

The competing roles of SV(O) and VS(O) word orders in *Хождение игумена Даниила*

Порядок слов SV(O) и VS(O) в *Хождении игумена Даниила*: различие функций

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Abstract Though both Early East Slavic (EES) and Modern Russian have a relatively free word order, the distribution and function of word order in EES is quite distinct from Modern Russian. This paper is a study of word order within a single EES text, *Хождение игумена Даниила*, which is split into two major subdivisions: travel guide and narrative. In the travel guide, existential, stance, and motion verbs occur more frequently in VS order, and VS(O) order is more frequent overall; copular and transitive verbs occur more frequently in SV(O) order. Instances of the less frequent word order for the clause type occur as a result of specific conditioning contexts. The narrative, in contrast, has proportionally more SV(O) clauses and transitive verbs than the travel guide.

Аннотация Хотя и для раннего восточнославянского и для современного русского языков характерен относительно свободный порядок слов, и распределение, и функции порядка слов в раннем восточнославянском существенно отличаются от свойств современного русскому языку. Данная статья посвящена анализу порядка слов в *Хождении игумена Даниила*; этот текст распадается на путеводитель и нарратив. В путеводителе бытийные глаголы, а также глаголы положения в пространстве и движения чаще появляются в порядке VS и, в целом, порядок VS(O) является наиболее частым, хотя глаголы-связки и переходные глаголы встречаются преимущественно в порядке SV(O). При заданной фразовой структуре менее частый порядок появляется в специфически мотивированных контекстах. В нарративной части—в сравнении с путеводителем—наблюдается более высокая пропорция SV(O) предложений и транзитивных глаголов.

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1 Introduction

This paper presents a study of word order in the 12th century Early East Slavic (EES) text *Žit'e i xožden'e Daniila rus'kyja zemli igumena*, hereafter *Xoždenie*.¹ The text falls into two natural subdivisions, which I call 'the travel guide' and 'the narrative'. The first subdivision represents the majority of the text and is called 'the travel guide' because it is an account of Abbott Daniil's tour of the Holy Land, replete with descriptions of sites and anecdotal information about events that occurred in biblically important locations. The second subdivision, the narrative, consists of one long section entitled *O světě nebesněm: kako sxdit ko grobu Gospodnju* (104). This subdivision is termed the narrative because it reports Abbott Daniil's personal experience in Jerusalem as a witness to the Holy Light that descends upon the Holy Sepulcher. As an account of his first-hand experiences, the narrative contains less descriptive and definitional language.

EES has relatively free word order, as does Modern Russian. However, in Modern Russian the basic word order is generally accepted to be SVO, whereas the basic word order in EES is disputed (Borkovskij and Kuznecov 2004, 358–364). In EES texts, tokens of VS(O) word order are typically more frequent than SV(O), prompting some scholars (e.g. Berneker 1900) to identify VS(O) as the basic EES word order. Others (e.g. Adamec 1966, 67) argue that VS(O) must have been the basic word order for EES because of its high frequency in Russian byliny and fairy tales (though Yokoyama 1986, 284–285 insists that VS(O) order in Modern Russian is not limited to folklore or epic texts). But still other scholars argue that SV(O) is the basic word order in EES, as it is in Modern Russian (e.g. Borkovskij and Kuznecov 2004, 360–361).

I prefer not to postulate one basic word order for EES and will instead explore how SV(O) and VS(O) orders function within a single EES text. The results of this study show that textual and contextual demands of the language, in addition to lexicosemantic properties of verbs, can be used to explain the distribution of word orders in *Xoždenie*. This analysis is consistent with Modern Russian word order analyses, such as Timberlake (2001, 2004) and Robblee (1994, 1997).

Recent work by Turner (2006, 2007) has highlighted important issues in describing the behavior of EES word order on its own terms, that is, separate and distinct from word order in Modern Russian. Her study (2006) is concerned with general observations about the distribution of word orders in EES, whereas the study presented in this paper is an examination of the function of word order within one text. Looking at *Xoždenie* (1980) as an isolated text has allowed me to be sensitive to the communicative goals of its author while also remaining relatively unimpeded by general theoretical concerns in analyzing word order in the text.² Although I do not take up issues of analytical frameworks or models in examining EES word order, I nevertheless hope that this study will contribute to a broader understanding of the function of word order in EES texts.

¹Citations and page numbers of *Xoždenie* refer to the edition published in *Pamjatniki Literaturny Drevnej Rusi* (1980). It was used since it is the most easily accessible edition of the text for both the reader's and my reference. Furthermore, this edition was published with a parallel translation in Modern Russian. For a version that more accurately renders the orthography of the original text, refer to Venevitnov (1883–1885) which was reprinted in Germany as Seeman (1970). The text of *Xoždenie* is also available online: <http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4934>.

²For an in depth discussion of general theoretical concerns in analyzing EES word order, see work by Turner (2006, 2007); for a study of Modern Russian word order with much attention to theoretical concerns, see Yokoyama (1986, 171–335); or for a general overview of theoretical issues for studying word order cross-linguistically, see Fried (2002).

In this study, word order is analyzed statistically and contextually. The total number of tokens of SV(O) and VS(O) word orders were counted and their distribution is examined in Sect. 2. Contextual considerations were addressed systematically by choosing parallel subsets of the text for a comparison of similar and divergent behaviors (Sect. 3). The function of word order in the two subdivisions of the text—the travel guide and the narrative—is examined to show how genre can influence word order distribution (Sect. 4).

This study necessarily has limitations, one of which is scope. Only tokens of the most frequent word orders—VS(O) and SV(O)—were gathered. For this analysis I counted transitive verbs with and without overt objects and intransitive verbs; no object initial or medial sentences were counted. Furthermore, only sentences with overt subjects were counted (otherwise there can be no ordering in this schema). Also, only nominative subjects controlling verb agreement were counted as subjects (S). In investigating word order in a language with free word order a few problems arise, one of which is order within verb phrases themselves. Because of the multiple possible permutations of verb phrases, not the least of which are split verbal phrases, no phrasal verbs were counted. This includes perfect tenses, constructions with participles, and finite verbs plus infinitives. Note that these criteria are stricter than those employed by Turner (2006, 99) who developed rules for counting split verb phrases.

2 Verb categories

The behavior of verbs in *Xoždenie* (1980) proves to be sensitive to verbal semantics. Table 1 shows the verb classes used, word order distributions for the classes (both in raw number of tokens and percentages), and representative examples from *Xoždenie* (1980). The relevant verb classes are: *ecmь* in its existential function; *ecmь* in its copular function; stance verbs; verbs of motion; transitive verbs; the verb *зватися*, which functions largely as a copula; and other verbs, including speech verbs. In Sects. 2.1–2.5 below, examples of verbs in their preferred word orders are compared to minority examples in the less common order. The organization of the data in the table makes it clear that each verb class tends to have a preference for either VS(O) or SV(O) order.

One striking difference in the word order distributions is that existential constructions prefer VS order. Since *ecmь* verbs and especially existential constructions are frequently used in *Xoždenie* (1980), VS word order is also frequently used. There are 320 existential clauses with the verb *ecmь* (316 of these are in the travel guide) out of a total of 898 clauses counted (814 of these are in the travel guide). This amounts to more than one third of all examples counted. When clauses with *ecmь* are excluded from the count, the word order distribution approaches 50/50, with 228 tokens of SV(O) and 230 tokens of VS(O) for the entire text.

2.1 Distribution of *ecmь*—existential vs. copular

The preferred word order for existential constructions is VS, as in (1) and (2), for copular constructions SV, as in (3) and (4). The major differences between these sets of examples are the roles the sentences play in the text. In VS, existential verbs most often introduce the existence of something or someone, such as the cave in (1), or else establish a fact, such as the distance between two cities in (2). The introduction may be descriptive (see, for example, (5) below), but this description is intertwined with the introduction and is not important by itself.

Table 1 Distribution of word orders by verb class in *Хождение игумена Даниила*

Verb type/function	Tokens SV(O)	Tokens VS(O)	%SV(O)	Examples ^a
Existential (<i>есть</i>)	51	320	14%	и ту <i>есть</i> гроб его (32) 'and <i>his grave is</i> there'
Verbs that behave as existentials	(see <i>Other</i>)	(see <i>Other</i>)	(see <i>Other</i>)	въ той пещерѣ <i>родилася святая</i> <i>богородица</i> (42) 'in this cavern <i>the holy Virgin was born</i> '
Stance (e.g. <i>лежатъ, стоятъ</i>)	30	55	35%	Ту же <i>лежатъ мнози святии отци</i> (58) <i>And many holy fathers lie</i> there'
Intransitive, verbs of motion	54	66	45%	и ту <i>прииде дияволъ</i> (56) 'and <i>the devil arrived</i> there'
Transitive, verbs of motion	2	1	67%	идѣ же <i>воини приведоша</i> Христа къ Пилату (40) 'where <i>the soldiers brought</i> Christ to Pilate'
Transitive, overt object	42	12	78%	идѣ же <i>святая богородица видѣ</i> <i>двои люди</i> (62) 'where <i>the holy Virgin saw</i> two [groups of] people'
Transitive, no overt object	1	4	20%	и ту <i>цѣлуютъ вси християне</i> (48) 'and <i>all the Christians kiss</i> there [that place]'
Copular (<i>есть</i>)	52	17	75%	<i>Азъ есмь</i> Михаил (56) ' <i>I am</i> Michael' <i>Яфѣ же есть</i> град на брежѣ близъ Иерусалима (32) ' <i>Jaffa is</i> a city on the coast near Jerusalem'
<i>зватися</i>	19	6	76%	<i>то зоветься</i> Адъ (34) ' <i>It is called</i> Gehenna' <i>и та врата зовуться</i> Красная (44) 'and <i>that gate is called</i> Beautiful'
Other	80	86	48%	<i>Они же рекоша</i> (90), (92) 'And <i>they said</i> ' <i>И рече господь</i> Авраамови (72) 'And <i>the Lord said</i> to Abraham'
All types	331	567	37%	–

^aWilson (1888) was used for guidance with the English translations. His translation is also available online: <http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/history/seminar/daniel.htm>.

- (1) И ту *есть* близъ пещера (28)
'And there *is a cave* nearby'
- (2) И *есть* от Афа до Иерусалима *версть* 30 (32)
'And it *is 30 versts* from Jaffa to Jerusalem'

Copular usage of *есть* almost always contains previously introduced focal items. These items are then further elaborated by a complement that defines or describes qualities of the specified items, as exhibited in (3) and (4).

- (3) Яфъ же *есть* град на брезѣ близъ Иерусалима (32)
'Jaffa *is a city* on the coast near Jerusalem'
- (4) Камень же *тѣй был* круголь (36)
'And *that rock was* round'

Though the examples in (1)–(4) are relatively clear, drawing the line between existential and copular usage of *есть* presents some difficulties. There are cases when word order alone determines whether a clause has either a copular or an existential reading. That is, the same set of words may produce a copular construction in SV, but would produce an existential construction in VS.

Turner (2006) chooses not to incorporate clauses with *есть* (*быти*) and other verbs that can be read with either an existential or copular meaning in her study because of the risk of using circular reasoning in the analysis. She writes: "Clauses containing verbs such as *стати* 'to become, to stand', *стояти* 'to stand, to be' and *быти* 'to be', which are in principle ambiguous between existential and copular readings, are set aside because in certain circumstances their interpretation is liable to be influenced by the order of constituents within them, and there is therefore a danger of producing circular analyses of their discourse organisation" (Turner 2006, 98).

Although cases exist in which word order influences a copular reading over an existential reading or vice versa, there is no ambiguity, for example, when two separate noun phrases are equated, which is always copular, e.g. (3); or when only one noun without modifiers is the subject of *есть*, which is always existential, e.g. (1). In my opinion, excluding the verb *есть* from the study would not accurately represent word order in *Хождение*, since this would exclude one third of all examples. Therefore, I count clauses with *есть* (*быти*), *стати*, and *стояти*. The sensitivity of *есть*, and perhaps other similar existential verbs, is not a hindrance to the analysis; rather, this sensitivity reveals the importance of word order for structuring the meanings of utterances and for organizing the text.

I chose to resolve this ambiguity by following somewhat arbitrary, though consistent, criteria. The basic rule of thumb used to differentiate between the copular and existential *есть* is as follows: an SV sentence is copular if the subject is before the verb and an adjectival or nominal predicate is positioned after the verb, as in examples (3) and (4). When an adjective and the noun it modifies both precede or follow the verb, as in example (5), the sentence will be counted as an existential construction.

- (5) И воды *добры суть* в мѣстѣ том (70)
'And there *is good water* in this place'

This method was not used indiscriminately, however, since not all examples are straightforward. For instance, a clause is counted as copular when the adjectives that modify the noun are separated from that noun by the demonstrative pronoun *том, та, мо*, etc., even though all components of the noun phrase may be positioned on the same side of the verb *есть*. This is demonstrated by (6).

- (6) *и есть пустыни та вся суха и безводна* (58)
 ‘and that whole *desert is dry and waterless*’

In (6), the demonstrative pronoun *та* marks a boundary between the noun it modifies, *пустыни*, and the adjectives that modify the noun, *вся суха и безводна*. Despite the fact that all components of the noun phrase are postponed with respect to the verb and the utterance is in VS order, the clause is nevertheless counted as a copular construction because its syntax suggests a copular reading.

2.2 Stance verbs

Stance verbs behave much like existential verbs and typically occur in VS order. They are, in many ways, existential, but also include additional semantic information about the position or state of the entity being introduced when a specific locus is defined, as in (7)–(9).

- (7) *И ту нынѣ лежить святыи Феодосие* (56)
 ‘And now *Saint Theodosius lies* there’
- (8) *Висут же в Гробѣ Господни 5 кандил великих с маслом* (34)
 ‘*5 large lamps with oil are hanging* in the Lord’s Sepulcher’
- (9) *Ту же стояху мнози на мѣстѣ том* (38)
 ‘*Many stood* in this place’

When stance verbs are in SV order, they do not differ remarkably from their counterparts in VS order. The motivation for the SV order is typically to shift focus to a positioned entity—an entity that has been mentioned in previous discourse. The semantics of the stance verbs do not present much (if any) action or change, and so even when they occur in SV order, they do not further a narrative or story in the same way (if at all) as transitive verbs do (see Sect. 2.4 below). A particular context that predisposes stance verbs, as well as other existential types of verbs, to occur in SV order is discussed in more detail in Sect. 3.1.

2.3 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are also preferentially VS in the travel guide section of the text. The function of motion verbs in the travel guide is similar to the function of existential and stance verbs. They serve to introduce new entities or add information to previously established scenes, but with the additional component of motion. In (10) and (11), the new entities are related to previously established loci, thus they are brought into existence to contribute information to a broader scene, but these entities in and of themselves are not of central importance in this particular clause.

- (10) *В той же церкви есть другая хранина долѣ на земли, и низка есть хранина та, на югъ лицъ: и в ту хранину прииде Христосъ къ ученикомъ своимъ, дверемъ затворенымъ, и ста посреде ихъ, и рече: «Миръ вамъ»* (60)
 ‘In this church there is another chamber on the ground floor, and the chamber is below, on the south side; and in this room *Christ appeared* to his disciples behind closed doors and stood among them, and said, “Peace be with you”’
- (11) *И есть монастыр-еть на устьи, иде же входитъ Иорданъ въ море Содомское, и есть градомъ одѣланъ весь около монастыр-ет; черноризецъ же в немъ 20* (54)

‘And that monastery is at the mouth [of the river], where the *Jordan enters* the sea of Sodom, and the monastery is surrounded by walls; there are 20 monks in it’

Here the constructions with motion verbs serve to expand the scenes of previously introduced topics. The expansion is anchored in the prepositional phrase that specifies a location. Note especially example (11), where the first clause identifies a monastery’s location, whose description is further expanded through a relative clause as a place where a river enters (via motion) a sea, and then in the next clause the river and sea are promptly forgotten and discussion returns to the monastery.

Motion verbs in SV order occur less frequently in the travel guide section. As evidenced in example (12), SV order generally reports a change through an action. If a new entity appears, it adds information to the description of this entity or subject. SV order functions quite differently when the text is a narrative, in which case SV order in clauses with motion verbs has the important function of advancing the narrative. This usage of SV is in contrast to examples such as (12) in the travel guide section, which state a fact and describe a quality about an entity, the subject.

- (12) *Мнози бо, ходивше святаго града Иерусалима, поидуть опять* (26)
 ‘*Many, who have traveled to the holy city of Jerusalem, return again*’

In (12) the subject *Мнози* is not itself a known entity, but rather a group of people who are defined by the relative clause *ходивше* [...]. The function of the sentence is to add additional information about the behavior of these ‘many’, thus turning the motion, a potentially repeated trip to Jerusalem, into a property or attribute of the subject *Мнози*.

2.4 Transitive verbs

The travel guide section contains much more descriptive than narrative text; most verbs in *Xoždenie* (1980) are intransitive. When transitive verbs are used in the travel guide, they more often occur in SVO than VSO word order. This is expected, since transitive verbs are focused on individual entities and SV order is used to individualize the subject. For verbs such as *исцелити*, *дати*, and *умыти* it is clear why SVO is preferred—the goal of the sentence is to state that an act was performed by a specified entity and not to introduce or give background information. The actions have subjects that are *not* being introduced for the first time. Even if the actors are new, they do not stand alone within the phrase, but are typically linked to an important action that occurred at a location being discussed. (13)–(17) are examples of transitive verbs in SVO order.

- (13) *и в той хранинѣ Христос умы ноги учеником* (60)
 ‘and in that chamber *Christ washed* the feet of His disciples’
- (14) *идѣ же Христось богъ нашъ претрънѣ* страсти нас ради грѣшных (32)
 ‘where *Christ our God endured* the Passion for us sinners’
- (15) *иде же Петръ и Иоаннъ исцѣлиста* хромца одного (44)
 ‘where *Peter and John healed* one lame man’
- (16) *дондеже Иисус Навгинъ побѣди* враги своя (56)
 ‘until *Joshua prevailed over* his enemies’
- (17) *идѣ же святаа богородица видѣ* двои люди (62)
 ‘where *the holy Virgin saw* two [groups of] people’

In several of these examples, the actor had recently been mentioned and is thus known to us by a previous textual introduction, but perhaps more importantly, the subjects of sentences (13)–(17), e.g. *Христос* and *святаа богородица*, are deemed general knowledge and are standing topics throughout the text. It is important to emphasize here that these transitive sentences in SVO order are focused on one actor, the subject.

Examples of transitive verbs in VSO such as (18)–(20) are less common.

- (18) и на том мѣстѣ уби Давыѡ Голияда (76)
'and at this spot *David killed Goliath*'
- (19) и на том мѣстѣ есть крестиль Предтеча Иоаннъ господа нашего Иисуса Христа (50)
'and at this spot *John the Baptist baptized Our Lord Jesus Christ*'
- (20) и на том мѣстѣ усрѣла Марфа Иисуса (44)
'and at this spot *Martha met Jesus*'

In contrast to the transitive SVO examples, the clauses with transitive verbs appearing in VSO order seem to make the situation or scene primary instead of the individuated actor. This is the case in examples (18)–(20). The broader scene is most often connected through a locus, thus the VSO examples above occur repeatedly with the prepositional phrase *и на том мѣстѣ*. Here the VSO order foregrounds the preceding prepositional phrase and the scene it references by downgrading the subject. The prepositional phrase in the beginning attracts the predicate, shifting the focus from the actor to the place. The act that occurred turns into a property of the location, instead of being foregrounded or individuated as the subject. The subjects are important because of their role in contributing to known information about a location, rather than as individuated actors.

VS is also the preferred order in the small set of examples where transitive verbs occur without overt direct objects. In these sentences the direct object is not specified and so it is either unclear or unimportant what the subject is acting upon. These sentences more naturally have a scene-setting function instead of focusing on a change in a narrative or on defining a property of an agent. This is the case in example (21).

- (21) и ту цѣлуютъ вси християне (48)
'and *all the Christians kiss* there [that place]'

In (21), the importance of the sentence is not *who* kisses *what* (identified previously as a stone), but rather that kissing by Christians occurs.

2.5 Other verbs

One set of verbs in the 'other'-category is speech verbs. Speech verbs are unique in their ability to alternate rather fluidly between VS and SV orders. In the row labeled 'other' in Table 1, two examples of speech verbs are given: one SV and one VS example.

The verb *звѣтится* prefers SV order (see Table 1 for its distribution). The usage of *звѣтится* patterns much like the copular *есть*, which also prefers SV order.³ In most examples, the subject of *звѣтится* has previously been introduced and is being further specified in the sentence, as in (22). This usage is a product of the verb's semantics, i.e. *звѣтится* gives a generic entity a specific, and often personal, name.

³Previous literature has recognized that verbs of naming, such as *звѣтится*, may behave as copulas. See, for example, Mrazek (1964, 214), who discusses how such verbs started governing an instrumental predicate, thus functioning like copular *быть*.

- (22) и населил был землю ту всю около Хеврона; да тако *земля та зоветься Хананья* (70)
 ‘and [he] peopled all the land around Hebron; and therefore *that land is called* Canaan’

Other verbs preferring VS order include reflexives, verbs introducing quoted speech, e.g. *глаголати*, and the verbs *жити* and *бывати*. In many ways, *жити* and *бывати* are similar to existential verbs and therefore occur more often in VS than SV order. Reflexives also, not surprisingly, typically occur in VS order, since intransitive verbs in general more often appear in VS order. Moreover, the reflexives in *Хождение* (1980) often serve either to introduce a new subject or give additional background information, as in (23) and (24).

- (23) Ту есть пещера мало исподи подь олтаремь въ камени: въ той пещерѣ *родилася святая богородица* (42)
 ‘There is a cavern a little below the altar in the rock: in this cavern *the holy Virgin was born*’
- (24) ту *ражается темьянь черный изоифит* (30)
 ‘*the black incense gomphytis grows there*’

In examples such as (23) and (24), the verbs function as existentials, or are equivalent in their discourse function to existentials, therefore they appear most often in VS order.

3 Contexts

3.1 Information patterning—sentence chains

In *Хождение*, chains of clauses with listed information repeatedly occur in the same pattern. These chains or lists begin with a VS clause and are followed by one or more SV clauses that contain closely related information. In some cases, the closely related information lists additional members of a category that has been introduced, e.g. one priest is introduced and a list of additional priests follows, as in example (25). Note that in the presentation of examples below, the first VS verb is underlined once, while the following SV verbs are underlined twice; the subjects are italicized.

- (25) И ту нынѣ лежитъ *святый Феодосие*, и мнози *святии отци* ту лежатъ, в той пещерѣ лежитъ *мати святого Савы*, и *Феодосиева мати* ту лежитъ (56)
 ‘And now *Saint Theodosius* lies there, and *many holy fathers* lie there; in that cave *the mother of Saint Sabbas* lies, and *Theodosius’ mother* lies there’

The information may also be metonymically related, in which case all the listed information belongs to a recognizably connected frame of knowledge. Once the existence of the initial entity and general scene is established with VS, the SV sentences bring focus to or individuate additional entities in the scene. Example (26) shows this pattern.

- (26) И есть пещера [...], иде же лежитъ *Авраам*, *Исаакъ*, *Иаков*, и *вси сынове Иаковли*; и *жены их* ту лежатъ, *Сарра*, *Ревѣка*; а *Рахиль* кромѣ лежить на пути у Вифлеема (70)
 ‘And there is a cave, where *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *all the sons of Jacob* lie, and *their wives* lie there, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, but *Rachel* lies on the path near Bethlehem’

In (25), the graves of three patriarchs are introduced with VS word order, and the graves of their wives follow in SV order.⁴ This occurs because the graves of the wives are connected to the already introduced subject of the men's graves, which is further emphasized by the form *жены их*, with a pronoun that links the wives to the already existing subject matter. These lists, or chains, show how contexts that typically employ VS word order can switch to SV order after the main entities are introduced. In such cases, when existence is established and the scene is set, additional metonymically related entities can take center stage in the text. In (25), we saw the pattern repeated twice in a row, first with saints (holy men) and then with their mothers. Another example of this phenomenon with the verb *лежитъ* is shown in (27), which establishes that saints are located in a particular place and then lists the specific saints. In (27), it seems logical for the general category of saints to be introduced first in VS order, followed by specific, named saints in SV.⁵

- (27) Ту же лежат мнози святии отци, телесы яко живи: святый Иоаннь епископъ Исихастъ ту лежитъ, святый Иоаннь Дамаскинъ ту лежит, и святый Феодоръ Едесский ту лежитъ и Михаиль сыновець его, Афродитианъ святый ту лежит, и инии мнози святии ту лежат, телесы яко живи (58)
 'And many holy fathers lie there, as if their bodies were alive: *Saint John the Silent* lies there, *Saint John of Damascus* lies there, and *Saint Theodore of Edessa* lies there and *his nephew Michael* lies there, *Saint Aphroditus* lies there, and many other saints lie there, as if their bodies were alive'

The pattern is not lexically restricted to *лежать*, as (28)–(30) show.

- (28) Есть же около Иерихона *земля добра и многоплодна*, и поле красно и равно, и около его *финици мнози* стоятъ висоци, и *всякаа древеса многоплодовита* суть; и *воды многы* текут (54)
 'Good and fertile land is around Jericho, and the ground is beautiful and even. And in the area many date palms stand high, and there are all kinds of fruit trees, and waters flow plentifully'
- (29) И суть горы высоки каменя, и пещеры многы ту суть в горах тѣх; и ту суть жили святии отцы в горах тѣхъ, в пустыни той страшнѣй безводнѣй. И ту суть жилища пардусом, и осли дивши мнози суть (58)
 'And there are high rocky mountains, and many caves are there in those mountains, and holy fathers lived there in those mountains, in that horrid waterless desert. And dwellings of panthers are there, and many wild donkeys are there'
- (30) Море же Содомское мрътво есть, [...] исходит бо из дна моря того *смола чермная* верху выды тоя, и лежит по берегу тому *смола та* много; и *смад* исходит из моря того, яко от сѣры горяща (58)
 'The Sea of Sodom is dead, from the bottom of that sea a reddish deposit rises onto the surface of the water, and that deposit lies in masses on the shores; and odor emanates from the sea, as if from burning sulfur'

⁴In this example, the names of the wives actually follow the verb, but I take this to be additional information; *жены их*, the subject of the verb *лежитъ*, is still in initial position.

⁵It may be the case that in *Хожденіе* definite entities with personal names are more likely to occur in SV than indefinite, general entities. However, a detailed examination of this possibility is outside the scope of the present study.

In (28) and (29), the linked objects are metonymically related as a result of their physical proximity. In (30), the subjects are metonymically related as different aspects of one object, *смола* ‘deposit, resin’. The *смола*, which rose from the bottom of the sea and settled on the shore, is introduced in VS order and then linked metonymically to its *смад* ‘odor’, which occurs in SV order. Since the source of the *смад*—the *смола*—has already been introduced, the metonymically related *смад* can take center stage in the text.

Though the pattern VS, SV, [SV, etc.] is not lexically restricted, it only occurs among functionally existential verbs, which are the verbs that prefer VS order. These verbs include the existential *есть*, stance verbs, and verbs of motion as described in Sect. 2.3 above. This pattern reveals that introducing or establishing the existence of new entities has a strong preference for VS order in *Xoždenie*. However, once a new entity has been introduced, it may then become topicalized and subsequent clauses with this or related entities have the option of shifting to SV order.

It is important that this pattern is restricted to the context of lists, or listed information, in the travel guide. The shift to SV order has the effect of downgrading the verbs in the lists and placing the subject in a primary, focal position. This behavior highlights the nature of the lists: they give information about a series of related objects and not related actions. In (28), for example, the actions of standing, being, and flowing are not central in the list; instead, the subjects themselves—fruits, trees, waters—are central. The recognizable list structure VS, SV, [SV, etc.] also has the effect of emphasizing the similarities between the items and presenting the series as a single cohesive unit, instead of merely presenting the sentences as consecutive elements in the usual flow of textual information. As soon as the shift to SV order occurs, and especially when it occurs repeatedly in the sentence chains, the cluster of SV sentences is tied back to its leading VS sentence, solidifying the unity of the entire list. Thus, the lists here are their own sub-texts within a text, replete with their own small-scale textual structure.

3.2 Variation in an equivalent position—section-initial sentences

This section examines the word order in the initial sentences of the sub-sections of the travel section. Each section of *Xoždenie* is separated by a title, and all occurrences of SV(O) or VS(O) order immediately following this title were singled out and compared to one another. The majority of first sentences of the sections are VS; there are 65 occurrences of VS order vs. 10 occurrences of SV. One of the main factors of this distribution is related to the presentation of information. In general, the first element of these sentences is privileged because it receives the focus. On the other hand the first position is also a restricted position, because it resists brand new information.

VS, the typical order, provides a way to introduce an entirely new focus, especially by using existential verbs (since new information is typically placed at the end of a sentence), as shown in (31)–(33).

- (31) И ту *есть гора Ермонъ* близъ у монастыря того вдалѣе яко 20 сажень (50)
‘And *Mount Hermon* is there, about 20 sažens from the monastery’
- (32) А от Вифлеема *есть* на югъ лицъ *Хевронъ, пещера Сузубаа и дубъ Мамбрийский* (66)
‘*Hebron, the double cavern, and the oak of Mamre* are south of Bethlehem’
- (33) И от того монастыря до лавры святого Савы *есть врьсть 6* (56)
‘And *it is 6 versts* from that monastery to the laura of Saint Sabbas’

In (31) and (33), the initial sentences provide specific information about distance. This information creates a relationship between given and new information, allowing the new information to be discussed in relation to the larger scene that has already been established.

In most of the first lines that use SV, the less frequent order, the topic has already been introduced in the last line or earlier in the previous section. This is shown in (34), where the title (in capitals) is used to show the division between sections.

- (34) а от Миръ до Хилюдония версть 60; а от Хилюдония до Кипра великаго острова версть 200
 О КИПРЪСТЪМ ОСТРОВЪ
Кипръ есть островъ великъ зѣло, и множество в нем людии, и обилень есть всѣм добром (30)
 'it is 60 versts from Myra to Chelidonia; and it is 200 versts from Chelidonia to the large island of Cyprus // ISLAND OF CYPRUS // *Cyprus is a very large island, and there are many people on it, and it abounds with every sort of good thing*'

The copular usage of *есть* in the first line after the title in (34) is facilitated by the introduction of its subject, *Кипръ*, in the last line of the previous section (shown in (34) before the title).

The context of section-initial sentences supports many of the same conclusions as the context of sentence chains: the act of introducing or establishing new information strongly prefers VS word order, but can give way to SV order when the topic has been recently introduced and is not new information.

4 Narrative vs. travel guide

The last subdivision of the text is the narrative section and is entitled *О свѣтѣ небеснѣм: како сходит ко гробу Господнѣу* (104). In this section, the topic and style of writing shift to a narrative, where Abbott Daniil reports the miracle of the descent of the Holy Light in the Church of the Resurrection on Easter Saturday, in 1107 A.D. The narrative section differs from the previous sections of *Хождение*, because it gives a personal account of events in Jerusalem that Daniil witnessed and participated in. The narrative reports how Abbott Daniil was invited by Prince Baldwin to take part in the ceremony at the church, where he reports seeing the Holy Light illuminate the Holy Sepulcher. Abbott Daniil placed his own lamp on the Holy Sepulcher in the tomb of the Lord, and retrieves it the day after the ceremony. In the narrative Abbott Daniil not only reports his personal experiences in Jerusalem, but he also reveals his thoughts and feelings during these events.

The difference in distribution of word orders in the narrative vs. the travel guide section is quite startling. In the full text (discussed in Sect. 2 above) we noted that there are 440 examples of *есть* verbs (430 in the travel guide section) which accounted for 49% of the total number of clauses counted, essentially half of all SV(O) and VS(O) sentences in the text. The existential *есть* verbs in VS order alone numbered 320 out of 898 examples (most of which occur in the travel guide)—over one third of all the examples counted. Now turn to Table 2 and compare the numbers for the full text to those in just the narrative section, for which a total of 84 SV(O) and VS(O) clauses were counted (as opposed to 814 in the travel guide section, since the narrative section makes up a much smaller portion of the overall text). There are just 10 tokens of *есть* in SV and VS order in the entire narrative section, which is 12% of the 84 examples in the section. Related to these percentages for *есть* verbs is the difference between the percentage of total SV(O) vs. VS(O) verbs in

Table 2 Distribution of word orders by verb class: narrative section

Verb type/function	Tokens SV(O): narr./full text	Tokens VS(O): narr./full text	%SV(O): narr./full text	Examples ^a
Existential (<i>есть</i>)	2/51 ^b	4/320	33%/14%	И яко <i>бысть</i> 7 час дне суботнаго (108) 'And when it was <i>the 7th hour</i> on Saturday'
Verbs that behave as existentials	(see <i>Other</i>)	(see <i>Other</i>)	(see <i>Other</i>)	и тогда <i>бывает</i> отъръзение дверей церковным (108) 'and then there <i>is the opening</i> of the church doors'
Stance (e.g. <i>лежать</i> , <i>стоять</i>)	7/30	7/55	50%/35%	иде же <i>лежаща</i> причистѣи нозѣ господа нашего Инсуса Христа (106) 'where <i>the sacred feet</i> of Our Lord Jesus Christ <i>rested</i> '
Intransitive, verbs of motion	10/54	9/66	53%/45%	<i>тот же</i> епископъ прииде къ дверем гробным (110) ' <i>the same bishop came</i> to the doors of the Holy Sepulcher'
Transitive, verbs of motion	0/2	0/1	-/67%	–
Transitive, overt object	8/42	0/12	100%/75%	а от наших свѣщъ <i>вси людие</i> возгоша свои свѣщи (110) 'And <i>all the people lit</i> their tapers from our tapers' <i>Онъ же съ</i> любовию поимъ мя (112) ' <i>He received me</i> with love'
Transitive, no overt object	0/1	0/4	-/20%	–
Copular (<i>есть</i>)	4/52	0/17	100%/75%	И <i>то есть</i> лжа и неправда (106) 'And <i>that is</i> a lie and not the truth'
<i>зватися</i>	0/19	0/6	-/76%	–
Other	21/80	12/86	64%/48%	И тогда <i>вси людие</i> възъшиа съ слезами (110) 'And then <i>all the people cried out</i> with tears'
All types	52/331	32/567	62%/37%	–

^aAll examples in Table 2 are from the narrative section of the text.

^bThe first number before the front slash is the number of occurrences in the narrative section *O světě nebesněm: kako sходит ko grobu Gospodnju* (105); the second number after the front slash is the total number of occurrences in the text.

the sections. In the travel guide section VS(O) outnumbers SV(O): SV(O) accounts for 34% of the examples counted (37% SV(O) in the full text). In the narrative section SV(O) outnumbers VS(O): SV(O) accounts for 62% of the examples counted. This difference in the percentages of VS(O) and SV(O) sentences between the two sections is due largely

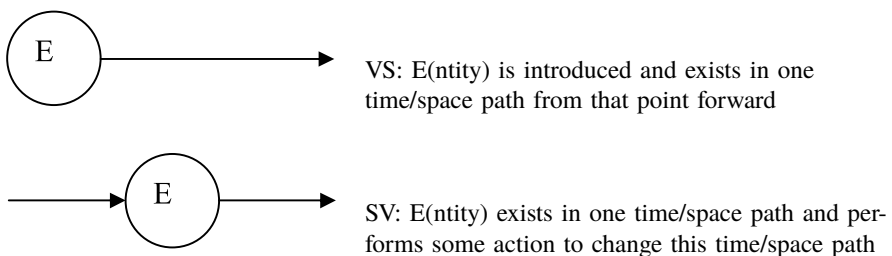
to the far greater number of *есть*, especially existential *есть*, constructions in the travel guide section.

The lack of *есть* verbs, however, is not the only factor contributing to the prevalence of SV(O) order in the narrative. Another contributing factor is a shift in the word order preference of motion verbs in the narrative section. Motion verbs in the travel guide section occur slightly more often in VS clauses, but in the narrative section, the verbs of motion occur slightly more often in SV clauses. Motion verbs in the narrative section appear to pattern more closely with transitive verbs, since transitive verbs typically prefer SVO order (as discussed in Sect. 2.4 above). Among the examples counted in the narrative section, verbs of motion and transitive verbs outnumber existentials and copulars. We can see the usage of a verb of motion and a transitive verb from the narrative in the example (35).

- (35) Тогда *азъ* худый, недостойный, в ту пятницу, въ 1 час дни, *идохъ* къ князю тому Бальдвину и поклонихся ему до земли. Он же, видѣвъ мя худаго, и *призва* мя к себѣ с любовью, и рече ми: «Что хощеша, игумене русьскій?» (106)
 ‘Then on that Friday at one o’clock in the afternoon, *my lowly and unworthy self approached* Prince Baldwin and bowed to the ground before him. Seeing my lowly self, *he lovingly bade* me to come to him and said to me: “What dost thou want, Russian abbot?”’

The series of verbs used in example (35) advance the storyline. The first sentence with the verb of motion *идохъ* is followed by a sentence with the transitive verb *призва*. The structure of the two sentences is parallel, since each sentence is in SV(O) order and each has an overt human subject. The parallel structure of the sentences in (35) shows that for this text a verb of motion can advance the narrative the same way that a transitive verb can advance the narrative.

Based on examples such as (35), we see that the functions of verbs of motion can vary significantly according to whether they occur in VS or SV order. As discussed in Sect. 2.1, existentials naturally prefer VS order though they also occur in SV order, in which case their emphasis is shifted, but their overall meaning is not radically different. Verbs of motion, on the other hand, can function quite differently depending on their word order and textual function. The VS examples in the travel guide sections discussed in Sect. 2.3 are largely parallel in function and meaning to existential and stance verbs. That is, they merely add motion to the introduction of an entity. The SV examples in the narrative section of the text function differently, however, from the VS examples in the travel guide section. They establish a change of textual scenery and allow the text to move fluidly from one situation to another via a common entity. This may be graphically depicted as follows:



Verbs of motion proved to be unique in the narrative section of the text because they pattern with existentials in VS order, but pattern with transitive verbs in SV order. In the

narrative section, description of movement is an effective way of furthering the story line. The verbs of motion force one to trace changes in the relationships between entities in the narrative instead of merely acknowledging the existence and relationships of those entities.

The narrative goal of the last section of the text motivates a more balanced distribution of SV and VS orders due to a lower frequency of *ecmь* verbs. The narrative section also exhibits a different usage of verbs of motion. The higher frequency of SV order in the narrative is largely due to the greater degree of action and progression of plot in this section. This difference could also be explained as Daniil's tactic of personalizing or individuating his specific experience. Whereas Daniil is not personally responsible for the facts and events reported in the travel guide section, which mainly contains facts about locations, physical descriptions, and biblical or other events that occurred at these locations, he is responsible for the narrative section, since it is his personal story about the events that transpired at that time and place. SV word order reinforces this aspect of the narrative section, while VS indicated a more impersonal and global perspective in the earlier travel guide sections.

There are a few additional factors that reinforce how the narrative section differs from the travel guide. The narrative section employs repeated clauses with the personal pronoun *азь*, which is itself a trigger for SV word order (as are all personal pronouns). In addition, personal names or titles also trigger SV order. It should also be noted that most of the actors in the narrative section are people Daniil had personal contact with in the 12th century, as opposed to actors who are mainly biblical figures in the travel guide. More generally, the travel guide contains sacral, historical, and secondhand knowledge, whereas the narrative section contains present and firsthand knowledge.

These textual differences are reminiscent of Benveniste's (1971) 'history' and 'discourse', where 'history' is historical narrative, which is a primarily written linguistic form and uses only third person verb tenses, and *discourse* is "every variety of oral discourse" (Benveniste 1971, 209), which freely uses all tenses, including first and second person. However, neither the narrative nor the travel guide in *Xoždenie* matches Benveniste's categories. The narrative section of *Xoždenie* shares features of both 'history' and 'discourse': the narration is similar to 'history' in that its primary goal is the narration of past events, but it is similar to 'discourse' in that it freely uses verbs in the first person. The travel guide section of *Xoždenie* does not correspond to either 'history' or 'discourse'.

5 Summary and conclusions

Several characteristics can be attributed to each of the word orders. First, VS(O) serves a few central functions including introduction, establishment of factual information, and development of a scene. In *Xoždenie* SV(O) order is associated with narrative, focusing on a specific situation with a well-defined actor (subject) and, in many cases, a well-defined receiver of action (direct object). The subject is characterized by specific information given in the predicate, which often includes information about a change that occurs or the nature of an action performed by the subject. When SV is used in copular constructions and with *зватися*, there may be no concrete change, but there is a change in the information being discussed. Copulars in SV focus on previously introduced topics and change the role of those topics by defining or describing them more explicitly. In light of the numbers in Table 1, we can conclude that the high occurrence of VS in *Xoždenie* is due to one construction that highly prefers VS order—the existential *ecmь* construction.

Xoždenie could also be viewed in terms of meta-operators, i.e. from the perspective of major divisions that speakers use to view the world. An important meta-operator throughout

Table 3 Factors conditioning the usage of SV(O) vs. VS(O) word orders

Conditioning factor	SV(O)	VS(O)
<i>Genre</i>	Narrative	Factual, listed information (travel guide)
<i>Information structuring</i>	Individuated	Existential, distant, universal
<i>Focus</i>	Narrow, specific	Broad, abstract
<i>Point of view</i>	First-hand, accessible, present, personal	Second-hand, reported, inaccessible, historical, atemporal, impersonal

this discussion has been that of individuation vs. existentialization. SV(O) is an individuating mechanism and VS(O) is an abstracting mechanism, or a tool to focus on existence rather than specifically individuated topics. The specific, concrete situation is important in SV(O) order, whereas in VS(O) order, the specifics of the situation are less important than the fact of its existence in the world and its function in the development of a broader scene. Even in the abundance of examples where VS is used to state a fact, such as distance, the fact (the subject) itself is not central but rather defines properties of a locus. That is, the newly introduced entity is not important in itself, but rather contributes to the broader scene under discussion. The subject is not an individuated entity, but a relational entity.

It has been found that in cases where usage is deviant, where a verb class occurs in its less common word order, the purpose is to draw out characteristics attributed to the less common order. In lists with existential verbs and verbs that behave like existentials, e.g. stance verbs, the first sentence or clause is in the expected order—VS, but the following clause or clauses occur in SV. The VS to SV word order switch occurs in these sentence chains when the subjects of the sentences are either members of the same category or metonymically related (see Sect. 3.1).

In section-initial sentences, VS is expected because a new topic is usually presented, but when a previously introduced topic is brought into focus, SV order regularly occurs. Since the topic has already been established, it is then possible to isolate it and focus on its relevant aspects (see Sect. 3.2).

The different word orders can be said to form a *gestalt* of different motivating functions, no one function is primary and, in most cases, only a handful of the functions are relevant to any given word order example. This collection of motivations—shown in Table 3—condition the usage of the different word orders and can be motivated by the semantics of the subjects, verbs, or other elements of the predicates; textual motivations; and/or context on both a local or global level.

These two collections of functions become most visible in the discussion of the narrative vs. the travel guide in Sect. 4 above. It is here that the overarching motivations of the different parts of the text condition a noticeably different statistical outcome in word order patterns. When the author had different motivations and wished to convey different types of information, he used different sentence structures and verb types and this resulted in largely different word order distributions between the travel guide and narrative sections. This division of features is in some ways reminiscent of work done on referential expressions, for example Gundel et al. (1993), which discusses the hierarchy of usage of referential expressions in several languages, including Russian. Table 3 shows a two-way division, not a hierarchy (a hierarchy could potentially emerge if other word order types were

incorporated into the analysis), but is similar in concentrating on which entities are in and out of focus and what is old and/or understood information or new and/or distant.

As this analysis shows, contexts are crucial indicators of word order preferences. Listed information, definitions, descriptions, etc. of the travel guide are abundant with *ecmь* verbs and many other pseudo-existential constructions. The narrative in *Xoždenie*, on the other hand, uses a larger variety of verbs (not relying so heavily on the semantically barren *ecmь* verbs) and has a higher frequency of transitive verbs and verbs of motion in SV order. The travel guide section of *Xoždenie* naturally prefers VS verbs—existentials, stance verbs, and other pseudo-existentials; the narrative section naturally prefers SV(O) verbs—transitives and verbs of motion in SV. The verbs of motion are revealing in this text because they share properties with two opposite types of verbs—those that strongly prefer VS(O) order (e.g. existentials) and those that strongly prefer SVO order (e.g. transitive verbs). In the travel guide section, verbs of motion are used with a primarily existential function by introducing or establishing the existence of a new entity and therefore occur mainly in VS clauses. In the narrative section, verbs of motion are more often used with a narrative-advancing function and therefore are found in SV order. It is the verbs of motion that act as the best indicators of the *gestalt* of functions for the different word orders, since they are malleable, allowing themselves to be manipulated by different contexts and word orders.⁶ Motion, it seems, lends itself to this flexible usage, since it can either be of focal importance to a discourse or else merely background information to assert a fact.⁷

At both the local level of the clause and the global level of the text, we can account for the usage of one word order over another in *Xoždenie*. In order to understand word order in this text comprehensively and perhaps in all EES texts, one must take into consideration lexical classes of verbs, clausal constructions, local and global contexts, and textual types. After considering this array of factors, the logical and orderly nature of EES word order becomes transparent.

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⁶Note also that context and word order still work together and word order alone does not determine the interpretation of the verb of motion. See again example (12) in the travel guide where the SV order is not used so much in a narrative advancing capacity as in a definitional capacity.

⁷These different conceptualizations for verbs of motion may be one reason why some languages are high manner-of-motion and others are low manner-of-motion. Motion can be encoded quite differently in different languages, with some languages specifying manner only minimally and others specifying manner in varied and descriptive ways. See the work of Slobin (e.g. 1996, 2000, 2004).

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