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RUSSIAN VERBAL GOVERNMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1980

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To my parents, Michael and Margaret Luketich; to my husband, Lee; and to my son, Michael, for their encouragement, patience, love, and understanding.
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Rationale

Sufficient information on verbal government in the Russian language exists, but in its present amorphous form this information is not as useful and accessible as it might be. The purpose of this study will be to analyze and synthesize the existing material; the result will be a classification of those verbs which govern the same oblique object case using such shared features as similarities in verb meaning, suffixes, and prefixes. The product should be a resource which provides both guidelines for determination of the case an unfamiliar Russian verb would probably govern and a list of the general verbal meanings, prefixes, and roots associated with each object case. Students of Russian who often must resort to memorization of each verb and the case(s) it governs should find this a welcome aid. It should also represent a basis for further study as regards both closer, more detailed study of inter- and intra- group relationships (groups determined by the case the verbs take) and implications for new verbs entering the Russian language.
The major sources for information on verbs and object government currently available to such potential users are of two types. First, "verb books" compiled for use primarily by non-Russian students of the Russian language present exhaustive inventories of alphabetically listed verbs. Andreyeva-Georg and Tolmačeva (1975), Demidova (1969), and Fedorov and Krjukova (1961), which are representative of one type of "verb book", give examples of verb usage, either a verb with an object in the case(s) it governs or verb with the preposition it requires and an object of the preposition. A second type of "verb book", e.g. Daum and Schenk (1965) and Korn (1966), defines each verb and then lists the case(s) or prepositions(s) and case that verb takes; no examples are provided. Second, there are grammars or scholarly works, e.g. Peškovskij (1956) and the Academy Grammar (1960), which give information on verbs and their government under various headings: glagol'noe slovosocetanie (word combinations in which the verb is the governing agent), suffixation, and prefixation. In such instances the author simply selects representative verbs and does not strive for completeness in the attempt to offer general statements on the relationships between groups of verbs and the case they govern. Peškovskij (1956:298) states broadly that verbs prefixed in po- normally require genitive objects; Galkina-Fedoruk (1957:37) cites only izbezat' 'avoid, shun,
evade, escape' and *lit'sja 'lose, forfeit someone or something; remain without something' to represent that group of verbs which governs the genitive case in a meaning of "avoidance".

Neither the "verb books" nor the grammars are complete in the sense that those relationships identified between groups of verbs and specific cases (as they have been defined in grammars) have not been applied to a large body of Russian verbs (such as those which have been given in one of the "verb books"). If such a composite study were made, the resource materials resulting from it could include exhaustive lists of verbs governing each case, criteria for "guessing" the case a specific verb governs, and those verbal meanings (related meanings, similarities in meanings), prefixes, etc., which are subsumed under each object case. This paper proposes to be a first such study. For convenience Daum and Schenk (1965) with its over 14,000 entries will be used as the source of verbs for the study. Other verb books (Andreyeva-Georg and Tolmačeva 1975, Demidova 1569, and Fedorov and Krjukova 1961) give comparatively fewer verbs. Searching a dictionary proved too time consuming-- and the results would have been similar to those of the chosen method--for the purposes of this study, although it is indeed true that the corpus might have been larger. However, there is no reason to believe that that corpus would have been more representative.
This paper will necessarily devote itself to those verbs which govern objects without a preposition. From all of the verbs given in Daum and Schenk (1965) only those verbs which govern objects were selected. (At this point it would be presumptuous to say that transitive verbs were selected for consideration, since transitivity has been neither mentioned nor discussed. Until transitivity, as it will be used for the purposes of this paper, has been defined, verbs will be considered simply as governing an object or not governing an object.) A further restriction was that the verbs selected must enter into sentences with the form subject + verb + object. (This is to eliminate so-called impersonal sentences - the dative impersonal, for example.) These verbs were then separated by the case(s) they govern. Once grouped by case governed, the verbs were subdivided by similarities in meaning, prefixes, suffixes, or any other means. The concept of similarity in meaning connotes only that it is suggested for the purposes of this study that all verbs governing the same case or cases and having meanings which can (by this writer) be said to be synonymous or related can be grouped under a generalized definition. For example, the verbs assistirovat' 'assist', pomoc'/pomogat' 'assist, help, aid, support', and posobit'/posobljat' 'assist, aid, help' will be grouped here with other verbs with similar definitions as making up that group of verbs governing the
Preliminaries to the work just described will consist of discussions of 1) transitivity in the Russian verbal system, 2) definitions of the cases used for verbal objects in the Russian language, and 3) the possible combinations of cases verbs may govern (in addition to the governance of only one case by a verb).

Transitivity in the Russian Verbal System

Transitivity in the Russian verbal system is not a clear-cut concept. Various definitions of the term are found in the literature. This discussion of the concept includes three sections. The problems which obstruct a common, universally accepted definition of transitivity will first be enumerated. Second, two approaches to the division of Russian verbs into the categories of intransitive and transitive will be examined. Third, that definition of transitivity which will underlie the present work on verb government will be set forth.

The ability or inability of a Russian verb to govern an object is a useful means to roughly separate Russian verbs into two major groups. The term object designates here both the direct object which appears only in the accusative case in Russian as well as the indirect or
nondirect object which may be in the genitive, dative, or instrumental case and, indeed, may seem (or even be said) to function as a direct object in a sentence. The four cases governed by Russian verbs are accusative, genitive, dative, and instrumental:

Accusative - дит' книгу 'read a book'

Genitive - боится собаки 'be afraid of the dog'

Dative - помочь другу 'help a friend'

Instrumental - владеть русским языком 'have a command of the Russian language'

Of all Russian verbs the one uncontested group is composed of those which can not govern an object. Such verbs as спать 'sleep' and спешить 'hurry, make haste' belong here. The remainder of the verbs which do govern objects do not form such a distinct group; a large number of them can also occur without an object:

Он читает книгу. 'He is reading a book.'

Он читает и пишет. 'He reads and writes.'

Do such verbs (verbs which take accusative objects but which can also occur with no object) belong to both groups, i.e. those which can govern an object and those which can not, or do they compose a special subset of verbs governing an object?

As has already been stated, Russian verbs can govern objects in the accusative, genitive, dative, and instrumental cases. In
addition, verbs can govern two of these cases simultaneously, two cases alternately (either one or the other), or even two cases simultaneously with one of those cases alternating with a third case. Examples of these possibilities for verbal government include

1. two cases simultaneously
   
   accusative and genitive
   
   *lisit'/*lisat' mat' pokoja 'deprive mother of peace' (Ag 134)
   
   accusative and instrumental
   
   *prikryt'/*prikryvat' zemlju snegom 'cover the earth with snow' (Ag 285)
   
   accusative and dative
   
   *soobsčit'/*soobsčat' novost' drugu 'break the news to one's friend' (Ag 369)

2. a. two cases alternately

   accusative or genitive
   
   *ždat' sestru/*ždat' sestry 'wait for one's sister/wait for a sister' (Ag 77)

   genitive or instrumental
pognut'sja/gnut'sja грязной работы
pognut'sja/gnut'sja грязной работы 'avoid, shun, distain dirty work/avoid, shun, distain dirty work'
(Ag 60)

accusative or instrumental
svyrjat' kamni/svyrjat' kamnjami 'throw stones/throw stones' (Ps 302)

2. b. two cases simultaneously, one alternating with a third case
   accusative and instrumental or genitive
ispolnit'/ispolnjat' serdce надежду/ispolnit'/ispolnjat'
serdce надежды 'fill one's heart with hope/fill one's heart of hope' (Ts I 1242)

Russian grammarians including Saxmatov, Gvozdev, and Vinogradov have traditionally separated verbs which can take an object into 1) those verbs governing the accusative case and 2) those verbs governing all of the remaining, oblique cases. This gives rise to the problem of how to classify those verbs which govern the accusative and another case simultaneously and those verbs which govern the accusative and another case alternately. Are they
different from those verbs which govern only the accusative? The verb *videt* 'see' governs only the accusative case:

*Boris vidit Mašu. 'Boris sees Masha.'*

Does the verb *pisat* 'write' which may govern not only the accusative case:

*On pišet roman. 'He is writing a novel.'*

but also the dative case simultaneously with the accusative:

*On pišet emu pis'mo. 'He is writing him a letter.'*

belong to the same category as *videt*? It should be further considered that the verb *pisat* may govern the dative case alone:

*On nam pišet. 'He writes to us.'*

An additional complication to the classification of verbs by the case or cases governed is the fact that both verbs governing accusative objects and verbs governing the accusative and another case can also be used with no object as has been mentioned earlier:

*On čitaet i pišet. 'He reads and writes.'*

The verb *iskat* 'look (for); seek (after); etc.' governs the accusative and genitive cases alternately:

*iskat* dom 'look for a house', but

*iskat* pomoći 'seek help' (Ag 118)

(The rationale for the choice of object case will be given under the general discussion of verbs governing the accusative and genitive case.)*
cases alternately.) Here again the possibility exists for the verb to appear with no object. Should such verbs be grouped together with verbs like 'citat'?

Previous conceptualizations of transitivity have solved, or at least considered, these problems to a common, universally accepted definition of transitivity in various ways. First, the more traditional approach to transitivity will be outlined. Then, an alternate approach will be shown. In the conclusion of this discussion the working definition of transitivity for this paper will be developed.

Saxmatov (1941) most closely approaches the traditional concept of transitivity with his sharp dichotomy between those verbs capable of governing an accusative object and those incapable of governing an accusative object. With reference to Latin grammar a transitive verb has traditionally been defined as one taking an accusative object. All other verbs which govern objects in other cases are necessarily called intransitive. Saxmatov (1941:311) distinguishes direct (прямое) objects and indirect or oblique (косвенное) objects. Indirect or oblique objects are of three types corresponding to the case governed:

1. indirect proper (собстvenное косвенное) or genitive case
2. supplementary indirect (дополнительное косвенное) or instrumental case, and
3. indirect of approach (приближательное косвенное) or dative case.
Similarly, Vinogradov (1947) subdivides transitive into direct transitive (прямой перехождень) and indirect transitive (косвенный перехождень). As indirect transitive are recognized only those verbs whose sense or meaning remains incompletely revealed without an objective explanation, i.e. an object, in the genitive, dative, or instrumental cases, which are the косвенные or indirect or oblique cases. In this concept of transitivity verbs which govern no object would, of course, be considered intransitive.

Therefore, any verb which has the capability of governing an accusative object as its only object, as one of two simultaneous cases, or as one of two alternate cases is a transitive verb. The verbs видеть', писать', and искать' are all classified as transitive. When one of them appears without an object or with a possible object in a case other than the accusative, that verb is considered to be "used intransitively"; it is still a transitive verb:

transitive verb: On пишет роман.

transitive verb used intransitively: On пишет мне. On пишет.

Precedents have already been set in the Russian verbal system for classifying as transitive such verbs as искать which governs accusative and genitive objects alternately. For example, in Russian animate masculine singular nouns used as direct objects do not take the expected accusative endings (as found with inanimate masculine
nouns), but instead they take endings identical to genitive case endings. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that the genitive case may occur instead of the accusative when a transitive verb is negated; this is known as the genitive of negation:

Ja ne čitaju roman. 'I am not reading the novel.'

Ja ne čitaju romana. 'I am not reading a novel at all.'

Still another grammatical phenomenon is the second or partitive genitive which occurs with certain verbs. There exists a set of singular nouns which when used as an object with these verbs appears with a distinct second genitive ending which is either identical in form to the genitive case ending or is a different ending:

\[ g = \text{Dajte mne xleba.} \text{'Give me (some) bread.'} \]

\[ a = \text{Dajte mne knigu.} \text{'Give me the book.'} \]

The verb dat'/davat' and others like it are considered to be transitive.

Peškovskij (1956:285-89) begins his discussion of transitivity by differentiating two types of verb government - strong (sil'noe) and weak (slaboe). Strong government refers to that dependence of the noun or combination of preposition and noun on the verb such that there exists an obligatory connection between the given case or the given preposition and case combination and the dictionary (lexical) or grammatical side of the verb. That is, there is a necessary
internal connection between the case or preposition and case and the meaning of the verb. Some examples of strong government are videt' 'see' and the accusative case and smotret' na 'look at' and the accusative case. Smotret' designates a process of visual perception, but videt' is a result of the process. It is completely natural that the name of an object which has already been perceived by the visual process is in a direct tie with the verb (the accusative case), but the name of the object, onto which a process is still directed, is connected to the word expressing this direction (na and the accusative case). Videt' can take only accusative objects; smotret' most frequently takes the preposition na which governs the accusative case. (Smotret' may also take an accusative object with no preposition in the meaning of 'view, look over'.) Such an internal connection between verb and given case or verb and preposition and given case is not characteristic of weak government. In the sentence umer 22 fevralja 'he died on February 22' (Ps 286), which is an example of weak government, any Russian verb, generally speaking, may be substituted for umer inasmuch as there is no connection between the genitive case and the meaning of the verb. Any other action, as named by any verb, could occur on February 22: rodil'sja 22 fevralja 'he was born on February 22' or pel 22 fevralja 'he sang on February 22'. 
Weakly governed members of a sentence share some characteristics which differentiate them from strongly governed ones. Three especially significant ones can be discussed.

First, their relationship with some other word often depends on word order. The weakly governed member, not being firmly connected with any specific word, always gravitates to the closest word. This is apparent in the difference in meaning in these two sentences (Ps 286):

1. čelovek v beloj šljape posel s nami 'the man in the white hat went with us'
2. čelovek posel s nami v beloj šljape 'the man went with us in a white hat'

The phrase v beloj šljape, which is the weakly governed member in both sentences, is tied to the subject in the first sentence, while it is tied to the verb in the second one. A strongly governed member never loses its connection with the word which governs it and may be at any distance from it. The dependence of the word zapisku 'note' on the verb pišu is equally clear in both of the following cases:

1. pišu zapisku 'I write a note'
2. pišu tebe na užasnoj bumage, užasnym perom, kotoroe mne edva udalos' dostat' u tvoego večno zaspannogo, dolgo nico ne poniamavšego sožitelja, pri polnoj počti temnote,
potomu что некогда доzdid'ja, poka on soblagovolit zažeč' lampu, zapisku 'I am writing (to) you on terrible paper, with a terrible pen, which I barely succeeded in getting from your always sleepy roommate, who for a long time did not understand anything, in almost total darkness, because there is no time to wait while he deigns to light a lamp, a note' (Пь 287)

Second, when word order does not give direct indications, the material meanings of the words, i.e. what the words represent in reality/in the real world, and the situation of the speech act become greatly significant. This is not true with strong government. In the next two examples the underlined words are related not by grammatical reasons but because in the first sentence the mushrooms are in the pirog, a part of it, while in the second the caviar is on top of the bliny, a distinct entity (Пь 287):

1. ешь пирог с грибами 'you are eating a pirog with mushrooms'
2. ешь блин с икрой 'you are eating bliny (along) with caviar'

Third, weak government sometimes leads to ambiguity which can be decided only by material conditions and context. The two examples below may designate either that at that time I was a child or that at that time he was (Пь 287):

1. я знал его ребёнком 'I knew him as a child'
2. *ja videl ego rebenkom* 'I saw him as a child'

The occurrence of strong and weak government in relationship to verbs divides them into transitive and intransitive. Transitive refers to verbs capable in some degree of strong government; intransitive refers to those verbs incapable of it. Transitivity, therefore, refers to that ability of the verb to enter into a close tie with its governed case.

In Peškovskij's conception transitive verbs are then further divided into directly (*neposredstvenno*) transitive and indirectly (*posredstvenno*) transitive. Indirectly transitive verbs take a given preposition and case; directly transitive verbs take an object in a given case. Depending on the case they govern, directly transitive verbs are then divided into smaller classes. These are genitive, dative, accusative, and instrumental. Many verbs may belong simultaneously to two of these smaller classes since they may govern two cases. This type of relationship is called double government (*dvojnoe upravlenie*). Verbs of this type include

- *daju komu čto* 'I give someone something'
- *zapresčaju komu čto* 'I forbid someone something'
- *predpočitaju čto čemu* 'I prefer something to something'
- *želaju komu čego* 'I wish someone something'
- *lišaju kogo čego* 'I deprive someone of something'
ugoždaju komu čem 'I please someone with something' (Pš 288)

Some verbs may combine direct and indirect government:

zavíduju komu v čem 'I envy someone something'
mšču komu za čto 'I revenge myself upon someone for something'
razočarovyvaju kogo v čem 'I disappoint someone about something'

Peškovskij also mentions, but does not classify, those verbs which in different instances govern different cases with corresponding change of case meaning. He gives as examples

A 1. isču mesto 'I look for the place'
   2. isču mesta 'I look for a place'

B 1. prosu den'gi 'I ask for the money'
   2. prosu deneg 'I ask for (some) money' (Pš 288)

In both pairs of examples above the verb may govern the accusative or the genitive case. The differences in meaning within each pair have to do with the question of determinate/indeterminate. Mesto designates "one determined or marked beforehand"; mesta refers to "some, any". Den'gi is money "earlier lent, or, in general, about which there is prior agreement". Deneg gives a nuance of indefiniteness, money about which there is no prior agreement.

Verbs taking the accusative case may be called "properly (sobstvenno) transitive" or "directly transitive (prjamo-perexodnyj)".
Since they share several features, these verbs form a special group. They can not be reflexive, i.e. they can not have the suffix -sja. (No verb with -sja exists which could combine with an object in the accusative case without a preposition.) Too, such a verb can designate only an action both in its affixes and in its stem. No verb designating in its stem a condition could be termed properly transitive. Finally, a properly transitive verb possesses the exceptional capability of forming the reflexive voice (with the suffix -sja) with a passive meaning and also of forming passive participles. Reflexive verbs are those verbs in -sja which designate that the action has as its object the subject itself and which are formed from transitive verbs, i.e. verbs taking accusative objects (Academy Grammar 1960:413-14). Passive verbs in -sja have the real object of the action appearing as their subject (in the nominative case) while the real subject (producer of the action) appears as an object (the instrumental case without a preposition). The subject does not effect the action, but passively accepts it. The instrumental object represents the instrumental of the acting person. All other verbs (all except properly transitive ones) are incapable of this.

For the purpose of this discussion of verbal object government the concept of transitivity will be defined as the ability of a verb to directly govern an object. Directly means here "without a
preposition to complete the meaning of the verb". This definition is dictated by the axiom "simplest is best". All Russian verbs can be neatly divided into 1) those verbs which can never govern an object or with which an obligatory preposition is used and 2) those verbs which can govern an object. The first group is composed of the intransitive verbs and the second is composed of the transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs are marked by their non-acceptance of an object; transitive verbs are unmarked since they can govern an object. The majority of transitive verbs may also be used intransitively without an object.

Defining transitivity by ability/inability to govern an object eliminates the problems caused by the accusative case/oblique case dichotomy. The quandry as to where to assign a verb which governs the accusative and another case simultaneously (especially when only an object in that second, non-accusative case is found with the verb) or the accusative and another case alternately never arises. One need not consider the third category of transitive and/or intransitive verbs.

Further division of transitive verbs is neither clearcut nor necessary. In the approaches to transitivity presented above verbs which govern oblique cases are simply assigned to sub-groups by the case they govern. These are commonly called (although other titles
may have been assigned to the groups) genitive, dative, and instrumental. The grammarian may then add almost as an afterthought, that, of course, a verb may belong to more than one of these subgroups if it governs more than one case. One need only consider again the possibilities for verbal object government presented above to see how unwieldy this can become.

Transitivity will be defined here as that ability of a verb to govern an object. The object case can be any one of the four possible object cases. Further, this object is the object of the verb directly and not the object of a preposition which that verb requires to complete its meaning. This definition may seem to ultimately resemble Peškovskij's discussion, but his first division includes as transitive those verbs which take a preposition and a noun in addition to those just taking an object. These verbs are eliminated in the beginning in the concept of transitivity defined here. His derived category "directly transitive" does correspond to transitive here, but his smaller classes (divisions by case governed) have been ignored.
Definitions of Object Cases

A basic preliminary step to classifying verbs by meanings within the boundaries of object cases is to define the cases themselves. One can then examine the verbs' individual meanings to see if they correspond to the more general definition of the case. In other words, despite more specific meanings, inherent in each verb taking an object in one particular case should be found to some degree the meaning of the case.

In "The Case for Case" Fillmore (1968) developed a case grammar model involving case notions which form a set of syntactic universal concepts identifying judgements human beings are capable of making about events going on around them, such as who did it, whom it happened to, and what got changed. The cases needed to represent these concepts include

agentive - the animate perceived instigator of the action
identified by the verb

instrumental - the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb

dative - the animate being affected by the state or action

factive - object or being resulting from the action or state identified, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb
locative - location or spatial orientation of the state or action
identified

objective - semantically the most neutral case, anything
representable by a noun whose role in the action or state
identified by the verb is identified as the semantic
interpretation of the verb itself

In their deep structure the propositional nucleus of sentences in all
languages consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each
having a separate case relationship to the verb. These syntactic
relationships are realized as case in the surface structure. Verbs
can then be subclassified according to the case environments which
accept them.

When the Russian nominative and locative cases and Fillmore's
agentitive and locative cases are ignored, correspondences between
the two systems appear to be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Fillmore's universal cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. accusative</td>
<td>objective, factitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dative</td>
<td>dative, objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. instrumental</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. genitive</td>
<td>objective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If these "universal cases" are valid for Russian, it is possible to
classify Russian verbs according to the case(s) they take. Then there
must exist some relationships among verbs which take the same case(s), i.e. are accepted into the same environments.

The basic definition of the accusative case is the achievement of a goal. Any accusative goal is one potentially achievable by the action specified by the verb. Furthermore, the action of the verb which takes an accusative object envelopes its object in its entirety.

Although designating a goal, the dative case is used for a goal which is not achievable. Dative signifies "direction toward a goal" but there is no reaching or attainment of that goal. This accounts for the frequent English translation of a "to" with a dative object.

The basic meaning of the instrumental case is given in its name. To the instrumental is ascribed chiefly an "instrumental" meaning.

In the instrumental case is found that instrument by means of which the action of the verb is revealed. The instrument can be not only physical but abstract as well.

The genitive case has not one basic meaning but two since it has in many instances replaced the Indo-European ablative. A genitive which is an original genitive signifies that the verb spreads its action only onto part of or only onto the surface of its object. Those instances of a genitive object going back to the Indo-European ablative signify that the subject recoils or in some way moves off or away from the object in the genitive case.
Possibilities of Verbal Object Cases

As has been stated, Russian verbs may govern the accusative, dative, genitive, and instrumental cases. Of course, verbs exist which govern only one of these cases, i.e. verbs which govern the accusative case, verbs which govern the dative case, etc. No Russian verb directly governs the locative case which denotes the location or spatial orientation of the action of the verb, as this case occurs only with a preposition. The nominative case only occurs (and not as the object case, but as the case for indicating a predicate noun or adjective) with byt' 'be' in the present tense always, in the past and future tenses conditionally. It (the nominative case) simply names the agent of the action and shows no other relationship to other parts or members of the sentence.

Russian verbs may also govern two cases simultaneously or alternately. The possibilities of concurrent and complementary verb government are restricted. Simultaneous verbal government is limited to

1. accusative and dative
2. accusative and genitive
3. accusative and instrumental
4. accusative and (genitive or instrumental)
5. dative and instrumental
6. dative and genitive

(Examples are given on pages 7 and 8.)

Alternate verbal government is limited to

1. accusative and instrumental
2. accusative and genitive
3. genitive and instrumental

(Examples are given on pages 7 and 8.)

Jakobson's concept of marking (1971) in the Russian case system may offer some insight into the system of verbal government. In the scheme

```
  n    a    g
  1  2
```

the dative, instrumental, and locative cases are marked as peripheral; the genitive and locative cases are marked as limitational; and the accusative and dative cases are marked as directional. The order of the marking in the above figure is 1) limitational, 2) peripheral, and 3) directional. The nominative, both locative, and the second genitive cases will not enter into this discussion. The nominative and locative are not verbal object cases, and the second genitive has previously been excluded from this study.
It can be deduced that if two cases occur simultaneously as verbal objects, one of those cases must be marked as directional, that is, it must be either the accusative or dative case. Thus, a verb should be able to govern either the accusative or dative case and one of the other three cases: dative, genitive, instrumental. As has been shown above, all of the possibilities are found in the Russian verbal system.

Furthermore, it can be deduced that if two cases occur alternately, they (the cases) can be only singly marked according to the above system. Therefore, the dative is eliminated from alternate verbal government as it is the only doubly marked (directional and peripheral) verbal object case. (Both locative cases are doubly marked but they are not verbal object cases.) The accusative case is marked only as directional; the genitive case is marked only as limitational; and the instrumental case is marked only as peripheral. Indeed, the three possibilities (accusative and genitive, accusative and instrumental, and genitive and instrumental) do occur in the Russian verbal system.
Nouns and Noun Phrases as Adverbial Modifiers

Russian grammar allows for the presence not only of objects (dopolnenija), but also of adverbial modifiers (obstojatel'stva) in a case form without a preposition with verbs. Therefore, care must be taken to avoid confusing these two and to recognize the fact that while *ja čital knigu* 'I read the book' contains the transitive verb *čital* with the accusative object *knigu*, the verb *spal* in *ja spal vsju noc* 'I slept all night' is not a transitive one, for *vsju noc* is an adverbial modifier, not an object. The phrase names the time when the action of the verb occurs; it is not "governed" by the verb and may appear with other verbs, including transitive ones: *ja čital knigu vsju noc* 'I read the book all night'. Adverbial modifiers may be accusative, instrumental, and genitive. There are no dative adverbial modifiers comparable in form. These adverb constructions will be discussed here and subsequently eliminated from this discussion of verbal objects.

Accusative adverbial modifiers are of four types. The accusative of time designates that the full period of time named by the noun is filled with the action named in the verb, such as in *ja pisal ves' den* 'I wrote all day'. A second type is the accusative of distance or place: *on sel verstu* 'he went a verst'. The third type is
the accusative of quantity, as in kni̱g̱а stɔit' rʊbl' 'the book costs a rouble' and dvadcat' raz ja tebe govoril 'I told you twenty times'.

The fourth type is the accusative of measure of weight: vesit' tonnu 'weigh a ton'. All four of these may be used both with transitive and intransitive verbs (pel noč' 'he sang for a night' and spal noč' 'he slept for a night') and some only with intransitive (stoil rubl' 'it cost a rouble'). The possibility of an accusative object, besides one of these adverbial modifiers, exists also: pel pesnju vsju noč' 'he sang the song all night'.

The only genitive examples are those genitive adverbial modifiers of dates, as in ja priexal pervogo maja 'I arrived on the first of May'. Some genitive time expressions such as tret'ego dni̱a 'the day before yesterday' and segodnja 'today' have come to be regarded solely as adverbs.

Uses of the instrumental other than the objective use are quite varied. First of all there is the instrumental of the actor in a passive construction: stat'ja napisana učitelem 'the article is written by the teacher'. Here, too, belongs the instrumental of method:

letet' staej 'fly in a flock'
idti tolo̱p̱oj 'go in a body'
stojat' bokom, licom k komu 'stand with one's side, face toward
Also included under this heading of the instrumental of the method of the action is the tautological instrumental with an adjectival modifier as well as corresponding nontautological occurrences of a similar type. Examples include such tautological ones as

- žit' polnoj žizn'ju 'live a full life'
- umeret' neestestvennoj smert'ju 'die an unnatural death'
- spat' krepkim snom 'sleep a sound sleep'
- bolet' tjaželoj bolezn'ju 'be ill with a serious illness'
- ljubit' velikoj ljubov'ju 'love with a great love'
- smejat'sja gor'kim smexom 'laugh with a bitter laugh'

and such nontautological ones as

- xodit' bol'šimi šagami 'walk with large steps'
-govorit' rezkimi slovami 'speak with sharp/harsh words'

There are no tautological expressions in Russian which could be substituted for the two examples given immediately above. These constructions must include an adjective, since without an adjective they are completely meaningless. The verbs used in such constructions are generally intransitive and do not accept objects. (Ljubit' 'love', for example, does take accusative objects. Bolet' 'be ill with' takes instrumental objects.) In most cases the prepositional phrase in the English translation may be replaced by

someone'
an adverb:

\[ \tilde{\text{žit'}} \text{ polnoj } \tilde{\text{žizn'ju}} \ 'live fully' \]

\[ \text{spat'} \text{ krepkim } \text{snom} \ 'sleep soundly' \]

\[ \text{smejat'sja gor'kim } \tilde{\text{smexom}} \ 'laugh bitterly' \]

\[ \text{govorit'} \text{ rezkim } \text{slovam} \ 'speak sharply/harshly' \]

In fact, in Russian exist the following possibilities:

\[ \tilde{\text{žit'}} \text{ polno} \]

\[ \text{spat'} \text{ krep' } \tilde{\text{o}} \]

\[ \text{smejat'sja gor'ko} \]

\[ \text{govorit'} \text{ rezko} \]

There may be some disagreement as to whether the tautological instrumental belongs here, as there exists a relationship between it and the tautological accusative, as in \[ \text{šutki šutit'} \ 'joke, make jokes' \]. This instrumental is by origin a Slavic change of an Indo-European accusative (Peškovskij 1956: 303).

Related to the instrumental of manner/method above is the instrumental of intensification. In this type of instrumental a tautology without an adjective creates an intensifying sense: \[ \text{krikom kričit} \ 'shout', \text{stonom stonet} \ 'moan'. \] These combinations are extremely rare since the instrumental in such cases is usually exchanged for an adverb or turns into one, as in \[ \text{nakrik kričit} \ 'yell at the top of one's lungs' \]
The instrumental of path, road, or way (puti) or space (prostranstva) and the instrumental of time also are used exclusively as adverbial modifiers. An example of the instrumental of path would be lesom exal 'he went through/via the woods'. In fact, some instrumental constructions of these types are considered to be adverbs, including utrom 'in the morning' and vesnoj 'in the spring'. The instrumental of time designates the filling up by the action of only part of the period designated in the time noun or even of a detached moment, but not the occupation of the whole period. Both types are limited lexically to nouns with the meaning of place and time.

Scope and Methods of the Present Study

Since all of these uses of the case forms of nouns without prepositions described above are adverbial, they will not be included in the further discussion in this study of transitive verbs. To further define the material, those verbs governing objects in the
accusative case only will also be excluded. They are numerous and can be excluded here by simply defining the accusative case as the case of goal, the case of the action of the verb achieving the object. According to Gvozdev (1961) and Peškovskij (1956) there are three basic groupings of verbs which take accusative objects:

1. verbs which take the accusative of an external, existing object onto which the action directly passes
   
   voz'met on ruku 'he will take the hand'

2. verbs which take the accusative of result, an object created as a result of the action
   
   stroit' dom 'build a house'

3. verbs which take the accusative of content, an object which exists only during the action
   
   tancevat' pol'ku 'dance a polka'

Furthermore, the object may be concrete or abstract: gotovit' sup 'prepare soup' or gotovit' sjurpriz 'prepare a surprise'.

Two instances of the use of the genitive case with a verb will not be taken into consideration in this paper. These are the partitive or second genitive and the genitive after negation. The partitive or second genitive has a semantic significance and designates a part whose whole would be seen as an accusative direct object. In some instances the genitive instead of the
accusative case, i.e. the genitive after negation, may be used following a negated verb. It should be noted that in both of these cases the verb is one which could be generally considered to take accusative objects. Both of these uses of the genitive case fall outside the scope of this topic. Neither will the use of the instrumental case with future, past, and infinitive forms of the verb byt' 'be' be considered here.

The corpus for the study was the verbs listed by Daum and Schenk (1965). To define it (the corpus) the verbs were divided into the categories of transitive and intransitive, and the intransitive verbs were eliminated. The transitive verbs were then grouped by the case(s) they govern. Verbs governing the accusative case alone were excluded from consideration.

The verbs which were examined were those which govern oblique cases or the accusative case either simultaneously or alternately with an oblique case. They were assigned to one of these ten groups which were identified as all the possibilities for verbal government:

1. verbs which govern the dative case
2. verbs which govern the accusative and dative cases simultaneously
3. verbs which govern the genitive case
4. verbs which govern the accusative and genitive cases
   alternately

5. verbs which govern the accusative and genitive cases
   simultaneously

6. verbs which govern the instrumental case

7. verbs which govern the accusative and instrumental cases
   alternately

8. verbs which govern the accusative and instrumental cases
   simultaneously

9. verbs which govern the instrumental and genitive cases
   alternately

10. verbs which govern the accusative case simultaneously
    with the instrumental and genitive cases alternately

The possibilities of simultaneous verbal government with the dative case as one of those cases are not considered as distinct categories but have been incorporated into the discussions of single case government, simultaneous government, and alternate government. Further explanation is found in the chapter on verbs which govern the dative case.

The verbs in each of these ten groups above were then assigned to subgroups by relationships in meaning, word-formative features, and type of objects themselves that the verbs may govern. Within
the paper the listings of verbs are in Cyrillic alphabetical order, although the text is in the Latin alphabet. This is to facilitate reference to a dictionary or other reference which would in all probability be in Cyrillic and in Cyrillic alphabetical order.

Data

A total of 781 verbs are included in this study. This represents a larger proportion of the approximately 14,000 verbs contained in Daum and Schenk than it appears, since in that book each imperfective and each perfective verb is counted separately. In this study verbs were considered as an aspectual pair, e.g. dat'/davat' 'give' is one verb, not two. In some cases only the imperfective or perfective verb is involved or the "pair" consists of more than one perfective and/or imperfective member. Therefore, about 1,400 verbs are classified here. The breakdown of these verbs into the groupings is as follows:

verbs taking dative objects

verbs taking dative objects exclusively 136
verbs taking dative and accusative objects simultaneously 58

verbs taking genitive objects
verbs taking genitive objects exclusively 71
verbs taking genitive and accusative objects alternately 205
verbs taking genitive and accusative objects simultaneously 2
verbs taking instrumental objects
verbs taking instrumental objects exclusively 225
verbs taking instrumental and accusative objects alternately 14
verbs taking instrumental and accusative objects simultaneously 62
verbs taking instrumental and genitive objects alternately 5
verbs taking accusative and (instrumental and genitive alternately) objects simultaneously 3

781

In order of the largest number of verbs in the groupings to the smallest number, the listing indicating percentage of total verbs belonging to that grouping is
verbs taking instrumental objects exclusively 28.8%
verbs taking genitive and accusative objects
The discussion does seem to be lopsided or distorted since the first three groupings comprise 72% of the total number of verbs studied. Barely 1% of the verbs are in the final three groups. Furthermore, if one considers the "exclusive" categories, one finds that 28.8% of the verbs take instrumental objects exclusively compared to 17.4%
that take dative objects exclusively and only 9.1% that take genitive objects exclusively. Whether or not this is a fair representation of the Russian verbal system is not, however, at issue here.
Notes

1 Justification for placement in groupings said to show similarity in meaning included the following:
   1. being defined as synonymous in a dictionary (Russian-
      Russian or Russian-English)
   2. prior grouping in another grammar or resource by similarity in meaning, and/or
   3. generalizing several more specific definitions to a broader one.

2 Declined noun phrases without a preposition may be found with these verbs. They are not, however, objects of the verb but are adverbial modifiers. A discussion of adverbial modifiers which will allow them to be eliminated from consideration in this paper is found on pages 27-31.

3 When an aspectual pair is cited, the perfective member will precede the imperfective one. Soviet books and dictionaries tend to list verbs by the perfective verb in an aspectual pair. They are not entirely consistent, however, since verbs which are prefixed in po- to form the perfective, for example, will be listed by the imperfective verb. Non-Soviet dictionaries have the opposite, consistent procedure of listing verbs by the imperfective one. The choice for this study was arbitrary, but consistent, in that verbs are always listed (alphabetically) by the perfective member of an aspectual pair unless there is none.

4 No further discussion of these topics is warranted for the purposes of this paper. The first reason is that both the genitive after negation and the partitive genitive are identified with verbs taking accusative objects (excluded from this discussion). A second reason is that the genitive of negation is not determined by the verb, and the partitive genitive is connected with certain verbs, but more usually with a special set of nouns.
The verb byt' 'be' is discussed in only a little greater detail on page 33 before being excluded from the scope of the topic of verb government of oblique case objects.

n = nominative, a = accusative, g = genitive, g = the second or partitive genitive, i = instrumental, d = dative, l = prepositional or locative, and l = the second locative.

Cf. verbs which govern the instrumental case.

In some of its meanings this verb is transitive. Skazat'/governit' governs both the accusative and dative cases when it means 'say, tell'.

Spat' is also found in the construction spat' snom pravednika 'sleep the sleep of the just' where the tautological instrumental appears without an adjective, although snom is modified by the noun pravednik. Other examples of this construction with no adjective but with a genitive case noun modifier are žit' žiznu mučenika 'live the life of a martyr' smejet'sja smexom sumasšedšego 'laugh the laugh of a madman'

The partitive or second genitive expresses the general idea of "some of" a substance which divides, essentially, into portions rather than units. Verbs which may combine with this second genitive are those which are generally classified as taking accusative objects. The object in the second genitive case appears in the accusative case, in fact, if that amount or portion of a substance has already been mentioned or specified (Townsend 1970:126-27):

Dajte nam vody, pozalujsta. 'Give us (some) water, please.'
Dajte nam vodu, kotoruju obeščal. 'Give us the water you promised.'

My kupili moloka. 'We bought (some) milk.'
My kupili moloko. 'We bought the milk.'

The genitive after negation appears for the designation of the absence of a type of object "at all", especially when the complete achievement of the object is not intended. Use of the accusative more often occurs for the designation of a definite concrete object.

Pis'mo on ne napisal. 'He did not write the letter.'
Pis'ma on ne napisal. 'He did not write any letter at all.'
This is not an objective use of the instrumental case as the verb here links not an object but a predicate noun, pronoun, or adjective with the subject. This use of the instrumental case is sometimes obligatory (following the infinitive byt' and future tense forms) and sometimes dictated by a temporal nuance (following the past tense forms).
CHAPTER II. VERBS WHICH TAKE DATIVE OBJECTS

The dative case denotes "direction toward a goal" but implies that that goal is not achievable by the action of the verb. According to Peškovskij (1956:299-301) this case is much more integral in its meanings than all the rest of the cases, for in essence the dative case has that one meaning — the meaning of an indirect or accessory object. A verb may take only objects in the dative case, but this meaning of direction toward a goal is shown most clearly in constructions in which the verb simultaneously governs the dative case and another case, most frequently the accusative:

- davat' komu čto 'give someone something'
- govorit' komu čto 'tell someone something'
- delat' komu čto 'do to someone something'

For example, in the construction daju bratu xleb 'I give my brother bread', the action of the verb daju is directed onto both of the objects, but it achieves only xleb. Bratu is only the point toward which the action is directed.
The Academy Grammar (1960:122) has defined two groups of verbs taking dative objects: 1) those taking an indirect object and 2) certain verbs which are listed in three groups which could be generalized as

1. verbs of speaking (govorenje)
2. verbs meaning to help or harm
3. verbs designating an emotional experience or feeling directed at someone or something

Gvozdev (1961:108) also speaks of verbs taking dative objects which designate a mental feeling or emotional experience where the object in the dative case arouses these states but does not necessarily come in contact with them. Both Galkina-Fedoruk (1964) and Peterson (1923) only divide verbs taking dative objects into those taking indirect objects and impersonal verbs.

Verbal government of the dative case to indicate the point or object toward which the action is directed is found with a number of the verbs which show a dative object simultaneously with an object in another case. Verbs which take dative and accusative objects simultaneously have been previously mentioned. Other possibilities are

verbs taking dative and instrumental objects: maxnut'/maxat'
komu čem 'wave, flap, wag'
verbs taking dative and accusative or genitive objects:

\[\text{nadarit'}/\text{nadarivat'} \text{ komu čto } \text{'give (a lot of) presents'}\]

verbs taking dative and genitive objects (although in this particular case the dative case is considered part of an impersonal dative construction):

\[\text{xvatit'}/\text{xvatat'} \text{ komu čego } \text{'be sufficient, suffice'}\]

Impersonal dative constructions are those sentences in which datives exhibit "subjectlike" properties. Bachman (1980:50) calls them "subjective-dative" sentences and lists three types: "category of state", infinitive, and \(-sja\). The third type is the only one which could possibly enter into this study, but which has been excluded since it does not fulfil the criterion for a sentence covered by this study: subject + verb + object. Its form is object (dative) + verb and the subject slot is empty.

With the exception of those verbs which take accusative and dative objects simultaneously, those verbs which take a dative object as one object as well as an object in a second case can be most efficiently grouped by the case(s) of that second object. Otherwise unrelated verbs within that group of verbs sharing an object case or cases can also govern the dative case in some instances, and the attempt to show relationships among the verbs in the subset defined by simultaneous dative object government might complicate or even
mask broader, more significant ones. To mark these verbs (discussed in Chapters III and IV) and this use of the dative case the form komu will appear in parentheses following the verb.

Verbs Which Take Dative Objects Exclusively

When a verb governs only the dative case (or governs the dative and instrumental cases simultaneously) the meaning of "direction toward" without actual realization of the object weakens since a figurative approach and even achievement may seem to occur (Peškovskij 1956:300-01). Such a dative object often appears, in fact, to be a "direct" object of the verb instead of an indirect object as is found when a verb takes a dative and another object in a second case simultaneously. It is significant, however, that there is no verb which takes the dative case whose meaning is necessarily tied with a physical influence on or even merely with contact with the object - nuances which are always present with verbal government of the accusative and genitive cases.

Peškovskij's contention (1956:301) is that it is not possible to further categorize verbs which take the dative case by similarities in meaning. Instead he divides the government of the dative case by the types of constructions in which dative objects appear.
However, the most reasonable means of indicating relationships between the verbs from the corpus which take only a dative object seems to be by similarities in meaning. More homogenous groups are thus formed than if the criteria for grouping were prefixes or roots, although some prefixes and roots seem to be connected with use of the dative case.

The largest group of verbs which take dative objects shares the meaning of address or communication. These are verbs of both verbal communication and nonverbal address. The dative case meaning of "direction toward" without actual attainment is obvious to them. This idea of "direction toward" is less apparent yet still present in most of the other clusters of meanings common to verbs taking the dative case: "obstacle (to)", "submission (to) or permission (to)", "help (for)", "fit or suit", "echoing", "transmission (to)", and "influence". The idea of direction seems to be lacking only in that group of verbs related by their meaning of "learn, study". A possible explanation is offered at the end of this chapter. These verbs could also be considered to be related by the common root \textit{uc/uk}.

The classification and distribution of the 136 verbs from the corpus which take the dative case exclusively, a group developed during this study, follows. The number of verbs in each cluster is
I. Verbs with the meaning of address or communication (47)
   A. Verbs with the meaning of verbal address or communication (23)
   B. Verbs with the meaning of nonverbal address or communication (20)
   C. Verbs which mean "marvel" (4)
II. Verbs which mean "opposition" or "obstacle" (31)
III. Verbs which mean "submission" or "permission" (12)
IV. Verbs which mean "help, sympathize" (15)
V. Verbs which mean "fit, suit" (10)
VI. Verbs which mean "accompany", "repeat", "become like" (9)
VII. Verbs which mean "learn" or "study" (4)
VIII. Verbs which mean "transmit" (3)
IX. Verbs with other meanings (5)

I. Verbs with the meaning of address or communication
   A. Verbs with the meaning of verbal address or communication

   Verbs governing the dative case which share the meaning of address or communication are fairly evenly divided between verbal communication and nonverbal address or communication. (Four verbs
which differ from other verbs of nonverbal communication in the type of object governed are treated as a special grouping.) Address or communication includes all those more specific and varied meanings of speaking to or acting in some particular manner toward someone or something. The more specific meanings and the verbs with those meanings which are subgrouped under the topic of verbal address or communication are

1. "order, tell, complain, admit" (14)

velet' (I and P) 'order, tell'

nakazat'/nakazyvat' 'bid, order, leave an order for'

naušničat' (I) 'secretly slander to someone, inform someone'

   (na kogo-čto 'about someone or something')

otvetit'/otvecat' 'answer'

otraptovat' (P) 'give a report, report about something (o čem)'

povelet'/povelevat' 'order, enjoin'

poddaknut'/poddakivat' 'yes'

požalovat'sja/žalovat'sja 'complain of something (na čto) to'

povzvet'/zvonit' 'telephone, talk to on the telephone'

popenjat'/penjat' 'reproach someone with something (za čto)'

predstavit'sja/predstavljat'sja 'officially introduce oneself to someone'

prikazat'/prikazyvat' 'order, direct'
prisjagnut'/prisjagat' 'swear to'
raportovat' (I and P) 'report to'

2. "confess" (3)
ispovedovat'sja (I and P) 1. 'confess at confession; undergo confession'; 2. 'confess'
priznat'sja/priznavat'sja 'admit, own up to, acknowledge'
soznat'sja/soznavat'sja (v čem) 'confess, admit, own up, make a confession'

3. "flatter" (2)
kadit' (I) 'servilely flatter someone, fawn, curry favor with'
pol'stit'/l'stit' 'flatter someone, adulate (for mercenary motives)'

4. "implore, entreat" (2)
vzmolit'sja/vzmalivat'sja 'implore, entreat'
pomolit'sja/molit'sja 'pray, implore'

5. "dissuade" (1)
otsovetovat' (P) 'dissuade'

6. "lie" (1)
navrat' /sovrat'/vrat' (I) 'lie'

B. Verbs with the meaning of nonverbal address or communication
The categories of nonverbal address or communication include

1. "greet, salute" (4)
kozyrnut'/kozyrjac' 'salute'
okozyrjac' (P) 'salute'
otsaljutovat'/saljutovat' 'salute'
poklonit'sja/klanjat'sja 'bow (to, before); greet'

2. "trust, believe" (3)
vverit'sja/vverjat'sja 'trust (in)'
doverit'sja/doverjat'sja 'trust, confide in'
poverit' (P)/poverjat'/verit' 'believe'

3. "applaud" (2)
aplodivrat' (I) 'applaud'
rukopleskat' (I) 'applaud'

4. "wink at, smile at" (2)
podmignut'/podmigivat' 'wink at, approving or hinting at something'
ulybnut'sja/ulybat'sja 'smile at'

5. "light" (2)
posvetit' (P) 'hold a light for, light the way for'
svetit' (I) 'give (some) light to'

6. "threaten" (2)
prigrozit'/pogrozit'/grozit'(I) 'threaten'
ugrozat' (I) 'threaten, menace'

7. "envy" (1)
pozavldovat' / zavidovat' 'envy'

8. "pose" (I)

pozirovat' (I) 'pose, sit for'

9. "listen to" (I)

vnjat' / vnimat' 'listen, hark to; heed'

10. "impress" (I)

imponirovat' (I) 'command someone's respect, impress'

11. "repay" (I)

otplati't / otplačivat' 'pay back, repay (positive and negative)'

C. Verbs which mean "marvel" (4)

Here the "address", an emotion/feeling toward, can be directed toward animate and inanimate objects alike.

divit'sja (I) 'marvel at'

nadivit'sja (P) 'plentifully, richly admire, wonder at'

podivit'sja (P) 'marvel at'

udivit'sja / udivljat'sja 'wonder at; be astonished, surprised, amazed at'

II. Verbs which mean "opposition" or "obstacle"

The opposition or obstacle may be verbal, mental, or physical. Therefore, the more specific meanings of these verbs which indicate "hindering or providing with a hindrance to" include "hinder, pester
or bother, be rude to, harm". Verbs which belong to this grouping are

\[
\text{vozrazit'}/\text{vozraʒat'} 'disapprove, speak against'
\]
\[
\text{vosprejatstvovat'} (P) 'prevent, hinder'
\]
\[
\text{vosprotivit'sja}/\text{protivit'sja} 'oppose, object to, refuse'
\]
\[
\text{vsypat'}/\text{vsypat'} 'beat, thrash, scold'
\]
\[
\text{dokučat'} (I) 'bother, pester, plague, importune'
\]
\[
\text{dosadit'}/\text{dozaŋdat'} 'vex, annoy'
\]
\[
\text{izmenit'}/\text{izmenjat'} 'betray, be false, be unfaithful'
\]
\[
\text{navredit'} (P) 'do (much/a lot of) harm to (by), harm (by)'
\]
\[
\text{navjazat'sja}/\text{navjazyvat'sja} 'thrust oneself upon, be a burden to'
\]
\[
\text{nagadit'}/\text{gadit'} 'play dirty tricks on, harm'
\]
\[
\text{nagrubit'}/\text{grubit'} 'be rude to, insult'
\]
\[
\text{nagrubijanit'}/\text{grubijanit'} 'be rude to'
\]
\[
\text{naderzit'}/\text{derzit'} 'be impudent, impertinent, insolent to; cheek, sauce'
\]
\[
\text{nadoest'}/\text{nadoedat'} 'pester (with), plague, bother, bore, worry'
\]
\[
\text{napakostit'}/\text{pakostit'} 'cause unpleasantness, place in an unfavorable position, do (a lot of) harm to'
\]
\[
\text{naportit'} (P) 'do much/a lot of harm to'
\]
\[
\text{naskučit'} (P) 'bore, annoy'
\]
nasolit' /nasalıvat/ 'spite, annoy'

naxamit' (P) 'be rude to'

opostyljet' (P) 'grow hateful to'

opponirovat' (I) 'act opponent to, oppose'

ostočeret' (P) 'pester with, bore, worry, become loathsome or repulsive to'

otkazat' / otkazyvat' 'refuse (something - v čem) to someone; deny (something) to someone'

otmstit' / otomstit' / mstit' (I) 'revenge oneself upon, take vengence on'

povredit' / vredit' 'harm, be injurious to, injure'

pomešat' / mešat' 'prevent, hinder, hamper, impede, interfere with, disturb'

prekoslovit' (I) 'contradict, cross, object (most often negated)'

prepjaslovovat' (I) 'be or create obstacles, prevent, hinder'

protivodejstvovat' (I) 'oppose, counteract'

protivostojat' (I) 'resist, withstand'

 soprotivljat'sja (I) 'resist, oppose, withstand'

III. Verbs which mean "submission" or "permission"

These meanings oppose those of the preceding group. Also included here will be those verbs meaning "be obliged or
obligated", as their meanings are related to those of verbs of submission, i.e. "obey, submit to". Both sets of verbs infer the placing of oneself at the disposal of someone or something else. Five of the verbs included here share the root *daj* and suffix *-sja*.

The verbs of submission or permission are

- **objazat'sja/objazyvat'sja** 'be obliged to'
- **odol'jat'sja** (I) 'be obliged to'
- **otdat'sja/otdavat'sja** 1. 'be occupied with something exclusively'; 2. 'give oneself up to'
- **povinovat'sja** (I and P) 'obey'
- **poddat'sja/poddavat'sja** 'yield, give way, surrender oneself wholly to'
- **polezat'** (I) 'be obliged, obligated'
- **pozvolit'/pozvoljat'** 'allow, permit'
- **pokorit'sja/pokorjat'sja** 'submit, resign oneself, obey; please, oblige'
- **pokorstvovat'** (I) 'submit, obey, resign oneself; please, oblige'
- **popustitel'stvovat'** (I) 'not oppose; connive at; wink at, shut one's eyes to'
- **predat'sja/predavat'sja** 1. 'give oneself into the power of, put oneself at the disposal of, go over wholly to the side of'; 2. 'wholly absorb oneself in something, give oneself up to'
sdat'sja/sdavat'sja 'surrender, yield'

IV. Verbs which mean "assist, aid, sympathize, help"

assistirovat' (I) 'assist'
blagoprijatstvovat' (I) 'favor, help'
pokrovitel'stvovat' (I) 'patronize, protect'
pomoc'/pomogat' 'assist, aid, support, help'
poradet'/radet' 'render assistance, look after someone or something'
posobit'/posobljat' 'assist, aid, help'
posodejstvovat' (P)/sodejstvovat' (I and P) 'render assistance, promote, favor'
pospešestvovat' (I) 'support, prop up, aid, assist'
potakat' (I) 'assist, promote, not prevent or hinder someone in something reprehensible'
potvorstvovat' (I) 'encourage, assist, not prevent or hinder someone in something reprehensible or improper'
protežirovat' (I) 'render protection'
simpatizirovat' (I) 'be in sympathy with, sympathize'
sostradat' (I) 'feel compassion, sympathy with or for someone or something'
socuvstvovat' (I) 'sympathize with, feel for'
sposobstvovat' (I) 'promote, further, favor; assist'
V. Verbs which mean "fit, be of use, suit, please"

Perhaps related to the group just discussed above are these 10 verbs. All but three of the verbs have the suffix -sja. Two of these three, idti and podojti, and one other verb (prijtis'/prixodit'sja) are so-called verbs of motion. These verbs include:

- godit'sja (I) 'be of use to; fit, suit, serve, satisfy demands'
- idti (I) 'fit, suit, become'
- podojti (P) 'be fit, good for; be in accordance with something; suit, become'
- poljubit'sja (P) 'catch the fancy of; awaken love, attraction'
- ponravit'sja/nravit'sja 'make a good impression, please; be to someone's taste'
- poslužit'/služit' 'serve (do something, carry out some work for someone, obeying orders); work, do something for someone's benefit, be useful in something'
- prigodit'sja (P) 'prove useful to; come in handy; be of use'
- prijtis'/prixodit'sja 'fit'
- ugodit'/ugoždat' 'please, oblige, satisfy'
- udovletvorit'/udovletvorjat' 'answer, meet (requirements)'

VI. Verbs which mean "accompany", "repeat", and "become like"

What is common to these three meanings is the idea of emulation or echoing or even following someone or something.
These nine verbs are

akkompanirovat' (I) 'accompany'
assimilirovat'sja (I and P) 'assimilate to'
vtorit' (I) 'echo, repeat'
podpet'/podpevat' 'sing, echoing others; repeat, echo'
podrazhat' (I) 'repeat, reproduce exactly someone's actions; take example from someone'
podsvistyvat' (I) 'whistle in time, accompanying songs or dances'
podygrat'/podygryvat' 'softly play, accompanying someone'
sootvetstvovat' (I) 'correspond to or with, conform to or with'
soputstvovat' (I) 'correspond to, accompany, go together; occur together'

VII. Verbs which mean "learn" or "study"

All four verbs share the root uc/uk:
vyucit'sja/vyucivat'sja 'by learning, gain knowledge or skill'
nauCit'sja (P) 'learn'
obucit'sja/obucat'sja 'learn'
uCit'sja (I) 'learn'

VIII. Verbs which mean "transmit"

These three verbs share the idea of transmission to someone or something. Their meaning is "go over to" or "be passed onto":


peredat'sja/peredavat'sja 'be transmitted to, go over to, be passed on to'

privit'sja/privivat'sja 'take roots in someone, be communicated to someone'

soobschat'sja/soobschat'sja 'be inherited, go over to'

(All three verbs are also suffixed in -sja.)

IX. Verbs with other meanings

These verbs do not seem to fit into any of the previously discussed groups. Nor do they seem to be related by meaning or any other criteria to each other. The verbs are

dat'sja/davat'sja 'come easy to, master easily'
predstojat' (I) 1. 'be, appear before someone's mental gaze';
2. 'be ahead, await in the future'
predvestvovat' (I) 'precede, forego, forerun'
prinadležat' (I) 'belong to'
ščemit' (I) 'hurt, ache'

Only two occurrences of this verb (ščemit') were found. Furthermore, the dative object was not given in one instance at all, but was replaced by a construction with the preposition u:

U menja serdce, grud' ščemit. 'My heart aches.' (Sm 715)
Mne (or u menja) ščemit grud'. 'My heart aches.' (Ts IV 1385)
Kak vzgljanu, tak mne serdce-to i ščemit, tak i ščemit!
This verb may, in fact, be dismissed as being used with the impersonal dative which is not of interest to this study. In addition to these relationships based on the criterion of meaning, verbs taking dative objects exclusively have roots and prefixes in common. They will be briefly looked at following a discussion of verbs taking dative and accusative objects simultaneously since these verbs show similar connections.

Verbs Which Take Accusative and Dative Objects Simultaneously

As has been stated the dative case denotes "direction toward a goal" while also inherently implying that the goal is not achievable by the action of the verb. Its most frequent and basic meaning is that of indirect or accessory object. This is most clearly shown when the dative appears simultaneously with an accusative object, i.e. when the the dative case appears with a verb whose action achieves the direct object designated by the accusative case. It should be noted that, of course, the dative case may appear as the only object with one of these verbs, but the speaker and/or listener should be capable of supplying the intended or understood accusative/direct object.
Therefore, one may categorize the majority of the 58 verbs governing the accusative and dative cases simultaneously as being merely the manifestation of both a direct and an indirect object. This majority of verbs would most closely correspond to that group of verbs classified in the first section of this chapter under the title "verbs with the meaning of address or communication". Here, however, the contrast "verbal - nonverbal" is not as distinct a one. Other classifications used for those verbs governing the dative case exclusively may also be used here.

Also of especial interest with verbs governing the accusative and dative cases (as with verbs governing the dative case only) is the preponderance of similarity of roots and prefixes. Both inter- and intra-category are found congruence of dative case and root or prefix. Since a categorization of verbs governing the dative case exclusively has already been given on the basis of similarities in meaning, that categorization will serve here in the same capacity with discussion of roots and prefixes to follow. The same basic classifications are used here which were used to classify verbs taking a dative object exclusively which were discussed in the first part of this chapter. The Roman numeral which appears in parentheses after the Roman numeral indicating the different subclasses here is a cross-reference to the classifications found
there. The verbs can be grouped as follows:

I. (I.) Verbs with the meaning of address or communication (48)

II. (II.) Verbs which mean "opposition" or "obstacle" (5)

III. (VII.) Verbs which mean "learn", most of which share
the root уё/uk (5)

I. Verbs with the meaning of address or communication

To divide verbs which govern the dative case exclusively into
the categories of verbal and nonverbal address poses little
difficulty. Unfortunately, such is not the case with verbs governing
the dative and accusative cases simultaneously. Often the same
verb is used in reference to both verbal and nonverbal address or
communication. Thus, no such distinction will be specified here.

1. "give to, give into someone's charge" (20)

adresovat' (I and P) 'address, direct'

vmenit' / vmenjat' 'impute, lay to the charge of'

vrucit' / vrucat' 'hand over to, deliver, present'

zaves'cat' (I and P) 'bequeath'

zadat' / zadavat' 'give, set'

massirovat' (I and P) 'massage' (komu-цemu что 'for someone
or something something')
navjazat' / navjazyvat' 'press on, thrust on'

nareć' (P) 'name, nickname' *(archaic)*

odolžit' / odolživat' / odolžat' 'lend'

pereporučit' / pereporučat' 'turn over something to someone'

podnesti / podnosit' 'present with, treat to'

poručit' / poručat' 'charge with, commission with'

predložit' / predlagat' 'offer'

predostavit' / predostavljat' 'let; give, grant'

privit' / privivat' 1. 'inoculate with'; 2. 'engraft upon'; 3. 'impart to'

prisvoit' / prisvaivat' 'give, confer on'

prisudit' / prisuždat' 'adjudge to, award, confer on'

soobščit' / soobšcat' 'impart to'

spoit' / spaivat' 'give to drink'

ustupit' / ustupat' 'let have, cede'

2. "address, order, show" (17)

vnušit' / vnušat' 'suggest, inspire, fill with'

garantirovat' (I and P) 'guarantee, vouch for'

podvergnut' / podvergat' 'subject, expose to'

podskazat' / podskazyvat' 'whisper, prompt to'

pokazat' / pokazyvat' 'show'

posvjaščit' / posvjašcat' 'devote, dedicate to'
posovetovat'/sovetovat' 'advise, counsel'
prednachertat' (P) 'outline, plan beforehand'
predopredelit'/predopredeljit' 'predetermine, predestine'
predpisat'/predpisyat' 'order, direct, prescribe'
predposlat'/predposyvat' 'premise, preface with'
predpocest'/predpocitat' 'prefer'
predstavit'/predstavljat' 'introduce, present to'
prishit'/prishvat' 'wrongly ascribe to someone, accuse'
proigrat'/proigryvat' 'lose'
prostit'/proshvat' 'forgive, pardon'
sosvatat'/posvatat'/svatat' (I) 'propose someone to someone else as a wife, a husband'

3. "drum into" (3)

vdolbit'/vdalblivat' 'ram, drum, din into'
vtomjašit'/vtomjašvat' 'din, ram into'
vtolkovat'/vtolkovyvat' 'make somebody understand, din into'

(All are prefixed by v-.)

4. "promise" (2)

poobešcat' (P)/obešcat' (I and P) 'promise'
posulit'/sulit' 'promise'

5. "revenge oneself upon" (2)
64

popomnit' (P) 'not forget, revenge oneself on'
pripomnit' (P) 'not forget, revenge oneself on'

6. "trust" (2)

vverit'/vverjet' 'entrust, confide'
doverit'/doverjet' 'entrust'

7. "confess" (1)

ispovedovat' (I and P) 'confess'

8. "replace" (1)

zastupil'/zastupat' 'take the place of someone for/to
someone'

II. Verbs which mean "opposition" or "obstacle" (5)

vozbranit'/vozbranjat' 'prohibit from'
zapretit'/zapreščat' 'forbid, prohibit'
pererezat'(P)/pererezat'/pererezyvat' 'cut off', as in dorogu
vragu 'cut off or intercept the enemy', put' masinu 'cut off,
intercept the car'

pregradit'/pregraždat' 'bar, block up'
protivopostavit'/protivopostavljat' 'oppose, contrast, set off'

III. Verbs which mean "learn", almost exclusively having the root

uc'/uk (5)

vyučit'/vyučivat' 'teach something (čemu) to someone (kogo)'
nastavit'/nastavljat' 'teach someone (kogo) something good
Prefixes which appear with any regularity with verbs taking
dative objects are distinctive in that they show some motion toward
someone or something. Especially common are the prefixes _v_ 'in,
into' (vverit'sja/vverjat'sja, vdolbit'/vdalblivat'), _pri_ 'to, up to,
_ad_ (privit'/privivat', prjutis'/prjodit'sja, priznat'sja/
priznavat'sja), _pod_ 'up to, under' (podnesti/podnosit', poddat'sja/
poddavat'sja), and _na_ 'on, to' (navjazat'/navjazyvat'). The
prefix _protiv_ 'against' also seems connected with the dative case:
protivodejstvovat', protivopostavit'/protivopostavljat'. In fact, it
also appears as the root of some of the verbs which govern the
dative case, as in soprotivljat'sja and vosprotivit'sja.

For comparison, the case(s) which the corresponding prepositions
take are

_v_ accusative, locative

_pri_ locative
pod accusative

na accusative, locative

When used to designate motion toward someone or something, these prepositions (with the exception of pri) take the accusative case.

Other roots also occur with regularity in verbs taking dative objects. (Roots, not stems, have been selected for consideration with respect to verbal case government and relationships since the verbs with the same root do not necessarily belong to the same "nest" of verbs formed from a common imperfective or perfective verb. Thus, the roots may have undergone regular consonant mutation or alternation during affixation. Speaking of roots, not stems, therefore, permits greater generalization and inclusion of verbs.) These roots understandably have meanings of some type of address or speaking: vel 'command, order, will'; kaz 'show, indicate'; vet 'say, speak'; stay 'place'; sjag 'swear'. Verbs with the root daj 'give' are associated with simultaneous dative and accusative government unless suffixed by -sja. Then the verb will take only a dative object.

Three roots seem to have a close association with the dative case. These are div 'marvel, wonder'; ver 'faith, trust, believe'; and uk 'accustom, learn, teach'. Both div and ver unquestionably indicate a motion towards someone or something, but no actual
attainment of that object. One may marvel at someone or some­thing or believe or trust someone or something because of deeds, qualities, etc. Marveling and believing are not, however, actions which envelop or physically touch the object. They are rather feelings which are directed at an object.

Verbs with the root uk seem to necessarily take a dative object. Unsuffixed by -sja, the verb will mean 'teach'. The material taught is in the dative case, the person taught is in the accusative case. Suffixed with -sja, the verb will mean 'learn' and will take a dative object only – the material learned by the subject. The dative case designating the material taught or to be learned might be said to fit the definition of dative as an unreachable goal, a direction toward. Some of the material will be learned, but the whole of it is an unreachable, unachievable goal.
Notes

1 Daum and Schenk have not, unfortunately, indicated as taking accusative and dative objects simultaneously such common verbs as napisat'/pisat' 'write', dat'/davat' 'give', skazat'/govorit' 'tell', and sdelat'/delat' 'do'. These verbs have, therefore, not been taken into consideration in this paper. Other frequently used verbs which would be expected to appear in other chapters of the study were also "ignored" by Daum and Schenk and were not included here.

2 This verb also has the possibility of taking only the accusative case: massirovat' bol'nomu ruku 'massage for the patient (his) hand' as well as massirovat' bol'nogo 'massage the patient' (Ts II 155). In the first example the dative/accusative construction looks like a dative of possession: 'massage the patient's hand'.

3 See also verbs which govern the accusative and instrumental cases simultaneously in Chapter IV.

4 The suggestion has been made that the connection between this root (uk) and the dative case is logical, due to the (historical) relationship of the root uk to the root vyk 'become accustomed, habituated'. Vy[k] is associated with the dative case, since one "becomes accustomed/habituated to" someone or something - a motion toward which should specify dative government.
As has been noted, the genitive case has two basic meanings. First, the genitive can signify that the verb spreads its action only onto part or only onto the surface of its object. The prefixes do- 'reach a certain point', do- with the suffix -sja 'do successfully, achievement after intensive or lengthy action', and ob- with the suffix -sja 'completion of the action causing unpleasantness' are closely associated with the genitive in this meaning of goal. Second, the genitive can signify that the subject recoils or in some way moves off or away from the object in the genitive case.

There are various "lesser" genitive meanings which relate to the verbal government of the genitive case. The quantitative genitive, perhaps connected with the genitive of goal/partial achievement, designates that the action of the verb achieves the object to these various degrees: 1) to satiety, 2) to "some quantity" or "a lot", 3) only to a small degree, and 4) insufficiently. The respective prefixes are 1) na- (and the suffix -sja) 'do in quantity (do to satiation, to one's fill)' and za- 'extreme or excessive...
action', 2) na- and za- again as well as vy- 'do or finish successfully', 3) po- 'do somewhat, to some extent', and 4) nedo- 'under'. Another meaning of the genitive case with verbs is "worth, value".

Galkina-Fedoruk (1964:374-76) discusses the genitive as both a direct object (used with verbs taking accusative objects) and an indirect object (used with verbs taking objects in oblique cases, specifically only the genitive). Direct object genitive uses are

1. after negation
2. with nouns denoting abstract concepts
3. with verbs of perception, volition, and expectation, and
4. a partitive-quantitative meaning.

Indirect object genitive use includes

1. an object onto which the action goes only partially
2. an object maximally utilized in the process of the action
3. an object of desire, expectation
4. an object of deprivation, removal, and
5. a meaning of achievement, contact, or touch.

The Academy Grammar (1960:121) differentiates between 1) special conditions of direct objects appearing in the genitive case (negation and partitive genitive) and 2) other groups of verbs taking genitive objects (volition and fear, deprivation, and removal). Five
groups are given by Peterson (1963:62-64): an object incompletely undergoing the action, negation, volition, removal and deprivation, and dread and fear.

Using these existing classifications as guidelines one may group those verbs which govern the genitive as their object case. Often, too, the prefixes will help to more strictly define these relationships, since a few prefixes obligatorily take the genitive case. More specific meanings are thus developed.

Verbs Which Take Genitive Objects Exclusively

The seventy-one verbs taking genitive objects exclusively can be divided into four groups based on the meanings of the genitive case just discussed: removal, goal, quantity, and worth or value. These are

I. Verbs taking the genitive of removal or genitive of moving off or away (21)
   A. Verbs which mean "fear, shun" (16)
   B. Verbs which mean "feel shame" (4)
   C. Verbs which mean "miss, lack" (1)

II. Verbs taking the genitive case with the meaning of goal (20)
   A. Verbs which mean "reach a certain point" with the
prefix do- (2)

B. Verbs which mean "achievement after intensive or lengthy action" with the prefix do- and the suffix -sja (8)

C. Verbs which mean "completion of the action causing unpleasantness" with the prefix ob- and the suffix -sja (2)

D. Verbs which mean "volition, desire, craving, wish" (5)

E. Verbs which mean "follow or obey" (3)

III. Verbs taking the quantitative genitive (23)

A. Verbs which mean "do to satiety" with the prefix na- or za- and the suffix (sometimes) -sja (20)

B. Verbs which mean "under, insufficiently" with the prefix nedo- (3)

IV. Verbs taking the genitive case with meaning of "worth, value" (3)

V. Verbs with other meanings (4)

I. Verbs taking the genitive of removal

A. Verbs which mean "fear, shun"

The genitive case in its meaning of removal has three more specific groupings: "fear, shun"; "feel shame"; and "loss or lack".

Sixteen verbs with this meaning governing the genitive case are:
in the first grouping:

bereč'sja (I) 'beware of'
bojat'sja (I) 'be afraid of'
dič'it'sja (I) 'feel shy, show unsociability toward someone'
izbeγnut'/izbežat'/izbegat' (I) 'avoid, shun, evade, escape'
ispugat'sja/pugat'sja 'be frightened, fear'
napugat'sja (P) 'be very afraid'
opasat'sja (I) 'apprehend, fear someone or something, be afraid of something, avoid'
ostereč'sja/osteregat'sja 'avoid, fear, be careful of'
perepugat'sja (P) 'be very frightened or fear'
pobojat'sja (P) 'feel, experience or show a certain fear, apprehension, caution'
postoronit'sja/storonit'sja 'avoid, shun someone or something, not want to meet someone'
sterereč'sja (I) same as ostereč'sja
strusit'/trusit' 'fear, be afraid of someone or something'
ustrašit'sja/ustrašat'sja 'be frightened, fear someone or something; retreat, recoil before someone or something from fear'
čudmat'sja (I) 'avoid, shun someone or something, avoid contact with someone or something, stay a stranger for
someone or something; not experience something, be a stranger of something or free of something'

čurat'sja (I) 'fearfully avoid someone or something'

B. Verbs which mean "feel shame"

The next group of four verbs is closely related to and could possibly be included with those verbs just discussed which have the meaning of "fear or shun". They have the common meaning of "feel shame". The verbs are

posovestit'sja/sovestit'sja 'hold out according to an inner motive, obeying the voice of one's conscience from some kind of unjust act; be ashamed'

postesnjat'sja/stesnjat'sja 'feel awkward, shy because of something'

postydit'sja (P) 'be/feel ashamed of one's actions or acts'

stydit'sja (I) 'be ashamed of someone or something'

C. Verbs which mean "miss, lack"

One other verb, if it can be placed in any of the defined groups, belongs here. The verb, lišit'sja/lišat'sja 'lose, forfeit someone or something' does not show a motion away from but a lack of something. A related verb (lišit'/lišat' 'deprive, rob, bereave someone of something') takes the accusative and genitive cases simultaneously. (See the section of this chapter on
verbs taking genitive and accusative objects simultaneously.)

II. Verbs taking the genitive case with the meaning of goal

The second major grouping of verbs which govern the genitive case as their object case share the general meaning of goal, a meaning which is opposed to that of the grouping discussed above, i.e. the meaning of removal of the genitive case. Under this cover-all term of goal are found the more specific meanings

1. to reach a certain point
2. achievement after intensive or lengthy action
3. completion of the action causing unpleasantness
4. volition, desire, craving, wish
5. follow or obey

A. Verbs which mean "reach a certain point" with the prefix do-

The two verbs which belong here are

doštat’/doštat' 'suffice'
dostignut’/došči’t'/doščit' (I) 'reach, obtain, achieve'

B. Verbs which mean "achievement after intensive action" with the prefix do- and the suffix -sja

Eight verbs share this meaning of achievement of some goal as a result of intensive or lengthy completion of the action named by the verb (Svedova 1970:287). Such verbs usually govern the object in the genitive case (or the preposition do with the genitive case). These
verbs are

\textit{dobit'sja/dobivat'sja} 'obtain something, get something after much striving'

\textit{dozdat'sja/dozidat'sja} 'await, wait for'

\textit{dozvat'sja (P)} 'call in (once)'

\textit{doiskat'sja/doiskivat'sja} 'decisively find out'

\textit{dokričat'sja (P)} 'shout until one is heard'

\textit{domogat'sja (I)} 'intensifyingly achieve, importunately and stubbornly ask/request'

\textit{doprosit'sja/dopraživat'sja} 'obtain something with intensified requests'

\textit{dopytat'sja/dopytyvat'sja} 'find out'

C. Verbs which mean "completion of the action causing unpleasantness" with the prefix \textit{ob-} and suffix \textit{-sja}

Two verbs share the prefix \textit{ob-} and the suffix \textit{-sja} and the consequent meaning of "complete the action named by the verb with superfluous intensity after having caused oneself unpleasantness" \cite{Svedova1970}. These verbs govern either the genitive case or the instrumental case. Those governing the genitive case include

\textit{obobrat'sja (P)} (only negated) 'not rid oneself of something or someone, not count because of the great number or abundance of something'
obyskat'sja (P) 'lose a lot of time searching for something'

D. Verbs which mean "volition, desire, craving, wish"

Also included under the general heading of goal are the verbs of volition, desire, craving, wish. The five verbs which belong here are

alkat' (I) 'crave, hunger for, strongly desire'
žazdat' (I) 'experience strong desire, passionately want'
žazdat'sja (P) 'be worn out with awaiting something'

zaxotet'sja/xotet'sja (komu) 'have the desire, want'
čajat' (I) 'expect, wait for, hope for something'

E. Verbs which mean "follow or obey"

The last group which belongs under the major topic of goal is composed of verbs meaning "follow or obey", a definition which is used here quite broadly. They are

deržat'sja (I) 'move in a set direction, along a set course; follow something, be of some form of thought, act according to something'

poslušat'sja/slušat'sja 'obey, listen to'
priderživat'sja (I) 'keep more closely to something; be an adherent, follower of something, follow something'

III. Verbs taking the quantitative genitive

A. Verbs which mean "do to satiety" with the prefix na- or za- and
the suffix (sometimes) -sja

The next major grouping of verbs governing the genitive case is that composed of verbs governing the quantitative genitive. Their one specific meaning of "do to satiety" (Townsend 1975:126) or "to complete the action of the verb in a sufficient degree or in plenty" (Svedova 1970:288) derives from the prefixes found with these verbs. The prefix na- is quite common and is frequently used in conjunction with -sja; the prefix za- is also sometimes found in this type of construction. The twenty verbs which belong here include:

- **zaxlebnut' / zaxlebyvat'** 'swallow, imbibe some quantity of some kind of liquid'
- **nabrat'sja / nabirat'sja** 'collect, gather in some quantity in one place'
- **naglotat'sja (P)** 'swallow something in a large quantity'
- **nagljadet'sja (P)** same as nasmotret'sja
- **nagotovit'sja / nagotavlivat'sja** (only negated) 'store up, get, obtain, prepare in sufficient quantity'
- **naest'sja / naedat'sja** 'eat something in a large quantity'
- **nalizat'sja / nalizyvat'sja** 'lick to one's heart's content; drink oneself drunk, overdrink'
- **nanjuxat'sja (P)** 'smell in a sufficient measure or a lot; also, sniff or take snuff'
napasti/napasat' 'store up in some quantity'
naperet'/napirat' 'bring in some quantity; steal in some quantity'
napleskat' (P) 'spill in some quantity'
naplesti /napletat' 'say a lot of nonsense, make up a lot, tell lies or slander'
naplodit' (P) 'give birth to a number, make a lot'
naslusat'sja (P) 'hear in some quantity; completely enjoy, be sated with listening to something, often with negation'
nasmotret'sja (P) 'see in some quantity'
nasosat'sja (P) 'suck, imbibe some quantity of something'
natvorit' (P) 'make, do a lot of something undesired or reprehensible; knead in some quantity'
naterpet'sja (P) 'suffer, undergo much'
naxvatat'sja/naxvatyvat'sja 'by chance and superficially gain something or get acquainted with something'
nachat'sja (P) 'read through in some quantity'

B. Verbs which mean "under, insufficiently" with the prefix nedo-

The prefix nedo- signifies that the completion of the action named by the verb will not lead to the object given in the genitive (Švedova 1970:262). The three verbs which govern the genitive case with this prefix are
nedogljadet' (P) 'overlook, miss'

nedostat'/nedostavat' 'be missing, lack (something necessary); (komu) 'elicit a feeling of yearning or loneliness by one's absence'

nedosčitatsja/nedosčityvat'sja 'discover by calculation a deficiency, shortage, lack of someone or something; lose'

IV. Verbs taking the genitive case with the meaning of "worth, value"

Three verbs govern the genitive case in its meaning of worth or value. They are

zasluživat' (I, no P) 'be worthy of something'

stoit' 'possess in reality a given value or cost; deserve or be worthy of someone or something'

udostoičtsja/udostiavat'sja 'being worthy, receive some sign of attention from someone' (often ironically)

The verb stoit' has two primary meanings. In one meaning it governs the accusative case, while in the other it governs the genitive case. Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka (Ušakov IV 1935: 523) defines the verb this way:

stoit' 1. čto or with an adverb. Have some cost, money value. // Have some meaning for someone. 2. čego.

Possess in fact a given value, worth. // kogo-čego.

Merit, be worthy of someone or something. (colloquial)
Therefore, there is a difference between

Kniga stoit tri rublija. 'The book costs three roubles.'

and

Pal'to stoit trex rublej. 'The coat has a value of three roubles.'

V. Verbs with other meanings

Four unrelated verbs which govern the genitive case are
difficult, if not impossible, to include under any of the previously
discussed groupings. The verb nakoldovat' (P) 'conjure up, charm;
cast a spell on; prophesy, predict, foretell' may be formally related
to those verbs already considered which are prefixed by na-. Its
meaning, however, does not have the added nuance of "a lot,
enough, to satiety" which is usual with that group. The other three
verbs are

kosnut'sja/kasat'sja 'touch, concern, apply to'

(This verb has been considered by some, for example Galkina-
Fedoruk, as belonging to a grouping which includes verbs taking the
genitive case in its meaning of goal. Other verbs within that
grouping which were categorized above were all related by prefixes,
however, and this one verb did not really seem to fit there.)

sprosit'sja/spraživat'sja 'ask for permission to do something'

xvatit'/xvatat' (komu) 'suffice, be sufficient; be in condition
to do something or be in some position'
Verbs in the Russian verbal system which govern the accusative and genitive cases as their object cases have all been simply designated in dictionaries, the "verb books", and most of the other sources used for this study as taking cto and cego or either cto or cego. The corpus lists 205 such verbs. An examination of 1) their possible objects to determine the choice of case for each object, i.e. whether accusative/genitive is an arbitrary choice, and 2) their prefixes and the meanings and ramifications of those prefixes might lead one to hypothesize two distinct categories on the basis of accusative or genitive case tendency.

The two distinct categories appear to be either 1) a genitive case tendency while the accusative case is infrequent or 2) an interrelationship between the accusative case and definiteness and between the genitive case and indefiniteness. An outline of the classification of verbs taking accusative and genitive objects alternately follows. (Many of the same basic classifications are used here which were used to classify verbs taking a genitive object exclusively which were discussed in the first part of this chapter. The Roman numeral in parentheses after the number or letter of the subclasses is a cross-reference to the classifications found there.)
Further discussion and explanation of the various groupings will be given as the groups are presented.

I. Verbs with a genitive case tendency (194)

A. (III.) Verbs governing the quantitative accusative/genitive (175)

1. Verbs with the meaning of the action of the verb being done to "some quantity" or "a lot" of the object, with prefixes (153)
   a. na- (150)
   b. vy- (1)
   c. za- (1)
   d. po- (1)

2. Verbs with the meaning of "action being done to a little of the object", with the prefix po- (3)

3. Verbs which mean "to add" by the means of the action named by the verb with the prefixes (19)
   a. do- (5)
   b. nad- (1)
   c. pod- (9)
   d. pri- (4)

B. (I.) Verbs governing the accusative/genitive case in its meaning of removal with the prefixes (14)
1. ot- (12)
2. s- (1)
3. u- (1)

C. (II.) Verbs with the meaning of goal (3)
D. Uncategorized verbs probably related to others with
   the prefix na- in A. 1. a. above (2)

II. Verbs governing the accusative case to denote definiteness
    and the genitive case to denote indefiniteness with the
    meaning of goal (11)
   A. Verbs which mean "wish, desire" or "ask" or "seeking,
      striving" (6)
   B. Verbs which mean "waiting" (root z/d) (3)
   C. Verbs which mean "contact", i.e. "try, feel, experience"
      (2)

I. Verbs with a genitive case tendency
   A. Verbs governing the quantitative accusative/genitive
      All those verbs classified as belonging to the grouping with the
      meaning of the spread of the action named by the verb onto only part
      of or onto the surface only of the object have a quantitative nuance
      of some kind. Although some may hesitate to designate the use of
      the genitive case with such verbs as the second genitive, there is
some degree of relationship. Townsend (1975:126), in fact, specifically states that verbs prefixed with na- often take the partitive genitive, but the usage is sublexical. Verbs he cites are:

- **nabrat**' collect quantity of'
- **nadelat**' make/do a lot of (usually something bad)'
- **nagovorit** 'say a lot of things'

The second genitive is motivated by the lexical meaning of the word (a word which is divided into portions not units) chosen to be the object of a transitive verb and/or by the intent of the speaker to give a special quantitative/partitive meaning. For example, the verb **dat**'/**davat**' 'give' governs the accusative case. When speaking, however, of giving (someone) soup, the form **supu** '(some) soup' is more common (and perhaps more logical) than **sup** which implies 'all the soup'. Too, the speaker must intend to say some soup for if a definite amount of soup has previously been mentioned, intended, or agreed upon, **sup** with a nuance of definiteness ('the soup') is possible and even obligatory.

The verbs which govern the accusative and genitive cases with a quantitative meaning usually exhibit some external indication, often in root or prefix, that the genitive case with its quantitative meaning, i.e. only a part of the object is involved in the action of the verb, is required. As will be seen, the prefix na- signifies in one of its
meanings that the action of the verb is spread onto "some quantity" or "a lot" of whatever the object might be; the prefix po- signifies in some cases that the action of the verb spreads onto only "a small amount" or "a little" of the object. With such verbs it must be a conscious decision on the part of the speaker to lend a nuance of completeness, i.e. the use of the accusative case. Otherwise, the idea of "some" or "a little" will be indicated by the government of the genitive case by the verb.

A majority, approximately three-fourths of those verbs with the capability of governing accusative and genitive objects alternately, have a common prefix (na-) and a common general meaning. (This is a fraction of those 205 verbs in the corpus which govern the genitive and accusative cases alternately.) The meaning inherent in these verbs is that the action of the verb concerns "some quantity" or "a lot" of something or someone. A few verbs with other prefixes share this common meaning, i.e. za- and vy-; they will also be included here.

The basis of choice for the use of accusative or genitive case is never an arbitrary one. With reference to the idea of partitive genitive and the definition of the genitive as designating the spread of the action of the verb onto only a part of the object the genitive case would seem to be the logical choice as the object case. As the
restriction of "partial, not entire envelopment of the substance
which is the object" is manifested by the verb itself, the verb is
commonly and often found governing the genitive case, as in

nabrat'/nabirat' gribov 'gather (some) mushrooms'

vody 'gather (some) water'

cvetov 'gather (some) flowers'

nabrosat'/nabrasyvat' kamnej 'throw (some) stones'

bumagi 'throw (some) paper'

navalit'/navalivat' kirpicej 'carelessly put (some/a lot of)
bricks in disorder'

nagovorit'/nagovarivat' (komu) ljubeznostej 'pay (a lot of)
compliments'

nagrestit/nagrebat' sena 'rake together (some) hay'

nadavit'/nadavlivat' soka 'squeeze out (some) juice'

nadergat'/nadergivat' travy 'pull out (a lot of) grass'

'na, l'nu 'pull out (a lot of) flax'

nadoit'/nadaivat' moloka 'milk (some quantity of milk)'

nazarit'/nazrivat' kotlet 'bake, roast (some) cutlets'

ryby 'bake, roast (some) fish'

kartofelja 'bake, roast (some) potatoes'

nakapat'/nakapyvat' lekarstva 'pour (some) medicine by drops'

1

nakacat'/nakacivat' vody 'pump (some) water'
nakvasit'/nakvašivat' kapusty 'pickle (some) cabbage'
nakolot'/nakalyvati' drov 'split/chop (some) wood'
nakopat'/nakapyvat' kartofelja 'dig out (some) potatoes'
červej 'dig out (some) worms'
nakupit'/nakupat' kníž 'buy (some) books'
nalovit'/nalavlivat' ryby 'catch (some) fish'
namarinovat'/namarinovyvat' gribov 'pickle/marinate (some) mushrooms'
namestiti/nametat' musora 'sweep together (some) rubbish'
namolotit'/namolačivat' rži 'thresh (some quantity of) rye'
namocit'/namačivat' jabloko 'preserve/bottle (some) apples'
narvat' (P) cveto 'pick (some quantity of) flowers'
naryt'/naryvat' kartofelja 'dig (some) potatoes out of the ground'
nasaditi/nasažat'/nasaživat' (I) ryby v sadok 'put (some) fish in the fish-pond'
nasbirat' (P) jagod 'gather (some) berries'
naskresti/naskrebat' muki 'scrape up (some) flour'
nastirat' (P) bel'Ja 'wash (some) linen'
nastreljat'/nastrelivat' dići 'shoot/kill (some) game'
nataskat'/nataskivat' produktov 'bring (some) products'
nacerpat'/nacerpyvat' vody 'gather (some) water by ladling'
Nevertheless, limits or restrictions are also found to no small degree with these verbs. It would be meaningless to think of such quantifiers as neskol'ko or mnogo as being other than entirely enveloped or achieved by the action of the verb, i.e. an accusative definition, since they already by their meaning indicate some sort of limitation. Therefore, verbs in combination with these quantifiers govern the accusative case. Such quantifiers, in turn, govern the genitive case, for they designate some amount or number of whatever is designated by the noun following them.

The limits or restrictions appear to be of two types. First of all, quantifiers of the type skol'ko, mnogo, sotnju, neskol'ko, and množestvo, as well as cardinal numbers, are common objects of these verbs. Secondly, a definite container or a finite entity which is filled with or composed of the substance upon which the action of the verb spreads is a frequent object. Again, as in the case of mnogo, etc., this container or finite entity regularly appears as an accusative object which governs the genitive of the specific substance, as in a construction of the type vedro vody 'a bucket of water'. Examples of both types of limits or restrictions follow these comparisons of verbs prefixed by na- with unprefixed verbs:

našinkovat' (P) kapusty 'shred (some) cabbage'

navaljat' (P) skol'ko lesu 'fell how many forests'
valit' derev'ja 'fell trees' (Ts I 222) and valit' leš 'fell a

forest' (Ag 17)

naglusít' mnogo ryby 'stun and catch a lot of fish'

glusít' rybu 'stun fish' (Ts I 575)

(Some verbs will be used several times with examples of the

various types of objects. When a verb appears for the second or

third time, a * will precede it as an indication. Verbs which appear

below with a * were cited in the group immediately above, for

example.)

1. Verbs which show examples of quantifiers as objects

vypit' / vypivat' ne bolee dvux stakanov čaju 'drink no more

than two glasses of tea'

valaljat' (P) skol'ko lesu 'fell how many forests'

navesit' / navešivat' mnogo kartin na stenu 'hang up many

pictures on the wall'

navjazat' / navjazyvat' 5 par čulok 'produce by knitting 5

pairs of stockings'

naglusít' (P) mnogo ryby 'stun and catch a lot of fish'

nagnat' / nagonjat' (komu) mnogo skota 'drive together many

cattle'

*nagovorit' / nagovarivat' mnogo neprijatnogo 'say a lot of
unpleasant things'

*nagovorit' / nagovarivat' mnogo лишнего (komu) 'say a lot of superfluous things'

nagorodit' / nagorazivat' mnogo peregordok 'erect many partitions'

nagryz't / nagryza't mnogo ščelok 'gnaw through many chinks'

nadelat' (P) mnogo лишнего горя 'cause a lot of unnecessary sorrow'

*nadergat' / nadergivat' mnogo pen'ki 'pull/pluck out a lot of hemp'

nadrat' / nadirat' mnogo kory 'strip off a lot of bark'

nažat' / nažina't sotnju snopov 'reap a hundred sheaves'

nažec' / nažiga't neskol'ko vozov uglja 'burn several carts of coal'

nakatlit' / nakatat' / nakatyvat' (I) mnogo bel'ja 'roll up a lot of linen'

*nalovit' / nalavl'ivat' množestvo baboček 'catch a great number of butterflies'

nalomat' / nalamyvat' mnogo су́ч'ев 'break (and lay in a supply) of twigs'

namerit' / namerivat' 20 metrov suknaya 'measure off 20 meters of cloth'
namjat'/naminat' mnogo travy 'trample down a lot of grass'
napaxat'/napaxivat' svyše dvuxsot gektarov 'plow over 200
hektares'
napeč'/napekat' množestvo pirogov 'bake a great number of
pirogi'
napilit'/napilivat' kubometr drov 'saw a cubic meter of wood'
naportit' (P) mnogo igrušek 'ruin many toys'
narabotat'/narabatyvat' malo 'make little (by working)'
sedjatok korzin 'make 10 baskets'
sto rubeļ 'make 100 roubles'
naslat'/nasylat' mnogo gruzovikov 'send/supply many trucks'
nastavit' /nastavljat' mnogo mebeli 'put/place a lot of
furniture'
množestvo bljud 'put/place a great
number of dishes'
nastegat'/nastegivat' neskol'ko odejal 'quilt several quilts'
nastelit'/nastlat'/nastilat' (I) mnogo polov 'make a lot of
floors; floor a lot (of places)'
nastric'/nastrigat' mnogo šersti 'cut with scissors a lot of
hair (animal) or wool'
natajat'/nataivat' mnogo snegu 'melt a lot of snow'
natravit' (P)/natravlivat'/natravljat': skot natravil mnogo
posevov 'the cattle damaged/ruined many crops'
naudit'/nauživat' desjatok karasej 'catch by fishing 10 carp'
nafabrikovat' (P) mnogo antisoetskix falsifikat 'print many anti-Soviet/forged/fake documents'
načekanit'/načekanivat' mnogo monety 'mint a lot of coin'
načitat'/načityvat' mnogo knig 'read through many books'
                mnogo lekcij 'give many lectures'
našparit'/našparivat' ujmu klopov 'kill lots of bugs with boiling water'

2. Verbs which show examples of "containers" as objects
*nabrat'/nabirat' korzinu gribov 'gather a basket of mushrooms'

                vedro vody 'gather a bucket of water'
                buket cvetov 'gather a bouquet of flowers'
*nabrosat'/nabrosyat' kǔču kamnej 'throw a heap of stones'
                grudu bumagi 'throw a heap of paper'
*navalit'/navalivat' kǔču kamnej 'carelessly put a heap of stones in disorder'
*nagovorit'/nagovarivat' (komu) kųču novostej 'tell a heap of news'
*nagresti/nagrebati' kųču suxix listyev 'rake together a heap of dry leaves'
*nadavit'/nadavlivat' čašku limonnogo soku 'squeeze out a cup of lemon juice'

*nadergat'/nadergivat' snop l'na 'pull out a sheaf of flax'

gorst' travy 'pull out a handful of grass'

*nadolt'/nadaivat' vedro moloka 'milk a bucket of milk'

*nažarit'/nažarivat' celoe bljudo kotlet 'bake/roast a whole dish of cutlets'

*nakapat'/nakapyvat' celuju rjumku 'pour a whole glassful'

*nakacat'/nakačivat' bočku vody 'pump a barrel of water'

*nakvasit'/nakvašivat' bočku kapusty 'pickle a barrel of cabbage'

*nakolot'/nakalyvat' oxapku drov 'split/chop an armful of wood'

*nakopat'/nakapyvat' mešok kartoški 'dig out a sack of potatoes'

banku červej 'dig out a canful of worms'

*nakupit'/nakupat' celyj vorox knig 'buy a whole pile of books'

*nalovit'/nalavlivat' vedro ryby 'catch a bucket of fish'

*namarinovat'/namarinovyvat' banku gribov 'pickle/marinate a jar of mushrooms'
*namest'/nametat' kuču musoru/musora 'sweep together a pile of rubbish'
*namolot' /namolačivat' meru rži 'thresh a measure of rye'
*namočit'/namačivat' banku jablok 'preserve a jar of apples'
*narvat' (P) cely buket cvetov 'pick a whole bouquet of flowers'
*naryt'/naryvat' mesok kartofelja 'dig a sack of potatoes out of the ground'
*nasadit'/nasazat'/nasazivat' (I) polnyj sadok ryby 'put, place a full fish-pond of fish'
*nasbirat'' (P) korzinku jagod 'gather a basket of berries'
*naskresti/naskrebat' gorst' muki 'scrape up a handful of flour'
*nastirat' (P) korzinu bel'ja 'wash a basket of linen'
*nastreljat'/nastrelivat' polnuju sumku dici 'shoot/kill a full bag of game'
*nataskat'/nataskivat' goru produktov 'bring a mountain of products'
*načerpat'/načerpyvat' vedro vody 'gather a bucket of water by ladling'
*našinkovat' (P) bočku kapusty 'shred a barrel of cabbage'
postreljat' (P) ves' vyvodok teterevinyj 'shoot a whole
More colloquial and more common in oral speech than in written speech is the use of the substance itself in the accusative case. Too, there may be here the nuance of "the", a feeling of completeness, which is, of course, absent in the use of the genitive for the object case. Examples of the use of the accusative case follow. The verbs are those which appear on the previous pages (pages 87-89) with the same object in the genitive case.

*nabrat'/nabirat' vodu
*nabrosat'/nabrazyvat' bumagu
*naavalit'/naavalivat' kirpiči
*nadoit'/nadaivat' moloko
*nakačat'/nakacivat' vodu
*namarinovat'/namarinyvat' griby
*namočit'/namočivat' jabloki

Other verbs which take objects in the accusative and genitive cases alternately, but which have not been used as examples elsewhere include

začerpnut'/začerpyvat' 'draw, scoop, spoon out/up, ladle out some quantity of liquid'

naboltat'/nabaltyvat' 'mix something with something by shaking'
(P only) 'talk a lot of nonsense'

'cook (prepare) a lot of something'  

'bring in some quantity'

'turn, churn a quantity of something'

'weigh out many objects or prepare many portions of something'

'by blowing, clean some quantity of grain of litter and chaff'

'prepare in great number woven articles; wind up on something'

'gradually transporting, bring in great number'

'bring a quantity of something'

'put in disorder, pile up in heaps in a great number'

'steal a lot of something'

'tell a lot of untruths, lies, nonsense'

'flatten, smooth, iron some quantity'

'lay in a supply in quantity; cook a lot of food'

'rob in a large quantity'

'gain by feeding something; gain something owing to a replete, peaceful life'
nadavat' (P) (komu) 'give much of something in large
quantities or in several doses'

nadarit'/nadarivat' (komu) 'give a lot of presents, give a lot
of something as presents'

naest'/naedat' 'eat up a known quantity'

nakidat'/nakidyvat' same as nabrosat'
nakolotit'/nakolačivat' 'smash, crack a lot of something'
nakopit' (P)/nakaplivat'/nakopljat' 'save up, lay up, collect'
nakopit' (P) 'smoke/cure in some quantity'
nakrasit'/nakrašivat' 'paint, dye, color some quantity'
nakrast'/nakradyvat' 'steal a quantity'
nakroit'/nakralvat' 'cut out some quantity'
nakromsat' (P) 'shred, cut some quantity of something'
nakrošit' (P) 'crumble something in some quantity'
nakutat'/nakutyvat' 'muffle in some quantity of something'
nalgat' (P) (komu) 'tell a lot of lies'
nalit' /nalivat' 'pour and fill some quantity'
nalus'cit' (P) 'shell and husk some quantity'
nameževat'/nameževvat' 'surveying, set the boundaries of
some quantity of land parcels'
namenjat'/namenivat' 'get some quantity of change; acquire some
quantity of something by exchange'
namesit'/namesivat'  'knead in some quantity'

namešat'/namesivat'  'add something into something'

namolot'/namalyvat'  'grind, mill some quantity of something'

namorit' (P)  'exterminate (by poison, hunger, etc.) some quantity of someone or something'

namyt'/namyvat'  'wash a quantity of something, including pan for some quantity of something; bring some quantity by flow of water'

nanesti /n anosit' (komu)  'bring in some quantity; pike, heap up, form (with a puff, current, flow, etc.)'  

nanesti  (P)  'lay a quantity of eggs'

nanosit'/nanašivat'  'bring some quantity of something in several doses'

naobsčat' (P)  'promise too much'

naparit' (P)  'stem, stew'

napajat'/napaivat'  'solder a large quantity'

napet'/napevat'  'sing a lot (of songs, etc.)'

napixat'/napixivat'  'cram a lot in, into, down'

naplavat'/naplavljat'  'melt, smelt in some quantity'

naplastovat'/naplastovyvat'  'stratify, arrange in layers, strata a quantity of something'

naplešti /naplestat'  'plait, braid, weave in some quantity'
naporot'·(P) 'rip in some quantity; say a lot of'
napustit'/napuskat' 'give access to a large quantity (of liquid, gases, or small objects)'
naputat'/naputyvat' 'weaving, interlacing, winding, entangle, confuse a lot of something'

napuzat'/napuzat' 'cut, slice a quantity'
narodit'· (P) 'give birth to in a large quantity'
narubit'/narubat' 'fell, cut and prepare a lot, a stock, a reserve of something'

nasejat'·(P)/nasevat'/naseivat' 'sow a lot of something; sift some quantity of something'
naskazat'/naskaazyvat' 'say, pronounce some quantity'
naskoblit'/naskablivat' 'by scraping, reduce to fragments, cut very small, pound some quantity of something'
nasloit'/naslaivat' 'put by layers; divide some quantity into layers'
nasovat'/nasovyvat' 'push, shove in some quantity'
nasovetovat' (P) 'give lots of advice, advise a lot'

nasolit'·/nasalivat'· 'salt some quantity of something'
nasosat'·/nasasyvat'· 'suck out some quantity of something'

nasocinit'/nasocinjat'· 'compose, write a lot of something'
nastrogat'·/nastrugat'·/nastragivat'· (I) 'plane, smooth in some
quantity'

nastroit'/nastroiat' 'build in some quantity'

nastročit'/nastročivat' 'sew, stitch some quantity of something'

nastrijapat' (P) 'cook a quantity'

nasulit' (P) 'promise too much or much'

nasučit'/nasučivat' 'twist in some quantity'

nasusit'/nasusivat' 'dry some quantity of something'

nasypat'/nasypat' 'pour out in some quantity; pour out onto something in some quantity'

nataščit' (P) 'bring, drag some quantity of something'

naterebit' (P) 'pluck, pick a quantity; pluck out a quantity'

natesat'/natesyvat' 'hew, cut a lot'

natiskat/natiskivat' 'stuff, pack, cram a large quantity'

natkat' (P) 'weave a quantity of something'

natoloc' (P) 'break, crush, pound a quantity'

natopit'/nataplivat' 'heat and melt some quantity of something'

natorgovat'/natorgovyvat' 'acquire, gain by trade in some quantity'

natrjasti/natrjasat' 'shake (down) in some quantity'

natykat'/natykat' 'stick, thrust in a lot of something'
naxvatat' / naxvatyvat' 'snatch, get, catch a quantity of something'

nacedit' / nacezivat' 'decant, strain off some quantity of something'

načerkat' (P) / načerkat' (P) 'cross out/off, strike out, draw many lines through'

nacercivat' (I) 'draw, sketch some quantity'

nacesat' / nacesyvat' 'hackle, comb (flax) in some quantity'

načinit' / načinivat' 'point, sharpen in some quantity'

načirkat' (P) 'strike and ruin some quantity of matches'

načistit' / načisčat' 'clean and prepare a quantity'

našvyryat' (P) 'fling, sling about a quantity of something'

našepat' / našeptyvat' 'whisper a lot'

našpigovat' / našpigovyvat' 'lard in some quantity'

naščelkat' (P) 'break with tong/pincers, crack with teeth'

naščepat' (P) 'splinter, chip a quantity'

naščipat' (P) 'pinch, pick, pull, pluck, a quantity of something'

našekonomit' (P) 'save, lay up by economy in some quantity'

Three verbs with the prefix po- govern the genitive and accusative cases alternately. The po- prefix designates the spread of the action of the verb onto "a little" or even that the action of the verb is of a short duration. Peškovskij (1956:298) says that
by its meaning po- stipulates the use of the genitive case. The
genitive case can then be considered the primary case while the
accusative case gains the additional nuance of completeness.

These three verbs with examples of objects are

- **pokrošit' (P)** kleba v šči nožom 'crumble (a little) bread into
  the šči with a knife', but

- **pokrošit' (P)** bulku 'crumple a roll'

It is possible and even common to crumble (a little) roll, but not to
 crumble a whole loaf of bread, especially when doing so on a
 restricted scale.

- **počerpnut' (P)** vody (vodu) 'ladle out (a little) water'

The imperfective of this pair, počerpat' 'get, draw, not necessarily
 or specifically a little' does not possess this meaning.

- **pošcipat' (P)** svoi usy 'tweak, nibble, pinch one's mustache(s)
  for a little while', but

- **pošcipat' (P)** korpij 'prepare/pull (some) lint(s) for a while'

It is possible to tweak a definite "complete" mustache, but more
likely to pull some but not all lint.

Various verbs with the meaning "to add by the action named by
the verb" also govern the accusative and genitive cases alternately
as their object cases. Again, the genitive case appears to be the
primary case, since in adding (especially by means of one of these
verbs) one normally adds "some more" to that already on hand or previously mentioned. The nineteen verbs in the corpus which belong here share four prefixes, all with the meaning of "add, supplement". They are do-, nad-, pod-, and pri-. (Gvozdev 1961:107 speaks of pod- as designating a complimentary, objective, helping action, tied with the necessity to increase a quantity of objects or measure of matter. He associates the prefix with the genitive case.)

As happens with those verbs with the prefix na-, when a quantifier, cardinal number, or some limit or restriction appears, it is in the accusative case (where one may speak of the form as accusative, i.e. quantifiers which are adverbs would not have an accusative case form) and that adverb or noun, in turn, governs the genitive case:

- **dobrat'*/doibrat' neskol'ko čelovek** 'take for replenishment of an insufficiency (some/several) men'
- **doložit'*/dokladyvat' ětu banku** 'put still more (of something) or fill this jar'
- **pribavit'*/pribavljat' metr materii na plat'е** 'add a meter of material to the dress'
- **5 rublej** 'add 5 roubles'
- **prikupit'*/prikupat' polmetr na plat'е** 'buy in addition a half-
meter for the dress'

The following verbs are shown taking the genitive case of the noun (object), the genitive use being dictated by a quantitative nuance:

*dobrat’/dobirat’ deneg 'take for replenishment of an insufficiency (some) money'
*dolozhit’/dokladyvat’ varen’ja na bludce 'put (still more) jam on the saucer'
podbavit’/podbavljat’ esce moloka ‘add, mix in (some) more milk’
podsejat’ (P)/podsevat’/podseivat’ esce ovsa 'sow (some) more oats (in addition)'
*pribavit’/pribavljat’ saxaru v caj 'add (some) sugar to tea'
*prikupit’/prikupat’ sukna 'buy in addition (some) cloth'

Common sense and logic, in addition to the desire to add a nuance of completeness, determine the use of the accusative case. In the following examples only the accusative case is logically possible and is found, since cena 'price' must be viewed as a whole, never a part.

*naddat’/naddavat’ cenu na aukcione 'increase the price at the auction'
*pribavit’/pribavljat’ cenu 'increase the price'
One can not speak in terms of increasing some or part of the price; the accusative is obligatory.

The other verbs of addition which belong to this group are

*dobavit'/dobavljet' (komu)'give more, add; say or write more in addition'*

dolit'/dolivat' (komu)'add by pouring out'

dosypat'/dosypat' 'add/pour (to the top)'

podboltat'/podbaltyvat' 'add something into a liquid'

podvalit'/podvalivat' 'pile, heap, pour onto'

podlit'/podlivat' 'pour, add some under something'

podmesit'/podmešat'/podmešivat' (I)'add by kneading, mix in'

podpustit'/podpuskat' 'add something liquid to some liquid, mixture, compound'

podsadit'/podsadživat' 'add by planting'

podsypat'/podsypat' 'add by pouring'

primešat'/primešivat' 'by mixing, add, join, combine together'

prisypat'/prisypat' 'pour out and add'

B. Verbs governing the accusative/genitive case in its meaning of removal

Those verbs which have been classified here as having a meaning of removal, i.e. showing some motion away or off from, could also perhaps be viewed as concurrently belonging to that
major grouping of verbs governing the quantitative genitive/accusative. Most of them combine the ideas of removal and quantity with their meaning of "move to some distance some quantity of something by the action named by the verb". The fourteen verbs under consideration share three prefixes: ot-, s-, and u-, and they all have the basic meaning of "away, off of". Twelve verbs have the prefix ot- with one verb prefixed with s- and one verb prefixed by u-.

Again with these verbs, the genitive case is the primary case with the accusative case used with nuances of completeness as well as for those instances where a limit or restriction is used as the object (with the substance itself in the genitive case as governed by that limit or restriction). Examples of the accusative case used for limits or restrictions include

- **otdoit'*/otdaivat* stakan moloka 'milk off a glass of milk'
- **otkusit'*/otkusyvat* pol- jabloka 'bite off half an apple'
- **otpit'*/otpivat* glotok 'take a drink/mouthful'
- **otxlebnut'*/otxlebyvat* poslednij glotok čaju 'drink (up) the last drink/mouthful of tea'
- **sbavit'*/sbavl'jat* polovinu ceny 'take off half the price'
- **rubl' s ceny 'take off a rouble from the price'
- **pokilo 'take off half a kilo'
ubavit’/ubavljat’ dlinu na santimetr ‘lessen the length by a centimeter’

stoimost’ ‘lower the cost’

The other verbs which belong here are

otbavit’/otbavljat’ ‘take away, pour off, spill off part of something’

otglotnut’/otglatyvat’ ‘take a little sip, sip a little’

otlit’/otlitvat’ ‘pour off part of a liquid (out of something)’

otplesnut’/otpleskivat’ ‘pour off, take away’

otrygnut’/otrygivat’ ‘disgorge from the stomach’

otsosat’/otsasyvat’ ‘suck in part of a liquid’

otsypat’/otsypat’ ‘separate some quantity of a dry substance, pouring it from one place to another’

otcherpnut’/otcheryvat’ ‘take away, pour off by ladling’

C. Verbs with the meaning of goal

Three verbs with a meaning of "collect" or "gather in one place" usually in advance or as a reserve also govern the accusative and genitive cases (with an added quantitative meaning):

zapasti/zapasat’ ‘stock, store up ahead in cases of need, in reserve’

podvezti/podvozit’ ‘by transporting, supply, furnish, convey somewhere’
skopit'(P)/skaplivat'/skopljat' 'save up, store up, lay up'

Again the genitive case can be considered the primary case with a nuance of completeness added with the use of the accusative case. There is no common prefix or root here. One verb, skopit'/skaplivat'/skopljat', is defined in the Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka (Ušakov 1935 IV:227) as "nakopit' čego-n." which does place this verb in a relationship to that large group of verbs to which nakopit' belongs, namely, those prefixed in na- (I. A. above).

D. Uncategorized verbs probably related to those prefixed in na-

in I. A. above

Two verbs are found which are said to govern the accusative and genitive cases and which prove hard to categorize. As they both are prefixed with na- one might suppose they earlier were related to that group of verbs sharing this common prefix (I. A. above). No evidence of this relationship can now be found specifically in their definition nor is there evidence that there indeed exists a genitive preference by the verbs. There are too few examples of their objects. The verbs also share a common meaning, i.e. to foretell or to prophesy. They are

navorozit'/navoraživat' (komu) 'by telling fortunes, foretell, prophesy, predict, predict something (to someone)'

nagadat' (P) 'foretell, prophesy'
II. Verbs governing the accusative case to denote definiteness and
the genitive case to denote indefiniteness with the meaning of
goal

The second major division of verbs which govern the accusative
and genitive cases alternately includes those verbs whose
government of one of these two cases is related to the concept of
definiteness and indefiniteness. Only a relatively small number of
verbs exhibit this tendency, yet they are frequently used and
important verbs. It should prove most valid, therefore, to consider
each of these verbs individually. Most of them can be broadly
grouped under a meaning of goal. Some of them, such as zaxotet' /
xotet', may be found listed as governing only one case - the
genitive case.

As a general statement concerning these verbs one might posit
the correspondance of the accusative case with definiteness, the
genitive case with indefiniteness. Some of the verbs, as will be
seen, seem to set their own rules for the government of these two
cases within this common framework. A slight change in meaning,
often directly related to the concept of definiteness or
indefiniteness in regard to the object, may be observed.

A. Verbs which mean "wish, desire", "strive", and "ask"

Six verbs have the meaning of "wish, desire", "strive", and
"ask". They are

vymolit'/vymalivat' 'get by/with entreaties, vigorous requests'
zaxotet'/xotet' 'have the wish, desire, strive toward something'
iskat' (l) 'seek for, strive to get'
poželat'/želat' (komu) 'wish, desire, covet'
prosit'/prosit' 'ask (for)'
potrebovat'/trebovat' 'demand; expect; need, require, call for'

The verb vymolit'/vymalivat' seems to indeed adhere to the idea of the accusative case use for definiteness, the genitive case for indefiniteness. Examples of objects found with this verb include

vymolit'/vymalivat' den'gi or deneg 'get the or some money'
kusok xleba 'get a piece of bread'

Both zaxotet'/xotet' and poželat'/želat' are closely related to those verbs governing the genitive case exclusively which are commonly called verbs of volition. The genitive case which is connected with a nuance of indefiniteness is most frequent with these verbs; the accusative case is used to denote something very definite. Abstract subjects/things are the most common objects with these verbs. Most are also accompanied with the idea of indefiniteness and, therefore, the verb governs the genitive case
When such nouns appear as the object. Examples include

*zaxotet'*/xotet' mira i ljubvi 'desire peace and love'
  zla 'desire evil'
*vseobščego vnimanija 'want general attention'*
*poželat'*/želat' vsego xorošega 'wish everything good'
  sčast'ja 'wish good luck, happiness'
  pokoja 'wish peace'

Perhaps the verb *iskat'* may also be grouped with the two above.

Again with this verb the accusative case is linked with
definiteness, the genitive with indefiniteness. Although this verb
is commonly listed in Russian sources as governing only the

*genitive case*, Smirnitskij in his Russian-English dictionary gives
two slightly different definitions, the first of which occurs with the

*object in the accusative case*, the second with the object in the

*genitive case*:

*iskat'* 1. (vn.) look (for); search (after, for); seek (after)
  poet.: -dom, kvartiru look for, be in search of, a house, an
  apartment; 2. (rd.; starat'sja polučit') seek (d., for);
  -mesta seek (for) a situation; look for a job
  razg.; -pomoči seek help; -soveta seek advice;
  -slučaja look for an opportunity; -spasenija seek salvation
  (from)
In the *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*, Tom I, (Ушаков 1935:1227) is found this definition:

*iskat' 1. kogo-čto.* Try to find, discover (something secret, hidden, or lost). // Be occupied with searches, find out about the presence, location of someone or something.

2. čego. Try to obtain, strive to receive.

In fact, the difference does not appear to be one of different verb meanings, but rather one of different types of objects. The accusative case appears to be employed in connection with definite, concrete substances, while the genitive is used with indefinite, abstract concepts. The differences in objects can be noted between those objects found in the accusative case:

*iskat' nužnuju knigu* 'look for the necessary/needed book'
*pravil'nyj put' 'look for the correct path'*
*pravdu 'seek after the truth'*

and those found in the genitive case:

*iskat' zaščity 'strive to get protection'*
*pomošči 'strive to get help'*

The next two verbs of this group, *poprosit'/prosit'* and *potrebovat'/trebovat'* , too, show the relationship of the accusative case to designate definiteness, especially with concrete objects, and of the genitive case to designate indefiniteness, especially with
abstract concepts. An added clue to the use of one of these two cases seems to be suggested to some degree by other constructions governed by the verb. That is, these verbs may govern, in addition to an object in the accusative or genitive case, a prepositional phrase and/or infinitive. The presence, even if only suggested, of one preposition and object as opposed to another may intimate the use of one particular case for the object governed by the verb.

The verb *poprosit'/prosit* 'ask' besides an object in the accusative or genitive case may govern four possible additional constructions used in conjunction with a verbal object. These include

1. *poprosit'/prosit* o čem or with infinitive 'ask someone or something about/for something'
2. *poprosit'/prosit* u kogo 'ask for something from someone or ask someone for something'
3. *poprosit'/prosit* za kogo 'intercede with someone for someone'
4. *poprosit'/prosit* kuda? 'ask/invite someone somewhere'

In the first case the verb governs the accusative case, it is said, although persons (animate nouns) are the most common objects here so that the accusative may coincide with the genitive case. Some examples are
poprosit’/prosit’ otca o prošćenii (proštit') 'ask father for forgiveness'

poprosit’/prosit’ tovarisća o pomoći (pomoć') 'ask the comrade for help'

The accusative case is also the case governed in the third and fourth types of constructions with poprosit’/prosit’. Again persons are the most frequent objects:

3. poprosit’/prosit’ učitelja za tovarisća 'intervene with the teacher for the comrade'

4. poprosit’/prosit’ gostej k stolu 'call/invite the guests to the table'

Only constructions of the second type, poprosit’/prosit’ čto/čega u kogo, which does have the same meaning as poprosit’/prosit’ kogo-čto o čem or with infinitive, have the possibility of accusative or genitive case government. One must fall back to the idea of the verb governing the accusative case of very definite, concrete things, the genitive case of indefinite, abstract concepts:

poprosit’/prosit’ prošćenija u otca 'ask father for forgiveness'

pomoći u tovarisća 'ask the comrade for help'

vnimanija 'ask for attention'

but

poprosit’/prosit’ otsročku or otsročki u bibliotekarja 'ask the
The verb potrebovat'/trebovat' also may govern several other constructions to be used in conjunction with an accusative or genitive object. Again a slight change in verb meaning may result.

The possibilities are

1. potrebovat'/trebovat' čto or čego and u or ot kogo-čego, or with čtoby 'demand something from someone or something'
2. trebovat' (I only) čto or čego ot kogo-čego 'expect something from someone or something'
3. potrebovat'/trebovat' čego 'need, require, call for something'
4. potrebovat'/trebovat' kogo-čto kuda 'call or order someone somewhere'

Both 2 and 3 above usually take abstract objects; the genitive case can then be normally expected as the governed case to show indefiniteness:

2. trebovat' tišiny ot slušatelej 'expect quiet from the listeners'
   socuvstvija ot sem'i 'expect sympathy from one's
family'

3. *potrebovat'/trebovat'*

kвартира требует ремонта 'the apartment needs repairs'
bolezn' требует лечения 'the illness needs treatment'
работа требует подготовки 'the work needs preparing'

It should be noted, too, that the subject in 3 is often an inanimate thing.

The fourth occurrence of *potrebovat'/trebovat'* which exclusively governs the accusative case by definition requires the object to be a definite thing or person. The accusative case is, therefore, the logical choice:

*potrebovat'/trebovat' inženera k direktoru* 'call in the engineer to the director'

B. Verbs which mean "waiting"

The next three verbs which will be considered all have the basic meaning of "wait for" and have the same root ∫/∫. They are

*(podozdat')/∫dat' 'wait for, expect, await'*
ozidat' (I) same meaning as ∫dat'
prozdat' (P) 'spend some determined amount of time in expectation of someone or something'

Inanimate objects used with these verbs seem to have a genitive tendency. When an animate being is the object, the genitive case
is used to designate indefiniteness and the accusative case is used to designate definiteness. Examples of inanimate objects include

\[ \text{podoždat' / zdat' isxoda boleznì 'await the outcome of the illness'} \]

\[ \text{sledujuščego paroxoda 'await the next steamer'} \]

\[ \text{poezda 'wait for the train'} \]

\[ \text{nagrady 'wait for a reward'} \]

\[ \text{oždat' poezda 'wait for the/a train'} \]

\[ \text{izvestija 'wait for news'} \]

\[ \text{proždat' tramvaja neskol'ko minut 'wait for the street car several minutes'} \]

Of course, the accusative case of inanimates is also found:

\[ \text{podoždat' / zdat' poezd, pis'mo, gazetu 'wait for a train, letter, newspaper'} \]

Indefiniteness expressed by the government of the genitive case of animate nouns can be seen in

\[ \text{podoždat' / zdat' prekrasnoj devy 'wait for a beautiful maid'} \]

More common, of course, is the accusative case to show definiteness with animate nouns:

\[ \text{podoždat' / zdat' odnu ženščinu 'wait for a certain woman'} \]

\[ \text{sestru (although sestry is also possible) 'wait for (one's) sister'} \]
C. Verbs which mean "contact"

Two verbs governing the genitive and accusative cases under the general category of verb with the meaning of goal have a more specific meaning of "contact", more specifically, "try, feel, experience". They are vkusit'/vkusat' and popytat'. A small number, it appears, of abstract nouns appear as the objects of these two verbs with the genitive case as the primary case to designate indefiniteness. These choices for an object are so restricted, that some verb and object combinations seem to be almost set expressions and the only instances where these verbs are found. The accusative case is also found in fewer instances.

Examples of the usage of these verbs (with both genitive and accusative objects) include

vkusit'/vkusat' ljubvi 'experience love'

radost' 'feel joy'

plody cego-n. 'partake of the fruits of something'

popytat' (P) sčast'ja 'try one's luck'
Verbs Which Take Accusative and Genitive Objects Simultaneously

Only two verbs in the corpus are capable of the simultaneous government of the accusative and genitive cases as object cases. One verb is лишить/lisatʹ 'deprive, rob, or bereave someone of something'. The meaning of the genitive case as used with this verb is obviously related to that of the genitive of removal found with verbs governing the genitive case alone. This verb is commonly used either with both an accusative and a genitive object or with only a genitive object:

либо/lisatʹ kogo-n. žizni 'deprive someone of life'

удобного случая 'deprive of an opportunity'

свободы 'deprive of freedom'

ребенка родителя 'deprive a child of (his) parents'

сестру здоровʼа 'rob sister of (her) health'

матʼ покоя 'rob mother of peace'

The other verb which governs the accusative and genitive cases is удостоить/udostoi't' 'distinguish, mark out, confer, award'.

This verb in a second meaning (and as such often used ironically) governs the accusative and instrumental cases simultaneously. Most commonly this verb appears with both an accusative and a genitive object rather than with only one of the two:
udostoit' / udostaivat' ucenogo pravitel' stvennoj nagrady
'confer on the scholar a government award'

Geroja Socialisticeskogo Truda 'award
the Hero of Socialist Labor'

'ju rabotu Leninskoj premii 'award
someone's work the Lenin prize'

The reflexive (-sja) form of this verb, udostoit'sja / udostaivat'sja
'be honored with, be awarded', governs only the genitive case,
even when used with an ironic nuance, a meaning which
"unreflexively" is shown by the government of the accusative and
instrumental, not genitive cases:

udostoit'sja / udostaivat'sja premii 'be honored with a prize'

pravitel' stvennoj nagrady 'be
honored with a government award'

(ironic) otveta 'be honored with an answer'

ulybki 'be honored with a smile'

poxvaly 'be honored with praise'

vnimanija 'be honored with attention'
Several roots appear to be closely related with alternate genitive and accusative case government. Isk 'seek', pros 'ask, quest-', and xot 'want' are roots found with verbs of volition:

*zaxotet'/xotet' 'want'*
*#zaxotet'sja/xotet'sja 'have the desire, want'*

*sprosit'sja/spraviat'sja 'ask for permission to do something'*
*poprosit'/prosit' 'ask'*

iskat' 'seek'

The root stoj 'cost' also is found in verbs connected with genitive/accusative case:

*stot' 'cost'*
*udostoit'/udostaivat' 'distinguish, award'*
*#udostoit'sja/udostaivat'sja 'being worthy, receive some sign of attention from someone'*

Z/d 'wait' seems to be associated with alternate genitive and accusative case government, particularly connected with nuances of definiteness and indefiniteness:

*dozdat'sja/ dozidat'sja 'await, wait for'*
podozdat' / zdat' 'wait for'  
ozidat' 'wait for'  
prozdat' 'spend some time waiting'

It has been pointed out that the prefix na- 'do in quantity' is frequent in verbs taking genitive (and alternate accusative) objects. One verb seemingly unrelated to others which take the genitive case exclusively and two verbs which take the genitive and accusative cases alternately have the prefix na- and all three have the same meaning "prophesy". They are

nakoldovat' 'conjure up, charm; cast a spell on; prophesy, predict, foretell' (genitive case only)
navorozhit' / navorazivat' 'foretell, prophesy'
nagadat' (P) 'foretell, prophesy'

They do not have the added shade of meaning 'do in quantity' but they do show some interrelationship between verbs taking genitive objects.

Other Verbs Which Take Genitive Objects

Two other types or groups of verbs take the genitive case: verbs which govern the instrumental case alternately and verbs which govern the accusative case as well as the instrumental or genitive
case. This second type is more specifically a simultaneous government of the accusative case and one other case — either the genitive or the instrumental. Both of these types of verbs will be discussed in the final sections of Chapter IV when verbs taking instrumental objects are presented.
Notes

1 See verbs taking instrumental objects in Chapter IV.
2 This verb is used in impersonal dative constructions.
3 See also the section on verbs taking the accusative and
genitive cases simultaneously for the related verb udostoit'/
udostaivat'.
4
5 Cf. the unclassified verbs navorozit' / navorozivat' and
nagadat' in the next section of this chapter (Verbs which take the
accusative and genitive objects alternately, section I. D.)
6 See also the verb poprosit' / prosit' in the next section of this
chapter on verbs taking accusative and genitive objects alternately.
If the tendency to alternate exists and if the accusative as the
object case is excluded because of the suffix -sja, the genitive
seems to be logical as the object case.
7 This verb is also used in impersonal dative constructions.
8 Daum and Schenk list only these three verbs and do not give
any prefixed verbs in po- which govern only the genitive case.
Several other verbs in po- which do govern the accusative and
genitive cases and which are not given as such in Daum and
Schenk include
poest' (P) 'eat a little'
porezat' (P) 'cut in the course of some time'
posolit' (P) 'salt a little'
posypat' (P) 'pour a little'
125
Cf. the verb nakoldovat' in the preceding section of this chapter (V).

iskat' 1. kogo-čto. Starat'sja najti, obnaruzit' (skrytoe, sprjatannoe ili poterjannoe). // Zanimat'sja rozyskami, razuznavat' o nalichii, mestopaxoždenii kogo-čego-n. 2. čego. Dobivat'sja, starat'sja polučit'.

Cf. lisit'sja/lišat'sja in the first section of this chapter.

See the chapter on verbs taking instrumental objects.

Cf. the preceding section on verbs taking genitive objects exclusively.
CHAPTER IV. VERBS WHICH TAKE INSTRUMENTAL OBJECTS

The basic objective meaning of the instrumental case is that of the instrument or means by which the action of the verb is revealed. When used with some verbs of physical action the meaning of instrument as such weakens and may seem to approach the accusative meaning of the action of the verb achieving the direct object (Galkina-Fedoruk 1958:37):

vil'nut/viljat' xvostom 'wag one's tail'
drygnut'/drygat' nogom 'jerk one's leg'

In fact, it might be argued that the accusative case of a direct object would be more appropriate for a large number of verb plus instrumental case constructions (Peškovskij 1956:302). Both the accusative and instrumental cases are possible as stylistic synonyms in some cases as will be discussed later in this chapter.

As with the dative case the basic meaning of the instrumental case is most marked when a verb governs simultaneously the instrumental and one other case. Verbs may govern the instrumental case in combination with these cases: accusative, accusative/
Examples include

\[zažec' / zažigat' kogo-čto čem 'set fire to someone or something with something'\]

\[začerpnut' / začerpyvat' čto-čego čem 'ladle out, drain something with something'\]

\[maxnut' / maxat' komu čem 'wave, motion to someone with something'\]

The most effective criterion for classifying verbs taking instrumental objects appears to be related meanings. Beside those verbs which take an object which is definitely the instrument by means of which the action of the verb is attained, verbs may have meanings showing some more abstract conceptualization of instrument. The object is the real or actual manifestation of the action or state named by the verb. For example, the verb rukovodit' 'lead, rule, govern' takes an instrumental object by means of which the action of ruling occurs, e.g. rukovodit' ljud'mi 'rule the people', rukovodit' rabočim dviženiem 'lead the workers' movement'. There must exist something to manipulate in order to rule. Other more specific meanings which show this more indistinct "instrumental" are "be attracted (by)", "be proud of", "end (in)", and "coincide (with)".

Some verbs taking instrumental objects share a causative meaning, e.g. zabolet' / zabolevat' 'fall ill with'. Another
distinctive meaning of verbs taking the instrumental case is a stative one; the verbs describe some state or condition. Finally, in some rare instances the instrumental case has a meaning of removal. (See also the genitive of removal in the previous chapter, Chapter III.)

The previous isolated classifications of instrumental verbs (verbs taking instrumental objects) offer scanty information for a more complete treatment. Galkina-Fedoruk (1957:376) speaks of these divisions:

1. the instrument of the action (zavedovat')
2. instrument approaching the accusative of concrete physical actions (dvigat' rukami)
3. verbs with abstract meanings and nonconcrete objects (zanimat'sja etimi delami)

The Academy Grammar (1960:124–25) is only slightly more specific when it speaks of the verbs taking instrumental objects in these meanings. It cites instrument of means of the action, instrument of content (rukovodit', dorozhit'), and the instrumental indicating some characteristic of another person or object which is found as an accusative object.
Verbs Which Take Instrumental Objects Exclusively

A classification of the 225 verbs in the corpus which govern the instrumental case exclusively might be

I. Verbs governing the instrumental case in its pure meaning of instrument (94)

II. Verbs which mean "rule, administer, use" (35)

III. Verbs which mean "emotional attraction, attitude, enthusiasm" (35)

IV. (Stative) Verbs of state, condition which mean "be, be noted for, pretend to be" (23)

V. Verbs which mean "pride oneself on, boast of" (9)

VI. Verbs which mean "some coincidence of action or objects" (9)

VII. Verbs which mean "removal" (8)

VIII. Verbs which mean "end in/with" (6)

IX. Verbs which mean "fall ill with", i.e. a causative meaning (6)

I. Verbs governing the instrumental case in its pure meaning of instrument

The largest number (94) of those verbs which govern the
instrumental case can be very basically classified as governing the
instrumental case in its general meaning of instrument by means of
which the action named by the verb is revealed. Specific meanings
of the verbs included here are numerous and varied. Some verbs may
be grouped as describing or exhibiting some characteristic, feature,
or common action of the subject; others show no such relationship.

Verbs which belong to that grouping of those describing or
exhibiting a characteristic, feature, or common action of the
subject have these more specific meanings:

1. "move (with) something in some manner" (32)

   vzmaxnut'/vzmaxivet' 'flap, wave'

   vil'nut'/viljat' 'wag, move from side to side'

   drygnut'/drygat' 'jerk (primarily: a leg or legs)'

   zonglirovat' (I) 1. 'juggle'; 2. 'with great dexterity, but
   arbitrarily use, make use of (facts, words)'

   za vertet' (P) 'begin to twirl, whirl'

   zamaxnut'sja/zamaxivet'sja (na kogo-čto) 'threaten
   (someone or something) with; raise threateningly at'

   kačnut'/kačat' 'shake something belonging to the subject',
   as in djadja kačal nogoj 'uncle shook his leg'
   les kačal verxuškami drev'ev 'the forest shook the
tops of the trees'
kivnut' / kivat' (komu) 'nod'

maxnut' / maxat' (komu) 'wave, flap, wag'

mignut' / migat' (komu) 'blink, wink'

morgnut' / morgat' (komu) 'wink'

motnut' / motat' (komu) 'shake'

povesti / povodit' 'move (eyebrows, shoulders)'

poderget'sja / podergivat'sja 'twitch, jerk involuntarily, convulsively'

pokolotit' / kolotit 'strike, beat'

pomavat' (I) 'wink, wave, nod' (very archaic)

pomaxat' (P) (komu) 'wave several times'

pomaxivat' (I) 'wave, wag, swing, a little or from time to time'

potrjaxivat' (I) 'shake a little, from time to time'

prosignalizirovat' / signalizirovat' (komu) 'give a signal'

prosignalit' / signalit' (komu) 'signal'

razmaxivat' (I) 'swing, brandish'

razmaxnut' (P) 'lift or swing for striking'

tknut' / tykat' 'poke, jab at, into, stick into (something long, sharp)'

topnut' / topat' 'stamp (foot)'

uperet'sja / upirat'sja (vo čto) 'rest or set something (a part
of the body) against something to rest

\[ xlopnut' /xlopat' 'crack, smack, slam' \]
\[ čirknut'/čirkat' 'strike a match' \]
\[ čoknut'sja/čokat'sja 'touch, clink (glasses)' \]
\[ šarknut'/šarkat' 'rustle, rub, grate, shuffle' \]
\[ švyrjat'sja (I) 'fling, throw, hurl' \]
\[ ščelknut'/ščelkat' 'clink, crack, smack' \]

The objects governed by certain of these verbs are lexically limited to body parts. Also included here instead of under the section on the dative case are verbs which govern both the dative and instrumental cases. The meanings of the verbs which govern both the dative and instrumental cases fit more appropriately into an instrumental case grouping than into a dative one. When a verb governs the dative case and another (here, the instrumental) case simultaneously, the object in the dative case clearly shows direction toward a goal and can be considered as an indirect object.

2. "be overgrown, crowded with" (10)

\[ zarasti/zarastat' 'be overgrown with' \]
\[ izobilovat' (I) 'teem with, abound in' \]
\[ kišet' (I) 'swarm, teem, be filled with' \]
\[ obvoloč'sja/obvolakivat'sja 'become, be covered, enveloped with' \]
obilovat’ (I) 'teem with, abound in'

oblipnut'/oblipat' 'become covered from all sides'

obrasti/obrastat' 'be, become overgrown, covered with'

perepolt'sja/perepolnjet'sja 'overfill, be overcrowded'

podernut'sja/podergivat'sja 'be lightly covered with a
thin layer of something'

porasti/porastat' 'become, be overgrown with'

3. "stink of, breathe, taste of" (10)

vonjat' (I) 'stink of'

dysyat' (I) 'breathe, respire'

nadysyat'sja (I) 'inhale or breathe in enough, a lot'

otdavat' (I) 'taste of, savor of, smell of'

otzyvat' (I) 'have the strange taste or smell of'

paxnut' (I) 'smell of'

paxnut' (P) 'puff'

popaxivat' (I) 'smell a little of'

propaxnut' (P) 'become permeated with the smell of'

pyxnut' / pyxat' 'give out, breathe, be full of, be the picture of'

4. "make some noise with" or "resound with" (9)

brjaknut'/brjakat' 'create noise, a tinkling with blows of hard objects, clatter'
brjacat' (I) 'clang, clank'
zvenet' (I) 'clink, jingle'
zvjaknut' / zvjakat' 'clink, clank, jingle'
ljazgnut' / ljazgat' 'clang, clank'
oglasit'sja / oglašat'sja 'resound with'
priscelknut' / priscelkivat' 'snap (fingers), crack (whip),
clink (tongue), pop'
skrežetat' (I) 'grit one's teeth'
stučat' (I) 'knock, make noise by blows'

5. "shine, sparkle with" (6)

blesnut' (P) / bleset' / blistat' 1. 'brightly shine, sparkle;
   be glossy, shine; 2. 'stand out, strike with some kind
   of high virtues or qualities, create an impression'

zasijat' (P) 'begin to shine'
iskrit'sja (I) 'shine, sparkle'
mercat' (I) 'twinkle, shimmer, glimmer, flicker'
ozarit'sja / ozarjat'sja 'light up brightly with'

6. "choke on (with)" (5)

zaxarkat' (P) 'begin to spit'
zaxlebnut'sja / zaxlebyvat'sja 'choke on, with; swallow the
   wrong way (usually water)'

podavit'sja/davit'sja 'choke on, over'
poperxnut'sja (P) 'choke on, over'
xarknut'/xarkat' 'expectorate, spit'

Of other verbs it can be said only that they govern the instrumental case in its meaning of instrument. They indicate no obvious manifestation of some characteristic or characteristic action of the subject. Their specific meanings include

1. "risk something, speculate with something, deal in or with"
   barysnicat' (I) 'engage in small scale resale, profiteering; speculate'
   braviovat' (I) 'show unnecessary bravery; thoughtlessly, flippantly, play with something dangerous'
   risknut'/riskovat' 'subject something to risk, take or run the risk of, risk'
   spekulirovat' (I) 'speculate in'
   torgovat' (I) 'deal, trade in'

2. "eat of, dine on, live on" (4)
   pozavtrakat'/zavtrakat' 'breakfast on'
   poobedat'/obedat' 'dine on'
   použinat'/užinat' 'sup on, have a supper of'
   prokormit'sja (P) 'subsist, exist, live on'

3. "fill a space with" (4)
All four verbs included here are prefixed in na-.

- **nadryzgat'** / **dryzgat'**  'soil, dirty, stain by splashing, spattering'
- **nadymit'** / **dymit'**  'smoke up with, by'
- **nakapat'** / **nakapyvat'**  'spill, spot with drops'
- **nakurit'** / **nakurivat'**  'fill up with smoke'

4. "have difficulty with" (2)

- **zatrudnit'sja** / **zatrudnjat'sja**  'experience difficulty with'
- **tjagotit'sja**  (I)  'feel something as a burden, consider burdensome, unpleasant for someself'

5. "do to oneself" (2)

- **obžeč'sja** / **obžigat'sja**  'burn oneself on or with'
- **polit'sja** / **polivat'sja**  'pour on, over oneself'

6. "commit a crime" (1)

- **provinit'sja**  (P)  'commit an offense with, be guilty of'

7. "say by or with" (1)

- **obmolvit'sja**  (P)  'say, mention'

8. "hallow by" (1)

- **osvijat'** / **osvjaščat'**  'hallow, sanctify, consecrate by or with'

9. "have kittens" (1)

- **okotit'sja** / **kotit'sja**  'have kittens'
10. "embroider in, with" (I)

èšit' (I only) 'embroider in, with'

This verb in another, more common meaning ('sew') takes accusative objects. There is another verb (which has not been included in this study) which also means 'embroider', the verb vyšit' / vysivat'. This verb takes the accusative case.

II. Verbs which mean "rule, administer, use"

Thirty-five verbs make up that group of verbs governing the instrumental case - again in its meaning of the instrument by means of which the action of the verb is revealed - which is perhaps most often identified as a grouping under verbal instrumental government. These are the verbs with the shared meaning "rule, administer" or the more generalized idea of "taking or having at one's disposal or taking or having for one's use". Also included here are verbs meaning "use" or "avail oneself of", meanings which can be presupposed under the concept of ruling or administering. The verbs include

administrirovat' (I) 'rule, govern (limiting oneself to certain administrative orders)'

vedat' (I) 'rule, govern, manage, head, be in charge of, look after'

verxovodit' (I) 'be the leader, order, rule'
versëť (I) 'order, direct, manage'

vladet' (I) 1. 'have, own, possess'; 2. 'hold in one's power, rule'; 3. 'be able to use, wield'

vooruzëť'sja/vooruzëtat'sja 'arm, provide, furnish oneself, acquire the necessary means, materials for some activity'

vospol'zovat'sja (P) 'avail oneself of, use, turn something to one's use, take advantage of'

dirizirovat' (I) 'conduct, lead a choir or orchestra'

dorožit' (I) 1. 'value highly'; 2. 'take care of'

zavedovat' (I) 'manage, rule, be at the head of'

zavlacet'/zavladëvet' 1. 'take possession of'; 2. 'seize, capture, attract to oneself'

zapastis'/zapasëtat'sja 'provide oneself with, lay in (a supply of)'

zaručëť'sja/zaručëtat'sja 'supply, provide oneself with'

zloupotrebit'/zloupotreblëtat' 'abuse, use wrongly'

manipulirovat' (I) 'manipulate'

obzavëstis'/obzavödit'sja 'acquire, provide oneself with'

obladat' (I) 'possess, own, hold, have'

ovladët'/ovlađëvet' 'seize, take possession or hold; master, become proficient in'

ozabòtit'sja/ozabočëvat'sja 'take care of in advance, take measures'
operirovat' (I and P) 'perform financial or commercial
operations; use something in calculation, reasoning, proof'

orudovat' (I) 'handle, run, lead, manage'

povelevat' (I) 'rule, govern'

poživit'sja (P) 'get something for oneself, procure, make a
profit'

pol'zovat'sja (I) 'make use of, enjoy, profit by'

pomykat' (I) 'order about, behave despotically with or toward'

popolnit'sja/popolnjat'sja 'increase, be replenished or
supplemented by addition'

pravit' (I) 'govern, rule, lead; steer, drive'

razžit'sja/razživat'sja 'get, procure for oneself, provide
oneself with, find for oneself'

rasporjadit'sja/rasporjažat'sja 'arrange, organize'

rukovodit' (I) 'lead, rule, govern, direct, guide'

rukovodit'sja (I) 'direct one's activity according to something
or depending on something, act according to something'

rukovodstvovat'sja (I) 'direct one's activity according to
something or depending on something, act according to
something'

skomandovat'/komandovat' 1. 'order about'; 2. 'be the
leader or commander of a military division'
III. Verbs which mean "emotional attraction, attitude, enthusiasm"

A similar number of verbs (35) governing the instrumental case share the similar meanings of "attraction by", "enthusiasm with or for", "devotion for", "admiration of", "interest in", "occupation with", "satisfaction with". All these verbs exhibit some emotional involvement, i.e. the taking of some pleasure, interest, or experiencing some emotion in respect to something or someone. The verbs in this group include

- balovat'sja (I) 'indulge oneself, treat oneself to'
- bredit' (I) 'strongly attracted, think and talk only about one thing'
- vooduševit'sja/vooduševljat'sja 'be animated, inspired, be filled with enthusiasm'
- vospylat'/pylat' 'give oneself up to some strong feeling or passion, be inflamed with'
- vostorgat'sja (I) 'be, become enraptured with, enthusiastic over or about, go into or be in raptures, ecstasies over'
- vosxitat'sja/vosxišcat'sja 'be, become delighted with, be carried away by, admire'
zadat'sja/zadavat'sja 'undertake; occupy, busy oneself with;
    set oneself a goal or problem'
zainteresovat'sja (P) 'become, grow, be interested in'
zaljubovat'sja (P) 'admire, lose oneself in admiration of;
    regard with admiration'
zanjat'sja/zanimat'sja 'be occupied with, be engaged in; devote
    oneself to; study'
zaslusat'sja/zaslusivat'sja 'listen with delight to, delight in
    listening to, be carried away while listening'
zacitat'sja/zacityvat'sja 'become engrossed, carried away,
    forget oneself while reading'
interesovat'sja 'be interested, show an interest in, feel an
    attraction to'
naest'sja/naedat'sja 'eat one's fill of'
    2
    2
naljubovat'sja (P) 'admire sufficiently, to complete satisfaction
    (more often with negation)'
nasladit'sja/naslaždat'sja 'take pleasure, delight in'
obol'stit'sja/obol'šcat'sja 'having been fascinated, attracted,
    be seduced, yield to something'
ograničit'sja/ograničivat'sja 'be satisfied, content with
    something small; limit oneself, confine oneself to'
oduševit'sja/oduševljat'sja 'feel a flood of courage, new
strength; arrive in a creative emotion; be enthusiastic'

*okrylit'sja/*okryljat'sja 'be animated, inspired, filled with enthusiasm'

*pointeresovat'sja* (P) 'show, exhibit an interest, curiosity, attentiveness'

*polakomit'sja/*lakomit'sja 'take pleasure in, revel, enjoy'

*poljubovat'sja/*ljubovat'sja 1. 'admire, feast one's eyes on'; 2. 'experience satisfaction, delight by looking at someone or something'

*potešit'sja/*tešit'sja 'amuse, enjoy oneself with'

*prel'stit'sja/*prel'šcat'sja 'become, be attracted or tempted'

*presytit'sja/*presyšcat'sja 'be satiated with, have had a surfeit of'

*proniknut'sja/*pronikat'sja 'begin to deeply, intensely experience something, be filled with something'

*razrazit'sja/*razražat'sja 'appear, be revealed with force; burst out, into; express in some strong external phenomenon one's relationship toward'

*raspalit'sja/*raspaljat'sja 'enter into strong agitation, begin to experience strong feeling or passion'

*soblaznit'sja/*soblaznjat'sja 'be attracted, tempted; consider something tempting'
uvlec'sja/uvlekat'sja 'be carried away, take an interest in, 
be keen on; be enamored of, fall in love with'
ugostit'sja/ugoščat'sja 'eat, drink to one's satisfaction, treat 
one'self to, regale oneself on'
udovol'stvovat'sja/dovol'stvovat'sja 'be satisfied, content with; 
content oneself with'
upit'sja/upivat'sja 'drink to satiety, get dead drunk; take 
pleasure, delight in; experience ecstasy, delight from 
something'
usladit'sja/uslaždat'sja 'take pleasure, delight in'

IV. (Stative) Verbs of state, condition

Twenty-three verbs which refer to states, conditions, or at 
least appearances also take objects in the instrumental case. 
The range of meanings extends from "be noted for", "consider or 
think", and "be" to "pretend to be or disguise oneself as". Two of 
these verbs also govern the dative case. They are included here as 
their meanings are related to the other verbs grouped here, the 
dative case merely designating an indirect object. The verbs 
included here are

vygljadet' (I) 'look, have some appearance, create some 
impression by one's looks'
dovodit'sja (I only) (komu) 'be, be related (as)'
zagrimirovat'sja/grimirovat'sja 'make oneself up as (with make-up), give oneself a false look'  
mnit' (I) (sebja) 'imagine (oneself) (to be) someone or something'  
nazvat'sja/nazyvat'sja 'call oneself, pan oneself off for'  
narjadit'sja/narjazat'sja 'dress up as, disguise oneself in some costume'  
obernut'sja/obertyvat'sja 'turn into'  
oznamenovat'sja/oznamenovyvat'sja 'become notable, be marked by'  
okazat'sja/okazyvat'sja 'be revealed, turn out, prove to be'  
otlichit'sja/otlichat'sja 'be notable for or by'  
pokazat'sja (P)/pokazyvat'sja/kazat'sja (komu) 'seem, appear'  
posal'it'/slu'it' 'work as, be, serve as'  
opcest'/po'citat' 'consider, think'  
prikinit'sja/prikidyvat'sja 'pretend, feign, take on the appearance'  
pritvorit'sja/pritvorjat'sja 'pretend (to be); feign, sham, dissemble, simulate'  
proslavit'sja/proslavljjat'sja 'become famous, notable for'  
prosl'yt' (P) 'pass for, be reputed, become famous, notable for'  
rodit'sja/rozdat'sja 'be born, be a born'  
skazat'sja/skazyvat'sja 'report oneself as'
slavit'sja (I) 'be famous for, be famed for, have a reputation for'
slyt' (I) 'have a reputation for, be famous for'
stat'/stanovit'sja 'become, get, grow'
javit'sja/javljet'sja 'be, become'

V. Verbs which mean "pride oneself on, boast of"

Verbs with the meaning of "take pride in, be proud of, boast of" also govern the instrumental case. The nine verbs under this grouping include

baxvalit'sja (I) 'conceitedly exaggerate one's abilities; brag of or about'

vozgordit'sja (P) 'become proud of; begin to be proud of; begin to plume oneself on'
gordit'sja (I) 1. 'be proud of, take pride in'; 2. 'plume oneself on'

kičit'sja (I) 'be proud of, boast, brag of or about'
koketničat' (I) 'flaunt, parade something to draw interest to oneself, show off'
poxvalit'sja/xvalit'sja 'boast of, swagger about'
poxvastat'/xvastat' 'boast of, swagger about'
poxvastat'sja/xvastat'sja 'brag of or about, boast of'
ščegol'nut'/ščegoljat' 'flaunt, parade, show off, make a
VI. Verbs which mean "some coincidence of action or objects"

Nine verbs, all of which have the suffix -sja and which have the meaning of some type of reciprocity, govern the instrumental case. The three more specific definitions shared by these verbs include "exchange", "compare", and "occur simultaneously".

Four of the verbs also share the construction kem-čem s kem-čem.

The verbs included here are

1. obmenjat'sja /menjat'sja (s kem-čem) 'exchange (like objects)'
2. obmenjat'sja /obmenivat'sja (s kem-čem) 'exchange, swap'
3. perebrosit'sja/perebrasyvat'sja 1. 'throw to one another'; 2. 'bandy, exchange'
4. perekinut'sja/perekidyvat'sja 1. 'throw to one another'; 2. 'bandy, exchange'
5. pomenjat'sja (P) (s kem-čem) 'exchange'
6. pomerit'sja/merit'sja (s kem-čem) 'compare something with something'
7. razmenjat'sja/razmenivat'sja 'exchange'
8. smenit'sja/smenjat'sja 'leave, give one's place to another; pass, giving place to something else'
9. soprovozdat'sja (I) 1. 'occur simultaneously with something, combine with some accompanying occurrences'; 2. 'have
one's own direct extensions, consequences'

VII. Verbs which mean "removal"

Some verbs with the meanings of removal, i.e. nuances of moving off or away from, govern not the genitive, but the instrumental case. These eight verbs from the corpus are

vozmuščat'sja/vozmutit'sja 'become indignant at, with; be outraged, exasperated by, with'

izojti/isxodit' 'weaken from the loss of something'

Only two objects were found with izojti/isxodit'. They are

izojti/isxodit' slezami 'melt into tears, cry one's heart out'

krov'ju 'bleed to death' (Ts I 1261)

istec'/istekat' (no infinitive meaning found)

Again only two objects were found:

istec'/istekat' krov'ju 'bleed profusely'

slezami 'cry profusely' (Ag 120)

mankirovat' (I and P) 'neglect, behave negligently'

otgovorit'sja/otgovarivat'sja 'avoid, refuse something, not do something pleading some reason or justifying oneself with something'

pobrežgat'/brežgat' 'feel loathing toward; distain, shrink from'

postupit'sja/postupat'sja 'waive, forgo voluntarily, refuse something for the sake of others'
prenebreč'/prenebregat' 'neglect, disregard, scorn, ignore'

VIII. Verbs which mean "end in/with"

Six verbs governing the instrumental case share the meaning of "end in or with". All have the suffix -sja.

zaveršit'sja/zaveršat'sja 'end in, with'
zakončit'sja/zakančivat'sja 'end in, with'
isčerpyvat'sja (I) 'have one's end, limit in someone or something'

končit'sja/končat'sja 'end in, with; have something as one's end'

okončit'sja/okančivat'sja 'end in, terminate in'

uvenčat'sja/uvenčivat'sja 'end in, with'

IX. Verbs which mean "fall ill with"

The last grouping of verbs governing the instrumental case to be considered here is that of verbs with the meaning of "fall ill with or suffer from". This is a causative meaning of the instrumental case. Six verbs belong here:

zabolet'/zabolevat' 'fall ill with, be taken ill with'

zarazit'sja/zaražat'sja 'catch an infection, be infected by'
mučit'sja (I) 'suffer, experience torments; suffer from some illness'

perebolet' (P) 'have had, outgrown many diseases'
stradat' (I) 'suffer from, ail from, have some chronic disease or weakness'

tomit'sja (I) 'suffer, experience torments, pine away, languish'

Verbs Which Take Instrumental and Accusative Objects Alternately

Fourteen verbs may govern the instrumental and accusative cases alternately. The accusative case designates that the action of the verb achieves the object; the instrumental case of the object designates the instrument by means of which the action of the verb is revealed. Also, as suggested by Galkina-Fedoruk (1958:37), when used with some verbs of a physical action the meaning of the instrument as such weakens and may seem to approach the meaning of the direct object, i.e. an accusative object. In fact, in some of these cases both the accusative and instrumental cases are possible as stylistic synonyms:

svyrjat' kamni and kamnjami 'throw stones'

A study of possible objects and the case in which they appear with these verbs, however, shows that the choice of case is not always arbitrary. The verbs which may govern these two cases alternately can be divided into two groups which correspond to groups of verbs governing the instrumental case exclusively. (The
same classifications are used here which were used to classify verbs taking an instrumental object exclusively which were discussed in the first part of this chapter. The Roman numeral which appears in parentheses refers to the classifications found there. Subgroups are not cross-referenced, but do correspond usually to those found in that first section.)

I. (I. A.) Verbs which mean "move (with) something in some manner", which is the instrumental case in its very basic meaning of instrument (13)

II. (III.) One verb which means "involvement with", "occupation with" (1)

I. Verbs which mean "move (with) something in some manner"

With those of the 13 verbs with the meaning of "move" which can have something belonging to the subject as the object, i.e. a body part, that body part is commonly, but not always, found in the instrumental case. The subject of the sentence is animate.

vzmetnut'/vzmetyvat' kryl'jami, rukami 'flap one's wings, fling one's arms'  
vraščat' (I) rukoj, glazami 'turn one's hand, one's eyes'  
zaboltat' (P) nogami 'begin to dangle one's legs'
zadvigat' (P) hogami 'begin to move one's legs'
zaševelit' (P) : žucok otogrelja i zaševelil usikami. "The beetle warmed itself and began to move its antennae.'

(definition: 'begin to move')
pokačivat’ (I) golovoj, rukoj, nogoj, xvostom 'nod, wag one's head, arm, leg, tail'
poševelit’ (P) pal'cami 'move one's fingers for some time'
poševel'nut’ (P) pal’cem 'move one's finger a little'
skosit’/skasivat’ (I)/pokosit’/kosit’ (I) glazami/glaza, rot, guby, lico 'squint, pinch, slant one's eyes, mouth, lips, face'
ševal'nut’/ševalit’ plecami, blednymi gubami, xvostom, rukoj, nogoj, golovoj 'move one's shoulders, pale lips, tail, arm, leg, head'

If the object should be something not a part of the subject, either case is used. When an adverbial instrumental construction is also present to clarify "by means of what" the action is done, the verbal object is, of course, found exclusively in the accusative case.

*vraščat’ koleso, turbinu, mel'ničnyj zornov 'turn the wheel, the turbine, the mill stone', but

mašinoj 'turn the car'
nasorit’/sorit’ okurkami, bumažkami, den'gami 'litter cigarette
butts, papers; spend a lot of money rashly', but

nasoriti'/soriti' okurki, narodnuju kaznu 'litter cigarette butts,
spend the treasury chest rashly'

*pokačivat' (I) vetki, derev'ja, lodku, kačeli, kolybel' vetrom,
volnami, rukoj 'shake the branches, trees, boat, swing,
cradle by the wind, by the waves, with one's hand'

poševelivat' (I) ložkoj v kastrjule, vozžami, uglį v pečke
'move, stir the spoon in the pan, move the reins, move,
stir the coal in the stove from time to time'

švyrnut'/švyrjat' kamnjami; den'gami 'throw stones strongly;
spend money for nothing', but

švyrnut'/švyrjat' drova v podval 'throw wood into the cellar'

*ševel'nut'/ševelit' suč'ja berez, seno grabljami, volosy
rukoj, list'ja vetrom 'move the twigs of the birches, the hay
with a rake, the leaves by the wind', but

*ševel'nut'/ševelit' veslami, spicami, travoju 'move the oars,
knitting needles, grass'

It is of interest that of the 13 verbs in this grouping six of them have
the root ševel.

II. One verb which means "involvement with", "occupation with"

One verb which means "involvement with", "occupation with"
is also found governing both accusative and instrumental objects.
Of the four examples found with this verb, promyšljat' (I only)'
'occupy oneself with some trade, business, handicraft', three were
names of some occupation as such and were in the instrumental case:

promyšljat' oxotoj, izvozom, rybolovstvom 'occupy oneself
with hunting, the carrier's trade, fishing'

The other object found was used in the accusative case. It refers
to things which could be said to be component parts of, and not
the occupation itself. The "things" in this case also happen to be
animate:

promyšljat' zverja 'occupy oneself with animals'

Verbs Which Take Accusative and Instrumental Objects
Simultaneously

In the corpus are found 62 verbs which govern simultaneously
the accusative and instrumental cases. Of these verbs the
majority are simply verbs which take accusative objects which may
also have a second complement indicating the instrument by means
of which the action of the verb is revealed. For that reason one
might categorize such verbs as being modified by adverbial
instrumental constructions answering the question "how". On the
other hand these verbs can be grouped according to those
distinctions related to similarities in meanings specified for verbs governing the instrumental case exclusively. (The same classifications are used here which were used to classify verbs taking an instrumental object exclusively which were discussed in the first part of this chapter. The Roman numeral which appears in parentheses refers to the classifications found there. Subgroups are not cross-referenced but do usually correspond to those found in that first section.)

The classification of these verbs might be

I. (I.) Verbs governing the instrumental case in its pure meaning of instrument (47)

II. (IV.) Verbs which mean "be called, considered to be" (4)

III. (VI.) Verbs which mean "some coincidence of action or objects" (6)

IV. (VII.) One verb which means "removal" (1)

V. (VIII.) Verbs which mean "end in, with" (2)

VI. (IX.) Verbs which mean "infest, infect someone with", i.e. a causative meaning (2)

I. Verbs governing the instrumental case in its pure meaning of instrument

Forty-seven verbs which govern simultaneously the accusative
and instrumental cases can be very basically classified as governing objects in the instrumental case to name the instrument by means of which the action named by the verb is revealed. As will be seen the meanings of these verbs are quite varied. The verbs can be divided into these more specific categories by their meanings:

1. "move, most often hit or strike someone, something with something in some manner" (7)
   
   zabrosat'/zabrasyvat' 'besmatter, pelt, shower, cover by so doing'

   zakidat'/zakidyvat' same as zabrosat'

   zaxlestenut'/zaxlestyvat' 'lash around with'; also, 'overflow'

   xlestenut'/xlestat' 'lash, switch, whip'

   xlopnut'/xlopat' 'beat, hit, flap'

   řaraxnut'/řaraxat' 'hit strongly'

   šlepnut'/šlepat' 'hit or knock with something soft'

2. "be overgrown with, crowded with, covered with" (14)

   Four of these verbs share the prefix na-. Two share the root poln. Four verbs with prefix ob- with the meaning "around, circum-" belong here. The instrumental object completes the meaning of the surrounding suggested by the verb. The verbs are

   zavešat'/zavesivat' 'hang (and cover) with'
nabit' / nabivat' 'stuff or fill'
navodnit' / navodnjat' 'fill with a great quantity, flood'
nagruzit' / nagruzat' 'fill by placing in'
nacinjat' / nacinjat' 'stuff, fill'

2

obvejat' / obvevat': On zimoj tebja sogreet, letom xolodom obveet. 'In the winter he will warm you, in the summer will fan (you) with cold.'

obvit' / obvivat' 'wind around'
obdat' / obdavat' 'splash all over'
obnesti / obnosit' 'enclose; serve all around'

okovat' / okovyvat' 'bind, fetter, cover from all sides'
perepolnit' / perepolnjat' 'overfill'
popolnit' / popolnjat' 'replenish, fill up'
prikryt' / prikryvat' 'cover'

ustelit' / ustilat' (I) / ustlat' 'cover the top, pave with'

3. "stink of, breathe, taste of" (1)
napitat' / napityvat' 'impregnate with'

4. "make difficult for someone, burden someone with" (4)
obremenit' / obremenjat' 'burden with'
ozadačit' / ozadačivat' 'make it difficult for with'

otjagotit' / otjagošcat' 'burden with'
popreknut' / poprekat' 'reproach with'
5. "attract by, enthuse with or by, interest in or with" (3)

zainteresovat' / zainteresovat' / zainteresovывать' 'awaken someone's
interest, curiosity with'

soblaznit' / soblaznit' / soblaznit' / soblaznit' 'entice, tempt with'

usladit' / uslazdat' / uslazdat' / uslazdat' 'delight, charm with'

6. "make a present to someone of something" (9)

Nine verbs have a common meaning of "give or offer to someone
or something someone or something; or present someone or
something with someone or something". In each case the former
object appears in the accusative case, the latter object appears in
the instrumental case. (Compare verbs taking accusative and
dative objects as direct and indirect objects.) The English
equivalents often manifest the accusative object as an indirect
object, the instrumental object as a direct object:

voznagradit' / voznagrazdat' / voznagrazdat' / voznagrazdat' 'reward with'

vzagradit' / vzagrazdat' / vzagrazdat' / vzagrazdat' 'give as a reward'

nadelit' / nadeljat' / nadeljat' / nadeljat' 'allow, give, provide someone with'

odarit' (P) / odarivat' / odarjat' / odarjat' 'give (as presents) to some or
many'

odedit' / odeljat' / odeljat' / odeljat' 'give'

poverstat' / verstat' / verstat' / verstat' 'give, provide someone with'

snabdit' / snabzat' / snabzat' / snabzat' 'supply, furnish, provide with'
ugostit'/ugoscat' 'with cordiality give, offer'
udostojit' /udostaivat' 'favor, honor, deign with'

7. Miscellaneous meanings (9)
zalepit'/zalepljat' 'close, glue up'
navarit' /navarivat' 'weld on'

oznamenovat'/oznamenovyvat' 'celebrate, mark with'
podperet'/podpirat' 'prop up with'

prisypat'/prisypat' 'sprinkle with'

prosloit'/proslaivat' 'interlay, layer, sandwich something with something'
sdobrit'/sdabrivat' 'flavor, spice with'

ukrasit'/ukrashat' 'beautify, decorate with'

usadit'/usazivat' 'plant with'

II. Verbs which mean "be called, considered to be"

Four of these verbs which simultaneously govern the accusative and instrumental cases refer to states, conditions, or at least appearances which are attributed to someone. The person under consideration is the direct object, i.e. the accusative object, while the state or condition or appearance is the second, instrumental complement.

nazvat'/pozvat'/zvat' (I) 'name or call someone something'
nareć' (P) 'name something some name, designate'
obozyvat' / obzyvat' 'call someone a dirty name'

sčest' / sčitat' 'consider someone or something someone or something else'

III. Verbs which mean "some coincidence of action or objects"

Six verbs have a common meaning of some type of reciprocity or coincidence of action or objects. Either two objects are combined or joined or they accompany one another.

vozmestit' / vozmeščat' (komu) 'replace, reimburse something with something'

zaest' / zaedat' 'cover the taste of something with something else or take something after something else'

zapit' / zapivat' 'wash down with'

peremežat' (I) '(inter)change with'

skrepit' / skrepljat' 'unite, fasten together or join with'

soprovodit' / soprovoždat' 'accompany with'

IV. One verb which means "removal"

obdelit' / obdeljat' 'deprive someone of something'

V. Verbs which mean "end in, with" (2)

zaversit' / zaversat' 'finish, conclude, crown with'

koncit' / končat' 'end, finish with'

(Compare verbs taking only instrumental objects which are suffixed with -sja.)
VI. Verbs which mean "cause someone to suffer with or from" (2)

These verbs may refer not only to infecting someone with a physical illness but also to subjecting someone to mental torment.

zarazit' / zarazat' 'infect, contaminate with'

kaznit' (I) 'punish, torment with'

Verbs Which Take Instrumental and Genitive Objects

Alternately

In the corpus are five verbs which govern the instrumental and genitive cases alternately. These verbs are

zakusit' / zakusyvat' 'eat a little or hurriedly'

ispolnit'sja / ispolnjat'sja 'fill with, become filled with'

napit'sja / napivat'sja 'drink to one's heart's content, satisfy or quench one's thirst'

pognusat'sja / gnusat'sja 'shun, distain'

preispolnit'sja / preispolnjat'sja 'be seized, become engrossed or filled with or by some strong emotion'

Two of the verbs have definite meanings and/or word-formative features which show their relationship(s) to groups of verbs governing the genitive case and to groups of verbs governing the instrumental case. As verbs with meanings of removal may govern
both the genitive and instrumental (more rare) cases, it is reasonable that погнусат'ся/гнусат'ся may govern either case. Смирнитскій (1966) says that this verb actually has two related but separate meanings, each one of which presupposes only one case to be governed by the verbs. Погнусат'ся/гнусат'ся 'shun' governs the genitive case:

погнусат'ся/гнусат'ся подлого целовека 'shun a mean or base person'

The verb in its meaning 'distain' governs the instrumental case:

погнусат'ся/гнусат'ся подачками 'distain tips'

Other sources, however, make no such distinction between the two possible cases and the same object may be found in both cases:

погнусат'ся/гнусат'ся грязной работы or грязной работы
'avoid, shun, distain dirty work'

старым друзьями
'avoid, shun, distain old friends'

The second verb which is related to a group of verbs which govern the genitive case as well as to a group of verbs which govern the instrumental case is напит'ся/напиват'ся. With its prefix на-, suffix -ся, and meaning of 'drink to one's heart's content' this verb is related to that category of verbs governing the genitive case with the same prefix, suffix, and meaning of "do to satiety". This
verb is also related to that group of verbs governing the instrumental case with the meanings of "be attracted by, involved with, be caught up by". In fact, one other verb with the prefix na- and the suffix -sja exhibits this same sort of two case government. This verb, naest'sja/naedat'sja, governs two cases: the genitive case in its meaning "eat something in a large quantity", while it governs the instrumental case in its meaning "eat one's fill of". The verb napit'sja/napivat'sja may govern the same object in both possible cases:

napit'sja/napivat'sja vody or vodoj 'drink to one's heart's content, quench one's thirst with water'

The verb zakusit'/zakusyvat' is not quite so obviously related to verbs governing the instrumental case as it is to verbs governing the genitive case. Like napit'sja/napivat'sja it is related to that group of verbs governing the quantitative genitive, but in this case it has the meaning of "do something to a little". It could also perhaps be grouped with those verbs governing the instrumental case of instrument, e.g. pozavtrakat'/zavtrakat', poobedat'/obedat', etc., with the meaning "eat of, dine on". Again, the verb may govern the same object in both cases:

zakusit'/zakusyvat' tybkoj or rybki 'eat a little fish'

The instrumental case seems to be more common here, judging by
examples found.

Ispolnit'sja/ispolnjat'sja and preispolnit'sja/preispolnjat'sja do not appear to have any clear relationship to any verbs governing the genitive case. The verbs governing the instrumental case to which they are related are those with the meaning of "be covered with or by", "be filled of/with". These verbs are, of course, related to the adjective polnyj which also may govern the genitive or instrumental case. The same object may be governed by the verbs in both cases:

preispolnit'sja/preispolnjat'sja gneva or gnevom 'be seized by or filled with anger'

Verbs Which Take the Accusative Case and (the Instrumental and Genitive Cases Alternately) Simultaneously

Only three verbs govern the accusative and genitive case or instrumental case. That is, with these verbs an accusative object occurs simultaneously with either a genitive or an instrumental object. Two share the root poln which also appears in verbs taking

1. instrumental objects exclusively

2. genitive and instrumental objects alternately

3. accusative and instrumental objects simultaneously
These verbs are ispolnit' / ispolnjat' 'animate or fill with' and preispolnit' / preispolnjat' 'fill with wholly or excite, arouse, stir some strong feeling which seizes the whole person'. The reflexive forms of the verbs govern exclusively the instrumental and genitive cases alternately.

The third verb which belongs here is n"alit' / n"alivat' . Its meaning, too, is "fill, by pouring" or "pour out". Some finite definite object is filled by another finite, definite substance.

The difference between usage of the genitive and instrumental cases appears to be one in meaning, i.e. between "with" (the instrumental case) and "of" (the genitive case). The examples given here with both ispolnit' / ispolnjat' and preispolnit' / preispolnjat' were the only ones available. It appears that the instrumental case is favored, for where the example is given in the genitive case, that example appeared in parentheses. The instrumental meaning of "with" appears to be the more logical form; this could be an important criterion for choosing either the instrumental or genitive case.

ispolnit' / ispolnjat' serdce nadeždoj / nadeždy 'fill one's heart with/of hope'

doj / dy 'fill someone with joy'

nalit' / n"alivat' stakan čaju 'pour out a glass of tea, glass with tea'
nalit’/nalivat’ vedro vody 'pour out a pail of water'

vodoju bočku 'fill a barrel with water'

rjumku vina/vinom 'pour out a glass of wine, fill a glass with wine'

tarelku supa/supom 'pour out a plate of soup, fill a plate with soup'

preispolnit’/preispolnjat’ razdraženiem 'fill with irritation'

gnevom/gneva 'fill with anger'

Remarks: Roots

Various roots with related meanings are frequent in verbs taking instrumental objects. Major groupings of these verbs share the general meaning of "move or do some action with some part of the body or some instrument". Roots found in the verbs include those with meanings showing such possible actions: max 'wave'; kiv 'nod'; m/g 'wink'; derg 'pull'; trjas 'shake'; xlop 'slam, bang'; met 'sweep, throw'; bolt 'shake, stir'; dvig 'move'; kač 'roll, rock, swing'; morg 'wink, blink'; mot 'wind, twist'; ševel 'move'; and švyr 'hurl, throw'. The roots dyx 'breathe' and pax 'smell' are found in verbs with the meaning "stink, breathe of".

A number of roots whose meanings range from "rule" to "tool" to
"control" to "use" are common in those verbs grouped under a general definition of "rule or use". They are ved/vod 'lead, -duce'; volod/vlad 'possess, control'; pol'z 'use'; ruk 'hand'; treb 'demand, require'; orud 'tool, instrument'; prav 'right'; and rjad 'set in line, order'. Verbs meaning "take pride in" have the roots gord 'proud', xval 'praise', and xvast 'brag, boast'. Bol 'sickness, pain'; strad 'suffer'; muk 'torture'; and tom 'weariness' are roots of verbs meaning "be or fall ill with". The root kon 'end' is the most common in verbs taking objects in the instrumental case which have the meaning "end in or with".

The root pol/n 'full' deserves special attention here. Eight verbs which take 1) instrumental objects exclusively, 2) instrumental and accusative objects simultaneously, 3) instrumental and genitive objects alternately, and 4) accusative objects simultaneously with an instrumental or genitive object share this root. The verbs are

1. perepolnit'sja/perepolnjat'sja 'overfill, be overcrowded'
   popolnit'sja/popolnjat'sja 'increase, be replenished or supplemented by addition'

2. perepolnit' / perepolnjat' 'overfill'
   popolnit'/popolnjat' 'replenish, fill up'
3. ispolnit'sja/ispolnjat'sja 'fill with, become filled with'
   preispolnit'sja/preispolnjat'sja 'be seized, become
genrossed or filled with or by some strong emotion'

4. ispolnit'/ispolnjat' 'animate or fill with'
   preispolnit'/preispolnjat' 'wholly fill with or excite,
arouse, stir some strong feeling which seizes the
whole person'

Each of the eight verbs can take instrumental objects; those four verbs not suffixed in -sja can also take accusative objects. The verbs in 3 and 4 take genitive objects (alternately with instrumental objects). The instrumental case seems to appear more often in the examples found where a choice or option exists. This root pol/n is obviously related to both the instrumental and genitive cases to some degree.
Notes

1  See Chapter II for more discussion of dative objects.

2  This root and verbs formed from it will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

3  This root and verbs formed from it will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

4  The common verb posčitat'sja/sčitat'sja 'be considered, reputed' is not included here, because, again, it was not indicated as taking instrumental objects in the source of the corpus, Daum and Schenk.

5  See Chapter II for more discussion of dative objects.

6  This root and verbs formed from it will be discussed the last section of this chapter.

7  See related verbs udostot' / udostaivat' and udostot'sja/udostaivat'sja in Chapter III.

8  This root and verbs formed from it will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

9  This root and verbs formed from it will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

10 See Chapter III, Verbs taking accusative and genitive objects alternately for a related verb, nálit'/nálivat'.

11 The adjective polnyj 'filled with, full of' can enter into constructions with an object not only in the genitive but also in the instrumental case (Vinogradov 1960 II: 304). Genitive objects appear considerably more often. Only if the adjective has the
meaning of "full" in the sense of "filled with something to the top, to the edges, rims" is the instrumental case preferred. If a pronoun or animate noun is the object, then the object is always in the instrumental case.
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS

Verb Meanings

Drawing upon conclusions reached during the classifications of verbs taking objects in oblique cases in this study, discussion here will consider the three non accusative verbal object cases (dative, genitive, and instrumental) in terms of verb meanings, prefixes, and roots. Related meanings seemed to be the best criterion by which to group verbs within the general, broad category of the case(s) governed. This criterion was to no small extent augmented by prefixes, especially in regard to the genitive case. The basic meanings for the dative verbs (eight), genitive (four), and instrumental verbs (nine) were

Dative

1. address or communication
2. opposition or obstacle
3. submission, permission
4. help, sympathy
5. fit, suit
6. accompaniment, repetition
7. learn
8. transmission

Genitive
1. removal
2. goal
3. quantity
4. worth, value

Instrumental
1. instrument
2. government
3. emotional involvement
4. state, condition (stative verbs)
5. pride
6. coincidence
7. removal
8. ending in, with
9. fall ill with (causative)

It should be noted that the only coincidence in meaning with verbs governing these three basic cases is between the genitive and instrumental objects. These general categories are of course
subdivided into much more specific subgroups within the
discussion.

Appendixes A and B give these meanings in charts arranged
alphabetically and by case.

Prefixes

Verbs taking genitive objects especially are distinctive
because of their prefixes (and sometimes related suffix -sja).
Various prefixes show some relationship to the various meanings
of the verbs. Prefixes associated with verbs taking genitive objects
which show attainment of the object, i.e. goal, include

- *do-* 'reach a certain point'
- *do*-sja 'do successfully, achievement after intensive or
  lengthy action'
- *ob*-sja 'completion of the action causing unpleasantness'

Those showing removal are

- *iz/is-* 'out, ex-'
- *u-* 'away'
- *ot-* 'off, away from, dis-, de-
- *s-* 'away, off (from)'

The quantitative genitive is often expressed by verbs prefixed in
Verbs prefixed in na- (with the suffix -sja) and po- are considered to require genitive objects, in fact.

Prefixes that appear with any regularity with verbs taking dative objects show some motion toward someone or something. They include

- **v-** 'in, into'
- **pri-** 'to, up to, ad-
- **pod-** 'up to, under'
- **na-** 'on, to'

One other prefix associated with the dative case with verbs is **protiv-** 'against' — again with motion toward.
Few prefixes seem to show strong connections with verbs taking instrumental objects. The prefix za- along with the suffix -sja 'do very intensely, overdo' is found with verbs showing strong emotional involvement, one of the groupings of verbs taking instrumental objects. There are few verbs with a meaning of removal in this general category, but the ones which were studied do, like the verbs taking genitive objects, take the prefixes

iz/is- 'out, ex-

ot- 'off, away from, dis-, de-

Only three prefixes are shared by two cases: iz-/is- and ot- by genitive and instrumental and pri- by dative and genitive. Iz-/is- and ot- are prefixes showing removal with both genitive and instrumental cases. Pri- can mean 'add some more' with verbs taking genitive objects and simply 'approach' with verbs taking dative objects.

Appendixes C and D give these prefixes in charts arranged alphabetically and by case.

Roots

A number of roots which occur in verbs taking dative objects understandably have meanings of some type of address or speaking.
The meaning of address or communication is frequent with dative objects (especially those which are governed by verbs which may take a second, simultaneous object). It is logical then that verbs formed from roots with meanings of address should take dative objects. Roots found in verbs taking dative objects include

- **vel** 'command'
- **kaz** 'show, indicate'
- **vet** 'say, speak'
- **stav** 'place'
- **sjag** 'swear'
- **protiv** 'against'

(*Protiv-* can also appear as a verbal prefix. See the preceding section of this chapter.)

Four other roots which have a close association with the dative case are

- **daj** 'give'
- **div** 'marvel, wonder'
- **ver** 'faith, trust, believe'
- **uk** 'accustom, learn, teach'

**Daj** is obviously an indication of "address or motion to" as are **div** and **ver**. There are more specific categories under "address or communication" which are formed by both of the latter two roots.
Verbs with the root uk seem to necessarily take a dative object.

Few roots are commonly found among verbs taking genitive objects. Several are found in verbs of volition which belong to the larger category of "goal". These include

isk 'seek'
pros 'ask'
xot 'want'

(Isk and pros are included as verbs of volition since there must be a conscious desire or wanting on the part of the subject to achieve that for which one looks or asks.) The root ḳ/d 'wait' also is associated with the meaning of goal in verbs taking genitive objects. Verbs with this root form a subgroup. One root found in verbs with a meaning of "worth, value" is stoj 'cost'.

Various roots with related meanings are frequent in verbs taking instrumental objects. Major groupings of these verbs share the general meaning of "move or do some action with some part of the body or some instrument". Roots found in the verbs include those with meanings showing such possible actions as

max 'wave'
kiv 'nod'
mg 'wink'
derg 'pull'
trjas 'shake'

xlop 'slam, bang'

met 'sweep, throw'

bolt 'shake, stir'

dvig 'move'

kač 'roll, rock, swing'

morg 'wink, blink'

mot 'wind, twist'

ševel 'move'

švyr 'hurl, throw'

The roots dyx 'breathe' and pax 'smell' are found in verbs with the meaning "stink, breathe of".

A number of roots whose meanings range from "rule" to "tool" to "control" to "use" are common to those verbs grouped under a general definition of "rule or use". They are

ved/vod 'lead, -duce'

volod/vlad 'possess, control'

pol'z 'use'

ruk 'hand'

treb 'demand, require'

orud 'tool, instrument'

prav 'right'
Verbs meaning "take pride in" have the roots gord 'proud', xval 'praise', and xvast 'brag, boast'. Bol 'sickness, pain'; strad 'suffer'; muk 'torture'; and tom 'weariness' are roots of verbs meaning "be or fall ill with". The root kon 'end' is the most common in verbs taking objects in the instrumental case which have the meaning "end in or with".

Finally, the root pol/n has a special place. It is found with verbs taking genitive objects as well as with verbs taking instrumental objects. The instrumental case appears (from examples found) to predominate. (See note 12, Chapter IV.)

Appendixes E and F give these roots in charts arranged alphabetically and by case.

Remarks

Although one may not justify every verb by each of the three criteria just discussed - prefix, meaning, and root - (cf. unclassified verbs throughout), relationships within the three nonaccusative cases do seem to show some trends. Only one meaning overlaps ("removal" in verbs taking both genitive and instrumental objects), a small number of prefixes, and only one root (pol/n in verbs
Practical Uses of This Study

Two major objectives of this study were 1) to provide an outline of those meanings, prefixes, and roots related to verbs governing oblique cases and 2) to develop guidelines for determining which case an unknown verb will take. The first objective was fulfilled through the discussions found in Chapters II, III, IV, and the preceding sections of this chapter (Chapter V). The second objective can best be achieved by explaining how the groupings developed here and the materials in the appendices (and verb index) can be used to suggest the case a verb will probably govern.

The approach is determined by just what exactly is known about the verb. Ideally, the meaning as well as the evident morphological features (prefixes, suffixes, roots) should be known. For example, the verb podbavit' / podbavlhat' means 'add, mix in some' and is composed of the prefix pod- and root bay 'add'. In appendix A (meanings) is found 'partial inclusion' which is a
genitive meaning. For confirmation, appendix C (prefixes) indicates that the prefix pod- (l) in the meaning of 'add, supplement' also occurs with verbs taking genitive objects. The root bav does not appear in appendix E (roots). This would lead one to conclude (correctly) that the verb podbavit'/podbavljat' takes the genitive case. In this instance it is only a half-truth though, since the verb takes the accusative and genitive cases alternately. For verification the chapter on verbs taking genitive objects and/or the verb index could be consulted.

The case taken by a verb can also be decided if only the verb itself is at hand, i.e. no meaning. Ignoring its definition, the identifiable morphological features of the verb vverlit'sja/ vverjat'sja are prefix v- and root ver. Appendix C (prefixes) indicates that dative is the case associated with the prefix v-. Appendix E (roots) gives the root ver 'faith, trust, believe' also as being associated with dative government. Again, the indication that this verb takes dative objects could be verified through consultation of the verb index and chapter on dative government.

The greatest shortcoming of this approach to choosing the case which a verb takes is obviously its failure to consider alternative and simultaneous verbal government. They should, of course, be included in any expansion of this study.
The present study also has implications for predicting the case(s) a new verb entering the Russian language (through borrowing, for example) will take. In all probability, the criterion for this prediction will be the verb's meaning, since it will (probably) not have a Russian root or prefix. For purposes of explication, one might consider the verb administrirovat' (a verb which appears in this study in Chapter IV) which means "administer". It can be immediately recognized as non-Russian in origin. Its meaning corresponds to other verbs which mean "rule, administer" and which take the instrumental case. It does, in fact, as might well be suspected or predicted, take instrumental objects.
APPENDIX A. MEANINGS (ALPHABETICAL)

Those verbal meanings most frequent in verbs taking objects in oblique cases are listed in alphabetical order. Case(s) they are associated with is (are) indicated.

1. accompaniment, repetition d
2. address, communication d
3. coincidence i
4. emotional involvement i
5. ending in, with i
6. fall ill with (causative) i
7. fit, suit d
8. goal g
9. government i
10. help, sympathy d
11. instrument i
12. learn d
13. opposition, obstacle d
14. pride i
15. quantity g
16. removal g, i
17. state, condition i
18. submission, permission d
19. transmission d
20. worth, value g
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1. accompaniment, repetition</td>
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<td>coincidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. address, communication</td>
<td>quantity</td>
<td>emotional involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fit, suit</td>
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<td>removal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. help, sympathy</td>
<td>worth, value</td>
<td>ending in, with</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. learn</td>
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<td>fall ill with</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. opposition, obstacle</td>
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<td>government</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. submission, permission</td>
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<td>instrument</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. transmission</td>
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<td>pride</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td>state, condition</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C. PREFIXES (ALPHABETICAL)

Those verbal prefixes most frequent in verbs taking objects in oblique cases are listed in alphabetical order. Case(s) they are associated with is (are) indicated.

1. v- 'in, into' d
2. vy- 'do or finish successfully' g
3. do- (1) 'reach a certain point' g
4. do- (2) 'add, supplement' g
5. do--sja 'do successfully, achievement after intense or lengthy action' g
6. za- (1) 'extreme or excessive action' g
7. za- (2) 'do or finish successfully' g
8. za--sja 'do very intensely, overdo' i
9. iz-/is- 'out, ex-' g, i
10. na- (1) 'do or finish successfully' g
11. na- (2) 'on, to' d
12. na--sja 'do in quantity' g
13. nad- 'add, supplement' g
14. nedo- 'under' g
15. ob--sja 'completion of the action causing unpleasantness' g
16. ot-- 'off, away from, dis-, de-' g, i
17. po- 'do somewhat, to some extent' g
18. pod-- (i) 'add, supplement' g
19. pod-- (2) 'up to, under' d
20. pod-- (3) 'under' d
20. pri- 'to, up to, ad-

21. protiv- 'against'

22. s- 'away, off (from)'

23. u- 'away'
APPENDIX D. PREFIXES (BY CASE)

The chart arranges verbal prefixes most frequent in verbs taking oblique cases by case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
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<td>za- -sla</td>
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<td>iz- -is-</td>
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<td>na- (1)</td>
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<td>na- -sla</td>
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<td>protiv-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E. ROOTS (ALPHABETICAL)

Those Russian roots most frequent in verbs taking objects in oblique cases are listed in alphabetical order. Case(s) they are associated with is (are) indicated.

1. bol 'sickness, pain'
2. bolt 'shake, stir'
3. ved/vod 'lead, -duce'
4. vel 'command, order, will'
5. ver 'faith, trust, believe'
6. vet 'say, speak'
7. volod/vlad 'possess, control'
8. gord 'proud'
9. daj 'give'
10. dvig 'move'
11. derg 'pull'
12. div 'marvel, wonder'
13. dyx 'breathe'
14. ʰ/d 'wait'
15. isk 'seek'
16. kaz 'show, indicate'
17. kač 'roll, rock, swing'
18. kiv 'nod'
19. kon 'end'
20. max 'wave'
21. m/g 'wink'  
22. met 'sweep, throw'  
23. morg 'wink, blink'  
24. mot 'wind, twist'  
25. muk 'torture'  
26. orud 'tool, instrument'  
27. pax 'smell'  
28. pol/n 'full'  
29. pol'z 'use'  
30. prav 'right'  
31. pros 'ask'  
32. protiv 'against'  
33. ruk 'hand'  
34. rjad 'set in line, order'  
35. stav 'place'  
36. stoj 'cost'  
37. strad 'suffer'  
38. sjag 'swear'  
39. tom 'weariness'  
40. treb 'demand, require'  
41. trjas 'shake'  
42. uk 'accustom, learn, teach'
43. xval 'praise'
44. xvast 'brag, boast'
45. xlop 'bang'
46. xot 'want'
47. $vyr 'hurl, throw'
48. $evel 'move'
APPENDIX F. ROOTS (BY CASE)

The chart arranges Russian roots most frequent in verbs taking objects in oblique cases by case.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative</th>
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<td>bolt</td>
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<td>stoj</td>
<td>ved/vod</td>
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<td>xot</td>
<td>volod/vlad</td>
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<td>gorg</td>
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<td>dvig</td>
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<td>dyx</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Prefix*</td>
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<td>pod- (2)</td>
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<td>sjag</td>
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<td>help, sympathy</td>
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<tr>
<td>learn</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opposition, obstacle</td>
<td>protiv</td>
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</table>

*There seems to be no direct connection between meaning and prefix, except for protiv- and opposition, obstacle.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
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<td>submission, permission</td>
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<td>transmission</td>
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APPENDIX H. VERBS TAKING GENITIVE OBJECTS

This chart summarizes and shows relationships among the meanings, roots, and prefixes in verbs which take genitive objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>isk</th>
<th>ý/a</th>
<th>pol/n</th>
<th>pros</th>
<th>xot</th>
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<td>ob-sja</td>
<td>vy-</td>
<td>do- (2)</td>
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<td>na- (1), (2)</td>
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<td>na- (-sja)</td>
<td>nad-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>nedor-</td>
<td>pod- (1)</td>
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</table>

Meaning

| Quantity |

197
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>u-</td>
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<td>worth, value</td>
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APPENDIX I. VERBS TAKING INSTRUMENTAL OBJECTS

The chart summarizes and shows relationships among the meanings, roots, and prefixes in verbs which take instrumental objects.

<table>
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<th>bol</th>
<th>muk</th>
<th>strad</th>
<th>tom</th>
<th>ved/vod</th>
<th>volod/vlad</th>
<th>pol'z</th>
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<td>emotional involvement</td>
<td>ending in, with</td>
<td>fall ill with</td>
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199
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<td></td>
<td>state, condition</td>
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Grammatika russkogo jazyka. Vols. 1 and 2, ed. by 
V. V. Vinogradov and E. S. Istrin. Moscow: Izd. AN SSSR.

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INDEX TO VERBS

This index contains all of the verbs which made up the corpus used in this study. They are listed in Cyrillic alphabetical order to facilitate reference to a dictionary or Russian source. Verbs are given singly, i.e. they are not given in aspectual pairs. The following information is given for each verb: 1) aspect, i.e. perfective and/or imperfective (P and/or I); 2) case(s) it takes (a, d, g, i); and 3) page where it is cited and classified. If a verb appears more than one time (on different pages), e.g. to give examples of various objects or usages (usually within the same section), the page number refers to the first citation. For example, administrirovat' I i 138 gives this information: the verb is imperfective, takes instrumental objects, and is cited on page 138.

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