non-specific because the genitive in -a can also express quantitative meaning when used with these same nouns that define the choice of the -u inflection. Hence, the partitive genitive is both (semantically) specific, because there are reasons to isolate it separately from the genitive with the -a inflection and it is non-specific, because on many occasions the -u inflection alternates with the -a inflection to express quantitative meaning. It is also non-specific because the -u and -a forms are, on the one hand variants of the genitive case which differ stylistically and therefore are allomorphs of one genitive case, while, on the other hand, these case allomophs appear to partly differ semantically.

The above interpretation of the partitive genitive (genitive in -u) raises many questions. One general question that arises is: are the -u forms a separate case in Russian, or not, and are their meanings different, or not? More specifically Brecht and Levine (1986:19) ask the following question: "[...] how should the Russian "partitive" be analyzed? Specifically, do the alternative genitive inflections, -a versus -u, which occur on certain masculine mass nouns (e.g. *tsena kon'iaka* "price of cognac" versus *riumka kon'iaku* "glass of cognac")

mark two distinct genitive cases, genitive I and genitive II (the partitive)? Or are these two forms [...] mere 'allomorphs' of one genitive case, the form in -u being a cumulative marker of the genitive case plus a new category of 'partitiveness'?" Further, the authors maintain that these "questions can only be answered if we have a rigorous definition of case and a set of principles for delimiting cases in language" (19). These questions are addressed in what follows.

There is a general consensus that the category of case interacts with various levels of language, a fact which makes the study of this grammatical category difficult. Most of the studies of case are concerned with examining case as a morphological, syntactic, or morphologico-syntactic category. In other words, the main focus of investigation of case is the relationship among the case exponents or markers, that is, the case affixes, the (minimal) context in which they occur, that is, the syntactic structure, and the meaning they convey in different contexts, that is, the relationship between semantic and syntactic function of case. These studies emphasise either the semantic or the syntactic function of case, and eventually attempt to show the relationship between semantics and syntax.

The study of case in Russian has a tradition within many theoretical frameworks, including those of traditional grammar, structuralism, government-binding theory, meaning-text approach, case grammar, localist theory, and recently that of cognitive grammar: the first four of these frameworks have been applied to the analysis of the partitive genitive. However, first, there is considerable difference of opinion in the studies of case within the same theoretical framework, and second, there is partial agreement among the linguists who use different theoretical frameworks. What

is true for case is also true, as we shall see in the further sections of this chapter, for the study of the partitive genitive in Russian.

In recent studies of case there are such statements (which are, in my view, not unjustified), as "Just what is meant by 'case,' its form, its meaning and function, is sometimes less than obvious" (Brecht & Levine 1986:19). Kilby (1986:325), for example, considers in his study of the instrumental case in Russian only a limited number of studies (Jakobson, Veyrenc, Wierzbicka) "not because they are good, but because they are the only works which set out to provide an overall and unified account of the instrumental case in Russian, and do so in a way which is comprehensible (to me)."

Since this dissertation is not concerned with presenting in detail different theoretical perspectives in investigating case, in the following I will refer to Mel'chuk's (1986) attempt to give a general interpretation of the terms used in different studies. Mel'chuk proposes the following general interpretation of grammatical case, which he states to be currently used in linguistics.

Case 1. An inflectional category. For example: Russian is inflected for case.
Case 2. A grammeme of case 1. For example: Russian has nominative, accusative, etc.
Case 3. A case marker or a particular word form: a case form which expresses a Case 2. For example: *Knigami* is in Russian the instrumental case of *kniga* ("book") in the plural.

Mel'chuk emphasises the following mutually related theoretical points which are of importance in the description of the partitive genitive in Russian. First, Mel'chuk states that the very term "case" is ambiguous in the above three senses. This statement finds support in Wierzbicka's (1983) view that in recent

research the concept of case is confused with that of the case exponent. She writes:

> In recent linguistic writings, it has been largely lost sight of, in particular with respect to case ('surface case'). The failure to distinguish the case ('surface case') from case marking had as one of its more unfortunate consequences a theory that cases do not encode but merely 'distinguish' syntactic and semantic categories. (Wierzbicka 1983:247-248)

Thus, the confusion of case 1 and case 2 with the case form 3 has given rise to, in Mel'chuk's words, "the appearance (and frequent usage) of the expression 'variant of a case' - which in fact is meaningless" (1986:52).

Second, Mel'chuk (1986:56) states, that "one cannot [...] talk about 'variants of case 2' or about 'case allomorphs that differ semantically' (as is sometimes done): these expressions are logically absurd."

From the above two theoretical issues raised by Mel'chuk (and also by Wierzbicka) it follows that the form in -u cannot be a variant of the genitive case which is used in particular contexts. In other words, in order to recognize the -u forms to be in free variation they always have to be replaced by their corresponding -a forms independently of the context and having the same meaning. However, this linguistic fact seems to be somewhat at variance with the description in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a), as interpreted above.

Furthermore, the notion of free variation of case is related in grammar to the notion of stylistic variation. Variants could differ stylistically. The Russian Academy Grammar (1980a), as shown above, defines the -u and -a forms not only as variants of one genitive case (which sometimes have different meanings) but also as stylistic variants: the -u forms belong to the colloquial styles of

language use. But if the -u and -a forms are not variants but two distinct genitive cases, how then is this related to stylistics? Different answers have been given to this question which is discussed in the following sections.

In subsection 2.1 I present Jakobson's semantic model of case, the genitive and the partitive genitive in particular. The partitive genitive is given a distinct status in the two works by Jakobson (1936/1984a, 1958/1984b). In brief, the partitive genitive, as well as the other cases, are subordinated in Jakobson's thesis to the structuralist axiom of "invariance" of case meanings and isolating the "general meaning" for each case within a system which is then investigated in terms of marked and unmarked binary features characterizing individual case forms. The partitive genitive (that is, the genitive in -u or genitive 2, which is an "accessory case") is analyzed by Jakobson (1958/1984b) as a case which has a marked feature in opposition to genitive 1 (that is, the genitive in -a) which is the unmarked member in the opposition. Jakobson's model of case in Russian and the place of the partitive genitive in it have raised many questions; his analysis has been interpreted, elaborated, tested, and criticized. In the further pages of subsections 2.2 and 2.3 I describe other approaches to the partitive genitive related to Jakobson. The variance and similarity of opinion deriving from one or different theoretical approaches in investigating the partitive genitive made the arrangement of these approaches difficult to constitute as distinct groups. Subsection 2.4. deals with selected surveys and opinions. Section 3 is dedicated to the summary comments of approaches other than Jakobson's, and the aim of the dissertation. It should be noted that all the translations into English for the linguistic examples cited by Jakobson are his original translations.

2. Theoretical Issues

2.1. Jakobson

Jakobson (1984a) begins the presentation of case in Russian with a defence of general meanings (*Gesamtbedeutungen)* of grammatical forms. For Jakobson the meaning of a grammatical category is a relation between the general meaning (single invariant) and contextually determined (specific) variants, that is, particular meanings which are "actual facts of language" (70). In contrast to the general meanings of the cases which are more abstract, all particular meanings of the cases are dependent on their environments and are combinatory variants of the general meaning. These particular meanings are hierarchically ordered. The general invariant meanings belong to morphology; the particular meanings belong to syntax.

The procedure for isolating the case meanings is as follows: firstly, it is the invariant meaning that has to be identified, and secondly it has to be motivated by the variants of multiplicity of contextual meanings for each case; and by the overlapping of contextual meanings in different cases.

Meaning is expressed in correlations, stated in terms of features or qualitative properties which constitute binary oppositions (marked vs. unmarked). The study of these meanings is made not in isolation but within a system. The whole case system is divided into systematic relations among the cases and a corresponding system of case features. Different variants and overlappings of the cases are clarified by an analysis of the case features.

The invariant meaning of the accusative is its directionality. The accusative object *knigu* "book" in the sentence *Ja chitaiu knigu* "I am reading a book" is the object of the process of reading. The expression *den' i noch'* "day and night" in the sentence *On rabotaet den' i noch'* "He is working day and night" signals a segment of time that is entirely encompassed by the action. If *den' i noch'* is

compared with *dn'om i noch'iu*, the instrumental of these entities focuses only on the time of the work (by day and by night) and does not mean the whole time as expressed by the accusative.

Thus case is a closed system with structured meanings. The eight cases isolated by Jakobson in 1936 (Jakobson 1984a) are defined by four correlations/features: directedness, scope, status and shaping. In 1958 Jakobson (1984b) combines the features of directedness and shaping into directionality, while the scope feature receives the status of quantification. He also renames peripherality of status as marginality. Thus, in 1958 Jakobson reduces the features of these same cases to three: directionality, quantification, and marginality (Jakobson 1984b). These meanings refer to the following:

- The feature of *directionality* signals that the action is directed towards the object.
- The feature of *quantification* signals the extent to which the action encompasses the object.
- The feature of *marginality* signals the peripheral role of the object related to the action.

The nominative, accusative, instrumental and dative cases are in a systematic relation defined by the two general meanings of directionality and marginality. The binary oppositions are defined by the presence or absence of one of the two marks. The third feature, that is, quantification, places the genitive and locative cases into the system of correlative oppositions.

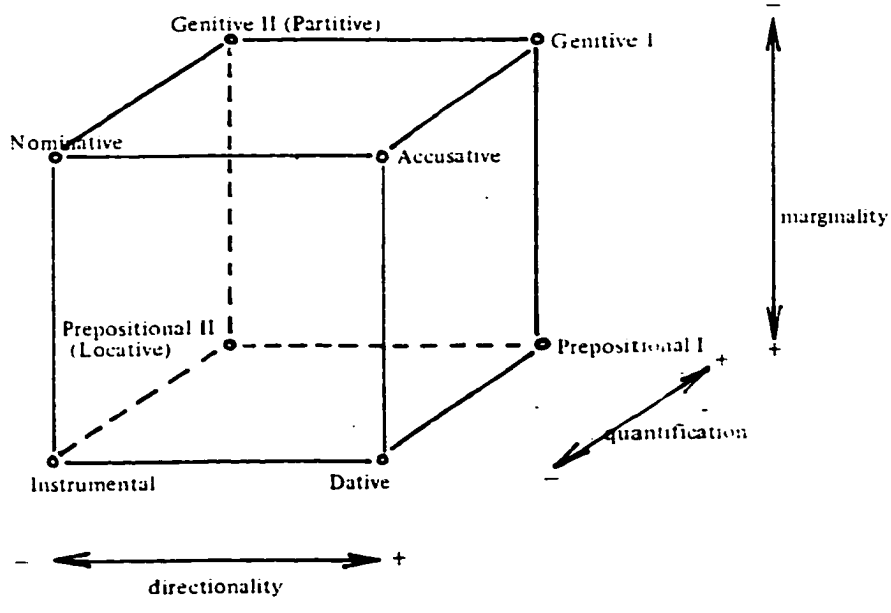
Without the two additional cases (genitive 2 and locative 2) the three features divide the Russian cases in a structured system of oppositions. Accusative and dative are directional cases: they are marked for directionality

as opposed to its absence in the nominative and the instrumental cases. Genitive and locative are quantificational cases: genitive is marked for quantification as opposed to its absence in the nominative and the accusative. Locative is also marked for quantification as opposed to its absence in the instrumental and the dative. Instrumental, dative, and locative are marked for marginality as opposed to its absence in the nominative, accusative and genitive. Thus the nominative as opposed to the rest of the cases has an absence of marks.

Genitive 2 and locative 2 are restricted to a certain number of nouns. Genitive 2 is marked for quantification. Locative 2 is marked for quantification and marginality. The difference between genitive 1 and genitive 2 and locative 1 and locative 2 is in the marking for directionality in the first two in the opposition versus its absence in the two latter cases.

Thus the eight cases in Russian form a three-dimensional system or a cube. The corners of these cube have been further reconstructed by Mel'chuk to visualize the oppositional structure of the cases and their marking (see Fig. 1.1 reproduced by Mel'chuk 1983:63).

Figure 1.1. Jakobson's cube



In the 1936 case model (Jakobson1984a) the genitive case is marked for scope on the basis of which it is contrasted to the nominative and accusative cases which do not indicate "the scope of involvement of its referents" (72). Thus the genitive "always indicates the limit of the referent's involvement in the content of the utterance" (72). Furthermore, the referent's involvement is determined in the sentence either "partially" or "negatively." In the first case Jakobson talks about *genitivus partitivus* which signifies definite or indefinite degrees of involvement. In the second case he talks about the genitive of limit, goal, separation, and negation in which the referent remains outside the content of the utterance. Furthermore, Jakobson examines the specific meanings of both types of genitive, that is, the syntactic variants.

The first type is confined to genitive in nominal sentences, subject genitive, and adverbial genitive.

The genitive in nominal sentences (independently used genitive) indicates that the referent is either "to an indefinite but perceptible extent involved" ("A cry of the greengrocer: ***kapusty! ogurtsov!*** (some) cabbage! (some) cucumbers!"), or "to be involved" ("***limonchika by!*** Oh, for a little lemon," that is, "Oh, for a lemon [diminutive]") (73). The two possibilities of involvement in the content of the utterance, that is, their precise scope, are determined by the situation.

The examples with the subject genitive are pertinent to the relational invariance in the signatum where the conceptual difference represents the same state of affairs that is referred to. Thus, the genitive versus nominative may refer to the same state of affairs in which the object is presented as focused on the precise way the object is meant. Thereby, the interpretative sense of such sentences as, for example, *Liudei* [G] *sobralos'* *vs.* *Liudi* [N] *sobralis'* "people gathered" (73) is different. The genitive as opposed to the

nominative focuses on the crowd. Similarly, *strashno smerti* [G] "it is frightening in the face of death" vs. *strashna smert'* [N] "frightening is death" are interpreted as follows: "in the first instance death is the negative 'main figure' in the utterance and thus remains outside its content - its positive 'main figures' are those who are cringing before death, while in the second instance death is the positive and only main figure" (73).

In the adverbial genitive the partitive object genitive is demonstrated in combination with different verbs: such verbs as *nabirat'* "to accumulate" in *nabiraet deneg* "he accumulates money," in which the verb designates "a change in quantity" (73); and with perfective verbs which indicate the absolute limit of the action.

The second type of genitive encompasses the genitive of limit, goal, separation, and negation. While in all these cases the referent remains outside the content of the utterance, it is the context that determines "that the action stops at the referent (G of limit), or determines in addition whether the action tends toward the referent (G of goal) or rather away from it (G of separation), or whether the referent is eliminated or thrust aside (G of negation)" (73). The interpretation of the examples is given in opposition to the accusative case which is marked for directedness. For example, the opposition *ia ne slychal etoi sonaty* [G] vs. *ia ne slychal etu sonatu* [A] "I have not heard this sonata," in the genitive case "the emphasis is on the unknowness of the sonata on the part of the speaker," while with the accusative case "this emphasis is lacking, and the fact that I have not heard it becomes mere accident, which is unable to eliminate the sonata from the content of the utterance - the presence of the sonata takes precedence: this nuance requires the A as opposed to the G" (74).

Furthermore, Jakobson includes three other rubrics: first, genitive with adjectives, which is either a variety of the partitive genitive, or genitive of limit,

or genitive of separation: second, genitive with pronouns, with the single example *chto novogo* "what's new," the meaning of which is partitive (75); third, the prepositional genitive which specifies the scope relations (that is, limit, goal, separation, etc.).

The last syntactic variant that Jakobson isolates is the adnominal genitive. This variant signals, in Jakobson's definition, either the metonymic nature of the genitive (the focus is on the adjoining content), or a special kind of metonymy which has synecdochic character, as in *chast' doma* "a part of the house" (75). This is so because the referent is outside the content of the utterance or is partially represented in it.

Jakobson maintains that the adnominal use displays best the semantic peculiarity of the genitive: "it is the only case which can refer to a pure noun - i.e. one which is free from a verbal nuance of meaning" (75). Hence, the adnominal use of the genitive is "the typical expression of this case" (75), while the adverbial genitive, which depends on the verbal nuance of meaning , is "the point of maximal case contrast" (75). Furthermore, among the variants opposed to the accusative case, the genitive of negation, goal, and limit have the least differentiating power, because a "confusion" with the accusative is often encountered, "and the distinction is often obscured" (76). By contrast, the opposition between the partitive genitive and the accusative (*vypil vina* [G] "drank up some wine - *vypil vino* [A] "drank up the wine") is the one "with the greatest differentiating power" (76).

Further, Jakobson distinguishes two genitive cases: genitive 1 which ends in stressed or unstressed -a, and genitive 2 which ends in stressed or unstressed -u. He refers to Shakhmatov, considering that he gives "the most insightful definition of the boundary" (91) between the -u and -a forms: "genitives in -u are formed with noncount words with a meaning of substance,

collectivity, or abstraction, and that the -a ending connotes 'the individualization or concretization of the substance concept'" (91-92). Moreover, Jakobson states that genitive 2 is apparently in opposition to genitive 1. Genitive 2 is a marked category in relation to genitive 1. It indicates in opposition to the unmarked genitive 1 that "their referents function in the content of the utterance not as shapes but as something shaping or being shaped" (92). Genitive 2 is a case of shaping and its relation to the genitive 1 is in the shaping correlation *(Gestaltungskorrelation)*.

In Jakobson's view the mass nouns and some abstract nouns, which acquire the ending -u, are treated as substances. He gives the following examples (92):

(6a) definite portion: *lozhka pertsu* "a spoonful of pepper," *funt gorokhu* "a pound of peas," *mnogo smekhu* "much laughter":

(6b) indefinite portion: *chaiu!* "[some] tea!," *smekhu bylo* "there was laughter":

(6c) zero portion: *net chaiu* "there is no tea," *bez pertsu* "without pepper," *bez smekhu* "without laughter."

These mass or abstract nouns which are involved in the utterance in the way shown "are represented as positive or negative only through the limiting function of the utterance" (92).

Jakobson argues that when the mass or abstract nouns are no longer treated as substances but as concrete entities which are "defined, valued, or perceptually treated as such, the G 2 loses its justification, given the nature of the G 2 which disregards the signified object's concreteness" (92). In this

Jakobson finds the justification for the existence of such oppositions, using the noun *kon'iak* "cognac," as (92):

(7a) *riumka kon'iaku* "a glass of cognac," *skol'ko kon'iaku* "how much cognac," *napilsia kon'iaku* "got drunk on cognac," *ne ostalos' kon'iaku* "there was no cognac left," *bez kon'iaku* "without cognac"

versus

(7b) *zapakh kon'iaka* "the smell of cognac," *kachestvo kon'iaka* "the quality of cognac," *krepche kon'iaka* "stronger than cognac," *razgovor kosnulsia kon'iaka* "the conversation touched on cognac," *opasaius' kon'iaka* "I am afraid of cognac," *ne liubliu kon'iaka* "I don't like cognac," *ot kon'iaka* "from cognac."

Jakobson admits that in some instances "the border between the two case forms appears to fluctuate" (92). Some of the variations such as *ne pil kon'iaka* "drank no cognac," that is, did not like or appreciate this drink versus *ne pil kon'iaku* "didn't drink cognac," that is, an "assertion with no particular attitude toward the referent implied" (92), are semanticized. Furthermore, Jakobson finds the difference between *kolichestvo kon'iaka* (in genitive 1) and *kolichestvo kon'iaku* (in genitive 2) "the quantity of cognac," in the interpretation of the meaning of quantity so that in the genitive 1 it "has the semantic nuance of being a property of the referent" while in the genitive 2 it "expresses simply a measure, a pure quantification" (92).

Jakobson (1984a) indicates that there is a general tendency for a mass or abstract noun not to be in the partitive genitive if it is used in a sentence

"where it refers to several similar and hence countable entities" (93). For example, the genitive 2 loses its validity in:

(8) *V prodazhe net ni kitaiskogo ni tseilonskogo chaia.*
"Neither Chinese nor Ceylonese tea [G 1] is being sold."

(9) *V bukete ne bylo tsvetov bez sladkogo ili gor'kogo zapakha.*
"There were no flowers in the bouquet without a sweet or bitter smell [G 1]."

The last examples Jakobson gives refer to the use of the partitive genitive in phraseological constructions: the "frozen constructions" such as, for example, *iz lesu* "out of the woods," *iz domu* "out of the house," *s polu* "from the floor," and some others are treated by Jakobson as unproductive grammatical forms (93).

In 1958 Jakobson (1984b) again raises the question regarding the difference between the two genitive cases. Within the three-feature system genitive 1 is marked for quantification and directionality and genitive 2 is marked for quantification only. Jakobson refers no longer to Shakhmatov but to Kuznetsov in whose opinion Russian possesses two genitive cases despite the fact that the -u ending is taken only by a very limited number of nouns. Jakobson uses as an example the mass noun *snow* to demonstrate the oppositional nature between genitive 1 and genitive 2. The examples are the following (124):

(10) *Dolgo ne bylo snegu, zazhdalis' snega rebiata* "There had been no snow [G2] for a long time, the children were impatient for snow

[G1]"; *Zato skol'ko snegu namelo v ianvare* "Then to make up for it, so much snow [G2] piled up in January"; *Snegu krugom!* "Snow [G2] everywhere!"; *Nabrali snegu rebiata, vylepili snezhnuiu babu* "The children gathered [some] snow [G2] and made a snowman"; *Briullov ne liubil snega, pugalsia snega* "Briullov did not like snow [G1], he was afraid of snow [G1]"; [...] *tsvet snega napominaet moloko* "the color of snow [G1] reminds one of milk."

In the examples of the genitive 1, in opposition to the genitive 2, Jakobson sees an ascription "to the object [of] a property or a condition resulting from an action directed onto the given object" (125). Thus the noun *snow* appears in genitive 1 as "the object of a wearisome wait, of distaste, of fear, or as the bearer of an optical property" (125). Genitive 1, unlike genitive 2, together with locative 1, accusative and dative, is an ascriptive (directional) case. Genitive 2 is marked only for quantification.

Jakobson disagrees with Ebeling's (1955) study which claims that both genitive cases could not occur in identical environments and thus they "lack meaning" (125). To prove the opposite Jakobson gives the following examples (125):

(11a) the quantitative *nedostatok chaiu* ("shortage of tea")

versus

(11b) the qualitative *nedostatok chaia* ("shortcoming of tea").

He makes the following statement: "here only the difference in case ending informs the hearer or reader of the difference in meaning between the two examples, that is of the absence of sufficient quantity versus an internal defect" (125). Thus genitive 1 is distinct from genitive 2 in possessing the feature of directionality, or it is an ascriptive case.

Since I will discuss in detail Jakobson's theoretical views on case and the partitive genitive in particular, in chapter III, the following will consider some alternative approaches in investigating the partitive genitive.

2.2. Morphology - Semantics - Syntax - Stylistics

Although few researchers admit that case use is a unity of invariant semantic properties, many accept Jakobson's basic assumptions and admit that his analysis is so strong that it is hard to deny it. This is clearly expressed by Klobukov (1986):

> [...] There is no model of description of case meanings which can replace the position occupied in the 30s and the 60s by Jakobson's model in the system of morphological analysis. (109)

Chvany (1987:220) considers that Jakobson's presentation of the cases in Russian has problems of "non-negotiability and non-testability." The cube, which presents the eight cases, is in her view a "graphic representation" (220) which refers to Jakobson's "artistic" ("poetic") (202) view of language. Chvany gives many diagrams and schemes constituting different sides of the cube and comes to the conclusion that it "obscures hierarchies" (220), and that Jakobson's model "is one that asks to be accepted as is, or not at all" (222). Chvany makes the following statement about Jakobson's graphic model of case.

> The cube's take-it-or-leave-it, love-it-or-leave-it fate resembles the history of an art object more than the normal development of a scientific model. (1987:222)

She argues that there must be a testable iconic relationship between the figure and linguistic data:

> A universal model of case cannot take geometric form, for figures do not lend themselves to an abstract portrayal of both unity and variety in the case systems realized in particular languages. (Chvany 1987:223)

With regard to the partitive genitive Chvany (1987:221) asks the question: "Should we remove G2 from the cube? How can we?" This is followed by the answer: "That would not only destroy the integrity of the figure, it would mean giving up Jakobson's wonderful quotable - and eternally valid - contrast between *nedostatok chaia* (G1) and *nedostatok chaiu* (G2) [...]." Nevertheless, Chvany agrees that empiricism cannot remove what exists in language. She writes:

> Do we eliminate the "rosy-fingered dawn" from Homer for the sake of accuracy? No! Poetry came before prose; and mere empiricism is not enough to override it. (Chvany 1987:221)

However, Chvany maintains that outside the juxtaposition in Jakobson the genitive cases are vague. Further, she states that the genitive 1 *chaia* "tea [-a]," like *chaiu* "tea [-u]," can also refer to quantity, "while *chaiu* may be interpreted as a marker of stylistic register, a colloquial or substandard variant of *chaia*" (221). Hence, genitive 2 is "near-dead" (221).

Chvany (1982) expresses the belief that case systems contain invariant oppositions. In her opinion these oppositions are describable in purely structural, morphosyntactic terms. However, she avoids case semantics in the presentation of the cases in Russian, and her approach, which is directed to the investigation of the interplay of morphological and functional hierarchies, is formal. There is no place in her analysis for the partitive genitive.

Birnbaum (1986:144), asking the question "*Gesamtbedeutung* - reality or construct?" comes to the conclusion that in Jakobson's approach to case the invariant meaning is "presumably indeed a genuine reality of language and not merely a construct invented by the linguist." Nevertheless, Birnbaum claims that in the analysis of the overall meaning of grammatical form the *Gesamtbedeutung* is not a very helpful notion.

But for van Schooneveld (1986) there is no doubt as to the usefulness of the general meaning in investigating case. Van Schooneveld (1977) further refines Jakobson's invariant features. In addition to Jakobson's (1958/1984b) three invariants ("directionality," "marginality," quantification"), renamed by van Schooneveld (1977, 1987) as "extension," "restrictedness," and "objectiveness," three other features, namely "plurality" (in 1987, called "transitivity" in 1977), "dimensionality," and "distinctness" (in 1987, called "duplication" in 1977) are added to the feature approach of studying the category of case in Russian. Within the framework of Jakobson's case model, van Schooneveld defines case in his studies as a deictic category ("transmissionally deictic" in his terminology). The question one might ask here with regard to the partitive genitive is: does the new term "objectiveness" for Jakobson's "quantification" capture better the essence of the partitive genitive? Perhaps some will find it better. As far as the refinement of the feature approach is concerned,

Birnbaum (1986) argues that though van Schooneveld generally extended Jakobson's semantic analysis, he did not enrich Jakobson's conception.

Wierzbicka (1980:xv) considers that Jakobson's framework is an "extremely insightful analysis of the uses of cases in Russian"; a "brilliant" analysis "due as much to his art, as to his method." But Wierzbicka also considers that Jakobson's approach has a weakness of unverifiability and is a purely subjective impression of the linguistic data. Furthermore, she states that Jakobson's invariant meanings, stated in terms of features, are "too general to be empirically adequate" (xvi). Wierzbicka maintains that rather than isolating a vague unitary formula, it is more useful to separate different meanings of cases, which in her view are interrelated. Wierzbicka writes:

> Since every case meaning is complex (i.e. contains a number of distinct components), most meanings share some components with most of the others; it is possible, and even likely - though by no means necessary - that *all* the meanings of one case may share some of the components (hence the impression that each case has a semantic invariant). But the different "uses" of a case cannot be regarded as mere contextual variants of one meaning because the formula expressing such a "common meaning" would be usually too general to have any predictive value [...] (1980:xix)

Wierzbicka treats every meaning of a particular instrumental case in Russian by a formula which is meant to have full predictive power. The formulae for each case meaning are in her view "self-explanatory semantic primitives" (xix).

Let us consider the metalinguistic formula which Wierzbicka (1980:111) uses for the instrumental of transport:

Oni	*poekhali*	*avtomashinoi.*
they-Nom.	went	car-Instr.

(they went by car) =
X did something
that can be thought of as something that can be said
about IN (X got into IN and was in it when IN moved)
because he wanted to get from one place to another
(not because he wanted something to be sayable about IN)
I say something about IN
because I want you to be able to imagine him doing it

First, this formula is a semantic representation aiming to capture something ("X did something") which is acted on in order for something else to happen ("because he wanted to get from one place to another"), not in order for something to happen to it ("not because he wanted something to be sayable about IN"). The formula develops in a way to reach the peripheral interpretation of IN, that is, Jakobson's peripheral/marginal feature.

Second, in the example it is the noun *avtomashina* "autocar/automobile" that is used, not *mashina* "car." But the instrumental of *mashina* is hardly used in contemporary Russian. The question that can be asked then is: what is it that is so specific about *avtomashina* and *mashina* that *avtomashina* takes the instrumental case, and *mashina* is used in the locative *na mashine* "by car"? Wierzbicka only points out that the instrumental case referring to means of transport is used, "although a prepositional locative (na + Loc.) is more common in this function" (110). Wierzbicka concludes with the claim that "in every instance when there is a choice between the instrumental and some other case, one can explain on semantic grounds why it is the instrumental which is actually chosen" (144). However, Wierzbicka's formula cannot explain the above choice of the lexical item. Moreover, since the instrumental does not have a general meaning, it cannot be said, as Wierzbicka does, that the choice

of the instrumental, instead of another case, can be explained on semantic grounds.

Thus, in Wierzbicka's conception the instrumental appears to be both semantically specific and non-specific. I used these words (see section 1) to interpret the description of the partitive genitive made in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a). In doing so, I accept the view expressed by Kilby (1986) who uses the same words to characterize Wierzbicka's conception: the instrumental is

> non-specific in that there is a whole range of semantic formulae which determine the use of the instrumental, and these semantic formulae have nothing in common which could be isolated as the 'meaning' of the instrumental as a whole. It is specific in that, given a choice between two expressions, there is always some semantic reason why the instrumental expresses the meaning it does. (329)

But, as I have pointed out, Wierzbicka cannot explain on semantic grounds why one case expression is preferred over another.

Wierzbicka's approach, which analyzes the uses of the instrumental as a family of resemblances (the same approach is used for the analysis of the dative case in Polish in Wierzbicka, 1986), is viewed by Brecht and Levine (1986:29) as "an elaboration of Jakobson's invariant distinctive feature approach." Kilby (1986) states that what Wierzbicka's and Jakobson's approaches have in common is the peripherality of the instrumental. Moreover, Kilby considers that Wierzbicka recasts Jakobson's insight in the framework that she uses. Kilby also finds it not to be predictive, although Wierzbicka claims it to be.

Wierzbicka (1983:249-252) also uses a metalinguistic formula to present the meaning of the partitive genitive in Russian as a semantic representation. First,

Wierzbicka (250) considers that forms like *chaia* and *chaiu* ("tea") "differ in case marking rather than in case" (250). Further, she writes that if the -a inflection can be used for partitive meaning as well as for other meanings, "-u signals unambiguously the partitive" (251). Wierzbicka maintains that the ending -u carries with it the following meaning:

> I think of X as of something of which one would say how much of it there is there but which one couldn't count. (1983:251)

She gives the following examples:

(12) *Prinesi chaiu i limonada!*

"Bring some tea [-u] and lemonade [-a]!"

(13) *Prinesi krepkogo chaia i limonada!*

"Bring some strong tea [-a] and some lemonade [-a]!"

(14) *Prinesi limonada i iablok!*

"Bring some lemonade [-a] and some apples [gen. pl.]."

(15) *V prodazhe net ni kitaiskogo ni ceilonskogo chaia.*

"There is neither any Chinese nor any Ceylonese tea [-a]."

In sentences (12) through (14) *limonada* "lemonade" is, in Wierzbicka's words, "clearly used in the so-called partitive sense; nonetheless, the ending chosen is -a, not -u" (250). This is said to be so, because of the expansion of the -a inflection in present-day Russian. In sentence (15), which is Jakobson's example (8), the choice of -a is more appropriate than -u, "because the

sentence is concerned with different kinds of tea, and kinds of tea can be counted. The ending -a does not imply countability but it does not imply uncountability either" (Wierzbicka 1983:251). Thus the partitive genitive in Wierzbicka's view is a case in which the objects are conceptualized "in terms of uncountable quantity" (251).

I agree with Wierzbicka that kinds of tea can be counted. However, I also agree with Jakobson, who uses sentence (8) to support his statement that if mass or abstract nouns refer to several similar and hence countable entities they tend not to take the -u inflection. In my opinion Jakobson's statement aims to show that if similar entities are listed, or enumerated, the use of the -u ending fluctuates. The above is true for Wierzbicka's examples (12) - (14) in which the speaker enumerates the "stuffs" s/he desires. Moreover, the following question arises: why is the noun *limonad* "lemonade" in these examples used with the -a inflection and why is *chai* "tea" in sentence (12) used with the -u inflection? Is it because of the expansion of the -a inflection in present-day Russian, as Wierzbicka states, or are there other reasons? This example shows, as in the case of the instumental discussed above, that the semantic formula proposed by Wierzbicka does not have a predictive and self-explanatory power.

Furthermore, Wierzbicka applies the conception of the partitive genitive as a case in which the objects are conceptualized in terms of uncountable quantity to the -u forms of *chai* ("tea"), *sakhar* ("sugar"). They "suggest specifiable quantities of "stuffs" which are not composed of separate objects and which therefore could not be counted" (251). In Wierzbicka's opinion such "stuffs" can be treated in two different ways. First, as "uncountables" which can be only weighed or measured, and second, as "kinds of stuffs" which can be counted. Thus forms like *chaiu* (that is the -u ending) imply inherently uncountable

"stuffs" and "possibly" countable "kinds." Hence, Wierzbicka's interpretation of Jakobson's conception: "That is to say, as Jakobson suggested, the -u forms are semantically marked, the -a forms semantically unmarked" (252).

But Jakobson also suggested that the partitive genitive loses its justification if the mass or abstract nouns are treated not as substances, but as concrete entities which are defined, valued or perceptually treated as such (see examples (7a) and (7b)). Recall his definition of genitive 2 in relation to genitive 1 (see subsection 2.1): it is a shaping correlation: the referents function not as shapes but as something shaping or being shaped. These labels are found by Wierzbicka not to fit well the phrases such as *mnogo narodu* ("many people"). Wierzbicka states that "A large group of people does not have to be 'shapeless' (they may form a circle or a line), and it does not have to constitute a part of anything" (251). The above phrase "suggests a lot of people, more than it would be practically possible (for the speaker) to count" (251).

It is evident both that a crowd can take various shapes, as Wierzbicka states, and that the speaker cannot count the people. However, it does not appear from Jakobson's conception that the abstract feature shaping or being shaped is meant to focus on different shapes. Jakobson is clear: the partitive genitive does not refer to shapes or to perceptually treated concrete entities.

I have dwelt here at length on Wierzbicka's understanding of Jakobson's conception, because her conception, being compatible with Jakobson's, clearly shows how analysis of case semantics evolves after Jakobson. Moreover, focusing on meaning as a semantic representation precludes the possibility of explaining the expressive character of language (case). In other words, the expressive meaning of the partitive genitive (see the Russian Academy Grammar 1980b, section 1 above) has to depend on the objects thought of as uncountables (both -u and -a) or neither uncountables nor countables (only -a).

Jakobson's invariant meaning which unifies semantic properties of case is rejected by Shvedova (1978, 1980a section 1156-1172). In her view isolating a single invariant meaning is unrealistic. Shvedova argues instead that each case has several meanings organized in a system which has a paradigmatic and syntagmatic organization. Case is a category which belongs to morphology (that is, paradigmatics) whose categorial meaning correlates with the meaning of the case as a syntactic unit (that is, syntagmatics). The morphological level is organized by a complex of abstract meanings of case, derived from the syntactic function of case. Shvedova isolates three such abstract meanings which constitute case meaning: subjective, objective and attributive. Further, these three case meanings, which define differently each case in Russian, are distributed according to the categorial "semantic centre" and "semantic periphery." The semantic centre is the case meaning representative. Its function is regular and exhibits high frequency. Those meanings that lie on the semantic periphery of case are less representative, regular and frequent. The meanings that belong to the semantic centre can be present as well in the peripheral meanings of a particular case, but the central meaning does not penetrate into the whole complex of case meanings, that is, it is not its semantic invariant. Further, the central meanings are related to the "dominant semantic content" of each case. The dominant semantic content is understood as the most regular and important semantic function of case. However, Shvedova admits that there are difficulties in defining what will be the semantic dominant of a particular case. The reasons for that are the following: first, the semantic centre of each case can be organized by two or three meanings; second, the semantic dominant is quite often imaginary.

For the genitive case Shvedova (1980a) finds three central meanings:

subjective, such as *Narodu bezhit* ("[many] People are running");

objective, such as *dat' khleba* ("to give bread");

attributive, such as *strana ozer* ("a country of lakes").

The peripheral meanings of the genitive constitute different "adverbial" meanings, such as *vstrecha piatogo maia* ("a meeting on the fifth of May"). On the syntactic level the above meanings can be found in combinations with one another, and there are addititional peripheral meanings, such as the "information-supplying meaning" (e.g., *para sapog* "a pair of boots").

Thus, for Shvedova case becomes an object of analysis twice: once as a morphological category, that is a member of the nominal paradigm, where one talks about meanings, and once as a syntactic category, that is, as a component of the phrase and the sentence where one talks about functions or, more precisely, about functions/meanings. Different forms and phrasal constructions of the partitive genitive, which is not considered a separate case, fall in the two levels of analysis according to the centre and its periphery organization.

Shvedova's view is criticized by Brecht and Levine (1986:32) for the following reason: it does not become clear in her thesis how the syntactic functions interrelate with the semantic roles: Agent, Patient, etc. They argue that "the central problem that must be addressed in current work on case is how grammatical functions, semantic roles and the formal exponents of case can be related in an explicit theory of case" (1986:33). Whether one accepts the premises of "case grammar" to resolve the relationship between semantics and syntax, or not, is a matter of theoretical approach. As far as Shvedova's approach is concerned, it does not, strictly speaking, need semantic roles to show the above relationship. As I have interpreted Shvedova's approach above,

she uses a functional approach, which is different from "case grammar" approach, to show how case could be analyzed on two different levels. Shvedova's analysis bears resemblance to the framework of "cognitive grammar" in focusing on meaning as a semantic representation.

Deianova and Stanisheva (1976), within the framework of structuralism, state similarly to Shvedova that the semantic differences between cases have to be solved on the syntactic level, the level which serves as a basis for defining the differential features and identifies the invariant meanings within a case system, which in turn belong to morphology. The genitive in -u in constructions of the type *riumka kon'iaku* "a glass of cognac" versus *krepost' kon'iaka* "the strength of cognac" expresses "the differential syntactico-semantic feature, that is, partitivity" (Deianova & Stanisheva 1976:103). Thus, Deianova and Stanisheva agree with Jakobson that cases have invariant meanings. However, they prefer not to identify the invariant meaning of the partitive. Instead, they focus on the relationship between the noun classes which take the -u ending, and the minimal syntactic context in which these nouns occur. Therefore, Deianova and Stanisheva agree with Kuznetsov (1953), as well as with Jakobson, that cases which differ in form for some nouns do not have to differ for all nouns. The fact that the partitive genitive is restricted to a limited number of nouns does not mean in Deianova's and Stanisheva's view that it cannot be separated from the genitive in -a. However, they do not find that all the oppositions given by Jakobson prove the distinction between the two cases. In their conception the differentiation between the genitive in -u and -a "is based on the existence of different oppositions which appear only in concrete lexical conditions" (Deianova & Stanisheva 1976:104). For example, *pachka tabaku* "a package of tobacco [-u]" vs. *sort tabaka* "a sort of tobacco [-a]," but not *napit'sia chaiu* vs. *napit'sia chaia* "to drink tea - [-u] vs.[-a]" which

do not constitute an opposition but are variants of the same invariant. Therefore, the substitution of -u with -a, which are in "free variation" in the two latter examples, is viewed by the two investigators as "normal."

In addition to the statement that one case can be distinct from another case even if it encompasses only a certain number of nouns, Kuznetsov also writes:

> We postulate the existence of two different cases rather than of one case if at least one group of nouns has two different forms which convey different syntactic meaning. (Kuznetsov 1953:74, quoted in and translated by Wierzbicka 1983:74)

This statement of Kuznetsov constitutes one of the premises giving grounds for Deianova and Stanisheva (1976) to consider the partitive genitive a distinct case in Russian. Thus, elaborating on Jakobson's approach, Deianova and Stanisheva stress the importance of syntax as a basis for isolating invariant meaning, and introduce the notion of free variation in addition to the distinctness of the two cases in order to explain the formal fluctuations.

Wierzbicka (1983:250), however, argues "that two forms of a noun can differ in syntactic meaning without necessarily differing in case." Wierzbicka states that "the fact that forms such as *chaia* and *chaiu* ["tea"] differ in syntactic meaning does not mean that they differ in case" (250). In the further pages of these section I describe how a syntax-centered approach treats the partitive genitive.

Studies by Babby (1986) and Franks (1986) present a syntax-centered approach within the government-binding theory. Each of these studies focuses on the principles of Chomsky's abstract case theory in relationship to the morphological assignment of case in Russian. Babby analyzes NP-internal case distribution and assignment in Russian and comes to the conclusion that

revisions in the abstract case theory are necessarily directed to the theory's rules and basic principles. He argues (1986:170) that Chomsky's theory of abstract case "has been concerned exclusively with syntactic case, that is, case whose assignment is uniquely determined by some other category and, therefore, does not figure in the sentence's semantic interpretation. This approach makes no provision for the other major type of case marking, namely, semantic case, that is, case whose assignment is not determined by any other category and, therefore, figures prominently in the sentence's semantic interpretation." Babby states that case assignment in terms of government-binding theory is relevant for English, which only has a syntactic case, but it loses to a great extent its relevance for Russian in which an NP in certain syntactic configurations "can be assigned different cases, and the selection of one or the other of these cases makes a significant contribution to the sentence's semantic interpretation. Case-languages like Russian thus have semantic case marking as well as syntactic" (171).

As a particularly good example of semantic case, Babby proposes the Russian partitive genitive. First, Babby states that, in contrast to syntactic case assignment, its assignment is not determined by other lexical and phrasal categories. Second, in contrast to the assignment of syntactic case, it is not obligatory, and it contributes to the sentence's semantic interpretation (the latter being irrelevant for syntactic case). He defines the partitive genitive in the following way: "a noun phrase marked with gen (part) is [...] interpreted as having a referent denoting an indefinite quantity [...]. Gen (part), like gen (neg), is confined to noun phrases that are not governed by lexical case assigners (1986:204)."

Thus, Babby's view evolves into interpretative semantics within Chomsky's framework. Further, it touches upon Jakobson's framework, for Babby

concludes, in agreement with Jakobson, that the semantic case, and more specifically the partitive genitive, is the marked member of the opposition. It contributes a certain meaning to the sentence's interpretation. However, Babby does not say how specifically the sentences with the partitive genitive could be interpreted.

Franks's study (1986) discusses the partitive genitive in Russian in a somewhat different way from Babby's (1986) study. Franks examines the Russian "bare genitive" constructions which include some examples with the (partitive) genitive:

(16) *Nalivaite mne chaiu.*

"Pour me some tea [-u]."

(17) *Liudei sobralos'.*

"Many people gathered."

The "bare genitive" NP's, in Franks's opinion, seem to constitute an example of what Babby (1986) refers to as semantic case. In the above examples the genitive case assigned to the NP is not determined by a governing category, while the case marking contributes to the sentence's semantic interpretation. The first example is viewed by Franks as a partitive genitive construction which occurs with the mass noun *chai* "tea" and means "some." The second example is viewed by him as the genitive which expresses an opposing meaning, that is, an "inordinately large number." "This is accompanied by an expressive intonation, and is certainly not as typical of literary Russian as the partitive genitive" (Franks 1986:230). Franks proposes a syntactic analysis of such sentences and argues for a structural basis of case distinction, thereby

denying the status of semantic case to "bare genitives." In doing so, he posits an empty quantifier (PRO) before the genitive object: first, it lacks case, that is, it is ungoverned; and second, "the empty quantifier phrase "governs N' and assigns case, just as an overt quantifier does" (235). Hence, "as arguments, the appropriate 'partitive' and 'large quantity' readings are imposed on the PRO quantifier by the verb's semantic-selection properties. That is, 'tea' [...] is 'poured' and 'people' [...] 'gather in quantities'" (Franks 1986:235-236). Further, Franks specifies that the above interpretation reflects the tendency for the PRO quantifier to mean "some" with mass nouns and "many" with count nouns. However, he notes that this tendency should not be overgeneralized. As he points out, the sentence

(18) *On chaiu vypil*
"He drank tea [-u]"

could be interpreted as "he drank some tea," but also as "he drank a lot of tea" if an appropriate intonation and context are present.

Franks concludes that there are no reasons to differentiate the "second-genitive" -u ending from the regular genitive, as it is in Jakobson's conception. This, in his words, "upsets the curious symmetry of his [Jakobson's] famous cube [...] (236). Moreover, he states that the use of the -u ending is gradually decreasing, "so that most younger speakers will prefer, for example, the regular genitive *chaia* to *chaiu* even in partitive usages" (Franks 1986:236).

If Babby's analysis aims at a semantic interpretation of the partitive genitive, Franks prefers to deal with the empty PRO quantifier, which has no source for case, and, thus, in practice opposes "some" to "many." Hence, the following question arises: does *chaiu* "tea [-u]" in the reversed word order

sentence (18) have relevance to the speaker in terms of how much one drank, or does the speaker interpret the sentence? Sentence (18) could be interpreted in the following way: somebody drank this particular drink, that is, the drink which is in one way or another significant to him, because of something which is a matter of non-indifference to him.

From within Chomsky's framework, Franks follows its development in the domain of Fillmorean case grammar wherein case marking is a superficial phenomenon, contrary to Babby, who follows its development in the domain of semantic interpretation.

The conceptions of Klobukov (1986) and Pete (1965) stress stylistic considerations in defining the status of the partitive genitive. For Klobukov the -u and -a inflections are in free variation. But he specifies that this is true only in colloquial styles and literary genres in which those styles occur as the juxtaposition of the colloquial and the bookish. Klobukov refers to Abdel'salam's dissertation of 1984 and notes the following two points: first, the partitive genitive is absent in the bookish style; second, the substitution of the partitive genitive with the genitive is either not possible, or is not preferable in colloquial speech. Hence, the substitution of the partitive genitive with the genitive case is "relative," and thus the -u and -a forms are in free variation only in colloquial styles of Russian.

Moreover, Klobukov (1986:17) states that the partitive genitive is "weakly differentiated in relationship to the genitive case" due to the fact that the -u inflection is taken only by a limited number of nouns. Nevertheless, Klobukov regards the partitive genitive to be a distinct case in Russian without however making clear how the -u forms are distinct from the -a forms.

For Pete (1965) the -u and -a inflections are "variants of the same case." Pete maintains that at the time when Jakobson's investigation of case was

published in1936, the genitive forms of -u and -a were consistently used in different grammatical contexts. But by the 1960s these inflections were used in identical grammatical contexts, and so Pete suggests that they are merely in free variation. Moreover, the -u forms are said to be colloquial and partly archaic, while the -a forms are said to be bookish. Therefore, Pete maintains that the two forms are stylistic variants of the partitive genitive.

Furthermore, Pete proposes a list of uses of the partitive genitive which includes both -u and -a inflections occurring on masculine mass nouns in singular, expanded to feminine and neuter nouns and forms in the plural. This morphologically heterogeneous list includes semantic, syntactic, and typological headings within which certain phrases, verbs and verbal affixes, etc., are introduced to specify the uses of the partitive.

Thus, the -u and -a forms are first, stylistic variants of the same case and are in free variation, and second, in some instances convey different meanings. But the latter point is not a problem for Pete to consider the -u and -a forms as variants of the partitive genitive/variants of the same case, instead of distinguishing two genitive cases.

It is easy to see from the "list approach," which Pete uses, why such an approach is unsatisfactory in defining the meaning of a linguistic category. As Kilby (1986:323-324) states "if there is general account, it is clearly preferable to a mere list of uses, as it provides some basis for the unity of the case form. Put more generally, a strong claim will always be preferred over a weak one, and a mere list of uses is about the weakest claim one can make about the nature of case."

2.3. Metatheory and Taxonomy

The investigations of Zalizniak (1967, 1973), Mel'chuk (1986), and Comrie (1986) are dedicated to the metatheory of case and case taxonomy.

In Zalizniak's (1967, 1973) case taxonomy the partitive genitive is a "partial case," because it is possible only with some masculine singular nouns. Furthermore, it is a "non-autonomous case" due to the fact that its marker -u coincides with the dative -u marker.

Moreover, the -u and -a forms are in "free variation." This is so, because "the word forms of the 2nd genitive apparently can always be substituted in the contemporary language by their corresponding word forms of the 1st genitive (e.g., *u nikh malo chaia, snega* ["they have a little tea, snow"]), while the opposite is not true" (Zalizniak1973:80). However, Zalizniak states that this definition is true if phrases of the type *khochetsia chaika, sakharka* "I feel like having some tea, sugar," (that is, phrases with diminutives in which the -u ending is relatively stable) are accepted to be grammatically correct. Thus, Zalizniak seems to say that there is no free variation where diminutives are concerned.

Within the meaning-text approach, grammatical case (1, 2, and 3 in section 1 above) is examined by Mel'chuk (1986) by the application of symbolic logic, thus presenting a two-page formula which delimits the category of case. He argues that both semantic and syntactic case should be included in grammar: "only an appropriate combination of both approaches is capable of yielding satisfactory results" (77). Moreover, Mel'chuk postulates two other formulae: first, the "principle of external autonomy of case forms" [PEACF] which he argues to correspond to Jakobson's viewpoint, and second, its inverse, that is, the "principle of internal autonomy of cases" [PIAC]. These definitions are used

by Mel'chuk to account for a taxonomy of cases in different languages. In accord with the PEACF principle, the partitive genitive is in Mel'chuk's taxonomy a distinct case, as it is in Jakobson's conception, and is a "partial case," as it is in Zalizniak's (1973) taxonomy. In accord with the PIAC principle it is a "non-autonomous" case, as it is referred to by Zalizniak (1967, 1973).

Furthermore, Mel'chuk attempts to utilize Jakobsonian case features into his own model. He states that feature quantification, which defines the meaning of the partitive genitive, like the other two features from the 1958 model are not descriptive statements, that is, not a part of language. He calls them "META-descriptive statements" (60). These features are related to linguistics and characterize case 2, that is, case as a grammeme. Thus, Jakobsonian features "serve an explanatory purpose, providing a common denominator for many case-related phenomena which otherwise seem disparate and antisystematic" (Mel'chuk 1986:60).

But unlike Jakobson, Mel'chuk maintains that first, there are meaningful cases (case 2), which are related to semantic representation, in opposition to meaningless cases 2 which are selected by the syntactic context. Second, there are cases that never have meaning, such as the Russian nominative and prepositional cases. Third, in Russian, according to Mel'chuk, some cases have meaning in some contexts but are devoid of meaning in other contexts. He states (1986:56) this to be the case of "the Russian partitive which conveys the meaning "some" [= "an indefinite amount of"] with the direct object of several verbs (*Prinesi sakhar!* "Bring the sugar!" versus *Prinesi sakharu!* "Bring some sugar!"), but which is devoid of meaning in such idiomatic expressions as *bez tolku* "to no purpose" or *dlia smekhu* "to amuse people."

Expressing disagreement with Mel'chuk's statement Brecht and Levine (1986:22) write: "Presumably, Mel'chuk would also treat as meaningless the

partitive after lexemes such as *malo* "a little," *mnogo* "a lot," etc." Mel'chuk's position is also criticized by Gladney (1986) for whom the Russian prepositional is not a meaningless case. Thus, the question whether all -u forms have meaning, or not, remains open. The answer to this question requires psychological considerations.

In his study Comrie (1986) attempts to delimit cases in different languages and focuses on formal and functional criteria in determining the identity of cases in a given language, and the Russian partitive in particular. He proposes a "consistent and comprehensive approach" (103) which handles the relations between the distributional and formal criteria in identifying a particular case. At the core of this approach stands the feature analysis of case in accord with the premise that it is not an issue whether a particular Jakobsonian feature is accepted or not, but rather "Jakobson's major insight into the structure of the Russian case system" (101). He writes:

> Distributional cases are feature constellations, and a given formal case of a particular nominal will be charactarizable in terms of the same features as are used in characterizing distributional cases. (Comrie 1986:103)

An example of such a relation is the partitive genitive in Russian. Comrie proposes the following analysis of the noun *syr* "cheese" with both -u and -a inflections.

Russian has two distinct distributional cases: non-partitive genitive and genitive. They include the formal opposition between the non-partitive *syra* and the partitive *syru* (or *syru/syra* in free variation). If other nominals are taken into consideration, the non-partitive genitive and the partitive genitive map onto the same form. "Therefore, we extract from the non-partitive genitive and

partitive a common feature that is not shared by any other distributional case" (102). Comrie calls this feature [genitive]. Further, he establishes the feature opposition [partitive]/[non-partitive] which is lower in hierarchy and is dependent on the [genitive]. Thus, the two distributional cases are defined by the following feature constellations: [genitive, non-partitive] for the non-partitive genitive and [genitive, partitive] for the partitive genitive. Further, Comrie extends the labels from the distributional cases across to the formal cases. Thus *syra* is specified as [genitive, non-partitive], while *syru* is specified as [genitive, partitive]. Finally, Comrie refers to the syntactic positions which have to generate the feature complex [genitive, partitive]: the speaker will insert either *syra* or *syru* because the feature constellations of the distributional cases, as is evident from the above quotation, characterize the formal cases. The feature complex [genitive, non-partitive] is generated by the syntactic positions in which the speaker inserts only *syra*. Thus, *syru/syra* and *syra* are defined as separate cases.

Comrie notes that his own study, especially his conception of the synthesis of form and distribution, is "programmatic" (104). However, he also considers, as shown above, that the proposed approach is "comprehensive." Whether one finds the latter to be the case or not is a matter of opinion.

2.4. Surveys and Opinions

Since Jakobson's (1958/1984b) second theoretical study of case, in which he raises again the question regarding the distinction between the genitive 1 (in -a) and genitive 2 (in -u), the evolution of the partitive genitive in the social-historical context was systematically evaluated in the 1960s. The results of this study are reported by Panov (1968:175-179) and also Krysin (1974:165-173).

The study constituted a survey using questionnaires designed to assess speakers judgements about their use of the partitive genitive forms. The questionnaires were mailed to thousands of speakers of literary Russian in Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine and of these, apparently, 4300 questionnaires were returned and became available for analysis.

The questionnaire used in this study was divided into two sections: in the first section subjects were required to "supply the needed letters" in a list of sentences in which the genitive, and occasionally other grammatical endings, were omitted. For example: *Bol'noi prinial dve tabletk...piramidon...* "The sick person took two tablets of piramidon." The next section included pairs of verbal and nominal constructions such as *kupil chaiu* versus *kupil chaia* "he bought (some) tea." The subjects were asked to select that member of the pair which seemed most correct to them.

The subjects' responses to the questionnaire were organized in accordance with their age, education, profession, and place of residence (urban areas only), and the results were reported in terms of percentages of use of the -u form as follows (the first percentage is extrapolated from the other data).

Older subjects (born at the beginning of the century): 36.1%; whereas younger subjects (born in the middle of the century): 34.7%. The results show that there is a 4% increase in -a form use between the older and younger generation, and that the decrease in -u form use begins with the generation born in the 1930s.

Both Panov and Krysin report that the use of the -u/-a forms depend on education and profession. The -u form was preferred by journalists and writers (39.5%) compared to workers (29.7%), and subjects with higher philological education (37.5%) compared to subjects with other higher education (29.6%).

As to place of residence, Krysin provides the following with regard to the use of the partitive genitive:

Northern Russia, Belarus	39.2%	Moscow	27.8%
Moscow area	32.5%	St. Petersburg	26.3%
Southern Russia, Ukraine	31.6%		

Both Panov and Krysin relate the use of the -u form with noun frequency. High frequency nouns, such as *kvas* "kvass," *syr* "cheese," *sakhar* "sugar," *chai* "tea" were primarily assigned the -u inflection. The noun kvass which appeared after a verb of desire, that is, *khochetsia* "I feel like" yielded the highest assignment of -u at 75.2%. Medium frequency nouns, such as *limonad* "lemonade," *dzhem* "jam" taking the -u inflection ranged between 36% and 25.2%. Low frequency nouns related to chemistry and medication were primarily assigned the -a inflection.

Furthermore, both Panov and Krysin maintain that the use of the -u/-a forms depends on their syntactic context. Thus, the -u inflection occurs more often in verbal (e.g., *kupil sakharu* "he bought (some) sugar") than nominal constructions (e.g., *my vypili dve chashki chaiu* "we drank two cups of tea"). Constructions in which the verb is followed by an adverb of quantity (e.g., *mnogo chaiu* "much tea") are more like verbal constructions, whereas when the adjective is employed in the nominal constructions (e.g., *ia vypil stakan krepkogo chaia* "I drank a glass of strong tea") it tended to weaken the partitive meaning, or reduce the assignment of the -u form even further.

Panov (1968) concludes that the -a forms generally prevail over the -u forms and that the -u forms are colloquial, a finding that confirms most of the viewpoints expressed in grammatical examinations of the partitive genitive. The

alternative forms ***peska/pesku*** "sand," which serve as a title of Panov's report, are treated in this study as stylistic variants, though there is an expression of amazement that ***pesku*** "sand [-u]" is stable with the -u inflection. This fact is given an explanation with reference to the phrase ***sakharu-pesku*** "literally 'sugar-sand' in reference to "granulated sugar." But the mere consideration of the -u/-a forms as stylistic variants, as in some grammatical studies, does not offer new arguments.

The survey study reported on by Panov (1968) and Krysin (1974) relied on questionnaire data. Paus (1994) considers that in order to account for linguistic variation one needs to look at actual speech data.

Paus (1994) obtained data of the -u/a genitive forms from interviews. These interviews were held with 49 native speakers of Russian (mainly immigrants) in Los Angeles in 1991. The subjects were asked to describe, discuss and talk about their typical meals, shopping habits, the way they offered food and drinks to others, and to provide recipes for different dishes.

The results obtained were similar to and consistent with those (namely age, place of residence and profession) reported by Panov (1968) and Krysin (1974). Paus, in contrast to Panov, does not maintain that the -u and -a forms are merely stylistic variants but discusses the data obtained from the interview in context. That is, a particular type of context which favours the use of the genitive in -u which he calls "interactive."

> Interactive contexts are those in which one person directly addresses an explicit or implicit invitation or request to another person, or responds to an invitation or request. Interactive constructions can be defined syntactically; they always have overt or implied first or second person subjects, and they always have an overt or implied verb of offering or requesting, or a VP which expresses desire or lack of desire. (Paus 1994:253)

Furthermore, Paus states that the assignment of the -u ending does not correlate with the overall frequency of the nouns but rather with the average rate of occurrence in interactive contexts.

This is to say that dialogue is essential for the occurrence of the -u forms. Furthermore, the partitive genitive is related to expressing a person's desires (e.g., *mne tak khochetsia kvasu* "I really want some kvass" recorded by Paus). Recall that the verb *khochetsia* "I feel like" and kvass, a drink that is popular in Russian culture, yielded the highest rate of occurrence of the genitive in -u in the 1960s study. These suggest that the analysis of the partitive genitive should be related to speech.

Although Paus (1994) emphasises the importance of the interactive context for the realization of the genitive in -u, he does not suggest that the study of the partitive genitive has to be related to pragmatics. Instead, Paus concludes that the partitive genitive "seems on its way to becoming a purely formulaic device, completely lacking in grammatical generality, and essentially limited to a few stereotyped constructions [...]" (261). Such constructions are said to be *Khochesh' chaiu?* "Do you want (some) tea?" and *Daite mne sakharu* "Give me (some) sugar."

Finally, some statements regarding the use of the partitive genitive have been obtained from native speakers of Russian. Some of Paus's (1994) informants expressed the view that the use of the partitive genitive in contemporary Russian is "illiterate, dialectal, and characteristic of speakers from small towns who don't know how to speak Russian properly" (258). Paus refers to Kuznetsov's Russian dialectology (1973) for support of his claim that speakers of many rural dialects of Russia have high rates of partitive usage. Though for some of Paus's informants the use of the -u inflection is considered "illiterate," this statement neither means that speakers who belong to the

Russian intelligentsia, who are obviously "literate," do not use the genitive in -u (see Panov's and Krysin's reports above), nor that these same informants, judging from the group results (Paus 1994), use only the genitive in -a. This is supported by the following example.

When I asked a native speaker of Russian who visited the University of Alberta in 1994 (a 40 year old woman from Moscow with a higher non-philological education) whether she uses the partitive genitive or not, the answer was "no." In the opinion of this woman, whom I shall call X, the -u words sounded "affected." After several months we met for a lunch. During lunch our conversation was neither about food and drinking habits in Russia, nor about university matters (that is, something official and bookish), rather the conversation involved X's description of a party with her friends in Moscow pertaining to her interpretation of the word "friendship." The party and the "friendship" discussion was presented by X as "wonderful." She talked quickly, gesticulating, smiling: this was a heart-to-heart talk between us. Suddenly the -u word was uttered: *Chaiu vypili...* ("We drank tea [-u] ..."). After the lunch was over, I mentioned to X that it appears that she uses the genitive in -u despite the affirmatively judged "no," which she had uttered several months before this lunch. X said that she was not aware of that.

Graudina, who comments on the results of the 1960s experimental study (in Panov 1968:198), expresses the following opinion: "The younger speakers consciously prefer the -a form though they unconsciously use the more traditional -u form." In other words, asking native speakers whether they use the -u forms, or not, or when and how they use them, suggests that they should have an awareness of their use; but this is not the case. Thus, there are two interconnected aspects in the use of the genitive in -u: the real life of the partitive genitive is in speech, and the utterance of the speaker is mainly

unconscious; on the other hand, conscious introspection may be influenced by external factors such as the influence of prescriptive grammarians.

3. Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has served to introduce the partitive genitive in Russian by way of examining the different theoretical issues relevant to the investigation of case in general and the partitive genitive in particular.

The partitive genitive (in -u) occurs with a limited number of nouns with the meaning of substance, collectivity, and abstraction in the masculine singular. It alternates with the genitive in -a more with certain nouns than with other nouns; in some contexts the fluctuation between -u and -a is more noticable than in other contexts. The use of the -u inflection is (relatively) stable with diminutives and in phraseological constructions; it is preferred when the noun is the main subject of the sentence. The -u forms belong to the colloquial styles of Russian; their use depends on geographic, dialectal, group, and age factors.

The above views and approaches in investigating the partitive genitive in Russian address several issues. First, they present (though not exhaustively) the complex nature of the partitive genitive. Second, they make obvious that the understanding of case in general and the partitive genitive in particular depends on the theoretical framework used. The linguists quoted focus mainly on the formal, semantic, syntactic, and stylistic functions of case, emphasizing one of these aspects, or examining them in combination, and thus being in agreement with each other in some of their statements. Third, despite this partial agreement, there is a variance of opinion in presenting the category under examination, deriving not only from the use of different theoretical frameworks but also arising among linguists who take the same approach.

The investigators of the partitive genitive in contemporary Russian agree as to which noun classes take the genitive -u ending; this is presented in great detail in the summary of the description of the "genitive with the -u inflection" in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980a). They basically agree in their statements (see Fig. 1.2) as to what meaning the partitive genitive conveys:

Figure 1.2. The Terminology Used in Defining the Meaning of the Partitive Genitive

"genitive of partitive quantity"	Bogoroditskii
"a whole from which a certain part (quantity) can be separated" => correlative to the term "genitive of separation"	Russian Academy Grammar Vinogradov
"some" = "an indefinite amount of"	Mel'chuk
"uncountable quantity"	Wierzbicka
"referent denoting an indefinite quantity"	Babby
reference to quantity	Chvany
"some vs. a lot of"	Franks

There are three mutually connected linguistic facets that underlie different linguistic analyses and give the partitive genitive, if not a distinct status, its own "identity" (speaking metaphorically) among the rest of the cases in Russian: the case exponent, that is, the -u inflection; its occurrence with certain masculine nouns; and the phrases in which these mass nouns occur. But even the first facet, that is, the -u inflection, which coincides with the -u exponent in the dative, is already problematic for the status of the partitive genitive. It is a non-"autonomous case" (Mel'chuk 1986; Zalizniak 1967, 1973). The second facet, that is, the limited number of words that take the -u ending, makes it a "weakly differentiated case" (Klobukov 1986), or "partial case" (Mel'chuk 1986; Zalizniak 1973), or an "additional" case in general as it is conceived in linguistic research. The third facet, that is, the analyses of the contexts in which the noun with the genitive -u inflection occurs, is directly connected with the theoretical framework used in examining the partitive genitive which is pertinent to understanding case as either a semantic or a syntactic category, or as belonging both to semantics and syntax. Furthermore, the reference to "some/an indefinite quantity," which makes the partitive genitive semantically specific, may also be conveyed by the alternative genitive -a inflection. Thus, for some linguists the genitive in -u does not possess "identity," that is, it is (also) semantically non-specific: the -u and -a forms are variants of the same case, that is, are in free variation.

For many investigators of the partitive genitive the notion of case variation is crucial. It even becomes the basic criterion, related by some to pragmatics, according to which the status of distinctiveness is either granted or denied to the partitive genitive. The forms of the type *syru/syra* "cheese" are explained variously (see Fig. 1.3).

Figure 1.3. The Terminology Used in Defining the Partitive Genitive as a Variant of Case

formal variant	Russian Academy Grammar
stylistic variant (colloquial vs. bookish)	Chvany, Klobukov, Panov, Pete, Russian Academy Grammar
free variation (in colloquial styles)	Klobukov
free variation (in certain lexical conditions)	Deianova and Stanisheva
free variation (in certain syntactic positions)	Comrie
free variation (in standard literary Russian)	Pete, Zalizniak

The studies reviewed above define the partitive genitive differently. The partitive genitive is: a distinct case on grammatical and/or semantic grounds (Babby 1986; Mel'chuk 1986; van Schooneveld 1977, 1987; Vinogradov 1947/1972); both a distinct case and formal case variant in certain contexts and/or spheres of use (Comrie 1986; Deianova and Stanisheva 1976, Klobukov

1986): non-distinct, formal and stylistic variant of case which sometimes convey different meaning (Pete 1965; Russian Academy Grammar 1980a); non-distinct on grammatical and/or semantic grounds (Franks 1986; Shvedova 1978, 1980a; Wierzbicka 1983; Zalizniak 1973). This general heterogeneous definition of the partitive genitive in linguistic research depends on: first, the theoretical approach used; and second, on the number of factors taken into consideration. Nearly all approaches discussed above utilize in one way or another Jakobson's framework in describing the partitive genitive. But the question that arises here is: do they capture the complex nature of the partitive genitive better than Jakobson's model?

Jakobson makes it clear that the starting point in his investigation of case in general (the partitive genitive in particular) is semantics. The meaning of the partitive genitive is a relation between the more abstract character of the general meaning, termed shaping or quantification, to actual facts of language, that is, the contextual variants. He does not omit the fact that the -u and -a forms fluctuate, thus sometimes leading to semantic variations in certain phrases. But Jakobson's semantic approach has been found unsatisfactory in relation to semantics and syntax, on the one hand, and stylistic variation, on the other hand.

Thus, some studies attempt to show the relationship between semantics and syntax stressing the importance of syntax in defining the general meaning of the partitive genitive, and using the notion of free variation in order to explain the fluctuations (Deianova & Stanisheva 1976).

Shvedova attempts to analyze case as a unity of semantics and syntax, an attempt which denies the distinctiveness of the genitive in -u. Furthermore, case meaning is largely a semantic representation. The syntactico-semantic approach of Babby (1986) based on Chomskyan grammar develops into

"interpretative semantics," which is opposed by "case grammar" considerations used in the Chomskyan view (Franks 1986). Hence, the partitive genitive is a "semantic case" (Babby) which is denied by Franks; it is a distinct case in Babby's conception and non-distinct in Franks's conception.

Wierzbicka (1983) states that word forms can differ in syntactic meaning without differing in case. The -u and -a fluctuations are a sufficient reason for Wierzbicka to deny the distinctiveness of the partitive genitive. The proposed formula, which is a semantic representation, evolves into a "cognitive grammar" view. Wierzbicka defines the meaning of the partitive genitive in accord with what the partitive objects are in nature: "uncountables." But this fact is not ignored in Jakobson's conception. However, in Jakobson's thesis meaning is a relational characteristic directed to semantic interpretation, not a peculiarity of the objects. There is indeed nothing peculiar about lemonade, tea, or similar uncountables.

A semantic interpretation, as advocated by Babby (1986), and meaningfulness, as conceived by Mel'chuk (1986), when related to semantics and syntax, require psychological consideration. In the attempt to interpret Franks's sentence (18) I have used the notions "significance" and "non-indifference" of something to the subject, which do not fit well into a semantic representation formula. Furthermore, opinions, expressed by native speakers of Russian, show that the -u forms are conceived in a different way, and that the speakers are not (entirely) conscious of their use.

Another problem refers to the stylistic variation of the -u and -a forms as related to free variation. Linguistic theories have accepted the Saussurean distinction between language and speech. This distinction leads, on the one hand, to focusing either on semantics or syntax in linguistic analysis and, on the other hand, to opposing stylistics to semantics. Hence, the partitive

genitive is a distinct case but also a stylistic (colloquial) variant of case: and the -u and -a forms are in free variation in language or in speech. Thus, the notion of free variation, which was introduced to resolve the relationship between formal fluctuations and meaning, is not very helpful in the analysis of the meaning of the partitive genitive. It even obscures linguistic analysis.

Brecht and Levine (1986) propose that a new set of rigorous criteria should be developed in order to delimit the category of case. The question that arises here is how the expressive dimension of the partitive genitive, which is vaguely referred to in the Russian Academy Grammar (1980b) (also Franks 1986), will fit into a rigorious set of criteria, or rules?

Some investigators state that younger speakers of Russian prefer the regular genitive ending -a in the partitive usages, and thus in practice erase the grounds for any specificity (whether this be semantic or syntactic) of the partitive genitive in -u. Hence, the investigation of the partitive genitive in Russian has become a non-favourite topic in current linguistic research. It exists mainly as a supplementary part of a broader topic which deals with case (for more references about older research, see Deianova & Stanisheva 1976; Pete 1965). Thus, the partitive genitive has acquired the status of "quicksand," taking into account the *pesku/peska* "sand" variation (Panov 1968) in reference to the semantic specificity/non-specificity of the genitive in -u. Linguistic theories fail to capture the complex nature of the partitive genitive and do not describe it better than it is described in Jakobson's thesis.

I am not here concerned with delimiting a set of criteria for examining case in general and the partitive genitive in Russian in particular, but I am concerned with interpretation of Jakobson's model of case.

In chapter II I will examine in brief the historical development of the partitive genitive. Chapters III and IV are concerned with Jakobson's

theoretical views and interpretations of the meaning of the partitive genitive. In this context I will consider Taylor's (1985) expressivist view on language to ground the distinction between the genitive in -u and genitive in -a.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE

1. Introduction

The investigations of the partitive genitive in contemporary Russian show that first in the 20th century the -u inflection occurs on nouns with the meaning of substance, collectivity and abstraction; second, the genitive in -u belongs mainly to colloquial Russian (both to standard literary Russian and many dialects) and its literature genres; and third, the -u and -a inflections alternate on one and the same noun (with the exception of diminutives and certain phraseological constructions in which the -u ending is more stable) and in the same noun classes which define the choice of the -u inflection. It is in view of these findings that the -u and -a forms are stylistic variants, that is, the colloquial -u versus the bookish -a variant of the same case. Pete (1965) maintains that by the 1960s the -u and -a inflections were used in identical grammatical contexts while in the 1930s they were consistently used in different grammatical contexts. It appears from Pete's statement that in older stages of Russian the use of the -u and -a forms was a normative characteristic as opposed to present day Russian.

In this chapter I will examine in brief the historical development of the partitive genitive in Russian, with the aim of showing whether the above

description of the partitive genitive in contemporary 20th-century Russian is based on a continuity of its use and thus reflects continuity of its linguistic tradition, or not.

2. An Overview

At the beginning of the century (1910 - 1911), Shakhmatov (1957) connects the genitive ending -u to the old declensional type. It is known from standard diachronic reconstructions (e.g., Duridanov 1991) that in late Protoslavic the o/u declensional types were fused as part of the formation of the masculine declensional type. The merger of -o and -u declensions resulted in some formal variation and penetration of some -u stem endings into -o stems and vice-versa. In Shakhmatov's view the -u ending in this declension was not connected with the conception of the object as inanimate, "but with the lack of its individualization, with the incapability of thinking of it as something individually defined and distinct" (1957:240). Thus, according to Shakhmatov, first in the -u stems and later under their influence in the -o stems, there originated a view of a grammatical category which encompasses nouns with the meaning of substance, collectivity and abstraction. This category is in contrast to one which encompasses individual objects (animate and inanimate). The former category receives the ending -u in the genitive case, the latter the ending -a. The transfer of the -u ending into the -o stems included those nouns that did not refer to individual objects. Further, Shakhmatov provides a list of examples with the genitive in -u for the three noun classes he isolates which derive mainly from older Russian documents, as well as some examples which belong to 19th-century Russian.

According to Bulakhovskii (1950) the influence of the -u stems on the -o stems in the genitive singular dates back to the 11th century in East Slavic documents and 13th century in the documents on which Great Russian is based. The -u inflection begins its gradual expansion in the masculine genitive singular. This expansion, as registered in Russian historical grammars, is activated in the 15th century and reaches its peak in the 16th-17th century. The linguists who investigate this period do not differ in their statements about which noun classes take the -u ending in the genitive case. In the statement of Deianova and Stanisheva (1976) most of the nouns are:

(a) words with a meaning of substance and collectivity, such as *med* "honey," *tabak* "tobacco," *vozdukh* "air," *narod* "people";

(b) some nouns refer to abstract concepts, such as *grekh* "sin," *mir* "peace," *strakh* "fear," *um* "mind"; some nouns from this group stand for activities, such as *lov* "hunting," *boi* "battle," other for temporal concepts, such as *vecher* "evening";

(c) nouns with locational meaning - they refer mainly to locations or geographical concepts, such as *bereg* "bank," *verkh* "peak," *Don* "the river Don."

As affirmed by Deianova and Stanisheva, historical investigations show that in the 15th-17th century the range of nouns that take the ending -u is extensive. However, in the noun classes identified above the ending -u alternates with -a. The same scholars state that the most consistent use of the -u ending is exhibited by nouns with a meaning of substance and collectivity. The -u ending is also consistent in the 17th century in constructions in which quantifiers of the type *mnogo* "many/much" are employed, as well as in

constructions containing the prepositions *ot* "from," *iz* "from/out," *bez* "without," and other, and after the negative particles *net, ne*. Investigations of the documents from this period show that the choice of the -u or -a ending was not subjected to any normative rules. Indeed, the -u ending was morphologically distinct in certain nouns and noun classes in many dialects (more in Southern Russia than in Northern Russia). Deianova and Stanisheva conclude, in accord with many historical analyses which account for the spread of the -u ending, that this ending has a colloquial use in old Russian. This use has been further activated in the 15th-17th century. For this same period the -u ending was also used in different administrative documents and geographical descriptions. This use was connected with the establishment of the Moscow administrative language (*delovoi iazyk*), which was based on colloquial Russian, as the language of the Russian state. The use of -u prevailed in many dialects. In religious texts, on the other hand, it is -a that is used.

In the 18th century the use of the -u ending starts to decrease. In the grammar of Lomonosov from this period the use of the -u and -a endings is viewed as a stylistic differentiation. In *Rossiiskaia Grammatika* of 1755, Lomonosov (1950) takes a prescriptive position and formulates rules for the use of the -u ending. In his view the -u inflection should be rejected in the "high style." Its use belongs rather to the "low style." *Sviatogo dukha* "holy spirit" is, for example, proper with the -a ending but *rozovogo dukhu* "the smell of the rose" properly takes the -u ending.

Lomonosov also makes the point that the use of -u and -a endings depends on tradition - whether the noun is old or not - and the significance of the objects. For nouns of Slavic origin the use of -u is proper, while for borrowings it is -a which is proper. Moreover, Lomonosov refers to the meaning of the

genitive in -u by noting that the nouns with the -u ending, in contrast to the nouns with the -a ending, denote objects that can be measured but not counted.

In her survey of the use of the -u and -a forms in the 18th and 19th century, Plotnikova-Robinson (1964:166-185) writes that in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century both of the endings -u and -a were used. Her survey is based on thirty dissertations and several artricles which examine the use of the two genitive forms in different literary genres and documents. She also refers to the grammars written at that period in which the -a ending is considered proper: that is, it is qualified as bookish, and the -u ending is a colloquial variant. Therefore, the use of the partitive genitive is defined as colloquial.

Plotnikova-Robinson states that despite the normativist restrictions of the 19th century grammars recommending the use of the -a forms, the -u forms were widely used in different literary genres. She gives many examples to support her statement that the -u ending occurred both on domestic words and loanwords, thus following the traditions of 18th century Russian. Its use continued to be consistent in the constructions which have already been distinguished as characteristic for the 17th century. Judging from the examples Plotnikova-Robinson provides, the -u inflection was also consistently used with diminutives and in phraseology.

Plotnikova-Robinson provides some evidence for the use of the -u forms in correlation with the -a forms by 19th century writers. She gives some figures for the use of the -u forms by Pushkin, which are based on the Dictionary of Pushkin's Language (*Slovar' Iazyka Pushkina*). This dictionary gives evidence that Pushkin uses the genitive in -u with 100 nouns. Fifty seven nouns are used by Pushkin both with -u and -a endings. Nine nouns, which are *nos*

"nose," *otpusk* "vacation," *porokh* "(gun)powder," *rost* "height or growth," *srok* "term," *tovar* "load," *tolk* "sense," *khod* "development," *chai* "tea," are used by Pushkin primarily with the -u ending. The remaining 34 nouns are exclusively -u words. Some of these 34 nouns listed by Plotnikova-Robinson are the following: *vzdor* "nonsense," *vid* "appearance," *zador* "ardour/vigour," *znoi* "scorching heat," *umysel* "intention," *ushib* "bruise," *luk* "onions," *syr* "cheese," *tabak* "tobacco," *ogonek* "fire - diminutive," *kvas* "kvass" etc. Plotnikova-Robinson's investigation shows that Pushkin frequently uses phraseological constructions in which the -u ending occurs. For example: *dlia vidu* "for the sake of appearance [-u]," *s vidu* "on the surface [-u]," *ne pokazyvat' i vidu* "give no sign [-u] of," *teriat' iz vidu* "to lose sight [-u] of," *ni slukhu ni dukhu* "neither hide nor hair of [literally: neither hearing nor spirit/smell [-u] of]," *ne imet' dukhu* "not to have the courage (guts) [-u]," *begat', veselit'sia, speshit' do upadu* "to run, enjoy oneself, to hurry until one drops [-u]," *ni shagu nel'zia stupit'* "one cannot take even a step [-u]," *bez sprosu* "without asking [-u]," *bez umolku* "without a pause [-u]."

There is also reference in the same survey to some -u forms used by some other writers. Other -u forms used by Batiushkov are used mainly with the prepositions *bez* "without," *iz* "from/out," *ot* "from," and the negative particles *net, ne*: e.g., *bez gromu* "without thunder [-u]," *bez domu* "without a home [-u]," *bez razboru* "without distinction [-u]," *dlia domu* "for the home [-u]," *iz Krymu* "out of the Crimea [-u]," *ot sadu* "from the garden [-u]," *ot gorodu* "from the town [-u]," *ot strakhu* "from fear [-u]," *ot kholodu* "from the cold [-u]," *ot chadu* "from a dizzying vapour [-u]," *posredi shumu* "in the midst of the noise [-u]," *pokoiu ni na chas* "not a moment of peace [-u]," *sporu net* "indisputably [-u]," *ne bylo nedostatku* "there was no shortage [-u] of anything," *ne mogu otdat' otchetu* "I cannot give an account [-u]."

Plotnikova-Robinson states that both in poetry and prose in the 1830s-40s the use of the -u ending is dominant. She does not find grounds to sufficiently differentiate the use of the -u and -a forms in various literary genres for the first half of the 19th century in comparison with the middle of the 19th century. She maintains that the genitive in -u is used both in the narrator's voice and characters' voices; the -u ending is colloquial and the -a ending is bookish. Plotnikova-Robinson also states that from the middle of the 19th century the genitive forms in -u are used in dialogues in which domestic matters in domestic situations are discussed, that is, the -u forms start to prevail in the character's voice over the narrator's voice. The number of the -u forms in the speech of the protagonists depends on the language habits of the character the writer describes. She states this to be true for the middle of the 19th century and the end of the 19th century. The -u forms are used in prose, poetry, and dramatic works of literature. They also characterize dialectal speech and illiterate speech *(prostorechie)*. The illiterate speech is marked both for the use of the genitive in -u and word phonology. As a stylistic device such -u forms are used by Levitov, Korolenko, Bunin and others. Plotnikova-Robinson concludes that, in general, the writers from the 19th century use the -u forms, which belong to the three noun classes isolated by Shakhmatov (1957), as a stylistic device, that is, the -u forms are colloquial while the -a forms are bookish.

More data for the use of the -u and -a inflections in different texts are provided in Panov's (1968) collection of studies. Graudina (Panov 1968:177-189) reports on the results of two surveys in support of Plotnikova-Robinson's (1964) statement that the -u/-a inflections are stylistic variants. Thus, Graudina's report includes the results of two surveys; the first survey is related to the bookish (formal) style, and the second to the colloquial style.

The first survey, which is related to the bookish (formal) style, is based on a review of cookbooks from the beginning of the 20th century through the 1960s. The results are as follows: at the beginning of the 20th century the partitive genitive used in these texts prevailed at 89%. After 1917 its use decreased to 49%. From the end of the 1930s the -a forms started to prevail (e.g., a 29% occurrence of -u at the end of the 1930s, and 27% in the 1950s and 1960s).

Graudina states that the -u inflection occurs mainly with high frequency nouns (e.g., *sakhar* "sugar"), less with medium frequency nouns (e.g., *ris* "rice" *tvorog* "cottage cheese," *luk* "onions"), decreasing further with low frequency nouns. She also states that verbal constructions retained the -u inflection for a longer period of time than nominal constructions. Graudina states that the occurrence of -u is higher on the direct objects of such verbs, as *nalit'* "to pour," *pribavit'* "to add," *polozhit'* "to put," *kupit'* "to buy." Further, she mentions that the direct objects of these verbs, especially prefixed verbs of the type *pribavit'/dobavit'* "to add," constitute alternative case forms with the accusative, that is, (mainly) genitive of -u of the type *pribavit' pertsu* "to add some black pepper [-u]") vs. *pribavit' perets* "to add some black pepper [acc]." Such constructions, derived from cookbooks for the period 1930s-1960s, thus provide grounds for Graudina to state that the -u/-a alternation was resolved in favor of the accusative case in this syntactic context.

In this way, the bookish (formal) style after the Revolution is related, on the one hand, to the language of newspapers and scholarly publications in which the -a forms prevailed in the 19th century, thus continuing the tradition, and on the other hand, to the founding of the modern administrative language in which the -u forms decrease and the accusative is dominant.

The second survey is related to the colloquial style. Graudina's premise is that the most extensive use of colloquial literary Russian is found in dramatic works of literature, as compared to other literature genres. Graudina reports on the results of a study of dramatic works of literature published from the end of the 19th, the beginning of the 20th century and the 1950-60s. Based on a review of 63 dramatic works, she concludes that the use of the -u forms decreases in dialogues from 76.9% at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, to 68.4% in the 1920-30s, and 50.2% in the 1950-60s.

Graudina states that for a short period of time after the Revolution some playwrights such as Bulgakov, Vishnevskii and others, use the -u forms to mark the dialectal and illiterate speech of their protagonists in the context of social drama. In other words, for a short period of time the -u forms were blocked from the standard language and limited to representing dialectal and illiterate speech. By contrast, the literary standard status of the -u forms was reinstated by mid-century playwrights; the genitive in -u as a marker of dialectal or lower stylistic speech level is a rare phenomenon in contemporary dramatic works of literature. In fact, the decrease of the -u forms is gradual in written dialogues in comparison to their decrease in cookbooks, in which first, it is very intensive, and second, the occurrence of -u in this style is very low (27% in the bookish style vs. 50.2% in the colloquial style for the 1950s and 1960s).

Judging from the figures and the few examples which Graudina provides for the use of the -u forms in dramatic works of literature, it is possible to conclude that the genitive in -u decreases as follows. First, the range of the nouns in which the -u ending occurs is decreasing in number (it includes both native words and loanwords). Second, for nouns with the meaning of substance

and in prepositional constructions the decrease of the genitive in -u is higher than for nouns with the meaning of abstraction and in phraseology.

Graudina states that in the 19th century in sentences referring to emotions only the partitive genitive was used. Furthermore, she claims that in this same context contemporary writers use mainly the accusative case, but she does not provide reliable evidence to evaluate this.

Contrasting the results of the two surveys, Graudina concludes that in the bookish style (administrative language, newspaper language, and the language of scholarly publications), unlike in the colloquial style, the genitive forms in -a significantly prevail over the genitive forms in -u. The figures show that the uneven decrease of the genitive in -u in the two styles results in a certain distance between them in the 1960s.

The result for the occurrences of -u in dramatic works of literature for the 1960s is compatible with the overall result obtained from recorded conversations in food stores at the same period of time. Graudina (in Panov 1968:198) reports that the occurrences of the -u forms in recorded conversations is 51.5%, which is nearly equal to the overall result obtained from the written dialogues, that is, 50.2%. Therefore, the -u forms belong mainly to colloquial style while the -a forms belong mainly to the bookish style.

3. Summary and conclusions

From this brief overview it is clear that the -u forms of the 20th century Russian continue the traditions begun in old Russian. First, starting with the penetration of some -u stem endings into -o stems and vice-versa (Shakhmatov 1957), through the centuries Russian developed a conception of the partitive genitive in reference to certain noun classes, that is, substance, collectivity and

abstraction. Both domestic and loanwords received the -u ending, but the number of nouns involved decreases in the 20th century. The use of the -u ending, however, has never been consistent, either in certain noun classes, or in one and the same noun belonging to a certain class (Deianova & Stanisheva 1976). The 18th-19th century grammars formulated rules for the use of the alternating -u and -a forms, thus striving for a norm, or pursuing a codification of a norm which seemed not to exist. Hence, the attempts to dominate language evolution were unsuccessful. Second, the -u ending is qualified as colloquial for both old Russian and contemporary Russian. It was used in the administrative language *(delovoi iazyk)* based on colloquial speech, in documents and in texts of differing character - prose, poetry, and dramatic works of literature. In religious texts the use of -a is consistent. In the 19th century the use of -u decreases in administrative language, the language of newspapers, and in scholarly publications (Graudina), thus continuing the traditions begun in the 18th century related to the founding of the contemporary Russian literary language. The use of the -u forms further decreases in the 20th century in the bookish style where the -a ending appears to be dominant in nominal constructions, and both genitive -u and -a inflections decrease in verbal constructions in which the accusative is dominant (Graudina, in Panov:1968). By contrast, in the colloquial style the decrease of the genitive in -u is slow.

Therefore, historical investigations demonstrate that there is a continuity of use of the partitive genitive which reflect a continuity of linguistic traditions: its use has never been consistent or normative.

CHAPTER III

JAKOBSON'S THEORETICAL VIEWS

1. Introduction

The investigations of the partitive genitive in Russian (both contemporary and historical) show that it occurs in the colloquial styles in contrast to the genitive in -a which occurs mainly in the bookish or formal styles. The meaning of the partitive genitive is defined with reference to quantity. Returning to the summary in chapter I, one might ask the following legitimate question: Why should the meaning of quantity pertain stylistically to colloquial Russian and not to bookish or formal Russian?

It has to be noted here that those linguists who define the meaning of the partitive genitive with reference to quantity hardly refer to any stylistic differentiations of Russian. And vice versa, the studies which examine the stylistic variation of the genitive in -u and genitive in -a hardly touch upon the meaning of the partitive genitive. This is to say that there is a dichotomy between semantics and stylistics. Nevertheless, the question asked above, though it may sound strange, is legitimate.

Obviously there is some mystery about the meaning of the partitive genitive which also pertains to Jakobson's interpretation of genitive 1 in opposition to genitive 2. In chapter IV I will discuss the semantics of the partitive genitive not with reference to quantity and a set of linguistic criteria which have to apply to its definition, but to the meaning of the genitive in -u as a

characteristic which is not subordinated to any application of rules. In doing so I will interpret Jakobson's case features which define the general meaning of the partitive genitive so as to understand the meaning of the genitive in -u as an expressive characteristic.

But first I will examine Jakobson's theoretical framework of case with respect to his theoretical views which primarily parallel Husserl's (1970) thesis of intentionality. In doing so I will define the methodological perspective of examining the meaning of the partitive genitive in relation to the colloquial styles in which it occurs.

2. Jakobson's Case Model as a Phenomenological Structuralism

In this chapter my main goal is to present the influence of Husserl's theoretical principles on Jakobson's framework for presenting case in Russian, so that Jakobson's model of case is still found to be so appealing. My task will be to present neither Husserl's nor Jakobson's theoretical views in detail, but first to emphasise the strengths of their theoretical perspectives, and second, to point to their weaknesses which must be overcome in examining the expressive meaning of the partitive genitive.

2.1. General and Particular Meanings

In his *Logical Investigations* (1900-1901, second edition 1913-1921) Husserl (1970) develops a phenomenological theory of mental reference. This theory, which is a theory of intentionality, focuses on mental acts (the mind). Unlike the object theories of intentionality, Husserl's theory is a content, or meaning, theory. The general distinction between the two theories lies in the

individuation of the mental acts. The mental acts in content theories are individuated by their psychological mode and content. The object theories account for the individuation of the psychological mode, but instead of meaning content they talk about objects.

Husserl (1970) rejects the claims of the object theories which focus on the real existence and peculiarity of the objects in the outside world and states that there is a difference between an object of experience and the content of experience itself. One's experience may be directed to a non-existent object : it "may be present in consciousness together with its intention, although its object does not exist at all, and is perhaps incapable of existence. The object is 'meant,' i.e. to 'mean' it is an experience, but it is then merely entertained in thought, and is nothing in reality" (558). Furthermore, Husserl states that whether the object exists in reality, or is fictitious, or absurd "it makes no essential difference to an object presented and given to consciousness" (559). Thus intentionality speaks about acts of consciousness or mind: that is, the starting point is the experience.

In Husserl's thesis not all experiences are intentional: "That not all experiences are intentional is proved by sensations and sensational complexes" (556). Such sensations as pain, for example, Husserl claims to be non-intentional. Nevertheless, they also belong to the mind. Further, Husserl makes a distinction between real and ideal contents of an act. The real contents are "not intentional":

> They constitute an act, provide necessary *points d'appui* which render possible an intention, but are not themselves intended, nor the objects presented in the act. I do not see colour-sensations but coloured things, I do not hear tone-sensations but the singer's song etc., etc. (559)

The real content, that is, existence in a person's stream of consciousness (not the real world) which is unique to a person's experience at any time, is part of the act but it does not lead to the intentionality of the act. The intentionality of the act is based on the ideal content (which is not unique and not temporal), that is, the ideal content aims at the object, though, unlike the the real content, is not part of the act.

Husserl further distinguishes three concepts of the ideal (intentional) content: the intentional object of the act; matter opposed to quality; and essence. First, Husserl maintains that the intentional object, that is, the the object to which the act is directed, is different from the object intended, that is, in relation to the intentional content one must distinguish "between the object as it is intended and the object [...] which is intended" (568). The object is intended in one manner or another, "and as such it may be the target of varying intentions, judgemental, emotional, desiderative, etc." (578). One may intend the same object (given by a language description) but meant in a different way, that is, the object intended is conceptually dependent (also it may not exist, it is existence independent).

Second, he distinguishes between quality and matter which constitute the real and the ideal content. By quality of an act he means its psychological mode:

> Quality only determines whether what is already presented in definite fashion is intentionally present as wished, asked, posited in judgement, etc. (589)

The matter of the act's content is "that peculiar side of an act's phenomenological content that not only determines that it grasps the object but also as what it grasps it, the properties, relations, categorial forms, that it itself

attributes to it" (589). Hence, the matter of the content of an act determines which object is intended and how the object is intended. Husserl writes:

> The matter [...] must be that element in an act which first gives it reference to an object, and reference so wholly definite that it not merely fixes the object meant in a general way, but also the precise way in which it is meant. (589)

Therefore, matter opposed to quality of an act is what gives the act its directedness, aim or being about something, that is, it is the intentional material of the category, or interpretative sense which is expressed by language. The quality component of the content of an act determines the manner of apprehension of the interpretative sense, that is, to believe, hope, etc.

Third, the unity between the constituents of an act (quality and matter) Husserl calls intentional essence (semantic essence in language): "the ideational abstraction of this essence yields a 'meaning' in our ideal sense" (590). Husserl states that though the intentional essence does not exhaust the act (for example, new features enrich one's conception of the object), "its meaning stays unchanged, identically determined" (591). This is so, because the essence is understood as an absolute (absolute qualities, forms, etc.).

It becomes evident from Husserl's conception of mental content that while little interest is paid to the real world objects, that is, "actual objects," the relationship between the ideal and real content of the act is of primary importance. This relationship is one between what is presently known as type and its token (see Sajama & Kamppinen 1987). The token may be erased, but not the type because the ideal content (being not temporal and not unique) which is the potential for the existence of the real content (being temporal and

unique) will then not exist. In other words, the real exemplifies the ideal (intentional) content.

Thus an act or linguistic expression has a content - unity of quality and matter - (sense or linguistic meaning), which act intends the object (the expression refers to the referent). The content (the linguistic meaning) is a mediator in the relation between the act (linguistic expression) and its object (referent).

The notions invariant and variants (chapter I subsection 2.1) as developed in Jakobson's conception are correlative with Husserl's thesis of intentionality. The invariant and the variants are seen by Jakobson as dependent on one another (Husserl's mutual dependence of the ideal and real contents). First, the existence of the invariant depends on the variants. Second, there are variants because there is an invariant to which they are related. Meaning is linguistic-conceptual and is not concerned with the really existing objects in the actual world (Husserl's conception dependence and existence independence of the objects). Meaning is relational, that is, the invariant is, in Waugh's (1976) words, "built on certain relational properties which items of human experience have in common from the point of view of the linguistic system, and which they possess only as they are related to other items of human experience" (69). The general meaning is a constant, stable characteristic of the intentional essence. The variants, which are the actual facts of language, are dependent for the meaning on their contexts (environments). Variants can change, that is, they are temporal, and so some can dissapear, and other new variants can arise in relation to the creativity of language which is best seen in poetry (Husserl considers the intentional essence to be incomplete). Hence, the relationship to the objects, which is a peculiar characteristic of meaning of intentional essences, is incomplete and inexhaustable. The understanding of existing and

new variants depends on the linguistic reality of the invariant which is *Bozh'ia pravda* "a code-given truth" (cf. Mel'chuk 1977). Therefore, the invariant is not a fiction but, together with the variants, belongs to the linguistic code, which is conventional, that is, language. As Holenstein writes:

> An exclusive orientation toward the invariant would [...] have to be rejected as poor structuralism. Good structuralism keeps both invariance and variation in mind and stresses their dialectic (1976:39)

In Waugh's recapitulation, the antinomy between the invariant (general meaning) and the variants (contextual meanings) is expressed in the following.

> The general meaning, which may also be termed the relational invariant, is the common denominator of signification as the sign is given an interpretation in various contexts and is thus more abstract and more general than any particular contextualization, while the contextual variants are more specific variants which occur in given contexts. [...]; furthermore, the general meaning is more paradigmatic in nature being based for example on oppositional structure, while the particular contextual meanings belong in all their complexity more to the syntagmatic axis, being dependent upon their relation to other facets of the (syntagmatic) context. (Waugh1984:xiii-xiv)

Thus, the invariant of case, on the one hand, penetrates or is present in its variants. This is also true for the metaphorical and metonymic uses of the cases, because these are in a relation of similarity and contiguity with their invariants. On the other hand, the full understanding of a particular invariant of case is based on its relation to other invariants.

Therefore, the case system of Russian is presented by Jakobson as a relational characteristic of language based on Husserl's theory of intentionality.

2.2. Ideational Universal

According to Holenstein (1977:152-153), Jakobson's analysis of case in Russian is an "eidetic analysis" based on Husserl's understanding of phenomenology as "eidetic science" ("ideational" in Findlay's (1970) translation). The aim of phenomenology is not to investigate such facts that can be determined by empirical means but rather to focus on the "cognition of essences" ("epistemic essences" in Findlay's translation), that is, to investigate the essence of "a datum of a particular category" and what "necessarily belongs to it in order to make it datum of this category" (152). The findings therefore refer to the "eidetic universals" which apply to all objects of the category, rather than to the "empirical universals." Thus, the eight cases in Russian present an "eidetic universal" which constitutes individual terms of data.

Jakobson, following Husserl, also uses mathematical analysis (see Andrews 1987; Chvany 1987; Holenstein 1976 for Jakobson's use of mathematics) to account for the variations which separate the abstract from the concrete. Only the abstract is considered to be the invariant which receives a graphic representation. Thus, Jakobson's graphic model of case, that is, the cube is, first, conceived as an epistemic essence from a phenomenological perspective. Second, Jakobson's cube could also be conceived as an art object, as language in his conception, and generally in the conception of the Romantics and Prague Structuralism, is an object of art. Third, the choice of the figure, that is, the cube, is also presumably based on perception as interpretation and its relation to art, namely cubism. In1919 Jakobson writes:

> In the 19 century [...] the artist [...] consciously ignores ordinary and scientific experience, [...] as if we knew the object from only one vantage point, from only one facet, as if having seen the face we forget the

> existence of the nape of the neck [...]. However, it was cubism that canonized the plurality of points of view. (quoted from Holenstein 1976:42)

The cube, which graphically represents the eight cases and their marking, is then an ideational abstraction, akin to perception as interpretation, and concomits cubism, which aims at displaying the invariant essentials of meaning.

2.3. Wholes and Parts

In his article of 1963 on "Parts and Wholes in Language" Jakobson (1971e) refers to Husserl's *(Logical Investigations)* contribution to the phenomenology of language: the study of "wholes and parts." In Husserl's (1970) conception the relations between a whole and its parts has a categorial, ideal nature. Husserl states that there is a relation of foundedness between any pair of parts of a whole: a reciprocal foundedness and a one-sided foundedness. Husserl also states that the phenomenological foundations refer to the relations of total and partial identification of the objects: exclusion and inclusion. The latter relation requires adjectival means of expression, that is, "what pertains as such" (705) ("This is red"); the former requires substantival means of expression, that is, "the thing which has as such" (705) ("This (red-tiled roof) is no green-tiled roof") (704). The objects of identification are co-present in mind intentionally.

In Jakobson's thesis the two relations of foundedness ("implication" in his terminology) are correlative with the oppositional nature of language and the unmarked/marked terms:

(a) reciprocal foundedness: if a, then b, and if b, then a.

(b) one-sided foundedness: if a, then b, but not if b, then a.

The reciprocal foundedness of parts and whole is correlative with the oppositional relations in language. The one-sided foundedness is correlative with the unmarked/marked terms in the system, that is, the material content of the members in a given relation (see also Holenstein 1977). Each opposition is in a binary relation in which one term reversibly accounts for another. These oppositions are given with qualitative properties that appear as exclusion and inclusion in consciousness. The unmarked term (sign) has two meanings: general and specific. The general meaning of the unmarked sign signals nothing about the presence or absence of a certain property. In the specific meaning, however, the unmarked sign reveals the absence of a property and the marked sign its presence. These relations between the marked and unmarked terms (signs) suggest the priority of the unmarked term over the marked term. The marked term is always in a correspondence to the unmarked one which functions in the linguistic consciousness as the representative of the paired terms. It is the unmarked term that appears first. It has a priority in language development, while the marked term has priority in the disintegration of languages and aphasic break-down. If a language (or the aphasic) has to lose a term this will be first the marked term.

Thus, Jakobson's oppositions of inclusion and exclusion are conceived from a phenomenological standpoint. In the opposition the excluded term is implied in the mind. The differentiation of a feature for a particular case implies the rest of the features within the whole system.

In taking as a point of departure Husserl's theory of the relations between the whole and its parts, Jakobson succeeds in showing how case constitutes a

network of relations. Moreover, each case exists only because of its relation to another case within a system so that understanding of one case depends on its place in a pattern, and is thus related to understanding another case. Furthermore, the whole system (the object) is not independent of the mind but is co-present intentionally. It is the relationship to the object which is a peculiar characteristic rather than the object itself: and it is mainly this theoretical view that made Jakobson's analysis of case in Russian so convincing.

2.4. Hierarchy

Jakobson (1984a) refers to Husserl's conception when analyzing different predications such as "a is larger than b" and "b is smaller than a." Such predications, as Jakobson points out, differ in their semantic content though they describe the same state of affairs.

Husserl (1970:795) analyzes such relations as "part to parts within a whole." But within the forms 'A is in contact with B' and 'B is in contact with A' the latter brings "new objects into being" which are "objects of higher order" in the class of "state of affairs." Husserl considers the two parts (A and B) to be "combinatory forms of contact."

Similarly, Jakobson (1984a:69) interprets the "higher" or the "lower" rank of case in a sentence which implies "hierarchy of meanings." Hence, the particular meanings, which are syntactically determined, exhibit a "regular hierarchy" and are "combinatory variants of the general meaning."

2.5. Apperception and Subject

In Husserl's theory of apperception the subject takes an "interpretative standpoint" (Husserl 1970:794). Husserl defines apperception as an act of consciousness which is an interpretation of the sense material found in experience itself. It is also the act-character which makes the subject perceive one object or another. Thus, when two people share the "same percept or repeat the previous one" (592) the object is presupposed as identical. Thereby, the identity of the object (the universal) or the judgement, statement, etc., comes through the repeated performance of the acts: "an identity of meaning repeated as the same in many individual acts, and represented in them by their semantic essence" (593). To perceive that, for example, a box is tilted, is to be able to perceive or understand what one's perception and understanding of the tiltedness of the box is like and thus to understand what everybody's understanding of the same is like. Hence, the truth of the utterance "the box is tilted" is evaluated against the prelinguistic sense (content). However, the object of perception for the subject is always in a certain perspective: the object is "only the object of its subject" (579). Therefore, for another subject this perspective may be different. The interpretative points of view for the subjects are asymmetric. Thus one and the same photograph, for example, can be interpreted differently.

In Jakobson's case model the subject is interpreted in accord with Husserl's theory of apperception. In the interpretation of Holenstein (1977:157) "the subject always co-appears in the object of experience: in other words, the observer is a part of his observation." On the basis of the different perspectives, different linguistic structures are forefronted. Jakobson talks about case objects as objects of speakers' attitude (Husserl's apperception).

Moreover, the conception of "putting in view" penetrates all structures within the whole case system.

Now that we have an overview of the system, we can turn to the functions of language.

2.6. Functions of Language

Communicative expression in Husserl's theory operates through a signifying medium, that is, the sign which is understood in two senses. First, Husserl terms speech as a sign in its symbolic sense: he uses the terms "index," "indicium," "indication," signal:" and second, its opposite: "expression" and "meaningful sign." So Husserl's conception of the linguistic sign is dyadic: both representational and expressive. What speech is an index of, or what is "manifested" through speech, is the speaker's subjectivity, that is, his act of judging, or interpretative standpoint, thus giving meaning to the words used. But what speech means is the ideal meaning which transcends the subjectivity of the speaker. The meant object is said, represented by indicatives, intentionally aimed at. Therefore, meaning requires signification which is a repetition (repeated performance) of individual acts. Without this repetition there is no identity of meaning, or communicative expression, which in turn disallows the empirical of the designative. That is, meaning is, on the one hand, not exhausted in its referent as new features enrich one's conception of the object. And, on the other hand, the notion of referent is abandoned (see Jakobson below) in favour of the text which functions as a whole. But the signification also externalizes the innner state of the speaker, that is, an extralingustic experience, which is revealed in a symptomatic sense: of putting in view or of making known by communicating what is intended. Thus, the

whole process of communication is an intersubjective exchange of utterances (signs) which are a medium for communicating the speaker's intentions.

Husserl's distinction between signs finds expression in Jakobson's definition of functions of language through Bühler's organon model of 1933, which in turn is based on Husserl's dyad. For Bühler (1982) a language sign is a symbol in relation to objects and state of affairs; a symptom (index) by virtue of its dependence on the speaker's (sender's) inner state (interiority or inwardness); and a signal by virtue of its appeal to the hearer. Therefore, language has the following three characteristic functions: representation, expression, and appeal. In the process of communication the sound patterns are related to: first, the events of the real word - the sound pattern has a representational function, that is, it fulfils the role of a symbol; second, the state of the speaker - the sound pattern has an expression function, that is, it fulfils the role of a symptom; third, the effect on the hearer - the sound pattern has an appelative function, that is, it fulfils the role of a signal. Language is thus seen as an instrument defined in a model of Platonic terms: "language is an *organum* for one person's communicating with another about things [...]: one person communicating - another person being communicated to - the things being communicated" (147), that is, sender, things, receiver.

In 1958 Jakobson (1971a) expands Bühler's model in defining the functions of language, coming up with six factors: addresser, message, addressee, context (referent), code, and contact. Bühler's three functions of language, that is, representation, expression, and appeal, Jakobson renames as "referential," "emotive," and "conative," to which other three functions, that is, "phatic," "metalingual," and "poetic" are added. Although each of these functions is distinct, there is hardly a verbal message that fulfils only one function. For example, the emotive, or "expressive," function is focused on the addresser. It

"aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is talking about. It tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion, whether true or feigned" (Jakobson 1971a:22). Furthermore, interjections represent the pure expressive stratum of language, though this stratum, examined on phonic, grammatical, and lexical levels is (partly) inherent in any verbal message. Not only the emotional state of the addresser (anger, irony, etc.) is revealed or represented ("indicated") but also the intonation, and the choice of words indicates through the verbal signs the speaker's linguistic competence. This is exemplified by the use of the long and short vowels in English and Czech, and the change of intonation in Russian.

Jakobson's understanding of the expressive function of language goes back directly to Husserl's definition of signs in that both expressive and representational co-exist. Furthermore, the expressive is rooted in Husserl's theory of apperception: putting in view and expressing the speaker's attitude.

2.7. Intersubjectivity

In Husserl's intersubjective communication language is not an essential social phenomenon. Such terms as "supply and demand," "censorship and sanction" either do not appear, or are of a marginal character (Holenstein 1976). This is to say that recognition (unlike repetition) of the expressions in the speech community is less important. For Jakobson, like Husserl, the intersubjective givenness of things is dominant: the same objects can be differently apprehended in accord with the principle of apperception. But his concern is "communication and exchange of cultural objects" in the realm of what Holenstein (1976:62) refers to as Hegel's intersubjectivity, that is, "recognition." This is supported by Saussure's well-known definition of

language as a social phenomenon, that is, creation requires collective approval. Holenstein (1976 63:64) writes:

> The emergence of a creation does not depend upon the subjective source and psychological motivation, but only upon recognition through acceptance, be it active or passive repetition or transferral to analogous cases.

Furthermore, language, that is, the code, which requires collective consensus and serves intersubjective communication, is convertible, so that messages can be translated from subcode to subcode (Jakobson 1971b). Moreover, every speaker has her/his own personal code which is used in particular for private speech (Waugh 1976). S/he develop his/her own norms and personal style (correlative to Husserl's "repetition") whose messages in turn reflect different degrees of socialization (correlative to Hegel's "recognition"). The personal code, therefore "confirms the preservation of the individual, the permanence and identity of his ego" (Jakobson 1971c:719).

Thus, language - and, equally a case system - is not the soul of the people, as the Romantics conceived it, but a system co-present in the mind and serving the intersubjective community.

2.8. Discussion

The juxtaposition of some major principles developed in Husserl's phenomenology and Jakobson's basic grammatical concepts shows that Jakobson's conception of case in Russian is highly influenced by Husserl's phenomenology. In following Husserl's definitions Jakobson succeeded in showing how case constitutes a network of relations which first and foremost

makes his approach to case semantics so appealing. Furthermore, Husserl's theory of apperception (attitude) provided a necessary basis for examining the case objects with respect to different points of view or modes of apprehension of the subject.

However, the attitudinal approach is too general in that it is a reduction of the way we feel about the object and so does not discriminate what is important to the subject. This non-discrimination between what is important to the subject and what he desires from time to time pertains to Jakobson's definition of the expressive (emotive) function of language (see subsection 2.6 above). The term emotive is used as a general term to indicate the speaker's (emotive) attitude which has little to do with emotion. But it is precisely our emotional states, as Taylor (1985) claims, that ascribe a property of what is significant in the life of the subject. Articulating such states discloses our values and defines what is human and personal. Taylor gives priority to language so that without language we are unable to discriminate between standards of what is significant or what is desired from time to time. The interpretation of what is significant is embedded in language. Taylor writes:

> Agents are beings for whom things matter, who are subjects of significance. This is what gives them a point of view on the world. (1985:104).

In accord with Husserl's thesis of intentionality, Jakobson sees case structures or the objects as not independent of the mind. But these structures are carried by an intersubjective community and this implies that these structures are inseparable from the subject who is implied as an observer of his observation; hence, it is difficult to identify an autonomous subject of significance.

According to Taylor (1985), the person is a self-interpreting animal. By this he means that "he is always partly constituted by self-interpretation, that is, by his understanding of the imports which impinge on him" (72). The person is a self-interpreting animal because first, his life incorporates interpretation; second, he possesses the power of expression (articulation) through which he comes to have an articulated view of the world, so that what is not expressed does not exist; and third, the self is interpreted by one who interprets. Thus, on the one hand, Taylor (1985) gives priority to expression (the expressive) in that its meaning cannot avoid subject-related properties. Expression itself is a subject-related phenomenon, "and hence does not allow of an objective science" (221), and so its meaning cannot be explained by other terms but only by another expression. And, on the other hand, self is an achievement of speaking (language). According to Taylor, expression is a vehicle for reflective awareness which reflection is realized in speech.

Jakobson's approach to reflection of subjectivity is different from Taylor's. In 1959 Jakobson (1971d) posits the primacy of translation for both what endures, that is, the invariant, and what changes, that is, the variants, and so shows that intralingual translation is what leads to the possibility of a new understanding. Intralingual translation or rewording is "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language" (Jakobson 1971d:261). Therefore, meaning is a matter of interpretation and understanding.

But this definition is again rooted in intentionality in that our concepts are about human experiences and thus they refer to what has been imagined, wished, desired, thought, etc., by human beings and seen by human eyes. That is, this refers to the interpreter, and not, in contrast to Taylor, to the self-

interpreter. For Jakobson, self is not an achievement of speaking (language) because self belongs primarily to private speech.

Reflection in Jakobson's conception of language and structure of case refers to the intentional co-presence in the mind of a structured system (defined by features) which provides possibilities to reflect upon it. The general meaning of a term, which is defined by abstract semantic concepts - features is not a temporal characteristic but an enduring one, that is, reflection is an achievement of previous stages of language development. This standpoint in Jakobson's thesis becomes evident from Holenstein's (1987) interpretation of Jakobson's theoretical views.

Holenstein (1987) refers to Jakobson's claims that the self-determination of nations was first achieved in the middle ages in Western Europe, and second, was confirmed at the time of the Enlightenment. In Eastern Europe national self-determination was established in the 9th century by Cyril. "Cyril (827-869) was for him 'a thinker and language researcher without equal' for whom he pointedly chose the title "enlightener" in one of his last publications" (Holenstein 1987:27). He states that

> [...] according to him [Jakobson] the reflective relationship is not (ontogenetically) an accomplishment of the adult, mature person and (phylogenetically) of the modern age, but is rather a diachronic universal. Claims that something is the achievement of the modern age are suspicious to him as being the product of egocentrism, or, as one would more likely say nowadays of (Western) ethnocentrism. (Holenstein 1987:26)

This discussion makes it obvious that the strengths of Jakobson's theoretical perspective (in examining case) lie mainly in the principle of intentionality, borrowed from Husserl, in that the subject is related to the

object, or that language is about reality. Furthermore, meaning is a relational characteristic and requires interpretation. But self (the person) is not an achievement of language but rather belongs to private speech and so language - and equally the structured system of case - is for Jakobson an instrument for communication of knowledge, aesthetic expression, and socializing, but not a vehicle for self-interpretation as is the claim made by Taylor.

Therefore, in the interpretations of the meaning of the partitive genitive in Russian I will use first Jakobson's theoretical principles; and second will draw upon Taylor's expressive account of meaning in that the meaning of the expression has subject-related properties or that the subject (self) is generated in language and is an achievement of language.

But first I will trace back Jakobson's invariant meaning of the partitive genitive, that is, that which is enduring, in history, in accord with the view that reflection is for Jakobson a diachronic universal.

3. Synchrony and Diachrony

In Jakobson's conception, unlike in Saussure's structuralism, language as a structured system is not confined to the synchronic dimension: every structure being an evolving characteristic is also a diachronic characteristic. But since evolution is also systematic, it is thus also a synchronic characteristic. Therefore, as postulated by Jakobson and Tynianov in 1928, the synchronic system has its past and future being based on the structural elements of the system (Jakobson & Tynianov 1971).

In 1936 Jakobson (1984a) writes that his investigation of case is "within the bounds of a purely synchronic description, although the question of the development of the Russian case system asserts itself automatically" (98).

Furthermore, Jakobson refers to grammatical analogy and "other forces" due to which there is a homonymy in case forms. Therefore, in Jakobson's view, the synchronic analysis of the Russian case system includes the historical development of the case structures.

From a more precise look at the manner in which Jakobson isolates the general meanings of cases in Russian it is possible to see that diachrony is a significant part of his conception of case. Let us first consider the parallel Jakobson (1984a:79) draws between the instrumental and accusative cases of the phrases *shvyriat' kamniami* and *shvyriat' kamni* "to throw stones." Criticizing Peshkovskii's view that the above pairs are merely stylistic variants, Jakobson states that the instrumental "indicates an auxiliary or incidental role of the referent" while the accusative indicates "the direction of an action toward the referent" (79). These two pairs Jakobson considers in the following sentences (79):

(19) *Chtoby probit' stenu, oni shvyriali v nee kamniami.*
"In order to break through the wall, they throw stones [instr] at it."

(20) *On bestsel'no shvyrial kamni v vodu.*
"Aimlessly he threw stones [acc] into the water."

Jakobson states that in these examples "the opposition between the medium and the goal, between the implement and the self-sufficient object, is maintained" (79). Therefore, the instrumental object is in (19) the "medium" or "implement" and is secondary - it helps the performing of a purposeful action, unlike the accusative object in (20) above which is a primary participant in a

non-purposeful action. The general meaning of the accusative is marked for directionality; the instrumental is marked for peripherality/marginality.

Second, let us consider the instrumental case (and the example of the stones - "ami" ending in the plural for all genders) from a historical perspective. Dobrev (1982) states that the element *m* played an important role in the structure of the instrumental and dative cases in Protoslavic. This element *m* Dobrev treats as a very old pronominal root which stood for "middle, centre, concentration" (155), that is, it was an old locative form in the dual which referred to "something that is in the middle between two other things" (155). Furthermore, Dobrev states that the preposition *me-t-* originated from the same element *m*. This preposition originally showed that the object related to it was an "instrument, that is, medium, centre, which helped the acting participant to perform the action" (155). Therefore, Dobrev concludes that the element *m* originally stood for the medium of something which was expressed in the instrumental-sociative forms.

Furthermore, the element *m* was part of the affix *-men-* which served to form certain nouns. The -men stems "signified the centre or concentration of a certain activity or property" (155). For example, when affixed to the protoform *kam"* "stone" the affix *men* (in *kamene*) signified something which concentrated, centered in itself the property of "sharpness" (155).

Hence, Dobrev's (1982) interpretation of the Protoslavic forms and their relation to the instrumental case (its meaning) correlates with Jakobson's example (19), to which another construction in the instrumental case is further added, that is, *govorit' rezkimi slovami* "to speak with sharp words" (without the adjective this construction is impossible). These examples, given by Jakobson, provide support for historical data. In fact, there is a general agreement among the scholars who use Jakobson's framework that the instrumental case (also

the dative) is marked for peripherality/marginality (e.g., Kilby 1986; Levine 1986). (For the directedness of the accusative and the historical correlates between form and meaning for other cases see Dobrev 1982).

Let us further consider Dobrev's (1982) explanation of the element *u* which (partly) appears to refer to the partitive genitive in Russian. Dobrev's explanation is in the framework of the relation between myth and language based on metaphorical thought: language gives rise to myth and later acquires new life through it. He connects the nouns from the -u stems with the Protoslavic myth of the Thunder God and his rival (the dragon). Thus connected -u nouns are those that in Russian were in the partitive genitive; for example, *vr'kh"* "peak," *dom"* "house," *med"* "honey," *pol"* "sex," *red"* "order," *chin"* "order in the human relations which had to be followed in the traditions," as well as *plod"* "fruit," *dar"* "gift," *led"* "ice," *iad"* "poison," *grad"* "town," and some others. These nouns can be classified in accord with the three headings used by Deianova and Stanisheva (1976) for the 15th-17th century (see chapter II subsection 2).

Further, Dobrev (1982:139) states that "the element -u was first a deixis for remote, unreachable, beyond/across, unseen, internally hidden entities and objects, or entities which cannot be immediately perceived simultaneously." Therefore, Dobrev speaks about the element *u* as an "inessive."

Dobrev's (1982) conception is compatible with that of Shakhmatov (1957) (see chapter II section 2), in whose opinion the -u ending from the -u stems is taken by nouns which lack individualization and distinctness. Jakobson considers Shakhmatov's view (see also chapter I subsection 2.1) to be most insightful in drawing the boundary between the two genitives. Jakobson writes:

> He [Shakhmatov] establishes that genitives in -u are formed with noncount words with a meaning of substance, collectivity, or

> abstraction, and that the -a ending connotes 'the individualization or concretization of the substance-concept'. (1984a:91-92)

After referring to Shakhmatov in the manner quoted above, Jakobson immediately raises the following question: "What, then, is the general meaning of the apparently parallel oppositions G I-G II [...]?" (92). This question is followed by terming the general meaning of the partitive genitive as "shaping" which "disregards the signified object's concreteness" (92). Therefore, Jakobson uses historical data, that is, the distinction between the -u and -o stems, without, however, mentioning the fact.

Another historical category to which Jakobson refers, is the supine. The supine belonged to the -u stems and was used until the 14th century in Russian documents (Sokolova 1962). It's correlate, which survived, is the infinitive which belonged to the -i stems. The supine was used with verbs which referred to a movement in a definite direction (Duridanov 1991). For example (309):

(21) *Idǫ ryb" lovit"*

"I am going fishing [gen]."

(22) *Pride zhena...pochrět" vod"*

"A woman came to pour water [gen] (for herself)."

(23) *Prish'l" esi sěmo...mǫchit" nas"*

"You came to torture us [gen]."

(24) *Ne prid" v"vrésht' mira. n" mech'*

"Not peace [gen] I came to bring. but a sword [gen]."

The object of the supine was in the genitive case.

In 1958 Jakobson (1984b) refers to the supine in chapter II of his investigation. although the discussion of the two genitive cases is in chapter V. Jakobson in chapter II writes:

> [...] The G. as the only case allowed with the supine (for example. in Old Slavic texts). semantically echoes the goal-oriented. purely potential character of the the action expressed by the supine. and the complete syntactic conditioning of the G in such a combination in no way removes the proper meaning of the case. i.e. its orientation towards the degree of objectification. (1984b:111-112)

Jakobson does not relate the supine to the -u stems. As was pointed out above. Jakobson states that his investigation is synchronic. although diachrony is implied. However. the isolation of the general meanings in a system is based on previous stages of development of the case structures. Now recall Husserl's and Jakobson's principle of the invariant: it is a constant. stable characteristic that endures. In this sense the general meaning of the partitive genitive. termed "shaping" in 1936 and "quantification" in 1958. has historical roots: the -u ending from the -u stems which was an inessive - hidden inside things. etc.. (Dobrev); which was taken by nouns that lacked individualization (Shakhmatov). a view accepted by Jakobson; and the idea related to the goal-oriented. potential character of the action. expressed by the supine (Jakobson). Therefore. the partitive genitive and the case system in Russian as a whole are for Jakobson a semantic essence and an eidetic universal whose nature is rooted in diachrony. What changes is the variants.

There are several distinctions that have to be made here. In his 1936 model Jakobson terms the general meaning of the partitive genitive "shaping" in relation to the role of the -u stems with respect to the conception of the nouns referring to substance, collectivity, and abstraction. This isolated general meaning parallels Shakhmatov's definition of the partitive genitive. The use of the -u nouns was sustained, as Shakmatov's examples show, through the 19th century. Their number decreases in the 20th century (see chapter II section 2). In his 1958 model Jakobson, obviously taking into consideration the decrease in the number of the nouns that take the -u ending, refers to the study in which Kuznetsov accounts for this change (see chapter1 subsection 2.1). But Jakobson's historical orientation is sustained by his reference to the supine which also belonged to the -u stems. This reference, however, which closes chapter II of the *Morphological observations...*, comes after reference to two verbs for "love" which govern either the accusative or the genitive in Greek: one of the verbs, in opposition to the other, "expresses an amorous longing, that is, an incomplete possession of the individual longed for, and the genitive case of the object strictly corresponds to such a verbal meaning" (111). Thus, on the one hand, the supine and the Greek verb for love are given in reference to verb government. But on the other hand, their meanings, that is, the potential character of the action of the supine, and the amorous longing, which is a potential characteristic, are correlative. Therefore, by virtue of their meanings they both are related to the -u stems, and hence, to the partitive genitive. Furthermore, in Russian the verb *liubit'* "to love" is active. Thus, it appears that Jakobson's choice of another language, namely Greek, rather than Russian is purposeful. Therefore, it is not unjustified to conceive of a relationship between the -u nouns as substances, collectives, and abstracts (and -u as an inessive) and the potential character of the action expressed by

the supine which belonged to the -u stems (akin to the potential characteristic of one Greek verb for love which is incomplete possession) with respect to the general meaning of the partitive genitive.

This historical generalization, however, is less concrete and distinct than, for example, the historical generalization of the instrumental case as discussed above. Investigators readily agree with Jakobson's feature of peripherality which is characteristic of the meaning of the instrumental. In Wierzbicka's (1980) semantic formula, for example, the feature peripherality appears as 'one says something about the subject, not about the instrumental noun phrase', or "the instrumental expresses something which is acted on not in order for something to happen to it, but in order for something else to happen" (Kilby 1986:329 with reference to Wierzbicka). This meta-descriptive statement penetrates all uses of the instrumental. Jakobson also discusses the peripherality feature or interprets the semantics of the instrumental which interpretation is correlative to Dobrev's historical interpretation.

As far as the partitive genitive is concerned, no such interpretation is provided by Jakobson who refers to Shakhmatov's conception and so Jakobson readily makes the claim that the distinction between the genitive in -u and genitive in -a is obvious. Wierzbicka (1983) (discussed in chapter I subsection 2.2), who elaborates on Jakobson's features in the light of the semantics of marking, finds Jakobson's feature, which terms the general meaning of the partitive genitive, opaque. Recall that she considers that the shaping feature does not fit well with phrases such as *mnogo narodu* "a lot of people". Instead, Wierzbicka focuses on partitive objects which are, in her view, conceptualized in terms of uncountable quantity. But the same view is expressed by Lomonosov (chapter II section 2), also Shakhmatov (chapter I subsection 2.1 and chapter II section 2), whose opinion Jakobson shares. Thus, there is no

difference between Lomonosov, Shakhmatov, Wierzbicka via Jakobson. Furthermore, the quantity characteristic of meaning of the partitive genitive in Jakobson's examples (see chapter I subsection 2.1) is conveyed only by some of the variants of the invariant.

Jakobson talks about case objects as objects of speakers' attitude. In his 1958 model he defines the objects of the genitive in -a as objects in the light of an ascription of a certain property: the genitive in -a is an ascriptive case. However, he does not define what is the attitudinal relationship between the subject and the objects of the genitive in -u. This is merely to say that the distinction between the genitive in -u and genitive in -a is not obvious.

In summary, it follows that, on the one hand, the partitive genitive objects are uncountable nouns which have meaning of substance, collectivity, and abstraction (the 1936 model), and on the other, they are somehow related to the potential character of the action expressed by the supine which is akin to the potential love for somebody (something), that is, the meaning of longing for in one Greek verb (the 1958 model). The partitive objects are also related to things hidden inside and which cannot be perceived simultaneously, which were marked by -u in Protoslavic.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SEMANTICS OF THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE

In this chapter I will attempt to elaborate on Jakobson's general meaning of the partitive genitive as an enduring characteristic of Russian. Since my main goal is the interpretation of Jakobson's general meaning of the semantics of the partitive genitive, I will combine Husserl's and Jakobson's principle of intentionality, the part-whole relationship, and Taylor's expressive account of meaning to understand the historical and literary contexts in which the genitive in -u appears in Russian.

4.1. Belinskii

By way of introducing this chapter I will use Belinskii's view, which originated in discussions among the writers of the 19th century. Belinskii writes:

> *Ia ne znaiu, da i znat' ne khochu, kak v pol'skom ili drugom slavianskom iazyke sklonialutsia v roditel'nom padezhe slova: 'nos', 'shum', 'veter' i 'dym'; no kak prirodnyi russkii, znaiu dostoverno, chto slova eti v russkom iazyke prinimaiut v roditel'nom padezhe okonchanie ravno i -a i -u, a kogda kotoroe imenno, na eto net postoiannogo pravila, no eto slyshit ukho prirodnogo russkogo, slyshit - i nikogda ne obmanyvaetsia. Vsiakii russkii skazhet, kak u Gogolia: 'volos, vylezhshii iz nosu', i ni odin russkii*

> *ne skazhet: 'volos, vylezhshii iz nosa'. Tochno tak zhe dolzhno govorit' 'poryvy vetra', a ne 'poryvy vetru'.* (quoted in Plotnikova-Robinson 1964:178)
> "I do not know nor do I care to know how the nouns 'nose,' 'noise,' 'wind,' and 'smoke' are declined in the genitive in Polish or in other Slavic languages. However, as a native Russian I know for sure that these words in Russian take both the -a and -u endings in the genitive. But which one is used when does not conform to any rule, but to the natural intuition of the Russian which is never mistaken. Every Russian will say just like in Gogol: 'a hair coming out of one's nose [-u]', yet no Russian will say 'a hair coming out of one's nose [-a]'. In the same manner one has to say 'blasts of the wind [-a]', and not 'blasts of the wind [-u]'.

This opinion expressed by Belinskii is relevant not only for the 19th century but also for 20th century Russian. Therefore, I will consider a variety of constructions with the genitive in -u used both in 19th and 20th century literature. I will use mainly those examples given by Panov (1968), Pete (1965), and Plotnikova-Robinson (1964) which derive from different literary genres from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. I will further supplement the examples given in the above mentioned studies with uses of the partitive genitive derived from contemporary literary works. I will consider one story written by Nagibin (1961) and different novels and stories from the 1970s and 1980s written by the post-modernist Moscow writers Makanin and Trifonov. I will also consider Jakobson's examples described in chapter I subsection 2.1.

4.2. Feed

Graudina (in Panov 1968) states that in the 19th century the -u forms were used as a rule in emotional contexts. Although she does not support her

statement with examples, other examples she uses to demonstrate the substitution of the genitive in -u with the accusative provide support for the view that the -u forms are related to emotions.

Graudina mentions that the verbs *polozhit'* "to put," *dat'* "to give," *nalit'* "to pour," *dobavit'* "to add," which at the turn of the century in her view were used as a rule with the partitive genitive, in contemporary Russian (that is, the 1960s) are used often with the accusative case. In support Graudina (188) refers to two examples from Iuzhin-Sumbatov (1908) and Lavrent'ev (1962):

(25a) *Trem svin'iam kormu razdat' ne umeete* (1908)
"You don't know how to give feed [-u] (even) to three pigs [dat]"

(25b) *Khotel pokazat', kak nado zadavat' korm* (1962)
"He wanted to show how one should give feed [acc]"

Both sentences prefigure a certain place (presumably a village or a small town) in which the action takes place at different time (1908 and 1962). Furthermore, both sentences refer to similar activities, that is, "giving feed to domestic animals." But in sentence (25a) one person expresses indignation that the other party is incapable of giving feed in a proper way, and so *korm* "feed" in the partitive genitive appears in an emotional context. By contrast, sentence (25b) is a statement about the subject's intention to show how giving feed should (always) be done in a proper way, and so *korm* "feed" in the accusative appears in a neutral, prescriptive type of context.

Before proceeding with the further analysis of these sentences, let us refer first to Taylor's (1985) conception which casts light on the relation between language, emotion, and situation.

Taylor states that emotions are self-referential as they arise from our articulation of a certain situation, so that experiencing emotion involves experiencing the situation as bearing a certain import. By import Taylor understands "a way in which something can be relevant or of importance to the desires or purposes or aspirations or feelings of a subject; [...] a property of something whereby it is a matter of non-indifference to a subject" (48). In ascribing an import or certain property, then, it is not sufficient that the subject feels in a certain way, "but rather the import gives grounds or basis for the feeling" (49). Emotion then involves articulating the import of the situation which is experienced. Thereby, experiencing emotion involves

> experiencing our situation as being of a certain kind or having a certain property. But this property cannot be neutral, cannot be something to which we are indifferent, or else we would not be moved. Rather, experiencing an emotion is to be aware of our situation as humiliating, or shameful, or outrageous, or dismaying, or exhilarating, or wonderful; and so on. (Taylor1985:48)

Taylor states that language is constitutive of emotion in that experiencing emotion is embodied in an interpretative language, and so in articulating the import of emotion, such emotion discloses "what we value, or what matters to us, in the life of the subject" (60).

The above description of emotion is relevant for the interpretation of sentence (25a). The subject understands the situation as wrongful: whether the pigs will be fed in a proper way, or not, is a matter of significance to this person, and hence the ineptitude evokes indignation which relates to this person's emotion. Then in articulating (25a), which is a kind of interpretation, the genitive in -u of feed, which noun appears before the verb and bears the sentential stress, contributes to the meaningfulness of the event. Thus, the

articulation of the self-referential state discloses what matters to the subject, and is meaningful to him in relation to the other party who is judged negatively.

Furthermore, articulating the self-referential state does not only disclose what the subject values but also discloses something about his character in relation to the negatively judged party. The person who says sentence (25a) can be judged as "immoderate" as he finds it appropriate to directly tell the other people involved that they are simply worthless.

Taylor states that certain terms (articulations) properly describe emotions "because our subject-referring feelings are given their character by the sense of the import they incorporate; when this sense alters in an important way, then the feeling changes" (70). But since language is constitutive of emotion when the meaning of the articulation changes, so does the emotion.

In the light of the above discussion, let us now find other correlates to sentence (25a) which relate to certain emotions relevant to case use. Such correlates would be articulations of the type (25c) and (25d):

(25c) *Dazhe trem svin'iam korm razdat' ne umeete*

"You cannot give feed [acc] even to three pigs [dat]"

(25d) *Dazhe trekh svin' nakormit' ne umeete*

"You cannot feed even three pigs [gen. pl.]"

Although the state of affairs in these two sentences is the same as in sentence (25a), nevertheless in (25c) the noun feed is in the accusative and in (25d) it is not present at all. Sentence (25d) is another way of saying (25c). In both instances the sentential stress is on the noun pigs. In (25a), in which the noun feed is in the partitive genitive, the emphasis is on giving feed to the pigs

properly which is of importance to the subject. By contrast, in (25c) and (25d) this emphasis is lacking, and so the noun feed in (25c) is in the accusative. Furthermore, sentences (25c) and (25d) like (25a) also articulate self-referential states. The difference between them is that (25c) and (25d) disclose only the subject's character, as described above, but not what s/he values as in sentence (25a) in which the genitive in -u occurs.

Furthermore, since the language of sentence (25a), as stated above, prefigures a certain place (presumably a village or a small town) and time (which is 1908), what Taylor calls "public space," it also shapes in this public space the relations between 'I' and 'you.' The familiarity and intimacy given in (25a) may not be repeated in Moscow, for example, where the use of the genitive in -u (see chapter I subsection 2.4) is lower than in other parts of Russia. Nevertheless, sentence (25a) in which the genitive in -u occurs could be articulated in present day Russian. Sentence (25a) belongs to standard literary Russian, as opposed to dialects or illiterate speech.

Now, do we have to consider with respect to the statement of Paus's informants, (see chapter I subsection 2.4) that the person who says sentence (25a) does not know how to speak Russian properly (say, because of the -u ending, the pigs and their feed, presumably the small town or village as a place of residence)? The above discussion shows that this is not the case. A person from Moscow, for example, could use similar expressions incorporating different nouns with the genitive in -u that express what s/he holds important in experiencing emotion and in relation to putting the matters before 'us,' as in the reversed word order *chaiu vypili...* "we drank tea..." (see chapter I subsection 2.4) articulated by X.

The above description shows first, the importance of the self-referential states in relation to the use of the partitive genitive. Such expressions generate

not only the objects (the -u nouns) but also the subject of significance, or "moral agent" in Tailor's terminology, as they disclose what one values. Second, such expressions disclose the objects in terms of putting them into a "public space" (Taylor) or a place (also time) relevant to the concerns of the interlocutors.

Furthermore, in juxtaposing sentences (25a) and (25b) above we might also be able to say something about the decrease of the genitive in -u, or the genitive as a whole, after the verbs *polozhit'* "to put," *dat'* "to give," *dobavit'* "to add" and others, that is, those verbs that Panov (1968) considers to be often used with the accusative in the 1960s. These same verbs, as discussed in chapter II section 2, are used with the accusative in the bookish, formal style, for which recipes from cookbooks were taken to be representative. The interpretation of (25b) relates the use of the accusative to a prescriptive type of context. This context prescribing "How one should give feed properly" corresponds to prescribing "How one should cook properly" (e.g., *pribav'te v stakan sakhar* "put sugar (acc) into the glass"), that is, what the recipes from the cookbooks are about, in which context the accusative is dominant.

Since the -u forms appear in expressions (articulations) which constitute emotions, it will be natural to claim that the descriptions used in cookbooks (in a bookish style) are not related to our emotions. In other words, our emotional vocabulary does not pertain to a prescriptive type of context in which the accusative and partly the genitive in -a are dominant.

4.3. People

Let us now consider sentence (26):

(26) ***Skol'ko narodu sobralos'!***

"How many people [-u] gathered!"

This sentence is similar to Frank's sentence (17) (chapter I subsection 2.2). Franks interprets the meaning of the partitive genitive as an "inordinately large number" which, in his view, is correlative to the expressive intonation of the sentence.

Sentence (26) is expressive in much the same way as sentence (25a) discussed above. However, it does not imply the expressin of emotion. Let us first account for the description of this sentence in the light of Jakobson's definition of the expressive (emotive) function of language (see chapter III subsection 2.6). In Jakobson's terms this expression will tend to "produce an impression of emotion, whether true or feigned," and hence what is significant is that the subject feels that way. Thus, the significance feature is a matter of the inner feel or what is experienced from the inside so that, in Taylor's (1985) words, "the significance feature is a misleading surface appearance" (200) which derives from phenomenology. Taylor (1985) writes:

> [...] This [significance] feature cannot be marginalized as though it concerned merely the way things appear to us, as though it were a feature merely of an inner medium of representation. On the contrary, it plays an absolutely crucial role in explaining what we do, and hence defines the kind of creatures we are. (201)

The discussion above makes it evident that Jakobson's understanding of the expressive function of language, which is rooted in Husserl's phenomenology, cannot account for desire or feeling expressions in that such expressions are always bound up with the significance which things have for the speaker.

Let us further account for the description of sentence (26) in the light of Taylor's (1985) understanding of expressive meaning. According to Taylor, there are some feelings which do not involve import-ascription. Thus Taylor talks about "immediate feelings" in contrast to emotions. Thereby, subject referential emotions like shame depend on the understanding of dignity; self-referential emotions like indignation relate to what is wrongful given a certain situation. But feelings like some of our joys do not (necessarily) involve imports. Nevertheless, Taylor states that, for example, finding a given landscape attractive, which is an immediate feeling (or immediate reaction) also involves subject referential import of which there is only partial awareness. Taylor writes:

> With time and greater self-understanding we can sometimes come to see what it is that draws to certain places and people. A great number of our seemingly immediate desires and feelings are nevertheless partially constituted by a skein of subject referring imports, which resonate through our psychic life. (Taylor 1985:59-60).

Thus, the speaker's excitement of seeing people gathered together in (26), unlike the emotion of shame, is not, borrowing Taylor's words, an "experience in relation to a dimension of his existence as a subject" (53) related to the objects of shame which have to have cultural and individual expressive dimension. It is also not self-referential with respect to articulating the import of a certain emotion. Nevertheless, people gathering in a crowd as an object of excitement has in Russian culture an expressive dimension (as this is sustained by historical, cultural, and social factors), so that expression (26), though referring to immediate feelings, is also shaped by self-referential states. They exist only in the expression which is itself constitutive of the significance

of feeling. In other words, the significance of the import (exciting) is one which only makes sense in relation to persons who possess the significance feature. Feeling, like emotion, as Taylor states, is never without interpretation.

Thus, expressing ***Skol'ko narodu sobralos'!*** "How many people gathered!" neither presupposes the number of the people (Franks), nor the measure in terms of "how much of it is there" with reference to Wierzbicka's semantic formula (see chapter I subsection 2.2), but this expression is rather a spontaneous reaction, which is supported by an appropriate intonation and facial expression, in the presence of a perceptual field (people getting together). Of course, we can account for the measure (e.g., ***mnogo narodu*** "many people [-u]"), even the shape of the crowd, but not before we account for the expressive meaning. The reverse is not possible, as we cannot first think of the crowd as "how much" in terms of a measure and then say how it is expressive.

The use of the partitive genitive in this context shows that its occurrence is dependent on expressions that pertain to the feelings of the subject in the presence of an object that has a culturally and individually expressive dimension. Furthermore, expressing feelings, like emotions, requires language (articulations), that is speech, where, as pointed out in chapter I subsection 2.4, the genitive in -u is actually used. And so these feelings are, as Taylor put it, "rather shaped by the descriptions that seem to us adequate" (270). Obviously, expressions like (26) are adequate only with the genitive in -u related to feelings.

4.4. Snow

Let us now refer to Jakobson's example of the mass noun "snow" with which he demonstrates the oppositional nature between the genitive in -u and

the genitive in -a. Example (10) (see chapter I subsection 2.1) is considered in a "passage:"

> *Dolgo ne bylo snegu, zazhdalis' snega rebiata* "There had been no snow for a long time, the children were impatient for snow"; *Zato skol'ko snegu namelo v ianvare* "Then to make up for it, so much snow piled up in January"; *Snegu krugom!* Snow everywhere!"; *Nabrali snegu rebiata, vylepili snezhnuiu babu* "The children gathered [some snow] and made a snowman". *Briullov ne liubil snega, pugalsia snega* "Briullov did not like snow, he was afraid of snow"; *tsvet snega napominaet moloko* "the color of snow reminds one of milk."

Jakobson states that the noun snow appears in genitive 1 as the object of a wearisome wait, of distaste, of fear, or as a bearer of an optical property. However, Jakobson does not say how the noun snow appears as the object in genitive 2. If, for example, the constructions with the genitive in -a are taken out of this passage, Jakobson's interpretation of the genitive 1 in the 1936 model as having a semantic nuance of being a property of the referent applies, as in *kolichestvo, zapakh kon'iaka* "quantity, smell of cognac" correlative to *tsvet snega* "the colour of the snow", or an assertion that someone does not like or appreciate cognac as *on ne pil kon'iaka*, correlative to *on ne liubil snega, pugalsia snega* "he did not like snow, was afraid of snow." Not liking cognac, or snow, or being afraid of snow, as used in the above expressions, imply that if there are no reasons for been afraid of something, or not liking something, there is at least belief that such and such is the case. Such expressions refer to reasoning and beliefs, that is, to 'I know.' In the expressions with the genitive in -u, however, the above considerations seem not to apply.

By using the genitive in -u in a passage Jakobson suggests that understanding the partitive genitive requires contextualization. And though the

context he provides is minimal, it is possible to interpret the use of the genitive in -u with respect to the feelings of the subjects.

In the first sentence *Dolgo ne bylo snegu, zazhdalis' snega rebiata* "There had been no snow for a long time, the children were impatient for snow" both genitives are used. The content of the first part of the sentence *Dolgo ne bylo snegu* is longing for snow (snow with -u), which wish is an affection having its own object of the self. The wish or longing for snow in this sentence correlates with the wish for rain expressed by the diminutive "rain" (which has an affectionate component) in 19th-century Russian in sentence (27):

(27) *dozhdiku pochti sovsem ne bylo* (Turgenev)
"there was hardly any rain [diminutive -u]"

It also correlates with the meaning of the Greek verb for love which expresses amorous longing, and thus pertains to the feelings of the subject related to the object in terms of incomplete possession.

In the second part of the sentence *Zazhdalis' snega rebiata* "the children were impatient for snow" the use of the genitive in -a is related to the lexical meaning of the verb. First, the verb *zazhdat'sia* has notional expressivity which the translator has captured with the phrase "impatient for snow." However, the lexical meaning of the verb *zazhdat'sia* is "to be tired of waiting" *(ustat' ot dolgogo zhdaniia)*. Thus *zazhdat'sia snega* does not presuppose longing for snow but rather a belief that the desire for snow may not be fulfilled though hoping that it will be. Therefore, the use of the genitive in -a refers more to a belief that there is no snow and less to a desire for snow.

In the next sentences snow appears with the genitive in -u. The whole snow situation is seen as exhilarating in *Zato skol'ko snegu namelo v ianvare* "Then to

make up for it, so much snow piled up in January/But how much snow piled up in January" and wonderful in *Snegu krugom!* "Snow everywhere!" The first sentence refers to what Taylor calls "immediate feelings" (see section 4.3 above) which are feelings of joy, by virtue of the fact that snow has an expressive dimension in Russian culture (there are songs, verses, poems, stories related to, waiting for, and enjoying the first snowfall), The second sentence relates to emotion, that is, "Isn't it wonderful to see snow everywhere."

Furthermore, in the sentence *Nabrali snegu rebiata...* "The children gathered some snow...", the snow is touched, accumulated as if in a hug with respect to what was desired.

There are expressions of joy and attraction to snow as there are subjects (children) who are capable of experiencing it, though individually it may not be liked (Briullov).

From the above description several conclusions may be drawn. First, the partitive genitive refers to objects that have a cultural and/or individual expressive dimension; second, the expressions in which the -u forms occur, constitute the feelings of the subjects; third, they constitute emotions.

Furthermore, as Jakobson suggests, the interpretation of the partitive genitive forms requires contextualization. In the expressions *Nabrali snegu rebiata* "The children gathered (some) snow" and *Dolgo ne bylo snegu* "There had been no snow for a long time," for example, the use of genitive in -u is appropriate given the context of a desire for snow. In a different context, as for example, a belief in a fact, the writer (speaker) can use the genitive in -a.

4.5. Tea

Russian tea, much more than snow, has a cultural expressive dimension. Tea, as an object of desire, is longed for, wished, craved, coveted, etc., in different contexts of experience. For example:

(28) *Khmel' davil golovu. Ivan Semenych nesterpimo khotel chaiu*
(Makanin, *Soldat i soldatka*, 200)
"He was intoxicated. Ivan Semenych badly needed tea [-u]"

The use of the genitive in -u in (28) is relevant to the experienced state of intoxication for which the old prepositional phrase *ot khmeliu* "from intoxication" applies. It grounds the basis for the strong desire ("badly") for tea which noun receives the ending -u.

But *chai* is also *chaepitie* ("tea-drinking"), a ritual and a common part of Russian daily life. Discussing the food images in Chekhov's stories, Nilsson (1986) states that tea-drinking has various functions in his stories: for example, to suggest the quiet rhythm of Russian country life (in *Uncle Vania*); to "speak like" an "Easter service, the endless congregation, the change of seasons, the symbol of the waves [...] of repetitive routines which shape human life" (30) (*The Bishop*); to be a part of pleasant conversation, or a customary item at picnic parties (*The Name Day Party*); a ceremony in general. Thus, in such expressions as *Khorosho by teper' chaiku vypit'* "It would be nice to drink tea - diminutive [-u] now," or *Bez chaiu ne pushchu* "I will not let you go without tea [-u]", according to Nilsson, the ritual meaning of tea-drinking is suggested.

Twentieth century Russian has a variety of expressions which suggest the same ritual meaning. For example, a direct way of asking somebody for a cup of tea (a talk), such as *Poidem chaiu vyp'em* "Let's go have a cup of tea [-u]," or the polite invitation for a cup of tea, such as *Vy ne khotite chaiu* "Do you care for (some) tea [-u]," and so on. The examples below refer to the meaningfulness of tea in family traditions in a context of tranquility (29), or suffering (30) (in nom and acc):

(29) *Chai. To est' uzhe chai, i p'etsia on netoroplivo, i deti uzhe spiat, i tishina. "U samovara ia i moia Masha", - kak inogda shutit Kliucharev, podcherkivaia minutu... I verno: etot vechernii chai uzh davno nechto bol'she, chem chai. Eto tochka spokoistviia.*
(Makanin, *Povest' o starom poselke*, 244)
"Teatime. There's already tea, and it is drunk unhurriedly, and the children are already sleeping, and there is silence. "My Masha and I are at the samovar," as Kliucharev sometimes likes to joke, stressing the moment itself. This is true: this evening tea has already become much more than just tea. This is a moment of tranquillity."

(30) *Lapin [...] pil chai. Znamenityi chai Anny Ignat'evny, chai vsekh nedovol'nykh i obizhennykh...* (Makanin, *Bezottsovshchina*, 51)
"Lapin [...] was drinking tea. The famous tea of Anna Ignatievna, the tea of all the dissatisfied and offended ones..."

People are open to their concerns at a cup of tea, as in (31):

(31) *Svetik molchit. Ona [...] ne proch' vypit' s nim chaiu i poboltat.'*
(Makanin, *Starye knigi*, 37)
"Svetik is silent. She [...] does not mind drinking tea [-u] with him and having a chat."

Tea-drinking is like a place (Taylor's "public space") which brings people together to share what is between them, as in (32):

(32) *Khoroshii dom. Vot vidite, v kontse kontsov vse ustraivaetsia. Eshche chaiu?* (Makanin, *Bezottsovshchina*, 53)
"A nice home. You see, after all everything is coming right. More tea [-u]?"

One could condemn somebody for not following the tradition of offering tea which would give grounds for expressing indignation as a response to something wrongful. The genitive in -u (33) applies.

(33) [...] *V tot vecher u Karatygina Svetik vygliadela [...] zhalkoi [...] Cho zh eto takoe - prishla v dom, a tebe dazhe parshivuiu chashku chaiu zabyvaiut nalit'.* (Makanin, *Starye knigi*, 39)
"[...] That evening at Karatygin's place Svetik looked miserable [...] What is this - she came to the house, and they don't even remember/they even forget to pour you a lousy cup of tea [-u]."

Indignation and anger could be expressed directly in the following manner:

(34) *On dazhe parshivuiu chashku chaiu ne predlozhil!*

"He didn't offer even a lousy cup of tea [-u]!"

or,

(35) *On dazhe kholodnogo chaiu ne predlozhil!*

"He didn't even offer even cold tea [-u]!"

Although in nominal constructions and those in which adjectives are employed (see chapter I subsection 2.4) the use of the genitive in -u is not favoured, in the above three examples its occurrence is appropriate with respect to its emotional content which is relevant to the feelings of the subject.

Furthermore, the indignation, expressed in (33), is not only for the reason that the cultural tradition is not followed, but also because Svetik feels miserable and is not offered any help. Offering tea often concerns the needs of somebody who is upset, or suffering. For example:

(36) *- Milyi... - Polozhil ladon' na ledianoi lob Antipova. - Nu, chego rasstroilsia? [...] Khochesh' chaiku postavliu?* (Trifonov, *Vremia i mesto*, 440)

"My dear... He put his palm on the icy forehead of Antipov. Well, why are you upset? [...] Do you want me to make tea diminutive [-u]?"

or,

(37) *Ia videl, chto on drozhit, vzor vospalennyi i vid, kak u bol'nogo [...]*
Ia stal ego uspokaivat'. Nalil emu chaiu. On menia ispugal.
(Trifonov, *Vremia i mesto*, 367)
"I saw that he was trembling, that his gaze was feverish as though he were sick. I started trying to calm him down. I poured him tea [-u]. He frightened me."

Tea (with -u) acts in the above examples in the same manner as the gesture, the facial expression, the intonation, the soothing words, that is, expressively. In (36) the evaluated affectionate tea with the diminutive *chaiku* (by virtue of the fact that the diminutive has an affectionate component) is given to somebody who is an object of affection (*milyi* "dear"). In (37) tea is given out of fear for the other. We could paraphrase the latter with the old prepositional phrases in -u: *ot strakhu, s perepugu, s ispugu* ("out of fear"). Furthermore, it is given out of charity or moral obligation to the person who is in need. Thus, the articulation does not relate to a self-referential import but to what Taylor calls self-regarding import. Hence, the articulation in which the genitive in -u occurs ascribes a form to what is personal, and so affords an insight into that character's personality: sympathy, empathy for the other, readiness to help. As Taylor states "the situation bears [...] [an] import for me in virtue of the kind of being I am" (1985:58).

Furthermore, sympathy for the other is related to expressing warm feelings. Indeed, expressions related to pouring tea or offering tea in which the genitive in -u occurs suggest the expression of warm feelings. The use of the genitive in -a and mainly the accusative in such cases may presuppose indifference, or readiness to help for the sake of not looking bad in public. This is to say, following Taylor's conception, that experiencing emotion is subordinated to the

expression used (see also section 4.2 above), that is, when the meaning of the articulation changes, so do our emotions (feelings).

Nilsson (1986) states with respect to Chekhov's stories that tea-drinking serves not only to describe rituals but also to introduce and individuate some characters by, for example, the manner in which each receives the drink. One manner of asking for tea, described in Chekhov, is: *Iul'ka, chaiu!* "Iul'ka, tea [-u]" (quoted in Panov 1968). This manner refers to the expression of immediate feelings or desire discussed above. The choice of this drink (with -u), and not another, involves the significance tea has in Russian culture and what individually draws the person to it.

As a correlate to 19th-century writers' use of the noun tea, here is Trifonov's insight into the personality he describes:

(38) *[...] Ol'ga Vasil'evna sidela [...] s borodatym staren'kim Likhnevichem, kotoryi vse ne ukhodil, podlival to chaiu, to nalivki i rasskazyval, placha, o ziti'e na Muftarke sto let nazad, kogda oni s Georgiem Maksimovichem, [...], zadumali pokorit' Parizh, i eshche Mark Shagal byl s nimi [...]* (Trifonov, *Drugaia zhizn'*, 573)

"[...] Olga Vasilevna was sitting with the bearded old Likhnevich who was still not leaving, pouring himself either tea [-u] or liqueur [plural] and was tearfully telling about life at Muftarka ages ago when he and Georgi Maksimovich [...] decided to conquer Paris, and Mark Shagal had also been with them..."

In this context the character is presented as a perplexed personality with a dim, unclear, irrational state of mind awash in tea and liqueur and expressed

with impressionists tears (the life at Muftarka) and flying body (Shagal). The form *podlivat' chaiu* is another way of saying *on nalil sebe eshche chaiu* "he poured himself more tea [-u]." What is added, poured with respect to the "self" pertains to that which is dim and perplexed. This person can be judged as talking nonsense, for which some phraseological constructions (with -u) with prepositions apply: *bez tolku i bez razboru, net tolku, bez razboru, bez smyslu* ("without sense, indiscriminately"). In other words, the drinks are indiscriminately chosen and accumulated (tea [-u] and liqueur) and what the person talks about, that is, what is coming out of the inside of the person, is also a mixture.

The examples with tea in the genitive in -u used in various constructions only partially present what tea is in Russian culture. However, from the fact that tea is an object which has a cultural and individually expressive dimension, it does not follow that it is exclusively an -u word. The noun tea, as the Dictionary of Pushkin's Language shows (chapter II section 2), does not belong to those 34 words that are only in the genitive in -u. Nevertheless, the examples above justify the only example (11a) versus (11b) given by Jakobson (chapter I subsection 2.1) in which the two genitives occur in identical constructions, that is *nedostatok chaiu* "shortage of tea" versus *nedostatok chaia* "shortcoming of tea."

The construction with -u could be paraphrased with Jakobson's example *net chaiu* "there is no tea [-u]," or be related to being without tea. *bez chaiu* "without tea [-u]," or to the expressive *Chaiu!* "Tea [-u]," which is also given by Jakobson.

The construction with -a could be paraphrased with *net chaia* "there isn't any tea [-a] left," or as Jakobson would have put it, tea is valued, defined or perceptually treated as a concrete entity.

Furthermore, in terms of intentionality both constructions have the same content but their psychological modes are different. The construction with -u refers to the feeling of absence of tea or missing tea (that is, desire for tea) while the construction with -a refers to knowing that there isn't any tea left. Hence, the same content has two psychological modes: desire (with -u) and belief (with -a), that is, feeling versus reason or knowing.

4.6. Drinking one's Emotional State

Discussing the lexical collocations pertinent to the conception of feelings in Russian literature, Arutiunova (1976:93-111) states that emotional life is conceptualized in terms of fluids, that is, not something that is hard and concrete. Furthermore, she states that the soul of the person is conceptualized as a substance and receptacle *(vmestilishche)*, also container *(sosud)* of experience. The vocabulary related to what is experienced refers to "flowing emotions" and "flowing sensations" conceived as "drinking one's emotional state." Moreover, she states that this conception is sustained by the expression *chasha bytiia* "literally: bowl of being": one drinks *chasha* "bowl," *bokal* "goblet," but not *chashka* "cup," *stakan* "glass," *riumka* "glass" *kruzhka* "mug," *butylka* "bottle," etc., of suffering. Feelings are not measured in litres. Thus, it is not possible to say *litr prezrenia* "litre of contempt," though it is possible to say ironically *nol' vnimania* "zero attention," or *funt prezrenia* "a pound of contempt." Emotions are conceptualized in language as "burning moisture," or "burning fire." Hence, the person is a receptacle (container) within whom burns the fire of the soul.

In the following section I will use Arutiunova's and Taylor's conceptions to interpret the semantics of the partitive genitive with respect to its general

meaning which Jakobson defined with the feature "shaping." Furthermore, I will discuss the genitive in -u as a form which expresses subjectivity with respect to Jakobson's definition of the meaning of the partitive genitive in a historical context. Moreover, I will argue that the genitive in -u is not merely a stylistic device.

4.7. A Glass of Cognac

Pete (1965) (discussed in chapter I subsection 2.2) maintains that the -u and -a forms are stylistic variants, and that by the 1960s they occur in identical contexts. He gives some examples derived from prose to support his view. One of them is the use of "glass of cognac" which occurs both with -u and -a endings in Nagibin's *Weimar and its Surroundings* (1957). The expressions are quoted in the following manner:

(39) *Cherez sekundu on postavil pered zhenshchinoi riumku kon'iaka [...]* (1957:191)
"In a second he put in front of the woman a glass of cognac [-a]

(40) *[...] Kel'ner postavil pered nei novuiu riumku kon'iaka [...]* (1957:192)
"The waiter put in front of her a new glass of cognac [-a]"

(41) *[...] Kel'ner postavil pered nei riumku kon'iaku [...]* (1957:192)
"The waiter put in front of her a glass of cognac [-u]"

The order of the use of the genitive is the following: genitive in -a (twice), closing with genitive in -u. The state of affairs is the same: the waiter is putting

in front of the woman (her) a (new) glass of cognac. This presupposes that the noun cognac should be either in the genitive in -u or in the genitive in -a in all three sentences.

This is the case in the 1961 edition of Nagibin: in all three sentences cognac receives only the -u ending. Therefore, as Pete (1965) and as Plotnikova-Robinson (1963) would have put it, the writer has made the correction for stylistic purposes, that is, to emphasize the colloquial characteristic of the narrative. By describing Nagibin's story below, I will argue that the correction is subordinated to semantics.

The first time when the glass of cognac [-u] appears is when a woman enters a Wiemar bar and asks for *Obychnoe* "The usual." In this context appears sentence (39a):

(39a) *Cherez sekundu on postavil pered zhenshchinoi riumku kon'iaku i butylku sel'terskoi* (1961:237)
"In a second he put in front of the woman a glass of cognac [-u] and a bottle of (a kind of) mineral water"

There follows the narrator's description of the woman: she is nervous, waiting for somebody who is late. Furthermore, she drinks the cognac in the following manner:

(39b) *Vyliv polriumki kon'iaku v bokal, zhenshchina dobavila tuda sel'terskoi [...] bystrymi glotkami vypila smes' [...]* (1961:237)
"Pouring half a glass of cognac [-u] into the goblet, the woman added some mineral water [...], and quickly drank the mixture [...]"

It becomes clear from the above description that the woman, first, drinks a mixture, not just cognac and, second, that she drinks this mixture from a goblet, not a glass. The container thus chosen suggests (see section 4.6 above) that what she drinks is "a goblet of suffering" or "her emotional state" which is related to something unclear and perplexed with respect to the mixture she drinks.

After drinking the mixture the woman asks for the same drink in German ("One more"). There follows sentence (40a):

(40a) *[...] Kel'ner postavil pered nei novuiu riumku kon'iaku i druguiu butylku sel'terskoi [...]* (1961:238)
"The waiter put in front of her a new glass of cognac [-u] and a second bottle of mineral water [...]"

The new drink causes a change in the woman's appearance: her tension and nervousness are replaced by a mild and sentimental outlook. The woman is recognized by the narrator as a tourist guide at the Goethe spots. There follow scenes recalling the lifestyle of Goethe's wife, who felt depressed that Goethe followed his own way of life so that she never possessed him completely. And so, she sought peace of mind in drinking. This recollection suggests that the woman is also standing in a relationship of incomplete possession with the one she is waiting for while drinking.

The above scenes suggest that the woman's emotions are unexpressed or unspoken. That is, according to Taylor, the experience of pre-articulated emotions is disturbing and perplexing. It incorporates a sense of what is important to the woman which baffles her but to which she cannot give a name. But since her (the person's) pre-articulate sense of feelings is not

language independent, as these feelings are the feelings of a language being (Taylor 1985), she can say something about them (that is, that something is perplexing) which demands understanding. Thus, such expressions as *napit'sia kon'iaku, nalit' sebe kon'iaku,* and *kon'iaku vypit,'* which could be used in this context of the story, are a medium in which both inarticulate or articulate emotions are experienced.

The first expression, that is, *napit'sia kon'iaku*, which is given by Jakobson (see example (7a) in chapter 1 subsection 2.1 which is originally translated as "to get drunk on cognac [-u]"), refers to perplexed feelings to which the woman cannot give a name. The prefixed reflexive verb *napit'sia* provides the function of the morpheme *-sia* which can be interpreted as standing for an unexpressed self, that is, *sebia* or *sebe* (my/herself). That is, to say *napilas' kon'iaku* is to say that the woman quenches her thirst or desire for something which is more or less fulfilling so that the expression with the genitive in -u *(kon'iaku)* refers to self-experience (which is not to get drunk on cognac). In other words, the woman *uspokaivaet sebia* "is soothing herself" in that she seeks peace of mind in drinking.

Furthermore, the woman's self-experience can be expressed by the phrase *nalila sebe kon'iaku* "she poured cognac [-u] for herself" so that *-sia* in *napit'sia* in this phrase is the self expressed by the reflexive pronoun *sebe* "my/herself." Thus both expressions, in which the genitive in -u occurs, that is, after a reflexive verb and a reflexive pronoun, are linguistic forms which are appropriate for expressing the woman's subjectivity.

Another linguistic form, which can also be related to the above context of the story, is the reversed word order construction *kon'iaku vypila* "cognac [-u] she drank." Such a reversed word order is often called in linguistic research "subjective," that is, the important part of the utterance is put forward and

thus its importance for the speaker is expressively emphasized.

Therefore, the use of the genitive in -u in *napilas' konïaku* "she quenched her thirst for cognac," *nalila sebe kon'ïaku* "she poured herself cognac." *kon'ïaku vypila* "cognac she drank," refers to self-experience. That is, the woman in this story drinks cognac because of something which is a matter of non-indifference for her (a significance feature in Taylor's terminology), to which she cannot give a name. What is perplexing or disturbing (the pre-articulated emotions) demands further description for its interpretation and understanding. But this is also to say that what is significant for the woman is not that she feels that way, that is, she is drinking because she feels like drinking, but that she is drinking because she is suffering (as it is understood in the context of the story described above), as she stands in a relationship of incomplete possession with the person for whom she is waiting. Thus she reacts in a certain, that is, conventional (social-cultural) way, which is relevant to her situation. That is, she is drinking a particular alcoholic drink (cognac with -u), and not juice for the sake of quenching thirst as a bodily need, or medication for the sake of a cure, which nouns take primarily the -a ending. Therefore, the above three desire - or feeling - expressions with the genitive in -u are bound up with the significance which something (that demands interpretation) has for the subject. This is to say, following Taylor, that self is not pre-linguistic but rather the implied subject of self-referential expressions.

Let us further refer to the development of the story. What follows is the appearance of Georg, the man whom the woman [Gizella] is waiting for. He is identified by the narrator as a guide who voluntarily takes tourists to the Buchenwald concentration camp. The next scenes are devoted to the dialogues between the two characters which reveal some of their concerns: their student years, the intellectual style of life they used to live before the Second World

War, the War. Nazism, the differences in their opinions, Georg's fate after the end of the war.

Let us now discuss the use of the partitive genitive with respect to Arutiunova's conception of experience which is linguistically conceived as "drinking one's emotional state," and Taylor's conception which accounts for the relationship between pre-articulate and articulate emotions and situations.

The inchoate understanding of the import of the woman's situation receives a more articulate view:

(40b) *Neuzheli tebe samomu ne khochetsia vdokhnut' drugoi, chistyi vozdukh, byt' sredi detei, Georg, ochistit'sia, pomolodet' s nimi?* (241)
"Don't you really wish to breathe a different, clear air, to be surrounded by children, Georg, to purify yourself, to become younger with them?"

The woman still does not articulate what she desires, that is, with the verb *khochu* "I want." But the question she asks which employs the impersonal reflexive verb of desire ***khochetsia*** "I wish, I feel like" relates to her feelings for the person with whom she is standing in a relationship of incomplete possession, and suggests that she has a desire-feeling *(**khochetsia**)* to have children, which desire is not fulfilled.

Further, the woman drinks her third glass of cognac:

(41a) *[...] Kel'ner postavil pered nei riumku kon'iaku. - Sel'terskoi?..*
- Sprosil on. - Ne nado! (1961:241)
"The waiter put in front of her a new glass of cognac [-u].
'(Some) mineral water?' he asked. 'It is not necessary!'"

The woman drinks only the cognac. She does not drink the mixture any more, that is, her usual cognac mixed with mineral water in the goblet. The previous manner of requesting cognac has also changed. She asks for the third glass of cognac neither with "the usual," nor with "one more" said in German, but with *Eshche kon'iak!* "More cognac! (acc)." It has to be noted here, that the use of the accusative after the adverb *eshche* "more" is grammatically incorrect. The correctness of the phrase is, however, irrelevant in relation to her statement that it is irrelevant how much she drinks. That is, to Georg's statement *Ty mnogo p'esh'* "You are drinking too much", (which is to say, using one of Jakobson's examples in (7b) that *razgovor kosnulsia kon'iaka* "the conversation touched on cognac [-a]"), the woman's emotional response is *"Perestan', kakoe eto imeet znachenie!* "Stop it, it doesn't matter!" Thus, it is language that articulates the woman's insight (a move from the perplexing and inchoate to the articulate) which grows "because of what we [she] have [has] suffered or what we [she] have [has] been forced to become" (Taylor 1985:71). The woman says not how she feels (with the reflexive verb of desire *khochetsia chego-to* "I feel like having something") but what she feels, that is, what is relevant and significant to her, using the non-reflexive verb of desire *khochu* "I want, I intend to," that is, what she wants to be ('I' in a relation to 'you'), which expressions refer to her subjectivity:

(42a) *Vazhno drugoe, Georg, moi starye ruki, moe staroe litso. Ia staraia zhenshchina, ty ponimaesh' eto? No ia vse eshche khochu muzha, khochu sem'iu, khochu detei! Odin bog znaet, kak ia khochu detei!* (492)

"Something else is important, Georg, my old hands, my old face. I am an old woman, do you understand this? But I still want to have a

husband. I want to have a family. I want to have children! God knows how much I want to have children!"

In articulating the import of her emotion, the emotion opens onto the woman's personal experience and discloses what is important in her life as a subject ('I' in a relation to 'you' and what is between 'us'):

(42b) *Mne nuzhno, chtob ty byl moim, a ia - tvoiei. Ty nikogda ne byvaesh' moim, dazhe kogda my riadom, - ne zdes', v kabachke, a po-nastoiashchemu, sovsem riadom.* (492)
"I want you to be mine, and I - yours. You are never mine, even when we are together - not here in the bar, but really, when we are very close."

The articulations relate to the repressed feelings that the desire for true togetherness is unfulfilled, and provide a parallel between Gizella and Goethe's wife. That is, the woman's self ('I') is further generated in the story which parallels the story she inherits. Her story involves interpretation, not merely a recollection of the past. According to Taylor (1985) "what a given human life is an interpretation of cannot exist uninterpreted: for the human emotion is only what it is refracted as in human language" (75).

The woman's lack of fulfilment is further rendered in the following emotional expressions:

(42c) *Ia stol'ko zhdala, Georg! [...] Voina konchilas' odinnadtsat' let nazad, a ia vse zhdu!*

"I have been waiting for so long Georg! [...] The war ended eleven years ago, and I am still waiting!"

This is to say that the woman *zazhdalas'* "is tired of waiting" (see section 4.4 above) which verb's notional expressivity correlates with the expressions the woman uses. In other words, there is a certain belief that her waiting for the one whom she does not possess completely will never end so that there is doubt, but there is also hope that her desire will be fulfilled. The woman's doubt, belief, and hope for future are grounded in the narrated drama of her life.

The next emotion refers to the woman's interpretation of her predicament:

(42d) *Molchi! [...] Ia vse poniala seichas. Vdrug vse poniala, budto poviazka spala.. Georg! Ty 'bessrochnyi' Bukhenval'da.* (242)
"Be silent! I understood everything now. Suddenly I understood, as if the bandage had fallen.. Georg! You are 'permanent' in Buchenwald."

Although the woman comes to clarity and awareness of her situation, she still does not fully understand that the loved one will never leave his "post" ("even for you") in order that he might be a living memory of Buchenwald, and thus carrying the guilt of the Germans for the atrocities of the Second World War. Georg's personal choice to be a Buchenwald lifer is entirely historical. The woman's life history is a realization which parallels the narrated story of the relationship between Goethe and his wife, which is also a characteristically human pattern of life. It is also a characteristically human expression of partiality of understanding: *Ia ponimaiu...* "I understand..." She still waits and

hopes for future: *Ia slyshu...* "I hear..." closes the story whose motto might be "to each his own way," which phrase is used in the inscription of the Buchenwald's gate, referred to by Nagibin in the first lines of the story.

Riumka kon'iaku "a glass of cognac" in the story desribed above appears in relation to expressing one's subjectivity ("to each his own way"). This is to say that the partitive genitive is a case form appropriate for expressing subjectivity which grounds the desire for expression, so that the subject (self) and the object of desire (with -u) are generated in language. Self is an achievement of language (in Taylor's terms) in that mental life is an activity which starts with unreflected desire which aims for the incorporation of the desired object (a sense of what is significant) and proceeds to an articulated form of desire which expresses what is significant for the person that realizes the self.

In his 1936 model of case, *riumka kon'iaku* "a glass of cognac" is the only drinking container that Jakobson chooses in his discussion of the meaning of the partitive genitive. In fact the distinction between the two genitive cases is primarily based on examples which include the noun cognac (see (7a) versus (7b) in chapter 1 subsection 2.1). Jakobson refers to Shakhmatov who makes a distinction between the two genitive cases from a historical point of view, and in accord with Shakhmatov's view defines the meaning of the partitive genitive with the "shaping feature," which concept disregards the signified object's concreteness. In his 1958 model Jakobson changes the feature "shaping" into "quantification." But in this instance he refers to another historical category that belonged to the -u stems, that is, the supine, whose meaning correlates with the meaning of one Greek verb for "love" (see below), in that they are characterized by a potential feature. If one thinks of action as an expression, as, for example, Taylor does, then expressing the potential character of an action means not to consider mental life as contemplation but as activity. Such

an understanding of mental life, however, is not in the scope of Husserl's phenomenology but in Hegel's theoretical views, views which Jakobson in part uses (see chapter III subsection 2.7). Therefore, I will briefly account for Hegel's understanding of mental life as an activity in relation to the story described above.

The discussion of the story which generates the self and understanding of oneself, in accordance with Taylor's conception that self is an achievement of language, is related to Hegel's doctrine to the effect that a person's self-understanding is a conception of the inner self-reflection of a life process "which at the outset fails to grasp what it is about" (Taylor 1985:86). Furthermore, as Taylor summarizes Hegel's theory of mind and subjectivity:

> We learn through a painful and slow process to formulate ourselves less and less inadequately. At the beginning, desire is unreflected, and in that condition aims simply for incorporation of the desired object. But this is inherently unsatisfactory, because the aims of spirit are to recognize the self in the other, and not simply to abolish otherness. And so we proceed to a higher form of desire, the desire for desire, the demand for recognition. This too starts off in a barely self-conscious form, which needs to be further transformed. And so on. (1985:86-87)

In Taylor's recapitulation, conceptual activity in Hegel's theory should be understood on two levels. First, the desire is not seen as a mere psychic given, that is, a datum of mental life. It is a reflection, at first inadequate, of the goals of the life process. Second, the achievement of a more adequate understanding comes through the activity of formulating. Thus, Hegel's view, in which action (that is, mental life understood as an activity) is first unreflecting, and reflective understanding is an achievement, is that theoretical basis which Taylor (1985) uses in his theory of the person as a self-interpreting animal.

As follows from the description of the story, the major points of Hegel's and Taylor's conceptions apply to the use of the partitive genitive. The woman's self-understanding is mediated by and through language which, in Taylor's terms, prefigures place, that is, public space, which places characteristically human concerns between 'I' in a relation to 'you' in a common act of focus, that is, 'us' (see also section 4.2 above). And these characteristically human concerns are the woman's desire for fulfilment (demand for recognition of the self) and the man's duty to German history.

But the woman's desire for fulfilment and her relationship to the man whom she does not possess completely and is waiting for while drinking (cognac with -u), are such states that are similar to the state of longing for snow (with -u) (discussed in section 4.4 above). That is, the snow (with -u) is an object of incomplete possession and an object of desire which desire demands fulfilment. In other words, the desire or longing for snow (with -u), which wish is an affection and has its own object of the self (an incorporated object of desire Hegel's/Taylor's terminology). This experiential state correlates with the meaning of the one Greek verb for love referred to by Jakobson in his 1958 model of case, which verb "expresses an amorous longing, that is, an incomplete possession of the individual longed for, and the genitive case of the object strictly corresponds to such a verbal meaning." That is, this Greek verb for love, and hence the object of desire in the genitive in -u, are characterized by the potential for fulfilment. Recall that in passage (10) (section 4.4 above) the desire for snow is fulfilled (see the examples related to immediate feelings, emotions, and touching the object of desire).

Furthermore, in chapter III section 3 I related the meaning of this Greek verb for love, that is, its potential character for love which is incomplete, to the potential character of the action expressed by the supine: recall that the supine

belonged to the -u stems and took the genitive case, which combination relates to the proper meaning of the genitive, that is, "its orientation towards the degree of objectification" in Jakobson's view. Therefore, not only the the Greek verb for love but also the supine, which took the genitive case, are also characterized by the potential or desire for fulfilment, or demand for recognition in Hegel's terminology.

This is to say that, on the one hand, Jakobson defines the general meaning of the partitive genitive with the semantic concept - "shaping" feature with respect to the nouns with the meaning of substance, collectivity, and abstraction which lacked individualization and belonged to the -u stems. And thus, he relates reflection as an achievement of previous stages of language development, so that self largely belongs to private speech in accordance with Husserl's phenomenology (see chapter III subsection 2.8). But, on the other hand, by including the partitive object "snow" in his 1958 model of case in a context of desire, and refererring to the supine and the meaning of one particular Greek verb for "love," that is, a potential for fulfilment, the meaning of the partitive genitive, termed by Jakobson as "shaping," can be interpreted in relation to Hegel's understanding of mental life as an activity. By including the supine and this Greek for "love" in his theory of case, Jakobson thus encoded, if I refer to his terminology, that the meaning of the partitive genitive has to be understood as a desire-feeling and potential for fulfilment or demand for recognition of the self. This interpretation of the general meaning of the partitive genitive is historically akin to Dobrev's interpretation of the element -u as an inessive (see chapter III section 3): "a deixis for remote, unreachable, beyond/across, unseen, internally hidden entities and objects, or entities which cannot be immediately perceived simultaneously."

In this sense Jakobson's abstract semantic concept, defined as "shaping" with respect to the interpretation of the semantics of meaning of the partitive genitive in the story described above, relates to Hegel's interpretation of subjectivity in that the semantics of meaning of the partitive genitive is characterized by a desire-feeling and potential for fulfilment.

Thus, the use of *riumka kon'iaku* "a glass of cognac [-u]" in the story described above nicely captures the meaning of the partitive genitive.

This can be understood and interpreted with respect to what is repressed, that is, a person's drinking "the goblet of suffering," or "one's emotional state" which relates to the conception of a person's soul as a substance (Arutiunova).

Also, it can be understood and interpreted with respect to what is disturbing - to an unreflected desire that aims for the incorporation of the desired object, that is, pre-articulated emotions are perplexing, they raise questions (Taylor).

It can also be understood and interpreted with respect to -u as an inessive (Dobrev) or what is hidden inside the person (*u menia* "in me").

Also, with respect to the object which lacks individualization (Shakhmatov) and the substance concept which does not tolerate concreteness (Jakobson).

And again, with respect to the relation to the object which is one of incomplete possession (Jakobson's particular Greek verb for love).

It can also be understood and interpreted as a desire for expression and potential for fulfilment (Jakobson's supine and the potential character of its action).

And again, with respect to feelings and emotions burning inside the person which have to be spoken or expressed if they have to exist (Taylor's articulated

emotional life which articulations are open to challenge from the inarticulate sense of what is important).

And finally, with respect to one's inner reflection mediated by formulations in an expressive medium which in turn opens the domain of the subjective horizon of the interpreter (Taylor's person as a self-interpreting animal).

4.8. Taking a Deep Breath

Let us now consider the use of the genitive in -u in the construction "to take a deep breath" used by Makanin in four different stories.

(43) *- Mozhet s toboi skhodim? - nabrav vozdukhu v grud', reshitel'no skazal [...] Vania.* (Makanin, *Povest' o starom poselke*, 282)
"Taking a deap breath / literally: filling his chest with air [-u], Vania said decisevely. 'Maybe you will go there with me?'"

(44) *On nabral vozdukhu v grud'. Pomolchal. I muzhestvenno dal otvet: - Khorosho. Soglasen.* (Makanin, *Na pervom dykhanii*, 312)
"He filled his chest with air [-u]. He was silent for a while. He courageously replied: 'All right. I agree.'"

(45) *Iura, - nachal on, vstal i nabral vozduku v grud': - Iura... - V glazakh ego pokazalis' slezy. - Iura, ty znaesh', chto ia chelovek bednyi [...] ia nichego ne mog podarit' tebe v etot den'.* (Makanin, *Bezottsovshchina*, 24)

"'Iura.' he started to say. then got up and filled his chest with air [-u]: - 'Iura...' Tears welled up in his eyes. 'Iura. you know that I am poor' [...] That particular day I wasn't able to give you a present.'"

(46) *Grebenkov nabral vozdukha i reshilsia: - Ponimaete, Valia... ona [...] veselaia. [...] Na samom dele ona [...] Grebenkov ryvkom vtianul glotok vozdukha: - Ob etom ne priniato govorit', no ia prishel imenno eto skazat'. I skazhu. On eshche glotnul vozdukha: - Ponimaete... Otnoshenia mezhdu rukovoditelem i Valei...* (Makanin. *Valechka Chekina.* 177-178)

"Grebenkov filled his lungs [-a] and ventured to say: - Valia. you know. ...she [...] is merry. [...] Really she is [...] Grebenkov suddenly took a breath of air [-a]: - One is not supposed to talk about such things. but I came precisely to do so. and thus I will say it. He [literally] swallowed more air [-a]: - You understand... The relationship between the supervisor and Valia..."

The genitive in -u appears on the noun *vozdukh* "literally: air - deep breath" only if the "container." that is. the chest. is present in the description. The first three uses (43-45) of the partitive genitive relate to what is. as. as it were. in the depths of the soul or to what is boiling and bothering the person whose feelings erupt. The abrupt manner of saying something is given descriptively: *reshitel'no skazal* "decisively said." *muzhestvenno dal otvet* "courageously replied." *v glazakh ego pokazalis' slezy* "tears welled up in his eyes" versus *reshilsia* "he ventured to say" in (46); this manner of saying something does not presuppose sharpness and is not a spontaneous reply or reaction. None of the

constuctions in which the genitive in -a occurs presupposes that "taking breath" is deep.

In example (46) it is not "the container" (that is, the chest or the soul) that is implied but rather the reasoning brain. What Grebenkov expresses comes out in "portions" with respect to enumerating or measuring the words for what has previously been reasoned.

Sentences (43) - (45) can be paraphrased with *v ego dushe = u nego na dushe* "in his soul," *na serdtse u nego = v ego serdtse* "in his heart," *na sovesti u nego = na ego sovesti* "on his conscience" versus in (46) *u nego na ume* "literally: in him on his mind" which, however, cannot be translated with *na ego ume* "on his mind" as there is no such phrase in Russian. An appropriate way to translate (46) will be *eta mysl' uzhe davno s nim* "this thought has been with him for a long time."

Hence, the expressions with the genitive in -u refer more to the feelings of the subject (how I feel for), and the expressions with the genitive in -a are more pertinent to the one who knows ('I know'), that is, reasoning.

Let us now recall Jakobson's suggestion, discussed in chapter I subsections 2.1 and 2.2 with respect to passage (46): if (similar) entities are counted, the genitive in -u loses its justification - the substance concept does not tolerate concreteness.

4.9. Inside the Person

The discussion pertinent to the meaning and use of the partitive genitive in the 20th century also applies to the expressions with the genitive in -u in the 19th century. In the following I will briefly account for some of the expressions deriving from different literary genres in the19th century which expressions

Plotnikova-Robinson (1964) uses in her study to support the claim that the -u forms belonged to colloquial Russian and that the genitive in -u and genitive in -a are merely stylistic variants (chapter II subsection 2.2).

The genitive in -u ocurring in the sentences below appears either on nouns that denote self-referential states or on nouns which are a part of the expression that their content is about such self-referential (also self-regarding) states. For example, pain (47); terror (48); desire for peace (49); desire for order in human relations (50); rage (51); malice, hate, or desire for revenge (52); desire to help (the dying Bela) with ice [-u] which ascribes sympathy for the people to the individual who is the object of desire (53); fear (54); irrationality (55); desire of a man to win the heart of a woman who is precious ("my dear, precious") with a precious gift (pearls [-u] in the relation from "me" to "you" which ascribes admiration for the person to the individual who is the object of desire (56):

(47) *bolit ot morozu lob* (Gogol)
"one's forehead hurts from the frost [-u]"

(48) *vytarashchil ot uzhasu glaza* (Vel'tman)
"his eyes popped out from terror [-u]"

(49) *ne trebovali bol'shego uvlecheniia i pylu* (Zhikharev)
"did not demand more enthusiasm and ardour [-u]"

(50) *ne khochu zavodit' shumu v dome* (Griboedov)
"I do not want to create a stir [-u] in the house"

(51) *Otvetu trebuet on grozno* (Krylov)

"It is an answer [-u] that he fiercely demands"

(52) *Vsia krov' ot iadu v nei gorit* (Griboedov)

"Her blood is absolutely boiling from the poison [-u]"

(53) *postavili l'du okolo krovati* (Lermontov)

"they put ice [-u] beside the bed"

(54) *strashnye portrety gliadeli s potolka, s polu* (Gogol)

frightening (faces from the) portraits were watching from the ceiling, from the floor [-u]"

(55) *Kol' liubit', tak bez rassudku* (A. K. Tolstoi)

"If one is to love then it should be irrationally/without reason [-u]"

(56) *Otvechai mne, chego tebe nadobno,*

Moia milaia, dragotsennaia!

Khochesh zolota ali zhemchugu (Lermontov, quoted in Pete 1963)

[Literally]: "Answer me, what do you want,

My dear, my precious!

Do you wish gold or pearls [-u]"

Plotnikova-Robinson (1964) refers to Dostoevkii's notebooks which give evidence that the writer twice corrected the -a ending used in the draft to the

-u ending used in the final version. The corrections refer to the description of Raskolnikov's nightmare:

(57) the draft: ***prosnulsia ia v polnye sumerki ot uzhasnogo krika***
"I woke up in pitch darkness from a terrifying scream [-a]"

(57a) final version: ***on ochnulsia v polnye sumerki ot uzhasnogo kriku***
"he came to his senses in pitch darkness from a terrifying scream [-u]"

(58) the draft: ***to vozvyshenaia rech', do kriku, to ponizhenaia do shepota***
"it was a sublime speech both rising to a shrill cry [-u] and falling to a mere whisper [-a]"

(58a) final version: ***to vozvyshenaia rech', do kriku, to ponizhenaia do shepotu***
"it was a sublime speech both rising to a shrill cry [-u] and falling to a mere whisper [-u]"

Plotnikova-Robinson claims that Dostoevskii changed the -a endings to -u for the purpose of giving a colloquial emphasis to the narrative which, according to her, gives evidence that the -u and -a forms are stylistic variants.

These corrections, however, appear to be made for semantic rather than stylistic purposes. First, the nightmare (in 57a), which is an irrational characteristic, presupposes coming back to one's senses and thus still carrying the fear (*ot uzhasnogo kriku* "from a terrifying scream [-u]") of self-experience

rather than natural waking up from a peaceful sleep. Second, the two verbs *prosnut'sia* and *ochnut'sia* are synonyms "to awaken, to come to one's senses, to come to oneself." The verb *ochnut'sia*, however, has a nuance of sharpness which the verb *prosnut'sia* does not possess. Dostoevskii presumably found the verb *ochnut'sia* to be more in keeping with the terrifying scream [with -u] in a nightmare. Thus, the use of the genitive in -u correlates the terror and irrationality of self-experience or, in other words, reflects a self-referential state. Furthermore, the choice of the genitive in -u in this construction is similar to the use of the phrase (59) *posle chadu* "from a dizzying vapour" given the presence of the verb *opomnit'sia* which is synonymous with the above two verbs.

(59) *kak posle chadu opomnilis' oni* (Gogol)
"they came to themselves as if after exposure to a dizzying vapour [-u]"

Sentence (58a) refers to the intensity of self-experience. And though it is different, the feeling, nevertheless, remains intact. Screaming is not a matter of "a lot of," nor is whisper a matter of "some:" scream or whisper are equally aggravating and disturbing, especially if a person has a nightmare or is anxious. The meaning of sentence (57a) can be paraphrased with the phraseological expressions *bez umolku* "without pause [-u]" and *pokoiu ni na chas* "not a moment of peace [-u]."

Thus, choosing the right word relative to the use of the partitive genitive in order to emphasise the sharpness of coming to one's senses and thus to create a vivid image of the nightmare, and the repetition (-u twice), is a matter of

stylistics, but the resulting effect is semantic, and so it is difficult to treat meaning and style as separate dimensions.

Screaming/crying, like laughing, does not presuppose the use of language. Furthermore, the use of the genitive in -u in scream/cry refers to what it will be like to cry, or self-experience which does not necessarily require the presence of an object (see Husserl, chapter III subsection 2.1). However, in direct expressions the cry can be expressed by the metaphorical use of the noun "air," as in (60) which, like the noun cry, is in the genitive in -u.

(60) *Mne durno!.. Vozdukhu* (Chekhov, quoted in Panov 1968)
"I feel faint! Air! [-u]"

The objectless self-experience of feeling faint is a basis for articulating "Air [-u]! which expression is a desperate cry for help.

These expressions show that the genitive in -u can directly refer to self-experience either in the presence of a fictitious object, as in a nightmare, for example, or the absence of any object, as in feeling faint.

Some of the nouns that take the -u ending in the 19th century are those that denote personal characteristics. The start can be found in phrases with locational meaning, such as *iz domu* "from (my own) house [-u]," that is, equating the person and his house, or further *volos vylezshii iz nosu* "a hair coming out of the nose [-u]" (Belinskii quoted in section 4.1 above) which is a part of the body correlative to an animal's body part as in (61)

(61) *u medvedia tekla krov' iz ushej i rtu* (Turgenev)
"blood was coming out of the bear's ears and mouth [-u]."

Closure for this type of usage is seen in nouns and phrases with the genitive in -u which pertain to what is characteristically human and personal and a person's character:

(62) *Byt' mozhet v strane, gde ne znaiut obmanu* (Lermontov)
"Maybe in a country where deceit [-u] does not exist"

(63) *V chelovecheskom sushchestve skryto mnogo egoizmu* (Aksakov)
"much egotism [-u] is hidden in human nature"

(64) *Nichego krome [...] vetru na ume* (Griboedov)
"literally: Nothing but air [-u] in his/her head - wind [-u] in the mind"

(65) *nichego ne pil, krome kvasu* (Zhikharev)
"he drank nothing but kvass [-u]"

(66) *liudi razlichnykh let, sposobnostei i kharakteru* (Turgenev)
"people of different ages, abilities and character [-u]"

In such descriptions (61) - (66) the genitive in -a prevails in contemporary Russian. (64) relates the partitive genitive to phraseology and can be treated as an exception. (65) expresses a belief in a fact that the subject drinks only kvass so that the genitive in -a is preferred in present-day Russian. Thus, in these descriptions the genitive in -u appears on nouns that denote or characterize what is human and personal so that the partitive object has a fixed degree of manner and evidence.

A reflection of personal characteristics pertinent to ***kharakter*** "character," and what is human and personal, with the genitive in -u, is seen in the expressions (67) and (68) below which are valid in contemporary Russian. These expressions may be called, as Taylor (1985) would have put it, action-descriptions, that is, desire-feeling descriptions which focus directly on the significance things have for the subject and thus reveal what is characteristically human and personal, and also one's character (with -u).

The strong desire ("yearning") of the subject in (67) for something precious (pearls with -u) is a description of a self-referential state which ascribes greed as a personal characteristic.

(67) *I zhemchugu togo lish' dozhidalsia* (Krylov)
"It was for the pearls [-u] he was yearning"

The strong desire for not having punch (with -u) articulates a self-referential state which ascribes stubborness to the subject.

(68) *punshu pit' ne stanu* (Zhikharev)
"punch [-u] is not something I am going to drink"

In present-day Russian most of the above expressions in which the noun takes the -u ending, the ending -a is dominant. This is true mainly for the constructions with the prepositions *ot* "from or out of." Some of these describe self-referential states that underlie self-experience, such as, for example, *ot morozu* "from the frost," *ot kriku* "from the scream." But in sentences (53), (56), and (60), as well as (67) and (68), which are pertinent to the feelings, desires,

and aspirations of the subject relative to their personal characteristics, the use of the genitive in -u is valid in present-day Russian.

Furthermore, for a person who repetitively uses expression of type (68) one receives insight into his/her character, that is, a stubborn one. Moreover, a person who constantly uses feeling-desire expressions such as *Sakharku by!* "Oh, for some sugar [-u]!", in which sugar is a diminutive containing an affectionate component, or such as *Mne tak khochetsia kvasu* "I really want kvass [-u]," which is to refer to feelings (*khochetsia* "I feel like"), can be judged as "affected." This is how X (see chapter I subsection 2.4) evaluated the use of the -u forms.

Now, let us refer to Jakobson's "shaped" feature in relation to the personal style (which is correlative to Husserl's repeated performance of the act): it individuates the person or the user of the genitive in -u. Furthermore, following Taylor's (1985) conception, a sense of personal identity is bound up with evaluations which are inseparable from the subject, and this is true of desire- or feeling-formulations which focus our attention directly on the significance things have for the person.

4.10. Definite Portion

By way of concluding this chapter I will refer to Jakobson's poetry of linguistics.

Panov (1968) reports that from the end of the 1930s the -a forms start to prevail in the bookish style (with reference to the nominal constructions used in cookbooks - see chapter II section 2). In the 1936 model of case Jakobson uses two nominal constructions that can be related to the language of cookbooks. That is, *lozhka pertsu* "a spoonful of pepper" and *funt gorokhu* "a

pound of peas" which are listed in the rubric "definite portion" (see example (6a) in chapter I subsection 2.1).

Let us relate these constructions to Arutiunova's examples (given in section 4.6 above) of the vocabulary used in Russian literature which vocabulary is pertinent to feelings that are not subjected to measure. There are, however, as shown by Arutiunova, some phrases, such as the ironical *funt prezrenia* "a pound of contempt" which refer to measure (quantity) of feeling. Such "quantified feeling" may be related to the phrase *funt gorokhu* "a pound of peas."

Russian has such phrases as *shut gorokhovyi* or *chuchelo gorokhovoe* "[literally:peas] clown or buffoon". Such people may deserve, ironically, *funt prezrenia* "a pound of contempt," that is, a "definite portion" of attitude on behalf of the speaker.

Furthermore, the phrase *lozhka pertsu* "a spoonful of pepper" may be poetically related to the phraseological construction *zadat' komu-l. pertsu* "give it somebody hot/good [-u]." This phraseological unit, and the above "clowning" phrases, may be further related to the third example which Jakobson gives, that is, *mnogo smekhu* "much laughter," in order to illustrate the "definite portion" with respect to the general meaning of the genitive in -u. Words uttered by a clown should evoke *mnogo smekhu* "much laughter [-u]," as may also words chosen to give it somebody hot/good, as an afterthought. *Mnogo smekhu* "much laughter" is the only example used by Jakobson in which a quantifier (an adverb of quantity) is overtly expressed so that "much" is related to a definite person's desire-feeling - to laugh - to express - marked with the genitive in -u.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation aims to show that there are two dimensions which define the partitive genitive objects. The first dimension is what we would call *representational*. In a broad sense, the representational dimension means that the partitive genitive refers to some quantity of the object world. Jakobson's theoretical perspective only partly accounts for the meaning of the partitive genitive as representation, that is, of quantity which meaning is conveyed by some of the variants of the invariant. However, in following Husserl's principle of intentionality, Jakobson also accounts for the expressive meaning of the partitive genitive so that the expressive meaning (expression) and representational meaning (representation) co-exist.

In the *expressive dimension*, the sentence in which the partitive genitive occurs designates the object (the noun with the -u ending) in a certain relation to the subject. In other words, the expressive dimension refers to a particular attitudinal relationship between the subject and the object. In this second dimension the distinction between the genitive in -u and the genitive in -a involves the partitive genitive appearing as an -u form relative to expressing a desire for an object, in contrast to expressing some belief about the object where the genitive in -a occurs. In other words, the partitive genitive is an -u case form which is appropriate for expressing desire, and the regular genitive

is an -a case form which is adequate for expressing belief. Although in his 1958 model of case Jakobson left the examples with the genitive in -u without any interpretation, he demonstrated the distinction between the two genitive cases (desire [-u] versus belief [-a]) with the sentence *Dolgo ne bylo snegu, zazhdalis' snega rebiata* "There had been no snow [-u] for a long time, the children were impatient (tired of waiting) for snow [-a]" in a context of a person's desire for snow which is a desire for fulfilment.

Furthermore, the partitive genitive, in the expressive account of meaning (Taylor 1985), is an -u case form appropriate for expressing a subject's desires. Articulating subject-referential states discloses the person's values or what is significant to persons. It is not surprising then that the genitive -u forms appear in expressions (articulations) which constitute emotions, as it is precisely emotional states that ascribe a form of what is significant for the subject. A person's feelings are shaped by descriptions that are appropriate for a given speaker so that the expressions which pertain to the feelings and emotions of the speaker are appropriate with the genitive in -u with respect to those objects that have individual significance for the speaker in his culture.

The meaning content of those expressions pertinent to the feelings of the subject take the -u case forms, whereas the meaning content of the expressions pertinent to the knowledge or reason of the subject take the -a case forms. This is to say, in accord with the principle of intentionality, that language (case) is about reality, for such feelings as longing for snow, wanting tea, etc., are real. Or that, in accord with the expressive view of language, the subject-referential states exist only in the expression which is itself constitutive of the significance of emotion and feeling.

However, the distinction between feeling (with respect to the -u form) and knowing or reasoning (with respect to the -a form) is not a clear-cut one, as knowing is based on feeling. As Taylor states:

> it would be wrong to conclude that knowing can be simply opposed to feeling. What I know is also grounded in certain feelings. It is just that I understand these feelings to incorporate a deeper, more adequate sense of our moral predicament. (Taylor 1985:61)

Furthermore, with respect to emotion, Taylor discusses awareness of the subject-referential imports so that there is no awareness of these imports which are not grounded in feelings. Taylor states that

> [...] our direct, intuitive experience of import is through feeling. And thus feeling is our mode of access to this entire domain of subject-referring imports, of what matters to us *qua* subjects, or what it is to be human. (Taylor 1985:62)

But what matters to us as subjects, or what our feelings are, is manifested in speech in that the subject's feelings are put in the presence of other subject's feelings, that is, publicly. Therefore, the real life of the partitive genitive, which is pertinent to the feelings and emotions of the subject, is in speech. That is, its life is manifest in the colloquial styles of Russian with respect to standard literary Russian, dialectal speech, illiterate speech and the language of literature.

Literature, which can be considered a depiction of life, provides many examples in which the partitive genitive occurs, and thus sustains the traditions of its use and continuity. Professionals involved with literature may

use the partitive genitive forms more often than those who are not involved with literature.

The use of the partitive genitive has been decreasing in contemporary Russian but this does not mean that it is near-dead, as some linguists have characterized it. The partitive genitive fluctuates as feelings and emotions do. The decrease of the occurrence of the genitive in -u is not evident in the utterances that express the subject-referential states, but rather this decrease is evident in the utterances that describe or denote such states.

Since diminutives have an affectionate component (which refers to feelings) and by virtue of this they are notionally expressive, they are hence more stable with respect to the use of the partitive genitive. Moreover, with respect to phraseology which can be broadly thought of as sedimented personal and cultural significances, the use of the partitive genitive is also stable.

In conclusion, the genitive in -u and genitive in -a cannot be considered as merely stylistic variants because meaning and style are not separate dimensions, and the meaning of the partitive genitive is always culturally significant. Therefore, Jakobson's claim that the genitive in -u and the genitive in -a are two distinct cases in Russian remains valid.

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