Previous research concerning the morphosyntactic variation of adjectives and participles as objective predicatives in modern Russian (18th–20th century) (see e.g. Čagiševa 1968, Dokonova 1963, Popov 1967, Sedel'nikov 1959, Zelepukina 1973) has concentrated mainly on case-vacillation in the objective predicative (OP). Vacillation between short form (SF) and long form (LF) adjectives and participles in OPs in 18th century Russian is mentioned, but not studied, by V. I. Čagiševa (1956, 95) and V. I. Borkovskij (Borkovskij, Kuznecov 1963, 369).

A scrutiny of 18th century prose texts (see Sources p. 24) reveals that SF adjectives and participles were used in OPs throughout the whole century. In the second half of the century the SF functions primarily as a feature of ‘high style’ prose (and poetry). By the beginning of the 19th century the SF had practically disappeared from the literary language. In our text-corpus from the 19th century (see Sources, p. 24) we have found only a few sporadic examples (partly set expressions) in the language of writers of the older generation:

[...] поверг его бездыханна на землю, (Deržavin VI, 442); [...] меня выпустили [...] нагая ницца [...] (Narežnyj I, 547); [...] оставили (меня) на улице еле жива. (Narežnyj I, 451); Карл по своему обыкновению везде совался, чтоб не попался в плен и имел под собою лошадь убитьй. (Puškin X, 120); Я привез его здрава и невредима [...] (Puškin XV, 96).

In the earliest period of modern Russian, the 18th century, the distinction between obligatory objective predicative (OOP) and facultative objective predicative (FOP) is not absolutely decisive for case-selection in the OP. Although in the 19th and 20th centuries case-variation (accusative/instrumental) is limited to FOPs (see the examples cited above), in the 18th century it is even found in OOPs (see the example with the predicative verb чаять below and Grannes, Acta Baltico-Slavica, forthcoming). In our corpus we have found in all 98 OP-constructions with SF adjectives and
participles. Of these 11, or 11.22%, are found in OOPs, e.g. […] чает его мёртва […] (Fonvizin I, 503). These 11 examples of SF adjectives and participles in OOP-constructions are excluded from our further treatment of SF usage. From the remaining 87 (98–11) FOP-constructions we also exclude 4 examples of the so-called “составной второй винительный причастия” (Potebnja 1958, I–II, 315):

(1) The participle is сущ(a) when constructed with a prepositional construction: […] обрете его в болезни суща. (RP XVIII, 221). In Old Russian the present participle of the verb бьти was, as in this example, by far the form most commonly used: “Другие причастия в этой функции исключительно редки […]” (Glinkina 1968, 126). However, in 3 out of 4 of our examples the present participle of the verb лежать is used:

(2) The participle is лежащ(a) in connection with an adjective: […] наши Владимир лежаща болна, ранена. (RP XVIII, 271); […] узрит мертвя мен’я у ног своих лежаща […] (Fonvizin I, 560); […] узрит мен’я мертвя у ног его лежаща (Fonvizin I, 568).

As can be seen from our examples, only SF participles are used in this construction in our corpus.

The presence of the participle makes the predicative function of the second accusative (-gen.) more explicit than in other accusativus duplex constructions. In A. A. Potebnja’s terms the participle represents “явственное выражения предикативности” (1958, I–II, 316).

In 18th-century Russian the “составной второй винительный причастия”, which L. A. Glinkina (1968, 126) characterizes as a “specific Old Russian” construction, is undoubtedly less frequently used and more archaic than the accusativus duplex constructions with SF adjectives and participles. It was, however, still used in high style prose (Fonvizin) even in the second half of the 18th century. In our corpus the SFs used in “составной второй винительный причастия” constitute 4.08% of all SFs (4 of 98 ex.) in OP-constructions.

As a basis for our further study of SF adjectives and participles the remaining 83 (87–4) FOP-constructions are used.

III. THE PROPORTION OF SF ADJECTIVES AND PARTICIPLES IN THE FOP-CONSTRUCTIONS

(1) 1/4 (21 of 83, or 25, 30%) of all SFs in the FOP-constructions are adjectives, e.g. О, если б нашел он Селиму уже мертву! (Fonvizin I, 525)

(2) The remaining 62 examples, constituting 74, 70% of our material, are participles:

(a) About 2/3 (42 of 62, or 67, 74%) of these are present participles, active,