

## Andrei Anatolievich Zalizniak In Memoriam\*

### 1. Introduction

Andrei Anatolievich Zalizniak<sup>1</sup> (April 29, 1935–December 24, 2017) was a linguist who was greatly admired and greatly loved. Those who knew him and his work found it remarkable that a single linguist could have accomplished so much in one lifetime,<sup>2</sup> and yet was so enthusiastically generous of his time with students, schoolchildren, colleagues, and curious strangers.

Zalizniak's father, Anatolij Andreevič Zalizniak (1906–78), was an engineer. His mother, Tatjana Konstantinovna Krapivina (1910–2011), was a chemist. She lived with Zalizniak and Paducheva for her last decades. Elena Viktorovna Paducheva (b. 1935) and Zalizniak were married in 1958; Paducheva is a distinguished linguist in her own right, a Doctor of Philology, and a renowned semanticist. Their daughter, Anna Andreevna Zalizniak (b. 1959), is

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<sup>1</sup> Our transliteration practice: When we know that someone's long-standing personal preference for the transliteration of their name in English-language contexts is different from the JSL standard (e.g. 'Zalizniak', 'Paducheva', 'Sitchinava', 'Tolstaya' rather than 'Zaliznjak', 'Padučeva', 'Sičinava', 'Tolstaja'), we use their preferred transliteration if we are writing about them in our text, including when we are translating from Russian into English something someone else wrote about them. But in the bibliography, when transliterating citations of works in Russian, we use JSL standard in both author names and names occurring within titles of works. Exceptions: we write 'Zalizniak', 'Yanin', 'Testelet' as author names (though not within titles). For émigrés such as Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov, we use their American names, even when writing about pre-emigration times.

<sup>2</sup> A complete bibliography of his works up to 2010 is available in an appendix to Zalizniak 2010: [http://inslav.ru/images/stories/people/zalizniak/Zalizniak\\_2010\\_biblio.pdf](http://inslav.ru/images/stories/people/zalizniak/Zalizniak_2010_biblio.pdf). A more up to date but less complete list is available at Zalizniak's MGU site: <https://istina.msu.ru/profile/andrei.zalizniak/>. And eight of his books, and a few other things, are downloadable from his site at the RAN Institute of Slavic Studies: <http://inslav.ru/people/zaliznyak-andrey-anatolevich-1935-2017>.

a linguist, a Doctor of Philology and a research scientist at the RAN Institute of Linguistics; she is married to philologist Mikhail Mikheev and has two children, Boris Turovsky (b. 1987) and Melanie Mikheeva (b. 1999).

## 2. Early Years<sup>3</sup>

In 1946, his mother sent the 11-year-old Zalizniak to relatives in Western Belarus, to the town of Pruzhany, which had earlier been part of Poland. At that time there were many languages spoken there, including Russian, Belarusian, and Polish. Polish made a particular impression on him—it had a different alphabet. So he taught himself to speak Polish. Later it turned out that the pronunciation there differed greatly from Warsaw pronunciation, so when he tried to show that he knew some Polish, he was roundly laughed at. (He laughs roundly himself as he tells the story.)

He soon started buying textbooks and dictionaries of various languages in second-hand Moscow book stores. In 1951 he learned that Moscow State University would host the first Olympiad in “literature and languages”. He entered and won first prize. There he and Lena Paducheva, who won third prize in the same Olympiad, first saw each other; they became acquainted only in University (Elena Paducheva, p.c.). In 1952 he participated in the next Olympiad and, again, did brilliantly.

## 3. University Years and Paris

In 1952 Zalizniak was admitted to the Romance-Germanic section of the MSU philological faculty. He studied with several philologists, especially Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov, the great Soviet and Russian philologist and Indo-Europeanist, who was fired from MSU in 1960 because of his sympathy for Boris Pasternak and connections with Roman Jakobson. Zalizniak’s main interests became general linguistics, typology, Indo-European, and Germanic linguistics.

In his biography there is an episode unusual for the Soviet period: at the end of his fourth year at the university, he was selected to go to Paris for 1956–57. He attributes his luck to being practically the only male student who knew French; girls were not sent abroad alone for a year (for their protection). It presumably didn’t hurt that he was an outstanding student and excellent at languages.

Before he left for Paris, he received memorable advice: “Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov provided me with a list of all the professors in Paris

<sup>3</sup> The information in this section comes in minutes 7–9 in the 2015 video with V.A. Us-pensky, “Ostrova. Jandeks, Gugl, i ‘Algoritm Zaliznjaka’ ”, [http://tvkultura.ru/video/show/brand\\_id/20882/episode\\_id/1191580/video\\_id/1168076/viewtype/picture](http://tvkultura.ru/video/show/brand_id/20882/episode_id/1191580/video_id/1168076/viewtype/picture).

whose lectures were most worth attending—with a firm order: courses must be chosen not by their topic, but by who is lecturing” (Zalizniak 2018: 17).

In Paris at the École Normale Supérieure, the lectures that had the longest-lasting impact on him were Martinet’s on general linguistics and Benveniste’s on Iranian linguistics. He also studied the Vedas and Crete-Mycenaean philology (Zalizniak 2010: 214). Zalizniak describes his Paris year vividly in the Ostrova video and in Zalizniak 2018.

Dmitri Sitchinava recalls, “The time spent in Paris, he always remembered with pleasure—both the scientific and the everyday aspects. In his apartment there is a painting in primitive style by one of his friends<sup>4</sup> with the caption ‘Zalizniak in Paris, or eternal youth’. His first book was a Russian-French learners’ dictionary (Zalizniak 1961) with a masterly 150-page description of Russian grammar, his *Očerki*. Such grammatical ‘*précis*’<sup>5</sup> were to become his business card. In later years, he tried to visit the city of his ‘eternal youth’ every year. Like another Russian genius, Pushkin, Zalizniak was in his soul not only a Russian, but undoubtedly also a Frenchman” (Sičínava 2017).

In 1958, after his fifth and final year back at MSU, he graduated with his diploma, directed by Ivanov, married, and began teaching and doing graduate work at MSU.

Svetlana Tolstaya recalls, “I got acquainted with Andrei Anatolievich in 1958, when he returned as a 23-year-old from Paris and began teaching the Sanskrit course at the philological faculty of Moscow State University, and then the Vedic language, the Old Persian cuneiform, somewhat later Arabic, Old Hebrew, and linguistic problem sets”<sup>6</sup> (Tolstaja 2018). She recalls surprise when Zalizniak made a sharp turn from Indo-European studies to the study of Russian. “... but he repeatedly said that he was interested not in *languages* but in *language*, language as a perfect and extremely complex mechanism that made man a man. .... Such comprehension of the deep mechanisms of language is possible only on the basis of the native language.”

Zalizniak was expelled from the graduate program at Moscow State University after he (together with I.A. Mel’čuk and V.A. Dybo) signed a letter in defense of Ivanov, who was fired in 1960 (Elena Paducheva, p.c.). In 1960, he was invited to work at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Academy of Sciences (AN SSSR) in the department of Slavic Linguistics. The department head, S.B. Bernštejn, wanted him to study early Slavic-Iranian language contacts in depth, but Zalizniak wrote only two articles before turning his energies to work on Russian inflectional morphology.

<sup>4</sup> It was by the mathematician Robert Minlos. It is reproduced on the back cover of Zalizniak 2018.

<sup>5</sup> As for example, Sanskrit: (Zalizniak 1978c).

<sup>6</sup> On these linguistic problem sets, see Section 9.

#### 4. Early Major Work: Russian Inflectional Morphology and the Dictionary

Zalizniak's 1965 Candidate dissertation (Zalizniak 1965) grew out of the work on nominal inflection in the *Očerk* in his Russian-French dictionary. From Tolstaja 2018: "It is from this appendix that the threads stretch to the whole further brilliant path of Andrei Anatolievich as a Russianist. Already his work on the appendix showed how inaccurate, incomplete, and contradictory the descriptions of the morphology of the Russian language in existing grammars were. ... There were also serious gaps in the science of the Russian language: grammars completely lacked rules concerning accentuation. ... In the approach that Andrei Anatolievich chose, most important were the strict logic and completeness of factual data; nothing should be missed, it was necessary to find an algorithm for constructing the correct grammatical forms with the stress taken into account—first an exhaustive analysis of real forms, and then clear rules for their generation."

The Candidate dissertation gave an algorithmic, generative description of Russian nominal inflection, and for its exceptional quality Zalizniak was immediately<sup>7</sup> awarded the higher degree of Doctor.

Zalizniak's first great achievements came in two books ten years apart. The first was *Russkoe imennoe slovoizmenenie* (Zalizniak 1967), a 370-page book that formalizes morphological structure and derivational algorithms for an exhaustive specification of the nominal inflectional morphology of Russian, including nouns, adjectives, pronouns, etc. That work was a revision of the dissertation (Zalizniak 1965), the germ of which was contained in his 1961 *Očerk*.

Zalizniak was the first to describe inflection in Russian as an integral formal system, refining Kolmogorov and Uspensky's set-theoretic definition of case. Introducing the concept of equivalence of paradigms, he identified six "agreement classes" combining the three traditional genders with the +/- animate feature, and a novel "fourth gender" for pluralia tantum nouns like *sani*, making them a seventh agreement class on a par with classes like "masculine animate" (see Zalizniak 1967: 75–80).

The second great work was the *Grammatical Dictionary of Russian: Inflection* (Zalizniak 1977) (the *Dictionary*), which includes both nominal declensions and verbal conjugations, covers 100,000 words (110,000 in later editions), and has 136 pages of explanatory prose. It alphabetizes words by their last letters (not their first), thus greatly easing research on suffixes and endings; when a paradigm has a gap (like the famous missing genitive plural of *mečta* 'dream') this is explicitly indicated.

<sup>7</sup> "Immediately" is a slight exaggeration. V.A. Uspensky, who played the central role in bringing it about, tells the story vividly in Uspenskij (2013).

As Zalizniak explains in the foreword to the first edition of the *Dictionary*, “A complete grammatical dictionary should indicate for each word in it all those characteristics which are essential for constructing grammatically correct phrases containing the given word. ... The present dictionary fully reflects only the inflectional characteristics of the word—hence its subtitle. The dictionary provides everything needed to construct the *paradigm* of a word.” (from the preface to the first edition of the *Dictionary*, p. 4 in the 4th edition.)

For the general linguist, most important is the theoretical underpinning of Zalizniak’s work. “At the heart of the plan was the idea of the rigor and completeness of a linguistic description that inspired many linguists in those years. The system of inflection, so complex in Russian, seemed almost an ideal object for just such a description.” (from the preface to the 4th edition, p. 3). That exposition of Zalizniak’s goals suggests both the complexity of the challenging problems he solved and their significance. His model characterized Russian inflection exhaustively and in a linguistically explanatory manner, considering alternatives and explaining his choices.

Equally important was completeness: this was a large dictionary, whose word list was taken from a set of existing major dictionaries, omitting certain items like hyphenated words, obsolete words, colloquial regionalisms, etc. Younger generations would exclaim at the idea of attempting such a task without computational tools. “In fact, the working tool was four bread trays, procured in a nearby bakery: each held 25 thousand slips of thin paper.” (p. 3 in the *Dictionary*)

Three points are interesting in the historical context of the work.

- (i) This was independent academic work, not a commercial dictionary, nor part of an Academy project. In fact the head of the Academy’s Institute of Russian Language told the publisher “Russkij Jazyk” not to publish it, but that publisher, who was independent of the Academy, went ahead, and published 100,000 copies, rather than the 5000 Zalizniak suggested; they sold out quickly.
- (ii) The result was a formal model of Russian inflection. And when the demand for computational models of language later arose, Zalizniak’s *Dictionary* and his precise and complete inflectional algorithms were ideally suited for the task.
- (iii) Zalizniak argued, and showed, that theory vs. data is a false opposition.

In the 1980s–90s, the *Dictionary* was used as a starting point for several computer implementations of Russian morphology. As Nikolai Grigoriev, familiar with morphology at Yandex and its predecessors from 1992 to 2014, told us (p.c. 9 July 2018), an implementation of the *Dictionary* by Yuri D. Apresjan

and his colleagues at IITP was purchased in 1992 by the founders of Yandex and served as a base for Russian inflection support in the Yandex search engine. Segalovič (2003) showed that his (Yandex's) 'guessing' algorithm for novel words, trained on the *Dictionary*, was superior to other available approaches.

Along the way, Zalizniak produced excellent work on more topics than we can discuss. We just mention four: his work on Sanskrit (Zalizniak 1978c), a short grammar included in a dictionary; his formalization of the notion of 'case' (Zalizniak 1973); a beautiful joint article ahead of its time on the typology of relative clauses (Zalizniak and Padučeva 1975), well described in Iosad et al. 2018; and the remarkable article Zalizniak and Padučeva 1979, where they rediscovered the island constraints of Ross's dissertation, not then available in the USSR, and managed to do so on the basis of relative clauses alone.

## 5. Accentuation and Its History

As Piperski (2017) notes, Zalizniak's central interests shifted in the 1970s from synchronic grammar and linguistic theory to the history of Russian, and his achievements in the history of accentuation in Russian were monumental. His synchronic work on Russian paradigms, starting with his 1961 *Očerok*, had already included a formal treatment of accentuation, filling a lacuna that had persisted in published Russian grammars.

Then in 1978 he published two important historical articles (Zalizniak 1978a, 1978b) that showed how the two different kinds of *o*'s found in 14th–16th century manuscripts distinguish accented from unaccented syllables. Roughly, he showed that the letter *o* ("on") was inherently unaccented, while the letter  $\omega$  ("omega") was inherently accented. For words like *zoloto*, written with three *o*'s, indicating the absence of any accented syllable, he showed that they received a default accent, weaker than a 'real' accent, on the first syllable (Piperski 2017).

His earlier work on accentuation in inflectional paradigms had made use of abstract underlying phonological properties; a feature such as "this morpheme wants the accent to its right" played a role in the algorithms for deriving accentual properties of forms in a paradigm. In his study of the *Merilo pravednoe* he showed how the 14th century orthography related to the underlying phonological structure.

Zalizniak summarized his findings about the path from Proto-Slavic accent to Russian stress in Zalizniak 1985, where he "once again produced an elegant system that makes it possible to determine the stress of a word by using a simple derivational algorithm based on the accentual specifications of its constituent morphemes" (Iosad et al. 2018: 178). He certainly built on previous work, but unlike earlier authors, he "made all the refinements required to produce a full account, both diachronic and synchronic, of the entirety of the

Old Russian data. For almost 30 years, the index to Zalizniak's book served as the best historical accentological dictionary of Russian, until it was surpassed by a dedicated dictionary published as *Zalizniak 2014'* (Iosad et al. 2018: 178). For that latter book he was awarded the Shakhmatov Prize of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2015.

## 6. The Birchbark Scrolls

In 1980 Zalizniak became interested in the 11th-15th century birchbark documents (*berestjanye gramoty*, henceforth *gramoty*) being excavated in Novgorod under the leadership of the archaeologist V.L. Yanin, and he participated in that work in Novgorod every summer from 1982 until 2017. The *gramoty* were small pieces of rolled-up birchbark with brief personal or business letters,<sup>8</sup> written by scratching with a stylus, and accidentally preserved in the damp oxygen-poor soil.

The first *gramoty* were found around Novgorod in 1951 by the archaeologist A.V. Arcixovskij, who led Novgorod expeditions from 1932 until Yanin took over in 1962. But until Zalizniak began studying them, the prevailing view was that they had been written by barely literate people. His signal contribution was to recognize that what had been considered signs of illiteracy in the writers of the Novgorod texts was instead evidence of previously unknown features of the Novgorod dialect of Old Russian or Old East Slavic and of their writing system. The *gramoty* turned out to provide unique vestiges of the colloquial vernacular spoken in the former Novgorod Republic, a remarkably literate society where even women wrote.

Zalizniak published extensively on the *gramoty*, their decipherment, the old Novgorod dialect and its significance in the history of the Slavic languages. "Zalizniak established beyond doubt that the vast majority of the birchbark letters were written according to a graphic system different from the one used in the Church Slavonic-oriented books, and that beyond these rules, quite strictly defined and presumably taught to the pupils, they contain very few mistakes or slips of the pen. The birchbark corpus revealed that the Old Novgorod dialect featured phenomena unknown anywhere in the Slavic world outside this variety—such as the non-palatalizing suffix *-e* in the nominative singular of masculine *o*-stems (as opposed to *-ь* everywhere else), or the lack of the second palatalization of velars—and that these traits persisted in vernacular speech until a very late period. Some of Zalizniak's discoveries in the field go beyond the Old Novgorod dialect proper and hold for the entirety of Old East Slavic" (Iosad et al. 2018).

<sup>8</sup> In English they are variously known as birchbark scrolls, birchbark documents, birchbark letters.

Zalizniak's annual fall lectures on each summer's findings and their linguistic significance always drew overflow crowds. The main results so far are included in volumes 8–12 of the series *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste* written together with V.L. Yanin and more recently also A.A. Gippius (Yanin and Zalizniak 1986, 1993, 2000; Yanin et al. 2004, 2015), and the book (Zalizniak 1995/2004).

A related project was the study of the Novgorod Codex, discovered by Yanin's team in 2000. The Codex is a palimpsest from around 1000 AD consisting of wooden tablets covered with a layer of wax, on which its former owner wrote down probably hundreds of texts during two or three decades, each time wiping out the preceding text, but leaving scratches in the soft wood below the wax. When the wax was separated from the wood, some symbols could be discerned in the exposed scratches.

With exceedingly hard and patient work that few others could even have attempted, Zalizniak was able to identify a number of concealed texts, some of them psalms and other known biblical texts but also a number of previously unknown texts that suggest that the writer belonged to a group deemed heretical by the 'official' church.

## 7. *Slovo o Polku Igoreve*

Zalizniak's *Slovo o Polku Igoreve* (Zalizniak 2004/2007/2008) concerns the authenticity of the 12th century text of that name—the earliest known Slavic epic poem, and the earliest Slavic writing without any mixture of Old Church Slavonic. For many years there were disputes about whether it was a forgery; the Harvard historian Edward L. Keenan had recently argued (Keenan 2004) that *Slovo* was a product of the late 18th century. To test such hypotheses, Zalizniak scrutinized linguistic details and found that *Slovo* contains several dozen linguistic features distinctive to the dialect of the 12th century *gramoty*, linguistic properties only discovered in the 20th century. While it is common to say that Zalizniak proved the authenticity of *Slovo*, Zalizniak rejected the word *proved*. “[He was] dispassionately weighing the probability that each distinctive property directly reflects the language of an Old Russian author, and the probability that it was achieved by a skillful imitation of antiquity in modern times. The result of this analysis is a gigantic preponderance of arguments in favor of the authenticity of this work: it turns out that the alleged 18th century forger would have to possess linguistic knowledge which the rest of humanity gained only over the course of the next two centuries” (Zalizniak 2010: 216).

In 2007 Zalizniak received two major awards specifically mentioning his work on *Slovo*. He was awarded the Great Gold Medal of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the highest prize the Academy awards, “for discoveries about Old Russian of the early period and for the demonstration of the authenticity

of the great monument of Russian literature ‘*Slovo o polku Igoreve*.’” And the Alexander Solzhenitsyn Prize, a nongovernmental prize established by Solzhenitsyn, was awarded in 2007 “for fundamental achievements in the study of the Russian language, the decipherment of Old Russian texts; for a fine-grained linguistic study of the primary source of Russian poetry ‘*Slovo o polku Igoreve*’ convincingly proving its authenticity.” Zalizniak himself had little interest in awards, and expressed concern that praise for his findings about *Slovo* was not always based on a dispassionate interest in the truth.

## 8. Speaking Out

Starting in 2000, Zalizniak began publicly criticizing the amateur linguistic analysis underlying much of the pseudo-history propounded by the mathematician A.T. Fomenko; many of his writings on that topic are collected in a book *Remarks on Amateur Linguistics* (Zalizniak 2010). The appendix “About the author” in that book includes this (215–16): “Fomenko’s radically revisionist stories about the alleged history of different countries ... are almost entirely based on amateur speculation about the origin of words—geographical names and people’s names. There were other publications whose authors claim a complete revision of history, also based on amateur arguments about words—equally unskilled. Thus, the problem of establishing the truth in this matter has acquired considerable public significance. It is to this circle of questions that the work of A.A. Zalizniak published in this volume is devoted.”

The text of a speech Zalizniak gave on the occasion of receiving the Alexander Solzhenitsyn prize in 2007, “*Istina suščestvuet, i cel’ju nauki javljaetsja ee poisk*” (“Truth exists, and the goal of science is the search for it”), is published as the last paper in that volume (204–12). That lecture, and the circulated videotape of it (Zalizniak 2007), created a big stir among the public and in the press, and its title sentence has become famously associated with his fight against amateur linguistics and pseudo-science.

Anna Polivanova, one of Zalizniak’s first students, writing on a memorial page (Polivanova 2017), made a connection between Zalizniak’s complete absence of arrogance, his patience with naivety, and his ability to out-argue Fomenko to those who found Fomenko most convincing. “Besides Andrei Anatolievich, no one could do this so brilliantly. It is necessary to master the material perfectly and to know everything, but to speak so that the simplest person understands it.” Polivanova senses that Zalizniak felt called to that challenge—“If not me, then who?” She is one of many who feel that he was right, and are grateful that he took up that challenge.

## 9. Outreach and Pedagogy

Zalizniak devoted great skill and energy to bringing linguistics to a wider public, especially young people.

He was the first to create and publish self-contained “linguistic problems”, starting with Zalizniak 1963. Piperski (2018) describes that collection and gives examples. “In [that article] he demonstrated that it’s possible to analyze facts of an unknown language, relying on strict logic in combination with just the most basic notions of how texts in human language are constructed. ... Special knowledge is not needed: for instance, there is a problem in which 14 phrases in Basque are given with translations into Hungarian, and the reader is asked to translate three phrases from Hungarian into Basque. The author emphasizes that the problem is for those who know neither language” (Piperski 2018: 15).

The idea of such problems caught on quickly, and the First Traditional Linguistics Olympiad was held at MSU in 1965. “The genesis of the genre of a self-sufficient linguistic problem in our country is connected with the names of two people: ... A.A. Zalizniak ... played an enormous role in the creation of the genre. The second person ... is A.N. Žurinskij, who initiated the first Olympiad” (Belikov et al. 2006: 3). “In the academic year 2017/18 the 48th Olympiad is being held, dedicated to the memory of Zalizniak, the creator of the first self-sufficient problems at the junction of language and logic” (Piperski 2018: 16). The authors of the obituary article (Iosad et al. 2018) note that all four of them were introduced to linguistics as high school students at the linguistic Olympiad in Moscow (181).

Zalizniak was a gifted and charismatic pedagogue, and gave wonderful lectures for schoolchildren<sup>9</sup> as well as for the public. From 2007 to 2017 he gave a guest lecture every year at the Summer Linguistic School for schoolchildren at Dubna. There is a website<sup>10</sup> with links to videos of more than twenty of his “popular lectures”, about half of them at the summer school, including “Ešče raz o žizni slov” (2016), “Èpizod iz istorii ruskogo udarenija” (2015), “Korotko ob arabskom jazyke” (2013).

Yakov Testelets recalls, “My first meeting with Andrei Anatolievich took place on a winter evening in 1973. I was a pupil of the eighth grade and came to a linguistic circle at Moscow State University. He led a lesson with us—and

<sup>9</sup> The authors had the pleasure of sitting in on one of his invited talks at the school Mumi-Troll’, organized by the linguist Ilya Itkin, a part-time teacher there. Zalizniak’s lively talk on how some surprising findings about the Novgorod dialect changed long-standing views about the history of Russian had the children (and us) spell-bound, and the children asked lots of questions, all of which he answered with beautiful respect and seriousness.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.mathnet.ru/conf151>

although I did not understand anything in linguistics at that time, it became clear to me at once that the ideal of the scientist was in front of me. ... Great talent as a researcher and an equal gift for teaching are rarely combined in one person. They were in Zalizniak" (Testelelets 2017).

## 10. Closing

We close with three of Zalizniak's students' and colleagues' expressions of appreciation and loss. Many tributes and remembrances appeared on the same day that Zalizniak died, here: [https://takiedela.ru/news/2017/12/24/pamyati\\_zaliznyaka/](https://takiedela.ru/news/2017/12/24/pamyati_zaliznyaka/), as did Pavel Iosad's beautiful short tribute: <https://www.facebook.com/pavel.iosad/posts/10155046659686161?pnref=story>.

Alexander Piperski's obituary essay (Piperski 2017) appeared the next day, as did Dmitri Sitchinava's (Sičinava 2017) and Alexei Gippius's (Gippius 2017), and more continued into 2018, including Piperski 2018 and Iosad et al. 2018.

Zalizniak's former student Alexandra Raskina in her congratulatory letter on the occasion of his 80th birthday (<http://inslav.ru/zalizniak80/congratulations/raskina.html>) recalled the one time she was at his home, in 1968, regretting that she didn't immediately afterwards write down the mass of interesting things that he said then. "But I remember very well", she wrote, "that you said, 'Some scientists move forward by kilometers, but then they necessarily leave something out. And others set themselves the task of not leaving anything out, but then they move forward by centimeters.' I want to say that you showed with your life that there are (if only very rarely) scientists who move forward by kilometers and yet leave nothing out."

Yakov Testelelets's comments on the day of Zalizniak's death included the following (Testelelets 2017): "On the occasion of Andrei Anatolievich's 70th birthday I sent him a greeting consisting of three exclamations. He was touched. ... The first exclamation: 'How wonderful that there is such an amazing phenomenon as human language! How much sadder our world would be if there were no language in it.' Second exclamation: 'How wonderful that human language can be studied by scientific methods! It could have, like other kinds of human behavior, not been amenable to them.' The third exclamation: 'How wonderful that among us linguists there is such a person as you!' ... The question 'What is the difference between Zalizniak and other linguists?' has no more answer than the question 'How is Mozart different from other composers?' "

And the last paragraph of Piperski's obituary on the next day (Piperski 2017): "Andrei Anatolievich Zalizniak was not only a great scientist, but also a man who spread around him the joy of scientific discovery. He could permit himself to write 'a note on the etymology of a vernacular word beginning with ž' or deliver a two-hour lecture about the how and why of the formation of words apparently undeserving of serious attention, like *Butyrka*, *Nobelevka*,

and *vypivon*<sup>11</sup>—and did it on the same high scientific level as everything else, showing by example that science is not only useful and important, but also enthralling. This bright joy, which emanated from him until the very last day, we, his students, will never forget.”

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<sup>11</sup> The examples are from a paper on “expressive” word-formation mechanisms in Russian, delivered at a conference in honor of Mel'čuk's 80th birthday (Zalizniak 2012).

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