

RUSSIAN NOMINAL FLEXION

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this article I intend to give a description of the flexion of the Russian nominal system in terms of morphonemes. The description is based chiefly on Zaliznjak 1967. Following Russian usage I include morphonemes in < >.

A purely functional approach to the phonemic level of language leads inevitably to the assumption of archiphonemes.¹ On the morphonemic level, however, the use of archiphonemes is cumbersome and can be avoided by the introduction of morphonemes. These units stand for phonemes or sequences of phonemes that pattern like single phonemes (e.g., affricates and diphthongs in various languages) and for archiphonemes that alternate with the corresponding phonemes. If the morphonemic interpretation of an archiphoneme is impossible due to the absence of relevant alternation with a "full" phoneme, and considerations of simplicity or pattern congruity do not yield a decisive criterion, the phonetic facts can be taken into account in order to reach a unique solution, e.g., *копова* /karóva/ <karóva> 'cow'. Since the number of units operative at the morphonemic level should be kept to a minimum, no "hyperphonemes" are assumed.² Thus, the automatic alternation between phonemes and archiphonemes within a morpheme is satisfactorily described by the correspondence rules between the phonemic and the morphonemic level of the language.

2. RUSSIAN MORPHONEMES

2.1. VOWELS: <i>, <y>, <e>, <ɛ>, <a>, <o>, <u>, <Ø>.
<i, y> = /i/ ~ /ɪ/ ~ /I/.

¹ Cf. Kortlandt, 1972a:131 ff.

² Cf. Panov, 1967:235 ff.

- $\langle e, \varepsilon \rangle = /e/ \sim /t/ \sim /I/.$
 $\langle a \rangle = /a/ \sim /o/ \sim /I/.$
 $\langle o \rangle = /o/ \sim /a/ \sim /I/.$
 $\langle u \rangle = /u/ \sim /U/.$

1. The positions in which the various phonemes and archiphonemes occur are described in Kortlandt 1973a:74f.
2. The morphonemes $\langle i \rangle$ and $\langle e \rangle$ palatalize a preceding hard consonant if it has a soft counterpart. Examples: белить $\langle bel-i-t \rangle$, белеть $\langle bel-é-t \rangle$.
3. The morphoneme $\langle \emptyset \rangle$ is phonemically either zero or an infix of $\langle e \rangle$ or $\langle o \rangle$. I am unable to give a simple rule for the choice between the zero and the nonzero variant.³ The nonzero variant is infixated before the consonant preceding the $\langle \emptyset \rangle$. The infix is $\langle e \rangle$ before $\langle c \rangle$, $\langle č \rangle$ and soft sonorants ($\langle m \rangle$, $\langle n \rangle$, $\langle l \rangle$, $\langle r \rangle$, $\langle j \rangle$) unless it is preceded by a velar consonant, and $\langle o \rangle$ elsewhere. Examples: $\langle e \rangle$ in день, отец, волчец, заяц, жечь, восемь, ремень, воробей, лисий, третий, овец, деревень, капель, статей, копий, каменя $\langle kaměn-Øj-a \rangle$, чай $\langle č-Øj-Ø \rangle$, $\langle o \rangle$ in лёд, ложь, зол, огонь, уголь, угорь, песок, тонок, должен, овёс, ломоть, любовь, кухонь, сказок, каём, сестёр, серёг, уголья $\langle úgl-Øj-a \rangle$, доня $\langle dn-Øj-a \rangle$, сотовый $\langle st-Ø-uj \rangle$. Exceptions: $\langle e \rangle$ in хребет $\langle xrebт-Ø \rangle$, лев $\langle lv-Ø \rangle$, весь $\langle vš-Ø \rangle$, тем $\langle tm-Ø \rangle$, корчем $\langle karčm-Ø \rangle$, судеб $\langle sudb-Ø \rangle$ (archaic), $\langle i \rangle$ in один $\langle adn-Ø \rangle$, яиц $\langle jajc-Ø \rangle$, ектений, епитимий, манатий, $\langle a \rangle$ in кочан $\langle kačn-Ø \rangle$.⁴
4. Morphonemic stress is present in monosyllabic as well as in polysyllabic word forms.⁵ When $\langle \emptyset \rangle$ is phonemically zero, the accent shifts to the preceding vowel.
5. If the ending is stressed, the stress is on the first syllable of the ending unless indicated otherwise.

2.2. CONSONANTS.

2.2.1. Hard consonants.

- Labials: $\langle p \rangle$, $\langle b \rangle$, $\langle f \rangle$, $\langle v \rangle$, $\langle m \rangle$.
 $\langle p \rangle = /p/ \sim /p/ \sim /P/ \sim /P/, \text{ etc.}$
Dentals: $\langle t \rangle$, $\langle d \rangle$, $\langle c \rangle$, $\langle s \rangle$, $\langle z \rangle$, $\langle n \rangle$, $\langle l \rangle$, $\langle r \rangle$.
 $\langle s \rangle = /s/ \sim /s/ \sim /S/ \sim /S/ \sim /Σ/, \text{ etc.}$

³ Cf. Gr 1970:479 ff.; Zaliznjak, 1967:268 ff.

⁴ The new Academic Grammar gives (incorrectly) the form хребёт instead of хребёт (Gr 1970:481) and does not mention the form яиц. Incidentally, the word form весь (not *весь) is not covered by Zaliznjak's system of rules (1967:259 ff.).

⁵ Cf. Kortlandt, 1972b:57. Phonemic stress is neutralized in monosyllabic words.

$\langle c \rangle = /T_s/ \sim /T_{\dot{s}}/ \dots$

Palatals: $\langle \check{s} \rangle$, $\langle \check{z} \rangle$.

Velars: $\langle k \rangle$, $\langle g \rangle$, $\langle x \rangle$.

2.2.2. *Soft consonants.*

Labials: $\langle \dot{p} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{b} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{f} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{v} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{m} \rangle$.

Dentals: $\langle \dot{t} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{d} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{s} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{z} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{n} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{l} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{r} \rangle$.

Palatals: $\langle \check{c} \rangle$, $\langle \check{j} \rangle$.

Velars: $\langle \dot{k} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{g} \rangle$, $\langle \dot{x} \rangle$.

1. The positions in which the various phonemes and archiphonemes occur are described in Kortlandt 1973a:77ff.

2. Intervocalic $\langle j \rangle$ is phonemically zero if it is preceded or followed by $/i/$, $/u/$, $/I/$. Word-initial $\langle j \rangle$ is phonemically zero if it is followed by $/i/$.

3. Velar consonants are soft before suffix-initial $\langle y \rangle$, e.g., *рукъ* $\langle ruk-y \rangle$, *руки* $\langle ruk-y \rangle$.⁶

3. NOUN CATEGORIES

- 3.1. There are six CASES: nominative ‘N’, accusative ‘A’, genitive ‘G’, locative ‘L’, dative ‘D’, instrumental ‘I’. Some nouns have a second genitive ‘G2’, a third genitive ‘G3’, or a second locative ‘L2’.⁷
- 3.2. There are two NUMBERS: singular ‘sg’ and plural ‘pl’.
- 3.3. There are three concord classes, traditionally called “GENDERS”: masculine ‘m’, feminine ‘f’, and neuter ‘n’. In the plural there is no gender distinction except in the words *два*, *две* ‘two’ and *оба*, *обе* ‘both’.
- 3.4. There are five FLEXION CLASSES: the first ‘(1)’, second ‘(2)’, and third ‘(3)’ declension of traditional grammar,⁸ the adjectival flexion ‘(4)’, and the class of uninflected nouns ‘(5)’. Uninflected nouns have no case endings. There are no f (1) and no n (2) nouns. There is one m (3) noun: *путь* ‘way’. In the plural there is no distinction between the flexion classes (1), (2), (3). Proper names and place-names ending in the stem formatives $\langle ov \rangle$, $\langle in \rangle$ belong to class (1) or (4) in the singular and to class (4) in the plural.

⁶ This rule is lacking for the Gsg of words belonging to the second flexion class in Gr 1970:386, where it is formulated for the Npl only.

⁷ Since G2 = D for all nouns which have a G2 different from G, it would seem more appropriate to regard G2 as a special syntactic use of D rather than as a separate case form. This does not hold for the count form G3, which is a morphologically as well as syntactically distinct class.

⁸ Cf. Đurović, 1964; Isačenko, 1968; Shapiro, 1969; Stankiewicz, 1968.

- 3.5. There are two major and four minor ACCENT CLASSES: the class of nouns with fixed stress 'I', the class of nouns with fixed sg stress and fixed pl stress but opposition between sg and pl stress 'II', the classes of nouns with fixed sg stress and mobile pl stress 'Ia' 'IIa', and the classes of nouns with mobile sg stress 'Ib' 'IIb'.

4. CASE ENDINGS

4.1. SINGULAR.

N (1) m <Ø>, n <o>, (2) <a>, (3) <Ø>, (4) m <oj>, <yj>, n <ojø>, f <aja>.

A (1) m <*>, n <o>, (2) <u>, (3) <Ø>, (4) m <*>, n <ojø>, f <uju>.

G (1) <a>, (2) (3) <y>, (4) mn <ovo>, f <oj>.

L (1) (2) <e>, (3) <y>, (4) mn <om>, f <oj>.

D (1) <u>, (2) <e>, (3) <y>, (4) mn <omu>, f <oj>.

I (1) <om>, (2) <oj(u)>, (3) mn <om>, f <Øju>, (4) mn <ym>, f <oj(u)>.

Examples: завóд, чу́ство, карта, имя, ра́дость, портно́й, мороженое, столбовая.

1. A <*> means A = G for animate nouns and A = N for inanimate nouns.

2. N (4) m <oj> in stressed and <yj> in unstressed position.

3. N <o> in m nouns ending in the suffixes <išk>, <ičč>, e.g., доми́шко, доми́ще, and in the nouns подмастéрье, полуудúрье, мазлó, треплó.

4. N f <a>, A f <u>, I m <ym> in proper names ending in the suffixes <ov>, <in>, e.g., Попóв(a), Никýтин(a).

5. NA <e>, L <y>, I in бытиé, житиé, питиé.⁹

6. LD <y>, I <ej(u)> in литиá, паремиá, судиá.

7. LDI <a> in the numerals сóрок, девяно́сто, сто.

8. I <oj> in дитá.

9. I <Øju> in the numerals пять, шесть, семь, вóсемь, дéвять, дéсять, двáдцать, трíдцать.

10. G2 (1) m <u> in a large number of nouns, e.g., чай, коньýк, керосíн, шум, нарóд.¹⁰

11. G3 <á> in ряд, след, час, шаг, шар, and G3 (4) = Gpl. There is a second variant G3 (4) f = Npl.

⁹ Also in небытиé, и nobытиé.

¹⁰ Cf. Gr 1970:378f.; Zaliznjak, 1967:282ff.; Stankiewicz, 1968:32ff.

12. L2 (1) m <ú>, n <ý>, (3) f <ý> in a large number of nouns, e.g.,
нос, край, аэропорт, забытьё, кровь, тень.¹¹

4.2. PLURAL.

N <y>, <i>, <a>, (4) <uyjy>.

A <*>.

G <of>, <ej>, <Ø>, (4) <yx>.

L <ax>, (4) <yx>.

D <am>, (4) <ym>.

I <ami>, (4) <ymi>.

1. A <*> means A = G for animate nouns and A = N for inanimate nouns.

2. N <y> in most m and f nouns, e.g., заво́д, жи́тель, музéй, кárта, земла, ráдость, болгáрин, in n nouns with fixed stress ending in <k> or <x>, e.g., яблоко, брю́хо, and in the nouns колéно, плечó, ýxo, óko, дита.

3. N <i> in nouns ending in <an> which drop the sg stem formative <in> in the plural, e.g., крестьнин, армянн, and in the nouns бáрин, боярн, пыгн.

4. N <a> in most n nouns, e.g., болóто, по́ле, ýмя, in nouns which take the pl stem formative <Øj>, e.g., стул, друг, дяя, гроzd, in nouns which take the sg stem formative <onk> and the pl stem formative <at>, e.g., гуснок, чертнок, in the nouns господн, хозян, in a large number of m nouns with fixed sg stress on the stem and fixed pl stress on the desinence, e.g., дом, берег, дирктор, кокль, and in a few m nouns with fixed stress on the desinence, e.g., рукв.¹²

5. G <of> in most m nouns ending in a hard non-palatal consonant or in <j>, e.g., заво́д, музéй, in most nouns which take the pl stem formative <Øj>, e.g., дяя, гроzd, древо, in n nouns ending in <k> with fixed pl stress on the desinence, e.g., озеро, óблакo, in n nouns ending in the suffix <ik>, e.g., личко, in the nouns древko, болтce, волокnce, кржевce, окnce, верхvye, низvye, плtье, развde, ýстe, острe, and in the noun сдно which drops the sg stem formative <n> in the plural.

6. G <ej> in most m nouns ending in a soft or palatal consonant except <j>, e.g., жи́тель, юноша, in most f nouns ending in a soft or palatal consonant except <j> if the ending is stressed, e.g., доя, дежа,

¹¹ Cf. Gr 1970:379 ff.; Zaliznjak, 1967:285 ff.; Stankiewicz, 1968:35 ff.

¹² Cf. Gr 1970:381 f.; Zaliznjak, 1967:223 f.; Stankiewicz, 1968:42 ff.

in f nouns ending in <kl̩, gl̩, xl̩>, e.g., сáкля, in f (3) nouns, e.g., ráдость, and in the nouns páспря, свóдня, тётя, óбжа, мрéжа (archaic), кóрча, вéрша, семядóля, мárля, пútля, ходúля, карáкуля, стáвня, схóдня, пéня, плútня, чýня, пригóршня, пóле, мóре, ýхо, óко, дитá, колéно, вéчe.¹³

7. G <Ø> in most f and n nouns, e.g., káрта, лíния, болóто, ýмя, in nouns which take the sg stem formative <onk> and the pl stem formative <at>, e.g., гусёнок, чертёнонок, in nouns which take the sg stem formative <in>, e.g., крестьянин, боярин, болгáрин, господíн, хозяин, in m (2) nouns ending in a hard non-palatal consonant or in <j>, e.g., слугá, судья, in the nouns дéверь, друг, князь, муж, сын, which take the pl stem formative <Øj>, in the nouns вóлос, зубóк, госпожá, дерéвня, зарá, земля, межá, простыня, шестернá, and in a number of m nouns denoting members of nationalities or military units, paired objects, or units of measurement, e.g., грузíн, румын, цыгáн, тóрок, партизáн, солдáт, кадéт, ботýнок, сапóг, глаз, аршин, ампéр, грамм, раз, человéк.¹⁴

8. I <mí> in 'дéти, люди, and optionally in дочь, лóшадь, дверь, зверь.

9. N <y> in proper names ending in the suffixes <ov>, <in>, e.g., Попóвы, Никýтины.

10. GL <ux>, D <ym>, I <ymi> in кáбелтьтов.¹⁵

5. STEM FORMATIVES

5.1. SUFFIXATION.

1. sg <in>, e.g., крестьянин, армянин, болгáрин, господíн.
2. sg <in>, pl <Øj> in шóрин.
3. sg <in>, pl <ov> in хозяин.
4. sg <onk>, pl <at>, e.g., гусёнок, волчóнок.
5. sg <onk>, pl <onat> in бесёнок, чертёнонок, щенóк.
6. sg <k> in цветóк.
7. sg <ic> in кóрица.
8. sg <n> in сúдно.
9. Nsg <os> in Христóс.
10. NAsg <a>, GLDIsgr <at> in дитá <detá-Ø>.

¹³ Zaliznjak does not mention the word колено in this connection (1967:230).

¹⁴ Cf. Gr 1970:382; Zaliznjak, 1967:228; Stankiewicz, 1968:54f. None of these sources mentions the word земля in this connection.

¹⁵ Also in швартóв according to Gr 1970:395.

11. GLDIsg ⟨ń⟩, pl ⟨n⟩ in бréмя, vréмя, výмя, znáмя, ýмя, pláмя, plémya, témya, which end in ⟨o⟩, and in cémya, strémya, which end in ⟨a⟩.
12. GLDIsg, pl ⟨eř⟩ in dóčь, mать.
13. pl ⟨Øj⟩, e.g., брат, друг, kóllos, dérevo, grózdy.¹⁶
14. pl ⟨ovØj⟩ in кум, сын.
15. pl ⟨es⟩ in drévo (archaic), nébo, chúdo.

5.2. PALATALIZATION.

1. sg hard, pl soft in koléno, socéd, chért.
2. Nsg soft, GDsg hard in gospódъ.
3. Gpl hard in f nouns ending in ⟨ń⟩ preceded by a non-velar consonant if the ending is not stressed, e.g., pésnja, and in the nouns cásjeny, šesterný. Exception: báryshnya.
4. LDIpl hard in čérkovъ.

5.3. ALTERNATION.

1. sg ⟨k, g, x⟩, pl ⟨č, z, š⟩ in nouns which take the pl stem formative ⟨Øj⟩, e.g., klok, drug, and in the nouns óko, úxo.
2. sg ⟨o⟩, pl ⟨e⟩ in chért.
3. Connective NAsg ⟨Ø⟩, GLDIsg ⟨ú⟩ (optional) in póldeny, pólnočь.

5.4. SUPPLETION.

1. sg ребёнок, pl déti.
2. sg человék, pl lóbdi.
3. Gpl лет to год.

6. ACCENT CLASSES

6.1. CLASS I. Fixed stress: approximately 98 % of all substantives.

1. Fixed stress on the stem, e.g., тигр, завóд, солдáт, гусéнок, chuvstvo, kárta, yúnoša, tetrádъ, stolóvaya, shoccé.
2. Fixed stress on the desinence, e.g., царь, стол, sapóg, son, slovцó, chertá, stupniá, любóvь ⟨lubv-Ø⟩, вошь ⟨vš-Ø⟩, portnóy.

6.2. CLASS II. Opposition between sg and pl stress: approximately 600 substantives.

¹⁶ Cf. Gr 1970:386f.; Zaliznjak, 1967:237; Stankiewicz, 1968:59f.

1. sg stress on the stem, pl stress on the desinence, e.g., *мáстер*, *сад*, *глаз*, *господíн*, *мéсто*, *móре*.
2. sg stress on the desinence, pl stress on the stem, e.g., *вино́*, *перó*, *дно*, *сук*, *кислотá*, *тяготá*.
3. sg stress on the root, pl stress on the stem formative in *дéрево*, *кáмень*, *кóлос*, *óbod*, *пóвод*, *пóлоз*, which take the pl stem formative *<Øj>*.¹⁷
4. sg stress on the stem formative, pl stress on the root in *армяни́н*, *гражданíн*, *дворяни́н*, *мещанин*, *селяни́н*, *славяни́н*, *христианин*, *чужанин*, which take the sg stem formative *<in>*.¹⁸
5. Stress alternation in the root in *знáмя*, *óзеро*.
6. Stress alternation in the stem formative in *бесёнок*, *чертёно́к*.

6.3. CLASS Ia. Shift of stress in the plural: approximately 50 substantives.

1. Npl stress retracted, e.g., *конъ*, *гвоздъ*, *крыльцó*, *губá*, *ноздрý*.
2. NGpl stress retracted in *дéньги*.
3. Gpl stress retracted in *суди́й*.

6.4. CLASS IIa. Opposition between sg and pl stress and shift of stress in the plural: approximately 150 substantives.

1. Npl stress retracted, e.g., *волк*, *вóлос*, *úхо*, *дерéвня*, *ночь*.
2. NGpl stress retracted in *сáжень*.¹⁹
3. Gpl stress retracted in *кру́жево*, *мáсло*.
4. Gpl stress shifted to the desinence in *овцá*, *свињá*, *семья́*, *сестрá*, *судь́я*, *гумно́*, *кольцó*, *яйцó*, *дéти*, *люди*, *хлóпоты*.²⁰

6.5. CLASS Ib. Shift of stress in the singular (and in the plural).

1. Asg Npl stress retracted in *горá*, *доскá*, *крохá*, *ногá*, *порá*, *рекá*, *рукá*, *средá*, *стенá*, *строкá*, *щекá*, *болонá*, *бородá*, *боронá*, *головá*, *полосá*, *середá*, *сторонá*.²¹
2. Nsg Npl stress retracted in *úголь* (variant with mobile stress).
3. Nsg stress retracted in *úгол*, *úгорь*, *úзел*, and in the numerals *вóсемь*, *дéвять*, *дéсять*, *двáдцать*, *трíдцать*, *сóрок*.
4. Nsg stress shifted to the desinence in *заём*, *наём*.²²

¹⁷ The noun *úголь* belongs to accent classes I and Ib.

¹⁸ Also in *согражданíн*. The noun *семьяни́н* belongs to accent class I.

¹⁹ The variant *сажéнь* belongs to accent class I.

²⁰ This rule is lacking in Gr 1970:441.

²¹ The nouns *река*, *строка*, *полоса* belong to accent classes Ia and Ib. The noun *река* belongs to accent class II also.

²² Also in *перенаём*, *поднаём*.

6.6. CLASS IIb. Opposition between sg and pl stress and shift of stress in the singular (and in the plural).

1. Asg stress retracted in *верстá*, *водá*, *дрогá*, *душá*, *зар্য*, *зимá*, *избá*, *косá*, *спинá*, *ценá*.²³
2. Asg stress retracted, Gpl stress shifted to the desinence in *землý*.
3. Nsg stress shifted to the desinence in *госпóдъ*, *перéд*.

7. THE FLEXION OF THE ADJECTIVE

7.1. CATEGORIES.

- 7.1.1. *Case*: N, A, G, L, D, I.
- 7.1.2. *Number*: sg, pl.
- 7.1.3. *Gender*: m, f, n.
- 7.1.4. *Attributiveness*: LONG, SHORT.
- 7.1.5. *Comparison*: positive, comparative.
- 7.1.6. *Flexion classes*: (4), (5).
- 7.1.7. *Accent classes*: I, II, III, I/III, II/III, IIa, IIIa.

1. In the short form there is no case.
2. In the short comparative there is no gender and no number.

7.2. FLEXIONAL SUFFIXES.

1. The regular LONG endings are given in section 4 above.
2. Nsg m <Ø>, n <o>, f <a>, Asg n <o>, f <u>, Npl <y> in adjectives ending in the stem formatives <Øj>, <ov>, <in>, e.g., *вóлчий*, *чéй*, *трéтий*, *чéртов*, *дáдин*, and in *мой*, *твой*, *свой*, *наш*, *ваш*, *госпóдень*. The same sg endings in *весь*, *оди́н*, *тот*, *этот*, and in *сам*, which has the variant Asg f <oj6>. The same pl ending in *двóе*, *трóе*, *три*, *четыре*.
3. Gsg mn <a>, Dsg mn <u> in adjectives ending in the stem formatives <ov>, <in>, e.g., *чéртов*. These endings are optional after the unstressed stem formative <in>, e.g., *дáдин*.
4. Nsg m <ej>, n <ejé>, f <ejá>, Asg n <ejé>, f <ejú> in *сей*.
5. GLDsg f <ej>, Isg f <ej(u)> in *весь*, *сей*, *мой*, *твой*, *свой*.
6. Isg mn , Npl <e>, GLpl <ex>, Dpl , Ipl <emi> in *весь*, *тот*, *этот*.
7. Isg mn <im>, Npl <i>, GLpl <ix>, Dpl <im>, Ipl <imi> in *оди́н*, *сам*.
8. N mn <a>, f <y>, GLDI <a> in *полторá*.
9. N mn <a>, f <e> in *два*, *обba*.

²³ The nouns *верста*, *заря*, *изба*, *коса* belong to accent classes II and IIb.

10. GL <x>, D <m>, I <má> in два, три, четы́ре.
11. The SHORT positive endings are: sg m <Ø>, n <o>, f <a>, pl <y>, e.g., нов, богат, учён.
12. The SHORT comparative ending is <e>, e.g., слабе́е <slab-éj-e>, моло́же <molož-Ø-e>, стárше <star-Øš-e>. There is a second variant <Ø> after the comparative stem formative <ej>, e.g., слабе́й <slab-éj-Ø>.

7.3. FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.

1. Nsg m <ot> in тот, ётот.
2. GLDI mn <oj>, f <ej> in óба.
3. GLDI <u> in два.
4. GLDI <o> in три, GLD <o> in четы́ре.
5. comparative <ej>, e.g., слабе́е, беле́е.
6. comparative <Ø>, e.g., ши́ре, моло́же, корóче, ти́ше.²⁴ There is a nonzero alternant in дешёвле.
7. comparative <Øš> in бóльше, мéньше, лúчше, стáрше, дáльше, дóльше, рáньше, тóньше, бóльши́й, мéньши́й, лúчши́й, хúдши́й, вýсши́й, нíзши́й, стárши́й, млáдши́й. There is a voiced alternant in глúбже.
8. comparative <ejØš>, <ajØš>, e.g., сильнéйши́й, величáйши́й.
9. positive <k> in бли́зкий, гáдкий, гла́дкий, жíдкий, корóткий, нíзкий, рéдкий, слáдкий, тóнкий, у́зкий.
10. positive <ok> in высо́кий, глубóкий, далёкий, широ́кий.

7.4. ALTERNATION.

1. SHORT sg m single <n> in a number of adjectives ending in <enn>, e.g., блажéный.²⁵
2. SHORT sg m hard in adjectives ending in <ñ> preceded by a consonant, e.g., дрéвний, излýшний.
3. SHORT sg mf hard, sg n, pl optionally hard in юскренний.
4. SHORT hard, LONG soft in солёный (солон, солонéе).
5. Connective NA <Ø>, GLDI <u> in полторá.
6. positive hard, comparative soft before the stem formative <Øš> in дóлгий, тóнкий.
7. positive <k, t, g, d, z, x, s>, comparative <č, ž, š> before the stem formative <Ø>, e.g., грóмкий, корóткий, простóй, дорогóй, молодóй, нíзкий, тýхий, высо́кий.

²⁴ Cf. Gr 1970:402.

²⁵ Cf. Zaliznjak, 1967:240, where the word юкстремный should be added.

8. positive ⟨o⟩, comparative ⟨e⟩ in лёгкий (лéгче), дешёвый (дешéвле).

9. LONG comparative ⟨la⟩ instead of ⟨olo⟩ in молодо́й (млáдший).

10. Suppletion in хорóший (лúчше, лúчши́й), плохóй (хúже, хúдши́й).

7.5. ACCENT.

1. CLASS I: fixed stress in approximately 98 % of all adjectives and 4000 participles, e.g., лукáвый, лукáв, лукáва, лукáво, лукáвы, смешнóй, смешнóн ⟨smešn-Ø⟩, смешнá, смешнó, смешнý, сдéланнýy ⟨s-déla-n-uj⟩, сдéлан, сдéлана, сдéлано, сдéланы.

2. CLASS II: opposition between LONG and SHORT stress in approximately 40 adjectives and 1000 participles, e.g., горячий, горяч, горячá, горячó, горячý, решённый, решён, решенá, решено, решенý.

3. CLASS III: opposition between sg f and n stress in the SHORT form in approximately 230 adjectives and 45 participles, e.g., тóнкий, тóнок, тонкá, тónко, тónки, молодо́й, мóлод, молодá, мóлodo, мóлоды, взýтый, взят, взятá, взýто, взýты.

4. CLASS I/III: two sg f stress variants in the SHORT form in влáстный and in approximately 30 participles, e.g., пýтый, пит, пýтá, пýто, пýты.²⁶

5. CLASS II/III: two sg n stress variants in the SHORT form (and two pl stress variants as well) in бéлый, высóкий, глубóкий, далéкий, длýнnyй, жéлтый, корóткий, пёстрый, пóлный, стáрый, тёмный, тёплый, умный, чёрный, ширóкий, e.g., пóлон, полná, пóлно, пólны.²⁷

6. CLASS IIIa: opposition between LONG and SHORT stress and two pl stress variants in the SHORT form in лёгкий and свéжий, e.g., лёгок, легká, легkó, лёгký.²⁸

7. CLASS IIIa: opposition between sg f and n stress and two pl stress variants in the SHORT form in approximately 40 adjectives, e.g., сíльный, сíлён, сильná, сильнý, простóй, прост, простá, просто, прóсты.²⁹

²⁶ In colloquial speech also in гнéвный, жестóкий, плáвный, склóнный, схóдный (all III).

²⁷ In colloquial speech also in вóстрый, красный, хáтрый, дряннóй (all III).

²⁸ In colloquial speech the adjectives грéшный (IIIa), свéтлый (III), тёмный, тёплый, чёрный (all II/III) also belong to this accent class.

²⁹ In colloquial speech in twice as many adjectives. According to Zaliznjak 1967:169 the word сильный belongs to accent class III, which is incorrect.

8. The comparative stress is the same as the SHORT sg \underline{f} stress, e.g., лукáвей(ший), смешнéй(ший), горячéй, тóныше <toń-Øš-e>, тончáй-шиj, молóже <molož-Ø-e>, млáдшиj <mlad-Øš-uj>, полнéй(ший), лéгче <lexč-Ø-e>, легчáйшиj, сильнéй(ший), прóще <prosč-Ø-e>, простéйшиj.

9. SHORT sg \underline{m} stress on the stem in all mobile accent classes, e.g., горáч <garáč-Ø>, мóлод, пóлон, лёгок.

10. SHORT sg \underline{m} stress on the stem in бóльноj, and also in дóлжен, which has no LONG form.

11. SHORT sg \underline{m} stress on the ending in (в)óстрый, ýмный, хýтрыj, шýстрый, and optionally in дурнóй, сильный, смирный.

12. Stress alternation in the stem in счастли́вый (счаstlív).

13. Gsg $\underline{m}\eta$ <ovó>, Dsg $\underline{m}\eta$ <omú> with final stress in весь, чей, сей, оди́н, тот, сам, мой, твой, свой.³⁰

14. Npl stress retracted in сам, óба, четы́ре.

15. N stress shifted to the desinence in полторá.

8. THE PRONOUNS

я <m>, ты <t>, мы <n>, вы <v>, он <j>, кто <k>, что <c>, себя <s>.

8.1. CASE ENDINGS.

1. N <Ø> in я, ты, мы, вы, кто, что.
2. Nsg \underline{m} <Ø>, \underline{n} <o>, \underline{f} <a>, Npl <i> in он.
3. A = G in я, ты, мы, вы, он, кто, себя, A = N in что.
4. G <a>, LD <e>, I <oj(u)> in я, ты, себя.
5. GL <as>, D <am>, I <ami> in мы, вы.
6. G <ovó>, L <om>, D <omú>, I in кто, что.
7. Gsg $\underline{m}\eta$ <ovó>, f <ojó>, Lsg $\underline{m}\eta$ <om>, f <ej>, Dsg $\underline{m}\eta$ <omú>, \underline{f} <ej>, Isg $\underline{m}\eta$ <im>, f <ej(u)>, GLpl <ix>, Dpl <im>, Ipl <imi> in он.

8.2. FORMATIVE SUFFIXES.

1. N <y> in ты, мы, вы.
2. N <to> in кто, что.
3. G <Ø> in я.
4. GLDI <ob> in ты, себя.
5. personal <n>, possessive <oj> in я/мой.

³⁰ This rule is lacking in Zaliznjak 1967:168.

6. possessive ⟨voj⟩ in твой, свой.
7. possessive ⟨aš⟩ in наш, ваш.
8. possessive ⟨Øj⟩ in чей.

8.3. ALTERNATION.

1. NI hard, GLD soft in я, ты, себя.
2. N labial, GLDI dental in мы.
3. personal velar, possessive palatal in кто/чей.
4. N ⟨on⟩, GDI ⟨j⟩, prepositional GLDI ⟨ń⟩ in он.
5. N ⟨ja⟩, GLDI ⟨mn⟩ in я.

8.4. ACCENT. The stress is on the ending.

9. A NOTE ON THE VERB

9.1. CATEGORIES.

- 9.1.1. *Person*: 1, 2, 3.
 - 9.1.2. *Number*: sg, pl.
 - 9.1.3. *Gender*: m, f, n.
 - 9.1.4. *Tense*: PRES, PAST.
 - 9.1.5. *Mood*: IND, IMP, INF.
 - 9.1.6. *Aspect*: IMPF, PERF.
 - 9.1.7. *Flexion classes*: (1), (2).
 - 9.1.8. *Accent classes*: I, II, III, Ia, IIa, IIIa.
1. There are six PRES forms: 1sg, pl, 2sg, pl, 3sg, pl.
 2. There are four PAST forms: sg m, f, n, pl.
 3. There are two IMP forms: sg, pl.
 4. There is one INF form.

9.2. FLEXIONAL SUFFIXES.

- 9.2.1. *Person*: PRES 1sg ⟨u⟩, pl ⟨m⟩, 2sg ⟨š⟩, pl ⟨ti⟩, 3 ⟨t⟩.
 - 9.2.2. *Number*: IMP pl ⟨ti⟩.
 - 9.2.3. *Gender*: PAST sg m ⟨Ø⟩, f ⟨a⟩, n ⟨o⟩, pl ⟨i⟩.
 - 9.2.4. *Tense*: PRES (1) ⟨o⟩, ⟨u⟩, ⟨Ø⟩, (2) ⟨y⟩, ⟨a⟩, ⟨Ø⟩,
PAST ⟨i⟩, ⟨Ø⟩.
 - 9.2.5. *Mood*: IMP ⟨i⟩, ⟨Ø⟩,
INF ⟨t⟩, ⟨ty⟩, ⟨Ø⟩.
1. The tense suffix precedes the person or gender suffix.
 2. The mood suffix precedes the number suffix (if any).

3. PRES 1sg ⟨Ø⟩, 3pl ⟨u⟩, ⟨a⟩, other persons ⟨o⟩, ⟨y⟩, e.g., учу́, учат, учит.

4. PAST ⟨Ø⟩ after a consonant before ⟨Ø⟩ (except in шёл), elsewhere ⟨I⟩, e.g., нёс, неслá. The PAST ⟨Ø⟩ is distinct from the sg m ⟨Ø⟩, cf. шёл ⟨š-l-Ø⟩, шла ⟨š-l-á⟩, жёг ⟨žg-Ø-Ø⟩, жгла ⟨žg-l-á⟩, тёп ⟨trØ-Ø-Ø⟩, тёрла ⟨trØ-l-a⟩.

5. IMP ⟨Ø⟩ after a single consonant if the suffix is not stressed, elsewhere ⟨i⟩, e.g., тронь, ляг, кради, береги́.

6. INF ⟨Ø⟩ after a velar (which changes into a palatal), otherwise ⟨ty⟩ if the suffix is stressed, ⟨t⟩ elsewhere, e.g., печь, нестí.

9.3. FORMATIVE SUFFIXES (examples).

1. PAST, INF ⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, e.g., ждать, сидéть, говорить.
2. PRES, IMP ⟨j⟩, ⟨v⟩, e.g., дéлять, жить.
3. PAST, INF ⟨ova⟩, PRES, IMP ⟨uj⟩, e.g., даровáть.
4. PAST, INF ⟨a⟩, PRES, IMP ⟨Ø⟩, e.g., братъ.
5. INF ⟨nu⟩, PRES, IMP ⟨n⟩, PAST ⟨Ø⟩, e.g., гásнуть.
6. INF ⟨Øe⟩, PAST ⟨Ø⟩, e.g., терéть ⟨trØé-t⟩.

9.4. ALTERNATION (examples).

1. 1sg, 3pl hard, other persons soft, e.g., ждать.
2. 1sg, 3pl velar, other persons palatal, e.g., лгать.
3. 1sg palatal, other persons dental, e.g., сидéть.
4. PAST, INF velar, PRES, IMP palatal, e.g., плáкать.
5. PAST, INF dental, PRES, IMP palatal, e.g., писáть.
6. INF fricative, other forms occlusive, e.g., вестí.

9.5. ACCENT.

1. CLASS I: fixed stress, e.g., печáтать, трéбовать, владéть, читáть, двíгать, бередíть, сосáть, клевáть, сóхнуть, лезть, блюстí, волóчь.

2. CLASS II: opposition between PRES and PAST stress, e.g., баловáть, колебáть, лечь, грызть, есть.

3. CLASS III: opposition between PRES and PAST stress and shift of stress in the PRES 1sg form, e.g., копíть, держáть, молóть, мочь.

4. CLASS Ia: shift of stress in the PAST sg f form in быть, вить, лить, пить.

5. CLASS IIa: opposition between PRES and PAST stress and shift of stress in the PAST sg f form in гнítъ, жить, плýть, слыть, заперéть, отперéть, умерéть, взять, донять, занять, наинять, перенять, понять, унять, зачáть, начáть, прясть, дать.

6. CLASS IIIa: shift of stress in the PRES 1sg form and in the PAST sg f form in обнáть, отнáть, поднáть, принáть, разнáть, снятъ.

10. TEXT

The text transcribed below is the same as the one in Kortlandt 1973a: 08ff., where the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions are given. The flexional suffixes are separated from the stem and the formatives by a hyphen.

Morphonemic transcription

⟨po pričín-am o katór-yx ne vrémo-Ø tipér govori-t podróbn-o ja-Ø dólžn-Ø bý-lØ postupí-t v lakéj-y k adn-omú pitirbúrgsk-omu činóvnik-u po famílij-e arlóv-u. bý-lo j-omú ókala třytcał-ý pát-ý let-Ø y zvá-li j-ovó gjjórgij-om yványč-om.

k ét-omu arlóv-u postupí-lØ ja-Ø rádi j-ovó otc-á yzvésn-ovo gosudárstven-ovo čilavék-a katór-ovo ššíta-lØ ja-Ø sirjózn-ym vrag-óm svoj-ovó dél-a. ja-Ø roššítyva-lØ što žyv-á u sýn-a po rozgovór-am katór-yjy uslýš-Øu y po bumág-am y zapísk-am kak-ýjjy bíd-Øu naxodí-t na stol-é ja-Ø v podróbnost-y yzuč-Øú plán-y y namérenij-a otc-á.

obyknovénn-o čas-óf v adínatcał-Ø utr-á v moj-éj lakéjsk-oj tresčá-lØ elektríčisk-yj zvonk-Ø daváj-a mn-é zná-t što prosnú-lØ-ša bárin-Ø. kagdá ja-Ø s výčisčon-ym plátj-om y sapog-ámi prixodí-lØ v spálň-u gjjórgij-Ø yványč-Ø sidé-lØ nepodvížn-o v postél-y ne záspan-yj a skoréj-e utomlón-yj sn-óm y gladé-lØ v adn-ú tóčk-u ne vykázyvaj-a po pôvod-u svoj-ovó probuždénij-a nekak-óvo udovólstvij-a. ja-Ø pomogá-lØ j-omú odevá-t-ša a on-Ø neoxótn-o podčiná-lØ-ša mn-é mólč-a y ne zamečáj-a moj-ovó prisútstvij-a. potóm s mókr-oju ot umyváníj-a golov-ój y páxnušš-yj svéž-ymi dux-ámi on-Ø š-lØ v stolóv-uju pí-t kófe-Ø. on-Ø sidé-lØ za stol-óm pí-lØ kófe-Ø y perelístyva-lØ gazét-y a ja-Ø y górníšn-aja pól-a počtítiln-o stojá-li u dvéř-y y smotré-li na n-ovó. dv-á vzrósl-yx čilavék-a dolžn-ý bý-li s sám-ym sirjózn-ym vnemánij-om smotré-t kák tréjt-Ø pj-ót kófe-Ø y gryž-ót suxárik-y. ét-o po vš-éj verajátnost-y smešn-ó y dík-o no ja-Ø ne vídi-lØ dla šob-á neč-ovó uniztítiln-ovo v t-óm što prixodí-lo-s stojá-t ókala dvéř-y xotá bý-lØ tak-ým že dvořanín-om y obrazóvan-ym čilavék-om kák sam-Ø arlóv-Ø.

u mnØ-á tagdá načaná-la-s čaxótk-a a s n-éju ješšo kóješto-Ø pažaluj považnéj-e čaxótk-y. ne znáj-Øu pod vlijáníj-om li bolézñ-y yli načanáfs-

oj-ša peremén-y miravozzrénijs-a katór-oj ja-Ø tagdá ne zamečá-lØ mn-óju yzo dñ-á v dñ-Ø ovladevá-la strásn-aja rozdražájušš-aja žážd-a obyknovénn-oj obyvátišk-oj žýzn-ý. mn-é xoté-lo-š dušévn-ovo pakój-a zdoróvj-a xaróš-ovo vózdux-a sýtost-ý. ja-Ø stanoví-lØ-ša mičtátíl-om y kák mičtátíl-Ø ne zná-lØ što-Ø sóbstven-o mn-é núžn-o. >

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