

15 Russian

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1 Introduction

Russian is the native language of virtually all of the 137 million (in the 1979 census) ethnic Russians in the former Soviet Union. Of the 125 million people of other ethnic groups, 16 million claimed Russian as their first language, putting the number of people whose first language is Russian at 153 million. An additional 61 million declared themselves to be functional in Russian.

Russian in its modern form, especially its codified written form, results from an extended and by no means linear evolution. What is now the Russian language area began as northern outposts of the Kievan confederation (first Novgorod, Smolensk and Pskov, then Rostov and Suzdal'), dating from before the official Christianization of Rus' in 988. The dissolution of the Kievan confederation by the Mongol period (1240 to the final liberation of Moscow in 1480) indirectly allowed Moscow to develop from a minor *кремль*/*krémľ* 'fortress' into a medieval imperial power which, by the end of the fifteenth century, had brought the older principalities of the north under its control.

Writing during the Kievan period was predominantly Church Slavonic. In the Muscovite period, use of the secular chancery language, broadly understood, expanded from administrative to other functions; it served eventually as the vehicle for cultural and linguistic borrowing from Poland in the seventeenth century and directly from western Europe starting with the reign of Peter the Great (1696–1725). The Muscovite koine, as some have termed the complex of the written chancery language and the oral Muscovite dialect (a mixed dialect of southern and northern features), was responsible for the development of implicit norms of usage and for their national propagation; these became the norms of Modern Russian (on Muscovite language, see *Виноградов/Vinogradov* 1949: ch. I, 10–13; II, 1–7; *Левин/Levin* 1964: 71–112). The development culminates in *Пушкин* (1799–1837), whose 'poetic language was admired as a manifestation of the pentecostal miracle combining the humble speech of the "people of God" with both the prophetic gift of the Biblical fathers and the wisdom of

the Classical philosophers' (Picchio in Picchio and Goldblatt 1984, I: 18). The subsequent history of the literary language is characterized by continuing tensions between nativism and Europeanism and between populism and elitism (see the studies by Uspenskij and Gasparov in Picchio and Goldblatt 1984, II).

Modern Russian varies along many axes – regional, social, written versus oral mode and register. The literature on variation takes the literary form of Russian as central and defines a typology of deviations from this standard: colloquial (разговóрная рéчь/razgovórnaja rěč' 'colloquial speech', understood both as oral and less than standard), dialect and urban non-standard (просторéчие/prostoréčie 'simple speech', a catch-all for unacceptable speech variants, including violations of linguistic taboos). Recent investigations (Земская/Zemskaja 1973 and related studies) have documented a gulf between разговорная рéчь/razgovórnaja rěč' and literary Russian; the difference, however, may be no greater than in other contemporary societies. Along the social axis, measured by profession or education (see Крысин/Krysin 1974 or Comrie and Stone 1978), the speech of workers, as a rule of thumb, is more innovative than that of professionals. Change usually proceeds in a unidirectional fashion across age groups, as measured by decades of years of birth.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

Russian phonology (see Аванесов/Avanesov 1968; Jones and Ward 1969; Матусевич/Matusevič 1976; Бондарко/Bondarko 1977) revolves around two phenomena, stress in vowels and palatalization in consonants.

It is common to recognize five stressed vowel phonemes, /a, e, o, i, u/, which vary depending on palatalization in adjacent consonants, as discussed below. Fewer distinctions are made in unstressed position. Throughout, stress will be indicated by a vertical mark, except with the grapheme *ě*, which implies stress. Where orthography as such is discussed, graphemes are marked in bold type.

Palatalized consonants (informally, 'soft' – notationally often *C'*, here *Č*) are articulated with the middle portion of the tongue raised towards the soft palate in a convex shape. Non-palatalized consonants (informally, 'hard' – notationally simply *C*) are to some or another extent velarized, with the middle of the tongue depressed in a concave shape. Dentals and labials are phonemically 'paired' for palatalization, in that contrasts occur before vowels (other than /e/, which automatically palatalizes a preceding paired consonant) and word-finally. Compare /va/ in вáл/vál 'rampart' versus /vǎ/ in вǎл/vǎl 'listless' or /to/ in тóмный/tómnyj 'languid'

verus /ʃo/ in тѐмный/těmnyj 'dark', and final /p/ in окóп/okóp 'trench' versus /p/ in кóпь/kóp 'mine' or final /t/ in выпит/výpit 'drunk' versus /ʃ/ in выпить/výpit 'drink'. Palatalization is restricted before other consonants. Labials make no distinction (тѐмный/těmnyj 'dark' has /m/ but masculine short-form тѐмен/těmen has /m/) and dentals do so only before consonants other than dentals (тьма́/t'má 'darkness', гоньба́/gon'bá 'chase', хоро́шенький/xoróšen'kij 'pretty' but пусты́нный/pustýnnyj 'pertaining to a desert', from пусты́ня/pustýnja 'desert'); /ʃ/ is maintained in all positions (льсти́вый/l'stivyj 'flattering').

Velars /k, g, x/ are unpaired for palatalization, but vary depending on environment. The palatalized variant occurs before /i/ and /e/, the unpalatalized variant elsewhere. Palatals and the dental affricate /c/ are unpaired for palatalization, and are invariantly either hard (/c/, /š/, /ž/) or soft (/č/ > [č̣], [ṣ̌:], [ẓ̌:] and /j/). One of the uncertainties of synchronic Russian phonology is what analysis to assign to the phones [ṣ̌:], associated with the letter щ, and [ẓ̌:], associated with зж and жж in a diminishing number of lexical items like дро́жжи/dróžži 'yeast' but not по́зже/pòžže 'later'. Historically, [ṣ̌:] derives from the cluster [šč̣] when [č̣] lost closure. This process still operates on combinations of dental fricative plus /č/ depending on the strength of the boundary – hence in the order of рассказчик/rasskázčik 'story-teller' > [ṣ̌:] ≥ исчислить/isčislit' 'calculate' > [ṣ̌:] ~ [šč̣] ≥ с че́стью/s čest'ju 'with honour' > [šč̣] ~ ?[ṣ̌:]. (Hierarchical statements of the type 'x ≥ y' are to be read as 'the process is at least as likely to occur in the context x as in y'.) The phone [ẓ̌:] results from the incomplete hardening of /ž/ in clusters.

A list of consonantal phonemes and prominent phones is given in table 15.1, in which hard consonants are given before soft; /c/, [ʒ], /č/, and [č̣] are affricates rather than stops in the strict sense.

The once regular tendency to palatalize a consonant preceding a palatal-

Table 15.1 Consonantal phonemes and allophones

	<i>Labial</i>		<i>Dental</i>		<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	
Voiceless stop	p	p̣	t	ṭ	c	č	k [ḳ]
Voiced stop	b	ḅ	d	ḍ	[ʒ]	[č̣]	g [g̣]
Voiceless fricative	f	f̣	s	ṣ	š	[ṣ̌:]	x [x̣]
Voiced fricative	v	ṿ	z	ẓ	ž	[ẓ̌:]	[ʎ]
Nasal	m	ṃ	n	ṇ			
Lateral liquid			l	ḷ			
Non-lateral liquid			r	ṛ			
Glide						j	

Note: [] = allophone or phone with uncertain phonemic status.

ized consonant has been losing ground. Usage depends on measures of cohesion between the consonants, such as syllable structure and the place and manner of articulation. With prefixes, to take one context, combinations of labial (P) and dental (T) assimilate according to the hierarchy ТТ (раздѣл/*razděl* 'division' > [zɖ]) ≥ ТР (сбѣтъ/*sbit* 'knock off' > [zɸ ~ zb]) ≥ РР (вбѣтъ/*vbit* 'beat into' > [vɸ ~ vɸ]) ≥ РТ (вдѣлать/*vdelat* 'fix into' > [vɖ]); thus dental targets assimilate better than labials, and same place of articulation in trigger and target favours assimilation. Analogously for manner of articulation, СŞ (иссыякнуть/*issjāknut* 'dry up' > [sʃ]) ≥ СТ (раздѣл/*razděl* 'division' > [zɖ]) ≥ ТТ (поддержать/*podderžat* 'support' > [dɖ ~ dɖ]) ≥ ТŞ (отсѣчь/*otsēc* 'hack off' > [tʃ]); thus fricative (S) targets and same manner of articulation in trigger and target favour assimilation.

Most obstruents are phonemically paired for voicing: for example, для/*dlja* 'for, on behalf of' and тля/*tlja* 'beetle' differ by initial /d/ and /t/, бѣтъ/*bit* 'beat' and пѣтъ/*pit* 'drink' by initial /b/ and /p/. Obstruents participate in two rules of voicing. They devoice at the end of words: порог/*porog* 'threshold' > [k], голубь/*golub* 'dove' > [p]. And they assimilate to a following obstruent: сдѣлать/*sdelat* 'do' > [zɖ], подписать/*podpisat* 'sign' > [tp], and, with both rules, гвоздь/*gvōzd* 'nail' > [ʃt]. Unpaired and normally unvoiced /c, x, č/ develop voiced allophones through assimilation: отецъ былъ/*otec byl* 'father was' > [zb], ткачъ былъ/*tkáč byl* 'the weaver was' > [ʒb], мохъ былъ/*mox byl* 'the moss was' > [ɸb]. Voicing assimilation applies regularly within a word, and between prefix or preposition and head word; it may apply between words within a phrase: трудность заключалась/*trúdnost' zaključalas* 'the difficulty consisted of' > [z(ɖ)z].

Sonorants (nasals, liquids and glide /j/) and the labio-dental approximates /v, ɸ/ participate in voicing rules only to a limited extent. They normally do not cause voicing assimilation: твой/*tvój* 'your' > [tv], тьма/*t'má* 'shade' > [tm], тлѣтъ/*tlět* 'rot' > [tl], пью/*p'ju* 'I drink' > [pj]. But before obstruents /v, ɸ/ assimilate in voicing, and cause voicing assimilation in a preceding obstruent: от вдовы/*ot vdovy* 'from the widow' > [dvd], под вторымъ/*pod vtorym* 'under the second' > [tft]. (Sonorants in comparable positions tend to become syllabic.) Word-finally after vowels, /v, ɸ/ devoice: кровъ/*króv* 'cover' > [f], кровъ/*króv* 'blood' > [f]. At the end of words sonorants do not devoice after a vowel (колъ/*kól* 'stake' > [l], домъ/*dóm* 'house' > [m], but корь/*kór* 'measles' > [ɾ ~ ɾ]), usually remain unaffected after a voiced obstruent (as in рубль/*rúbl* > [bl] 'rouble' and жизньъ/*žizn* 'life' > [zɳ] or, occasionally, [pɳ], [ʃɳ]), but not uncommonly devoice after a voiceless obstruent (театръ/*teatr* 'theatre' > [tɾ]). Overall with respect to voicing – phonemic pairing, final devoicing and voicing assimilation – vowels are completely inert, sonorants largely so, while /v, ɸ/ are transitional between sonorants and obstruents.

Russian spells morphophonemic alternations in place or manner of consonants, but not alternations in voicing. The exception is prefixes ending in /z/, which are spelled to reflect devoicing, as in *развиться*/razvit'sja 'develop' but *раскájаться*/raskájat'sja 'repent'. Pairs of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants are spelled by a single Cyrillic letter, the distinction being indicated by the next grapheme. (The Russian alphabet, with transliteration systems, is given in table 15.2.) At the end of words, a paired consonant is palatalized if the letter is followed by the 'soft sign' **ь**. Before a vowel, palatalization is indicated by the following vowel letter. The five vowels can each be spelled by two letters: /a/ by **а** or **я**, /u/ by **у** or **ю**, /i/ by **и** or **й**, /e/ by **э** or **е** and /o/ by **о** or either **ё** (if stress is marked) or, more usually, plain **е** (since stress is rarely marked). In general terms, a following 'hard vowel letter' – **а**, **у**, **и**, **э** or **о** – indicates that the preceding consonant is not palatalized, a following 'soft vowel letter' – **я**, **ю**, **й**, **е** or **ё** – that it is.

There are various restrictions, exceptions and asymmetries. In practice, there is little call for **э** after consonants. Plain **е** is more usual than **ё**. In most texts **ё** is used only to disambiguate (singular *всё*/vsë 'everything' but plural *всё*/vsë 'all'); it is used systematically only in instructional texts (encyclopedias, cook-books) or in metalinguistic texts which mark all stresses (such as the current discussion) and is sometimes avoided in borrowings (*сильёр*/sin'ór 'señor'). After **ц**, **ч**, **ш**, **ж** and **щ**, which represent unpaired consonants, a mixed set of vowel letters is used: **а** (never **я**), **у** (exceptionally **ю**), **и** (generally not **й**, except after **ц** in a few roots and regularly in endings) and **о** or, more usually, **ё** or plain **е**. After **ч**, **ш**, **ж** and **щ**, **ь** marks the noun as a member of declension IIIa (*ро́жь*/róž' 'rye'); **чь** occurs in velar-stem infinitives; and **шь** marks the second singular of the present tense.

Soft vowel letters, additionally, have the function of indicating that /j/ precedes a vowel when there is no consonant letter immediately preceding. Thus, **я** implies /ja/ word-initially in *я́сно*/jásno 'clearly', after a vowel in *де́лая*/délaja 'doing', after **ь** in *пья́ный*/p'jányj 'drunk' (in which **ь** marks **п** as /p/), and after **ъ** in *объя́вить*/ob'javít' 'make a declaration'. This rule does not hold for **и**, since /i/ tends to absorb /j/: *иска́ть*/iskát' 'search' and *поиска́ть*/poiskát' 'search a bit' have no /j/, but *чьи́*/č'i 'whose' does. The glide /j/, then, is spelled by a soft vowel letter before a vowel and by **й** after a vowel letter.

Allophones of stressed /i, e, a, o, u/ are determined by phonetic palatalization in adjacent consonants. Basic /a, o, u/ are articulated with front transitions adjacent to soft consonants. In the extreme case, between soft consonants, they may be fronted throughout: *лю́лька*/ljúl'ka 'cradle' is phonemically /lǔlka/, phonetically [lǔlkə]. Phonemes /i, e/ are retracted after hard consonants, /i/ to [i̯] (*вѣ́л*/vél' '(he) howled' > [vi̯]), *и́менем*/s imenem 'with the name' > [s̩i̯]), and /e/ to [ɛ] (*це́лый*/célyj

'whole' > [cĕ], в ѐтом/v ětom 'in that' > [vĕ]).

When not under stress, vowels are 'reduced'. They are shorter in duration, qualitatively reduced and tend to merge. High vowels /i/ ([i] after hard consonants) and /u/ are lowered slightly to [ɪ (ɯ) ʊ]. After hard consonants, /a/ and /o/ are subject to **аканье/ákan'ĕ**, or merge as a low back unrounded vowel; the result is [ʌ] in first pre-tonic position (сарáй/saráj 'barn' > [saráj], сорóчка/soróčka 'shirt' > [saróčkə]) and [ə] elsewhere. After soft consonants, all non-high vowels merge and approach /i/ or, in the current norm, merge with /i/ as [ɪ]: часóк/časók 'hour (DIMIN)' > [čɪsók], чеснóк/česnók 'garlic' > [čɪsnók], числó/čisló 'number' > [čɪsló].

Table 15.2 Orthography and transliteration

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Library of Congress transliteration</i>	<i>Linguistic transliteration</i>
а	a	a
б	b	b
в	v	v
г	g	g
д	d	d
е	e	e
(ĕ)	e	ĕ
ж	zh	ž
з	z	z
и	i	i
й	ĭ	j
к	k	k
л	l	l
м	m	m
н	n	n
о	o	o
п	p	p
р	r	r
с	s	s
т	t	t
у	u	u
ф	f	f
х	kh	x
ц	fš	c
ч	ch	č
ш	sh	š
щ	shch	šč
ъ	"	"
ы	y	y
ь	'	'
э	ĕ	è (~ ě)
ю	iŭ	ju
я	ia	ja

Two transliteration systems, recorded in table 15.2, map automatically from Russian to a Latin, or modified Latin, alphabet. The 'linguistic' system used here avoids digraphs for consonant letters; **ч** is **č**, **ц** is **c**, though **щ** is **šč**. It renders the soft vowel letters **я** and **ю** as **ja** and **ju**, both after consonants and in other positions. Cyrillic **э** is marked with a diacritic, as **è** or **é** (continental); Cyrillic **й** is **j**. The Library of Congress system, in its traditional form, employs a ligature sign and diacritics, which are sometimes omitted in informal practice and definitively lost in computerized bibliographies. For consonants, this system uses digraphs: **ч** is **ch**, **щ** is **shch**, and **ц** is **fs** (or **ts**). In general, where the technical system uses **j**, this system uses **i**. The letter **й** is **i** (or **i**). The soft vowel letters **я** and **ю** are **ia** and **iü** (informally without the ligature); pre-revolutionary **ъ** is **ie**. Cyrillic **э** (if not simply **e**) may be specified as **é** and thereby distinguished from **e**; **ë**, normally not written in Russian, is just **e**. To illustrate, the author **Федор Михайлович Достоевский** is cited as **Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevskii**, his daughter **Любовь Федоровна Достоевская** as **Liubov' Fedorovna Dostoevskaia**. In neither system is the /j/ that precedes /e/ (after vowels and word-initially) reflected in transliteration. In both systems, **ь** is rendered as ' and **ъ** as ''.

Russian words are sometimes informally anglicized as a guide to pronunciation. Consonants follow the Library of Congress system, though **ь** is lost; **Гоголь** is **Gogol** in literary studies and **гласность** is **glasnost** in journalism. This practice uses **y** where the other systems use **i** or **j**, and this **y** may be used for the automatic /j/ before /e/; in two recent translations **Федор Достоевский** is once **Fyodor Dostoevsky**, once **Fyodor Dostoyevsky**; **y** also renders the **-[ск]ий** of proper names. (See further chapter 2, B2 and B3.)

The contemporary Russian phonological system can be derived transparently from one of the variant Late Proto-Slavonic systems with relatively few changes (see Kiparsky 1963–75, I; Vlasto 1986).

Front nasal ***ǣ** denasalized to **ä** and back nasal ***ǫ** to **u**: ***žǣtva** > **жǎtva** / **žǎtva** 'harvest', ***pǫtʹ** > **пǔть** / **pǔt'** 'road'. At this time (into the eleventh century), one can assume for East Slavonic the following vowel system: high **i**, **y** (= [i]) and **u**; front **jer ь** and back **jer ъ**; closed mid vowel **ě** (possibly diphthongal [ie]); open mid vowels **e** and **o**; and low vowels **ä** (from ***ǣ**) and **a**. The **jers**, from Proto-Slavonic ***ī** and ***ū**, were probably open high vowels, approximately /ь/ > [ɪ], /ъ/ > [ʊ].

As elsewhere in Slavonic, the watershed event in the history of Russian is the set of processes known as the fall of the **jers** (narrowly, from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth centuries). **Jers** were shortened in duration (that is, became 'weak') and eventually eliminated in most positions – word-finally and internally before a vowel other than a **jer**. In the bargain they compensated preceding vowels, including preceding (that is, 'strong') **jers**; strong **jers** were identified with mid vowels, strong ***ь**

as /e/, strong *ъ as /o/. Marking weak and strong *jers* by minus and plus, respectively, we have: nominative singular *дѣ⁺нь⁻ > дѣнь/děň 'day' but genitive plural *дѣ⁻нь⁺ъ⁻ > днѣй/dněj 'days', *сѣ⁻терети > стерѣть/sterět 'wipe off' but first person singular *сѣ⁺ть⁻ру > сотру́/sotrú 'I wipe off'.

Proto-Slavonic liquid diphthongs with *e or *o were subject to **ПОЛНОГЛАСИЕ/polnoglásie**, whereby the same vowel appeared on both sides of the liquid: *бѣргъ > бѣрег/béreg 'shore', *кору > корова/korova 'cow'. As here, circumflex accent becomes stress on the first of the two vowels and original acute becomes stress on the second (see chapter 3, section 2.22). Adjacent to liquids, *jers* have overt reflexes: genitive singular *кръви > крови/króvi 'blood', *рълнъъ (from earlier *piln-) > полный/pólnyj 'full'.

Proto-Slavonic accent has another reflex in the opposition of two back mid vowels, attested in some medieval texts (with varying graphemic strategies) and some modern dialects, though not in the standard language. Open /o/ (= [ɔ]) reflects unaccented *o and *o under circumflex accent in initial syllables: nominative singular *бѣкъ 'side' > бѣк/bók, genitive singular *бѣка > бѣка/bóka. Closed /ô/ (= [o] or diphthongal [ɔɔ]) developed from original accent in non-initial syllables (готѣво/gotôvo 'ready', рабѣта/rabôta 'work') and when accent was retracted from *jers* (nominative singular *стѣлъ > стѣл/stól 'table', genitive plural *голѣвъ > голѣв/golôv 'head') or from other vowels (*молѣтиши > молѣтишь/molôtiš 'you thresh'). Initial /ô/ is resolved to /vo/, as in *осѣтъ > восемь/vosem' '8'. In the central dialect zone, the /v/ from *g in pronominal *evo* ~ *ovo*, as in сего́дня/segódnja 'today', probably results from re-evaluation of intervocalic [y] before the typically accented *o (therefore /ô/) of the following syllable.

Prior to the loss of *jers*, front vowels palatalized preceding consonants. When the *jers* were eliminated, palatalization became distinctive in consonants; *i and *y merged as /i/ and *ä and *a as /a/. This gives maximally a seven-vowel system of /i, u, ě, ô, e, o, a/ after the loss of *jers*.

From the period around the fall of the *jers*, Russian phonology has been relatively stable. Unpaired consonants (first š, ž, later c, but not č) hardened. Velars palatalized before /i/ < *y and before /ě/ (after the morphophonemic alternations from the second palatalization were eliminated). Palatalization has been restricted before other consonants. The most important change is that of stressed *e (including the reflex of strong *ъ) to o before hard consonant and word-finally: genitive plural *жѣнь > жѣн/žěn 'women', *ръсъ > пѣс/pēs 'dog', *лице > лицо/licó, but *жѣньскъъ > жѣнский/žěnskij 'female'. *Jer*-liquid diphthongs participated, though before hard dentals only: *čѣвѣртъъ > четвѣртый/četvĕrtyj 'fourth' but *ръвнъъ > пѣрвый/pĕrvyj 'first' and *върхъ > вѣрх/vĕrx 'top'. Closed mid vowels ě and ô have been eliminated except dialectally, although ѣ was used for etymological ě until the Revolution.

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

The earlier phonological processes dating from Proto-Slavonic through the fall of the *jers* have left behind a residue of **alternations of consonants**, which can be stated synchronically as relations between the columns of overlapping grades in table 15.3. An alternation of C^J, reflecting first palatalization of velars before **j* and jotation of dentals and labials, with etymological C⁰ occurs in verbs with suffix {-a-} and their present stems: писáть/писáт' 'write', пишу́/пишù (1 SG), пишешь/пишеш' (2 SG) and пла́кать/пла́кат' 'cry', плачу́/плачу (1 SG), плачешь/плачеш' (2 SG). C⁰ alternates with C^I, which reflects first palatalization of velars and 'bare' palatalization of other consonants before front vowels, within the present of obstruent stems: несú/несù (1 SG) 'I carry', несёшь/несёш' (2 SG) and пекú/пекù (1 SG) 'I bake', печёшь/печёш' (2 SG). In *I*-conjugation verbs, C^J in the first person singular and past passive participle alternates with C^I elsewhere: молочú/молочу́ (1 SG) 'I thresh', -молóчен/-molóčen (PASS PART) versus молотítь/molotít', молóтишь/molótiš' (2 SG). There are additional, minor, patterns. C^J has a variant with *šč* and *žd* for the Russian interpretation of the Church Slavonic reflexes of **tj* and **dj*. C^{II} is the reflex of C^I that developed when consonants (except /*l*/) lost palatalization before a dental; thus C^{II} occurs before the reflexes of suffixes *-*ьsk*- and *-*ьл*-: ры́бный/ры́бнyj 'fish (adjective)', ме́стный/ме́стнyj 'local', убы́точный/убы́точнyj 'unprofitable', дверно́й/dvernój 'pertaining to a door', but раздéльный/razdél'nyj 'separate'.

The **alternation of vowels** deriving from the fall of the *jers* is most visible in nominal declension. The null grade appears in most case forms, the full grade in specific environments: nominative singular of declension Ia (но́жок/но́žок 'knife (DIMIN)', otherwise ножк-/nožk-); nominative singular and instrumental singular of declension IIIa (во́шь/voš' 'louse', во́шью/voš'ju, stem вш-/vš-); and genitive plural of declension Ib and II (окно́/okno 'window', о́кон/ókon; корóбка/koróbka 'box', корóбок/koróbok).

Table 15.3 Consonant alternations

C ⁰	C ^J	C ^I	C ^{II}
P = {p, b, f, v, m}	P _l	P	P
T = {t, d, s, z}	{č, ž, š, ž}	T	T
K = {k, g, x}	{č, ž, š}	{č, ž, š}	{č, ž, š}
R = {n, r, l}	R	R	{n, r, l}

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Few morphophonemic alternations date from after the fall of the *jers*. The alternation derived from **e* > *o* to some extent follows the original distribution of *e* before soft consonant, *o* before hard – ёль/ěl' 'fir tree' versus diminutive ёлка/ělka or ёлкич/ělkič 'wood sprite' – but the alternation has been obscured by subsequent changes. Some formerly palatalized consonants have hardened, and **ě*, which was exempt from **e* > *o*, has merged with *e*: **tělo* > тѣло/tělo 'body'. Analogically, /*o*/ has replaced /*e*/ from **ě* in certain morphological contexts – in the plurals звѣзды/zvězdy 'stars' and гнѣзда/gnězda 'nests' and in the masculine past tense of obstruent-stem verbs (preneбрѣг/prenebrěg '(he) neglected').

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nominal categories

Nominal parts of speech express distinctions of case, number and gender, but not always by the same morphological means, and with different degrees of consistency.

Number is expressed in all nominal parts of speech except numerals themselves. Because it is difficult to formulate principles that would determine algorithmically how many cases Russian has (see Comrie in Brecht and Levine 1985), it seems sensible to assume that Russian has six primary cases and two secondary cases (second genitive and second locative), the secondary cases being available for a decreasing number of masculines. If the six primary cases are arranged in the order nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, dative and instrumental, then all instances of syncretism within a paradigm select continuous intervals. The historical vocative is moribund, with the isolated exception of Бóже/Bóže 'oh God', and Гóсподи/Góspodi 'oh Lord', now usually just expletives. Colloquial Russian has developed a new vocative, the bare stem of the noun: Маш/Маш! 'oh Maša!'.

Nouns can be grouped into equivalence classes according to various criteria. One such grouping is declension class; another is (syntactic) gender, expressed through agreement in other parts of speech – attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives, the past tense of verbs and ultimately pronouns. Declension type and gender are largely isomorphic – the members of a given declension or subdeclension condition the same agreement, and belong to the same gender.

The exceptions mostly involve animate nouns. Declension II, otherwise composed of feminines, includes many nouns whose reference is male (or

conventionally assumed to be so) and whose syntactic gender is masculine, such as дядя/djádja 'uncle' or судья/sud'já 'judge'. Declension II also includes 'common-gender' nouns which may be used with either feminine or masculine agreement (usually in both adjective and verb), depending on reference (for example, masculine это был страшный непосёда/èto byl strášnyj neposéda 'that was a terrible fidget' in reference to a male, feminine это была страшная непосёда/èto byla strášnaja neposéda in reference to a female). Declension I names for occupations, in reference to women, can still be used with masculine agreement in both attributive adjective and verb, but there is a tendency to use referential feminine agreement, in the verb alone, or, non-standardsly but increasingly (up to 25 per cent in the generation born in the decade of 1940), in both attributive modifier and verb; feminine agreement in adjectives, however, has so far been restricted to the nominative. Thus, although the vast majority of nouns have a unique and stable gender which can be predicted from declension type, nouns referring to human beings show some variation between conventional, grammatical gender and gender based on reference.

Another equivalence class of nouns is defined by the **animate accusative**, the use of the genitive for a syntactic accusative (see Klenin 1983: ch. 1, ch. 3). Among singular nouns, this substitution occurs only with masculines of declension I, including the rare masculine animate with neuter-like morphology (подмастёрье/rodmaster'e 'apprentice') but excluding the occasional neuter animate (дятятко/ditjatko) and declension III animates (мать/mát' 'mother'). In the plural, animacy is expressed by nouns of all genders. Anaphoric pronouns invoke the animate accusative regardless of gender or referential animacy, as in егó/egó (N ACC SG) or их/ix (ACC PL). Under agreement, masculine singular and all plural adjectives agree with the animacy of their head noun. Any attributive modifier agrees with the referential animacy of a declension II masculine noun, even though the noun itself does not invoke the syncretism: хорошó знáли моего дедушку/хорошó ználi moegó dedušku '(they) knew my grandfather well'. The boundaries of what counts as animate and what as inanimate are mostly fixed, down to certain nouns of variable reference, such as у́никум/únikum 'unique item, person' or члén'/člén' 'member'. Face cards are animate.

3.1.2 Noun morphology

Nouns in Russian make use of relatively few case-number morphemes, and the three declensional patterns into which they are organized are also limited and relatively uniform, though there are some recognizable sub-declensions. A partition of nouns into declension types is less easy to motivate in the plural. Aside from the residual instrumental plural in -ьми/-'mi, which ranges from less preferred with двéрь/dvér' 'door' to preferred with лошадь/lóšad' 'horse' and дочь/dóč' 'daughter' to obli-

gatory with люди/ljüdi 'people' and дети/déti 'children', plural morphemes are otherwise uniform for dative, locative and instrumental for all nouns; further, the morphemes used for the two remaining positions – nominative (and accusative of inanimates) and genitive (and accusative of animates) – cross class boundaries. For these two case forms, each subdeclension has preferences, recorded in the tables; deviations are discussed in the text (see Stankiewicz 1968; Зализняк/Zaliznjak 1977).

Declension I includes two recognizable subdeclensions, which differ primarily in the nominative singular and less consistently in the plural. Declension Ia, all masculine or basically masculine with incipient common gender, has nominative singular {-∅}, and prefers {-i} for the nominative plural and an overt ending in the genitive, {-ov/-ev} with stems ending in hard, non-palatal consonants (and also in /j/ or /c/), {-ej} with stems ending in paired palatalized consonants and palatals (see table 15.4, with citation forms чин/čín 'rank' and конь/kón' 'horse'). Soft stems, listed separately here, differ from hard stems only in superficial details of orthography (except for genitive plural). Here and in other paradigms, morphophonemic *e* substitutes for *o* in soft stems. In this and other declensions, the locative singular of nouns in {-ij-} is **ни** rather than **не** (сценáрий/scenárij (NOM SG) 'script', сценáрии/scenárii (LOC SG)).

Certain masculine nouns as a matter of course use the second locative {-ù) with в/v 'in' and на/на 'in, on', but not with о/о 'about' (в снегу/v snegu 'in snow' but о снеге/o snège 'about snow'). A number of mass and some abstract nouns use {-u} for the genitive with a partitive meaning, more emphatic than the ordinary genitive in this function: я не выпил чаю/já ne výpil čáju 'I didn't drink any tea at all' versus я не выпил чая/já ne výpil čája 'I failed to drink tea'. The second genitive in {-u}, however, is fading; it occurs with ever fewer nouns, and often is equivalent to the primary genitive in {-a}.

Variation in the stem of the singular and plural is usually confined to recognizable groups, which also have deviations from the unmarked plural endings. Nationality terms, which alternate a singular suffix {-in} with no suffix in the plural, use an otherwise unique nominative plural ending {-e} and genitive plural {-∅}: армянин/armjanin (NOM SG) 'Armenian', армяне/armjáne (NOM PL), армян/armjân (GEN PL). Names for young, whose singular and plural stems differ, exhibit the doubly unusual combination of nominative plural {-a} and genitive plural {-∅} (телёнок/telënok 'calf', nominative plural телята/teljáta, genitive plural телят/telját). The thirty-odd collectives with plural stem augment in -j- have nominative plural {-a}, usually with the unmarked genitive plural {-ov/-ev} (ко́лос/kólos 'ear', nominative plural колóсья/kolós'ja, genitive plural колóсьев/kolós'ev).

There are some other deviations from the unmarked plural endings. The combination of nominative plural {-á}, implying end stress throughout the

Table 15.4 Declension Ia

(a)	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	чѐн 'rank'	кѐнь 'horse'
ACC	= NOM	= GEN
GEN	чѐна	кѐнѧ
DAT	чѐну	кѐнѹ
INST	чѐном	кѐнѐм
LOC	чѐне	кѐнѐ
Plural		
NOM	чѐнѧ	кѐни
ACC	= NOM	= GEN
GEN	чѐнѐв	кѐнѐй
DAT	чѐнѧм	кѐнѧм
INST	чѐнѧми	кѐнѧми
LOC	чѐнѧх	кѐнѧх
(b)		
	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	čĭn 'rank'	kŏn' 'horse'
ACC	= NOM	= GEN
GEN	čĭna	konjǎ
DAT	čĭnu	konjũ
INST	čĭnom	konĕm
LOC	čĭne	konĕ
Plural		
NOM	čĭny	kŏni
ACC	= NOM	= GEN
GEN	čĭnov	koněj
DAT	čĭnám	konjám
INST	čĭnami	konjǎmi
LOC	čĭnǎx	konjǎx

plural, and the usual genitive plural ending occurs with a substantial number of nouns, including borrowings: инспѐктор/inspĕktor (NOM SG) 'inspector', инспѐкторǎ/inspĕktorǎ (NOM PL). The combination of usual nominative plural {-i} with uncharacteristic genitive {-∅} is found with lexical items that tend to be used in quantified collocations; for example, рǎз/rǎз (NOM SG = GEN PL) 'time', солдǎт/soldǎt (NOM SG = GEN PL) 'soldier'.

Declension Ib (see table 15.5, with citation forms болѐто/bolŏto 'swamp' and ущѐлье/uščĕl'e 'gorge') differs from declension Ia by having an overt ending {-o ~ -e} in the nominative singular, and by a preference

Table 15.5 Declension Ib

(a)	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	болóто 'swamp'	ущéлье 'gorge'
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	болóта	ущéлья
DAT	болóту	ущéлью
INST	болóтом	ущéльем
LOC	болóте	ущéлье
Plural		
NOM	болóта	ущéлья
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	болóт	ущéлий
DAT	болóтам	ущéльям
INST	болóтами	ущéльями
LOC	болóтах	ущéльях
<hr/>		
(b)	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	bolóto 'swamp'	uščél'e 'gorge'
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	bolóta	uščél'ja
DAT	bolótu	uščél'ju
INST	bolótom	uščél'em
LOC	bolóte	uščél'e
Plural		
NOM	bolóta	uščél'ja
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	bolót	uščélij
DAT	bolótam	uščél'jam
INST	bolótami	uščél'jami
LOC	bolótax	uščél'jax

for nominative plural {-a} and genitive plural {-Ø}. It is almost exclusively neuter, except for derivatives of masculines (городишко/gorodiško 'town', ножище/nožišče 'knife') and a few isolated masculines (подмастерье/podmaster'e 'apprentice'). Soft stems are restricted: there are nouns in {-Č-j-}, whose genitive plural is {-Č-Vj-Ø}, spelled **ий** or **ей**, such as ущэлье/uščél'e, genitive plural ущэлий/uščélij or питьё/pit'ě 'drinking', genitive plural питэй/pitéj; nouns in {-č-ij-}, whose locative singular is spelled **ии** and whose genitive plural is {-ij-Ø}, spelled **ий**, such as здание/zdanie 'building', locative singular зданиии/zdánii, genitive plural

зданий/zdánij; and a minuscule number with paired soft consonant (поле/póle 'field', море/móre 'sea', горе/góre 'woe'), with overt genitive plural (полéй/poléj).

An overt genitive plural {-ov/-ev} occurs with nouns with -j- augment, such as перо/peró 'feather', nominative plural пёрья/pér'ja, genitive plural пёрьев/pér'ev, and also with платье/plát'e 'dress' (genitive plural платьев/plát'ev) and облако/óblako 'cloud' (nominative plural облака/oblaká, genitive plural облаков/oblakov). The opposite combination of genitive {-∅} with nominative {-i}, more characteristic of declension Ia, occurs as a rule with (pejorative) diminutives, both masculines (домышко/domiško 'house', nominative plural домашки/domiški, genitive plural домашек/domišek) and neuters (окóшко/okóško 'window', nominative plural окóшки/okóški, genitive plural окóшек/okóšek).

Declension II is composed primarily of feminines, though it includes some masculine and common-gender human nouns as well (see table 15.6, with гора/gorá 'mountain' and недéля/nedélja 'week'). Alone of the declensions, declension II avoids syncretism of the accusative singular; the accusative plural syncretizes with the nominative or genitive, by animacy, as in all paradigms. Again, hard and soft stems do not differ other than orthographically; locative singular (and syncretically, dative singular) is again **ни** for stems in {-ij-}, such as линия/linija 'line', dative-locative singular линии/linii. In the plural, the nominative is universally {-i}, and the genitive is preferentially {-∅} for stems in {-Vj-}, spelled with **й**. The overt genitive plural {-ej} is possible for certain miscellaneous soft-stem nouns (дядя/djádja 'uncle', genitive plural дядей/djádej; доля/dólja 'portion', genitive plural долéй/doléj) and some nouns with a stem-final cluster; still, the latter group preferentially uses {-∅} and an inserted vowel (капля/káplja 'drop', genitive plural капель/kápel'). Nouns in {-Cɤ-} have {-∅} and usually harden the consonant (пéсня/pésnja 'song', genitive plural пёсен/pésen).

Declension III, characterized by the syncretic ending {-i} in genitive, dative, locative singular, includes two subparadigms (see table 15.7, with citation forms кость/kóst' 'bone' and плéмя/plémja 'tribe'). Feminine IIIa has nominative singular {-∅}, instrumental {-ju} (with possible vowel alternation in the stem, as in вошь/vóš' 'louse', вшй/vši, вошью/vóš'ju), nominative plural {-i} and genitive plural {-ej}. The near-dozen IIIb neuters have nominative singular {-a}, when a diminished stem without {-Vn-} is used, an instrumental {-em}, nominative plural {-a} and genitive {-∅}. IIIb stems alternate stem-final /ɲ/ (singular) with /n/ (plural). Lone masculine путь/pút' 'road' follows IIIa except in the instrumental singular.

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The declension of pronouns is idiosyncratic in various respects (see table 15.8). The reflexive pronoun, except for the impossibility of a nominative,

Table 15.6 Declension II

(a)	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	горá 'mountain'	недѣля 'week'
ACC	гору	недѣлю
GEN	горы	недѣли
DAT	горѣ	недѣле
INST	горой	недѣлей
LOC	горѣ	недѣле
Plural		
NOM	горы	недѣли
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	гор	недѣль
DAT	горам	недѣлям
INST	горами	недѣлями
LOC	горах	недѣлях
(b)		
	<i>Hard stem</i>	<i>Soft stem</i>
Singular		
NOM	горá 'mountain'	nedělja 'week'
ACC	гору	nedělju
GEN	горы	neděli
DAT	горѣ	neděle
INST	горой	nedělej
LOC	горѣ	neděle
Plural		
NOM	горы	neděli
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	гор	neděl'
DAT	горам	neděljam
INST	горами	neděljami
LOC	горах	neděljax

declines like the second person singular pronoun: genitive *себя/sebjá* and so on; the second person plural declines like first person plural (*вы/vý*, genitive *вас/vás* and so on). The inanimate interrogative 'what' declines like 'who', with an obvious difference in stem and animacy (*что/čto*, genitive *чего/čegó* and so on). Third-person pronouns occur with a preceding **н** when they are governed by a preposition. The instrumentals *мной/mnój*, *тобой/tobój*, *собой/sobój*, *(н)ей/(n)ej*, allow variants with **ю** (for example, *мною/mnòju*) to the extent the pronoun is prosodically independent.

Table 15.7 Declension III

(a)	<i>IIIa</i>	<i>IIIb</i>
Singular		
NOM	кóсьть 'bone'	плѣмя 'tribe'
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	кóсти	плѣмени
DAT	кóсти	плѣмени
INST	кóстью	плѣменем
LOC	кóсти	плѣмени
Plural		
NOM	кóсти	племена́
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	костѣй	племѣн
DAT	костѣм	племена́м
INST	костѣми	племена́ми
LOC	костѣх	племена́х
<hr/>		
(b)	<i>IIIa</i>	<i>IIIb</i>
Singular		
NOM	кóст' 'bone'	плѣмja 'tribe'
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	кóсти	плѣмени
DAT	кóсти	плѣмени
INST	кóст'ju	плѣменем
LOC	кóсти	плѣмени
Plural		
NOM	кóсти	plemená
ACC	= NOM	= NOM
GEN	kostěj	plemĕn
DAT	kostjám	plemenám
INST	kostjámi	plemenámi
LOC	kostjáx	plemenáx

Ктó/ктó and чтó/чтó (and other interrogatives) can be combined with post-positive particles to form indefinites; ктó-то/ктó-to 'someone' and чтó-то/чтó-to 'something' are specific (the speaker has in mind a unique entity), ктó-нибудь/ктó-nibud' 'someone or other', чтó-нибудь/чтó-nibud' 'something or other' are truly indefinite. These pronouns can also be combined with pre-positive particles (нѣкто/нѣкто 'a certain someone', нѣчто/нѣчто 'a certain something', никто/никтó 'no one', ничтó/ничтó 'nothing', кóе-ктó/кóе-ктó 'somebody or another') or ultimately with whole phrases (ктó бы то ни стáло/ктó by to ni stáло 'whoever it might

Table 15.8 Pronominal declensions

(a)	1 SG	2 SG	1 PL	INT'
NOM	я́	ты́	мы́	кто́
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN
GEN	меня́	тебя́	нас	кого́
DAT	мне́	тебе́	нам	кому́
INST	мно́й	тобо́й	нами́	ке́м
LOC	мне́	тебе́	нас	ко́м
	3 M-N	3 F	3 PL	
NOM	о́н ~ онó	о́на	о́ни	
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN	
GEN	(н)его́	(н)еѣ́	(н)и́х	
DAT	(н)ему́	(н)е́й	(н)и́м	
INST	(н)и́м	(н)е́й	(н)и́ми	
LOC	не́м	не́й	ни́х	
(b)	1 SG	2 SG	1 PL	INT'
NOM	ја́	ты́	мы́	кто́
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN
GEN	меня́	тебя́	нас	кого́
DAT	мне́	тебе́	нам	кому́
INST	мно́ј	тобо́ј	нами́	ке́м
LOC	мне́	тебе́	нас	ко́м
	3 M-N	3 F	3 PL	
NOM	о́н ~ онó	о́на	о́ни	
ACC	= GEN	= GEN	= GEN	
GEN	(н)его́	(н)еѣ́	(н)и́х	
DAT	(н)ему́	(н)е́ј	(н)и́м	
INST	(н)и́м	(н)е́ј	(н)и́ми	
LOC	не́м	не́ј	ни́х	

turn out to be'). Morphologically the compounds behave identically to the pronominal bases, but pre-positive particles move left of prepositions: ни о чём/ni o čem 'about nothing', кое с кем/ко́е s кем 'with somebody or another'.

The declension of demonstratives, proximate *этот/ètot* and distal *тот/tòt* (see table 15.9), is reminiscent of that of third-person anaphoric pronouns.

Table 15.9 Demonstrative paradigms

(a)	M-N	F	PL
NOM	ТОТ ~ ТО	ТА	ТЕ ~ ЭТИ
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	ТУ	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	ТОГО	ТОЙ	ТЕХ ~ ЭТИХ
DAT	ТОМУ	ТОЙ	ТЕМ ~ ЭТИМ
INST	ТЕМ ~ ЭТИМ	ТОЙ	ТЕМИ ~ ЭТИМИ
LOC	ТОМ	ТОЙ	ТЕХ ~ ЭТИХ

(b)	M-N	F	PL
NOM	tót ~ tó	tá	té ~ èti
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	tú	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	togó	tój	tèx ~ ètix
DAT	tomù	tój	tèm ~ ètim
INST	tèm ~ ètim	tój	tèmi ~ ètimi
LOC	tóm	tój	tèx ~ ètix

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Short-form adjectives, whose syntactic distribution is restricted, preserve only the nominal endings of the nominative case: masculine красен/krásen 'red', feminine красна́/krasná, neuter красно/krásno, plural красны́/krásny ~ красны́/krasný. Long-form adjectives decline like demonstratives (see table 15.10, with citation forms красны́й/krásnyj 'red' and дальний/dál'nij 'far'). Soft-stem adjectives differ from hard-stem adjectives only in adjustments in the spelling of vowel letters. Under stress, the masculine nominative singular form is -ой/-ój (молодой/molodój 'young').

The synthetic comparative ends residually in {-e} (basically with C' mutation, but in addition the stem may be modified and -š- may creep in) for a number of common adjectives, such as дорогой/dorogój 'dear, expensive', дороже/doróže; короткий/korótkij 'short', короче/koróče; долгий/dólgij 'long', дольше/dól'she; the productive ending is {-eje}, as in милый/milyj 'kind', милее/milée. The synthetic comparative cannot be used attributively, but only as a predicative (сначала она была недобрая, потом {была ~ стала ~ казалась} живее/сначала она byla nedobraja, potom {byla ~ stala ~ kazalas'}) živée 'at first she was unkind, then she {was ~ became ~ seemed} livelier') or as a post-positive reduced relative clause (помнит он замкнутого арестанта старше себя годами/pómnit ón zámknutogo arestanta stárše sebja godami 'he recalls a withdrawn prisoner (who was) years older than him'). The analytic

Table 15.10 Adjectival declension

Hard stem	M-N	F	PL
(a)			
NOM	красный ~ красное 'red'	красная	красные
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	красную	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	красного	красной	красных
DAT	красному	красной	красным
INST	красным	красной	красными
LOC	красном	красной	красных
Soft stem			
M-N			
F			
PL			
NOM	дальний ~ дальнее 'far'	дальняя	дальние
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	дальнюю	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	дальнего	дальней	дальних
DAT	дальному	дальней	дальним
INST	дальним	дальней	дальними
LOC	дальнем	дальней	дальних
Hard stem			
M-N			
F			
PL			
(b)			
NOM	красныj ~ красное 'red'	красная	красные
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	красную	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	красного	красной	красных
DAT	красному	красной	красным
INST	красным	красной	красными
LOC	красном	красной	красных
Soft stem			
M-N			
F			
PL			
NOM	дал'ниj ~ дал'нее 'far'	дал'няя	дал'ние
ACC	= NOM ~ = GEN	дал'нюю	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	дал'него	дал'ней	дал'них
DAT	дал'нему	дал'ней	дал'ним
INST	дал'ним	дал'ней	дал'ними
LOC	дал'нем	дал'ней	дал'них

comparative, which can be used in all contexts, is formed by modifying the adjective by the adverb *более/bólee*.

The neuter singular short form of adjectives (including of comparatives) functions as an adverb: *ярко/járko* 'brightly', *проницательно/pronicátel'no* 'incisively', *дороже/doróže* 'more expensively'.

3.1.5 Numeral morphology

Numerals use declensional strategies (see table 15.11) which range from near indeclinability to demonstrative-like declension.

Certain cardinal numerals expressing large round units of counting (ordinals will be given in parentheses) have minimal declension, with one form for the nominative and accusative, another for the remaining cases;

Table 15.11 Numeral paradigms

(a)	<i>Round</i>	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Paucal</i>	<i>Collective</i>
NOM	сто́	пять	три́	дво́е
ACC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM ~ = GEN	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	ста́	пяти́	трѐх	двои́х
DAT	ста́	пяти́	трѐм	двои́м
INST	ста́	пятью́	тремя́	двои́ми
LOC	ста́	пяти́	трѐх	двои́х
	<i>Compound decade</i>		<i>Compound hundred</i>	
NOM	пятьдеся́т		три́ста	
ACC	= NOM		= NOM	
GEN	пяти́десяти		трѐхсо́т	
DAT	пяти́десяти		трѐмста́м	
INST	пятью́десятью́		тремяста́ми	
LOC	пяти́десяти		трѐхста́х	
(b)	<i>Round</i>	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Paucal</i>	<i>Collective</i>
NOM	сто́	пјат’	tri	dvòe
ACC	= NOM	= NOM	= NOM ~ = GEN	= NOM ~ = GEN
GEN	ста́	pјati	trѐх	dvoix
DAT	ста́	pјati	trѐm	dvoim
INST	ста́	pјat’ju	tremja	dvoimi
LOC	ста́	pјati	trѐх	dvoix
	<i>Compound decade</i>		<i>Compound hundred</i>	
NOM	pјat’desjät		trista	
ACC	= NOM		= NOM	
GEN	pјatidesjati		trѐxsót	
DAT	pјatidesjati		trѐmstám	
INST	pјat’jüdesjat’ju		tremjastámi	
LOC	pјatidesjati		trѐxstáx	

such are стó/stó ~ стá/stá (со́тый/sótyj) '100', со́рок/sórok ~ сорока́/soroká (сороковой́/sorokovóy) '40', девяно́сто/devjanósto ~ девяно́ста/devjanósta (девяно́стый/devjanóstyj) '90' and полтора́ста/poltorásta ~ полутора́ста/polútorasta ~ 'a hundred and a half', the last two etymologically derived from стó/stó. 'One and a half' has the same pattern, but additionally the nominative distinguishes gender, like the paucal '2' (полтора́/poltorá (M-N), полторы́/poltorý (F)). Multiples of 'hundred' – двéсти/dvésti '200', три́ста/trista, четы́реста/četýresta, пятьсо́т/pjat'sót, шестьсо́т/šest'sót, семьсо́т/sem'sót, восемьсо́т/vosem'sót, девятьсо́т/devjat'sót – are compounds which decline both parts. Their ordinals are built from the genitive forms: трёхсо́тый/trěxsótyj, шестисо́тый/šestisótyj.

The majority of numerals decline as declension III nouns. 'Five' to '9' stress the ending in the oblique cases: пять́/pját' (пяты́й/pjátýj), шéсть/šest' (шестóй/šestóy), сéнь/sém' (седьмо́й/sed'móy), во́семь/vósem' (восьмо́й/vos'móy) and де́вятъ/dévjat' (девяты́й/devjátýj). 'Eleven' to '19', though historically compounds, have this declension with fixed stem stress: одинна́дцать/odinnadcat' (одинна́дцаты́й/odinnadcatýj), двена́дцать/dvenádcát' (двена́дцаты́й/dvenádcatýj), тринáдцать/trinádcát' (тринáдцаты́й/trinádcatýj), четы́рнадцать/četýrnadcat' (четы́рнадцаты́й/četýrnadcatýj), пятна́дцать/pjatnádcát' (пятна́дцаты́й/pjatnádcatýj), шестна́дцать/šestnádcát' (шестна́дцаты́й/šestnádcatýj), семна́дцать/semnádcát' (семна́дцаты́й/semnádcatýj), восемна́дцать/vosemnádcát' (восемна́дцаты́й/vosemnádcatýj), девятна́дцать/devjatnádcát' (девятна́дцаты́й/devjatnádcatýj). The first three decades have the pattern of пять́/pját': де́сять/désjat' (десяты́й/desjátýj), два́дцать/dvádcát' (двадцáты́й/dvadcatýj), три́дцать/tridcat' (тридцáты́й/tridcatýj). The decades from '50' to '80' (recall that со́рок/sórok '40' and девяно́сто/devjanósto '90' have minimal declension) are declensionally still compounds; the second component ends in a hard consonant in the nominative: пятьдеся́т/pjat'desját' (пятидесяты́й/pjatidesjátýj), шестьдеся́т/šest'desját' (шестидесяты́й/šestidesjátýj), сéньдеся́т/sém'desjat' (семидесяты́й/semidesjátýj), во́семьдеся́т/vósem'desjat' (восемидесяты́й/vos'midesjátýj).

Paucal numerals – два́/dvá (M-N) ~ двé/dvé (F) '2', три́/tri '3' and четы́ре/četýre '4' – use the case morphemes of plural adjectives, merging genitive and locative, but have idiosyncratic stems (дву-/dву-, трѣ-/трѣ-, четы́рѣ-/četýrѣ- but instrumental четы́рьмя́/četýr'mjá).

Collectives (дво́е/dvóe 'twosome', трѣ́е/trѣ́e 'threesome', четве́ро/četvero 'foursome' and so on) likewise have a plural adjectival declension in oblique cases. Indefinites like ско́лько/skól'ko 'how many' (genitive ско́льких/skól'kix) follow this strategy. 'Both', which distinguishes gender throughout, declines in this fashion (о́ба/óba (M-N NOM), обо́их/obóix (GEN); о́бе/óbe (F NOM), обе́их/obeíx (GEN) and so on).

Finally, 'one' (plural 'some') declines like the demonstrative *этот/этот*: *один/odin* (M NOM SG) (with an exceptional full vowel), *одно/odno* (N NOM SG), *одному/odnomu* (M-N DAT SG) and so on. *Тысяча/tysjača* 'thousand' and *миллион/million* 'million' decline like ordinary nouns, although *тысяча/tysjača* archaically allows instrumental *тысячью/tysjač'ju*.

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Verbal categories

Verbs generally distinguish finite forms, infinitives, verbal adjectives (or participles) and verbal adverbs (or gerunds). Verbal adverbs and active participles are formally past or non-past, but there is a tendency, especially with verbal adverbs, to align the tense with aspect – past with perfective, present with imperfective; a tense distinction is still viable only with imperfective participles. The past passive participle is formed unproblematically from transitive perfectives. Present passive participles from imperfectives, limited to written Russian, tend to acquire a modal meaning.

Russian forms a subjunctive mood by combining the past tense with the particle *бы/by*. The combination is less of an inflectional category than, say, tense. The particle can occur in various positions in a clause, and it can co-occur with non-verbal modal predicatives without the past tense of 'be' (*лучше бы/lučše by* 'would be better'). The subjunctive is used most naturally in counterfactual conditionals.

The imperative is usually built from the present-tense stem; an overt suffix {-i} occurs after consonant clusters or under stress, otherwise there is no suffix. The singular has no further marker, the plural uses {-te}. With the intonation of polarity questions, indicative first person plural forms can be used hortatively to express requests.

Imperfectives distinguish past, present and future, the latter a periphrastic combination of auxiliary (*буду/budu* (1 SG) and so on) and imperfective infinitive. Perfectives distinguish past and a morphological present, which reports true future or singularized habitual situations. For example, the perfective present in *откажут – мигом утешался/otkážut – migom utešálsja* 'if they [= belles] should refuse, he was consoled in a moment' (Puškin, *Evgenij Onegin*, ch. 4.X) establishes the protasis of a condition whose apodosis is stated in the imperfective past.

The present inflects for person and number. The aorist and imperfect continued in written Russian (in the Church Slavonic register) into the seventeenth century, but in the vernacular the *l*-participle, which inflects for gender and number, had centuries before become the universal verbal form for reporting events prior to the speech situation.

Most verb forms can be assigned to the macro-categories of imperfective and perfective aspect. This partition is evidently a generalization over some

recognizably distinct lexical subsystems. Semantically, in contrast to the long-standing attempt to define aspect as non-temporal (in order to distinguish it from tense), recent investigations from various perspectives cluster around the notion that aspect deals with how an event proceeds over time. An event reported by a perfective presumes a delimited temporal interval in which there is change in the state of the world and, further, all change is confined to this interval. An event expressed by an imperfective fails this definition, and indicates that the states or changes of state are extended over time in one way or another.

3.2.2 Conjugation

If nouns have relatively uniform stem shape with transparent internal structure but heterogeneous endings, the situation is reversed in verbs. Endings are largely uniform, but stems have internal structure and vary. Verbs commonly display two major stem alternants, the present allostem, used for the present tense, imperative and present participles, and the past/infinitive allostem, used for past, infinitive, past (active) participle and (past) passive participle. Stem allomorphy revolves primarily around the classificatory suffix, a recurrent derivational morpheme that occurs after the root. The suffix, for verbs which have one, is present in the past/infinitive allostem; it may be longer, shorter, modified or absent in the present, following a general principle of complementarity: since past/infinitive markers start with a consonant, the stem of a suffixed verb will end in a vowel; and since the present conjugational markers begin with a vowel, the present allostem ends in a consonant. A minority of verbs do not have a classificatory suffix, and these suffixless verbs divide into a number of classes. Although at a higher level of abstraction it is possible to posit a single basic stem from which allostems can be derived by process rules (Jakobson 1984: ch. 3), it is convenient to refer to verbs by their two basic allostems.

Verbs fall into two conjugations, depending on the **thematic ligature** (enclosed here by uprights) in the second and third persons singular and first and second persons plural forms of the present: *lil* (or *I*-conjugation, traditionally the second conjugation) and *lel* (or *E*-conjugation, traditionally the first conjugation; under stress, the vowel is /o/). The thematic ligature is absent before the first singular {-u}; the third person plural forms differ according to the conjugation class: ligature *lil* implies third person plural {-at}, *lel* implies third person plural {-ut}.

The *I*-conjugation has limited groups. The verbal suffix may be {-i-}, {-e-} (from *ě) or {-a-} (also from *ě, after palatals and *j). The classificatory suffix is overt in the past/infinitive stem, absent in the present. Consonants were palatalized before the classificatory suffix (whether *i or *ě) and before the thematic ligature, implying C¹ (as discussed in section 2.2 above): *проси́ть/prosit'* 'request', second person singular *про́сишь/*

prošiš'; обидеть/obidet' 'insult', second person singular обидишь/obidiš'. Consonants were jotated in the first person singular, implying C^j (прош^у/proš^u, обиж^у/obiž^u) and in the past passive participle of {-i} verbs (-прошен/-prošen); the resulting C^j has been extended to verbs in *ě (обижен/obižen but residual увиден/uviden 'seen'). If the two allomorphs are written in an abstract morphophonemic form in braces separated by the sign of variation, with the past/infinitive first (and the thematic ligature after the present allomorph), *I*-conjugation verbs fit the formula {CVC-V- ~ CVC-lil}, the suffixal V being /i/, /e/ or /a/. The conjugation of one representative verb, грабить/grabit' 'rob', is given in table 15.12.

Suffixed *E*-conjugation verbs tend to maintain the suffix in both stem allomorphs, but not in a consistent form. Three groups are characterized by a suffix ending in a vowel in the past/infinitive (complementarily before the consonantal endings) and a suffix ending in /j/ in the present (complementarily before the vocalic thematic ligature). A common type (for example делать/delat' 'do', whose conjugation is given in table 15.13) has stem shapes {CVC-a- ~ CVC-aj-lel}. A similar type with suffixal {-e} ({CVC-e- ~ CVC-ej-lel}) names inchoative processes derived from adjectives (угрюметь/ugrjümet' 'become gloomy', угрюмею/ugrjumeju (1 SG); пьянеть/p'janet' 'become drunk', пьянею/p'janēju (1 SG)). In a third, very productive, group of verbs, past/infinitive {CVC-ova-} alternates with present {CVC-uj-lel}: требовать/trëbovat' 'demand', требую/trëbuju (1 SG); колдовать/koldovat' 'practise sorcery', колдую/kolduju (1 SG).

In the other types of suffixed *E*-conjugation, the suffix is reduced in the present. The type {CVC-nu- ~ CVC-n-} productively makes semelfactive perfectives of intrinsically repetitive or undifferentiated processes: брызнуть/brýznut' 'splash', брызну/brýznu (1 SG), толкнуть/tolknút' 'shove', толкн^у/tolkn^u (1 SG). Another class has a minimal suffix {-a-} in the past/infinitive and no suffix but C^j in the present, notationally {CVC⁰-a- ~ CVC^j-lel}: плакать/plákat' 'cry', плачу/pláču (1 SG), плачешь/pláčeš' (2 SG); писать/pisát' 'write', пиш^у/piš^u (1 SG), пишешь/pišeš' (2 SG). No doubt because of the identity of the past/infinitive allomorph {CVC-a-}, this type is being absorbed into the {CVC-a- ~ CVC-aj-lel} verbs (see Крысин/Krysin 1974).

A small group of verbs has suffixed {CVC-a} in the past/infinitive but a bare {CVC-lel} in the present: сосать/sosát' 'suck', сос^у/sos^u (1 SG), сосёшь/sosěš' (2 SG); similarly, жаждать/žáždát' 'thirst', стонать/stonát' 'moan'. Related are verbs whose root-final consonant is /j/: сеять/séjat' 'sow', сею/sēju (1 SG); смеяться/smejät'sja 'laugh', смеюсь/smejús' (1 SG).

Suffixless verbs are heterogeneous. A small group has a stem {CCa-} which is less than a full closed syllable in the past/infinitive; in the present, the stem is either the bare consonant cluster (that is, {CC-lel}), such as

Table 15.12 I-conjugation: гра́бить/grábit' 'rob'(a) *Conjugation* {CVC-i- ~ CVC-lil}

PRS 1 SG	гра́блю
PRS 2 SG	гра́бишь
PRS 3 SG	гра́бит
PRS 1 PL	гра́бим
PRS 2 PL	гра́бите
PRS 3 PL	гра́бят
PRS ACT PART	гра́бящий
PRS VERBAL ADVERB	гра́бя
IMP 2 SG	гра́бь
IMP 2 PL	гра́бите
INF	гра́бить
PRT M	гра́бил
PRT F	гра́била
PRT N	гра́било
PRT PL	гра́били
PRT ACT PART	гра́бивший
PRT VERBAL ADVERB	-гра́бив(ши)
PRT PASS PART	-гра́блен

(b) *Conjugation* {CVC-i- ~ CVC-lil}

PRS 1 SG	gráblju
PRS 2 SG	grábiš'
PRS 3 SG	grábit
PRS 1 PL	grábim
PRS 2 PL	grábite
PRS 3 PL	grábjat
PRS ACT PART	grábjaščij
PRS VERBAL ADVERB	grábja
IMP 2 SG	gráb'
IMP 2 PL	gráb'te
INF	grábit'
PRT M	grábil
PRT F	grábila
PRT N	grábilo
PRT PL	grábili
PRT ACT PART	grábivšij
PRT VERBAL ADVERB	-grábiv(ši)
PRT PASS PART	-gráblen

Table 15.13 E-conjugation: *дѣлать/dѣлат' 'do' and нести/нести 'carry'*(a) *Conjugation* {CVC-a- ~ CVC-aj-lel} {CVC- ~ CVC-lel}

PRS 1 SG	дѣлаю	несу́
PRS 2 SG	дѣлаешь	несёшь
PRS 3 SG	дѣлает	несёт
PRS 1 PL	дѣлаем	несём
PRS 2 PL	дѣлаете	несёте
PRS 3 PL	дѣлают	несу́т
PRS ACT PART	дѣлающий	несущий
PRS VERBAL ADVERB	дѣлая	неся́
IMP 2 SG	дѣлай	неси́
IMP 2 PL	дѣлайте	несите
INF	дѣлать	нести́
PRT M	дѣлал	нёс
PRT F	дѣлала	несла́
PRT N	дѣлало	несло́
PRT PL	дѣлали	несли́
PRT ACT PART	дѣлавший	нёсший
PRT VERBAL ADVERB	-дѣлав(ши)	-нёсши
PRT PASS PART	-дѣлан	-несѣн

(b) *Conjugation* {CVC-a- ~ CVC-aj-lel} {CVC- ~ CVC-lel}

PRS 1 SG	дѣлаju	несу́
PRS 2 SG	дѣлае́ш'	несё́ш'
PRS 3 SG	дѣлает	несёт
PRS 1 PL	дѣлаем	несём
PRS 2 PL	дѣлаете	несёте
PRS 3 PL	дѣлаjuт	несу́т
PRS ACT PART	дѣлаjúщij	несу́щij
PRS VERBAL ADVERB	дѣлаja	несjа́
IMP 2 SG	дѣлаj	неси́
IMP 2 PL	дѣлаjте	несите
INF	дѣлат'	нести́
PRT M	дѣлал	нёс
PRT F	дѣлала	несла́
PRT N	дѣлало	несло́
PRT PL	дѣлали	несли́
PRT ACT PART	дѣлав́шij	нёс́шij
PRT VERBAL ADVERB	-дѣлав(́шi)	-нёс́шi
PRT PASS PART	-дѣлан	-несѣн

ждать/ždat' 'wait', ждѹ/ždŭ (1 SG); врать/vrát' 'lie', врѹ/vrŭ (1 SG), or the cluster with an inserted vowel (that is, {CVR-le|}), such as брать/brát' 'take', берѹ/berŭ (1 SG).

Another subgroup has a past/infinitive stem which is an open monosyllable (that is, {C(R)V-}) and either {C(R)VJ-} or {CJ-} in the present. The consonantal augment J in the present can be /j/ (мыть/myt' 'wash', мѹю/mŭju (1 SG); пѣть/pĕt' 'sing', пою/poju (1 SG); пить/pit' 'drink', пѹю/pŭju (1 SG); брить/brit' 'shave', брѣю/brĕju (1 SG); знать/znát' 'know', знѹю/znŭju (1 SG); грѣть/grĕt' 'warm', грѣю/grĕju (1 SG)) or /v/ (жить/žit' 'live', живѹ/živŭ (1 SG); плыть/plyt' 'swim', плывѹ/plyvŭ (1 SG)). In another subgroup the consonantal augment is a nasal: жать/žát' 'reap', жнѹ/žnŭ (1 SG); (на)-чѣть/(na)-čát' 'begin', (на)-чнѹ/(na)-čnŭ (1 SG); дѣть/dĕt' 'put', дѣнѹ/dĕnu (1 SG); стѣть/stát' 'stand, become', стѹнѹ/stŭnu (1 SG).

The largest and most homogeneous class of suffixless verbs is that of the type нести/nesi 'carry', несѹ/nesŭ (1 SG), несѣшь/nesĕš' (2 SG), which generally maintains a fully syllabic stem; a general formula for this type, whose conjugation is illustrated in table 15.13 above, would be {CVC- ~ CVC-le|}. Some idiosyncratic consonant alternation occurs in the past and infinitive, in the root or (exceptionally for Russian conjugation) the grammatical marker.

Consonant alternations within the present of suffixless verbs are uniform: C⁰ in the first person singular and third person plural forms alternates with C¹ elsewhere.

Irregularity in Russian verbs takes limited forms. As noted, suffixless verbs are often heterogeneous in their stems, and in this sense are 'irregular'. Few verbs have an irregular conjugation as such. Хотѣть/xotĕt' 'want' switches between *E*-conjugation with C¹ in the singular (хочѹ/hočŭ, хочѣшь/xočĕš', хочѣт/xočĕt) and *I*-conjugation in the plural (хотѹм/xotim, хотѹйте/xotite, хотѹят/xotjät). Дѣть/dĕt' 'give' and ѣсть/ĕst' 'eat' preserve reflexes of the athematic conjugation in the singular, in which endings were added directly to a consonantal stem: дам/dam, дашь/dáš', дѣст/dĕst (from reduplicated *dad-), and ѣм/ĕm, ѣшь/ĕš', ѣст/ĕst (from *ĕd-). Their plurals look like conventional *I*-conjugation: дадим/dadim, дадите/dadite, дадут/dadut (with a switch to the *E*-conjugation in the third person plural) and едим/edim, едите/edite, едят/edjät. The forms бѹду/bŭdu, бѹдѣшь/bŭdeš' and so on, used as the future of бѹть/byt' and in its perfective compounds (прибѹть/pribŭt' 'arrive', прибѹду/pribŭdu (1 SG)), are regular if the allostem is taken to be {bud-}.

3.3 Derivational morphology

Derivation in Russian involves the same strategies as elsewhere in Slavonic: basically, affixation with some vocalic and consonantal alternations.

Suffixes have shown a tendency to accrete additional segments, resulting in a system (in adjectives and noun gradation) of overlapping suffixes. All parts of speech, but more frequently nouns, could be formed by compounding independent lexical units, with a ligature vowel if necessary. In recent times nouns are formed by compounding lexical partials (or 'stumps'), or acronymically just the first segments, of an extended phrase (Comrie and Stone 1978: 99–101).

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

Masculine agentive nouns and corresponding feminines are formed with *-тель/-tel'* (feminine *-тельница/-tel'nica*) and suffixes built on the morph *-ик/-ik*, such as *-ник/-nik*, *-чик/-čik*, *-щик/ščik*, *-овщик/ovščik* (feminine *-ница/-nica*, *-чица/-čica*, *-щица/-ščica*, *-овщица/ovščica*). Borrowings often contain *-тор/-tor* or *-тёр/-těr* (feminine *-торша/-torša* or *-тёрша/-těrša*): *реда́ктор/redáktor* 'editor' (feminine *реда́кторша/redáktorša*). The stylistic value of feminine derivatives is delicate (see Comrie and Stone 1978: 159–66). For classificatory (nationality) and descriptive nouns, such as *коша́тник/košátnik* 'cat-fancier' and *коша́тница/košátnica*, use of the feminine is normal in reference to a woman. With names for professions, the masculine characterizes someone who practises the profession generally, while the feminine allows for the inference that the practice of the profession is not completely general, so that in the extreme instance some feminine derivatives (*поэ́тесса/poetessa* 'poetess', *врачи́ха/vračixa* 'lady doctor') may be effectively slurs.

Abstract nouns are derived in various ways. Declension Ib deverbals are from the past passive participle stem, such as *ута́ение/utaenie* 'concealing' (*ута́ить/utait'*) or *присыпа́ние/prisypanie* 'dusting (with powder)' (*присыпа́ть/prisypat'*). Some declension II deverbals are formed with *-ка/-ka*: *ута́йка/utajka* 'concealment', *присы́пка/prisyпка* 'dusting'. Adjectives form abstracts productively with the declension III suffix *-ость/-ost'*: *педанти́чность/pedantičnost'* 'pedantry'. The suffix *-ство/-stvo* makes abstracts describing a condition or behaviour or associated institutions: *педанти́ство/pedántstvo* 'pedantry'. The suffix *-изм/-izm* makes nouns denoting an ideology or adherence to one: *педанти́зм/pedantizm* 'pedantry'. With various roots, including proper names, *-щина/-ščina* describes a characteristic syndrome (*эмигрантщина/emigrántščina* 'emigration syndrome', *ноздрэвщина/nozdrěvščina* 'behaviour of (Gogol's hero) Nozdrěv').

The system of nominal gradation – diminutives and augmentatives – remains productive in nouns (Unbegaun 1957; Stankiewicz 1968). First-degree diminutives are formed with masculine *-к/-k*, *-ик/-ik*, *-чик/-čik*, feminine *-ка/-ka*, neuter *-цо́/-có* (~ *це/-ce*). Second-degree diminutives are formed by expanded suffixes, the series in *-чк-/-čk-* or the series in

-шк-/-šk-, the latter often pejorative. Augmentatives (typically pejorative) are formed by masculine -ище/-išče, feminine -ища/-išča, neuter -ище/-išče. A single root can form numerous derivatives: for example, masculine нѠс/nѠs 'nose' gives носѠк/nosѠk, носѠик/nosѠik, носѠчек/nosѠček, носѠшко/nosiško, носѠще/nosišče; feminine ногѠ/nogѠ 'leg, foot' gives нѠжка/nѠžka, нѠжечка/nѠžečka, нѠжѠнка/nožѠnka, нѠжища/nožišča; neuter окнѠ/oknѠ 'window' gives окнѠце/okѠnce, окнѠшко/osѠško, окнѠще/oknišče. Semantically, gradated forms are the speaker's assessment that the entity deviates from the norms for the type of entity, most tangibly in size. Personal names have rich and idiosyncratic patterns of gradation.

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

Adjectives can be derived from nouns by means of various suffixes, most frequent of which is the 'all-purpose' (Unbegaun 1957) morph -н-/-n- and its various expansions: рѠкзѠчный/rѠkzѠčnyj 'pertaining to a knapsack', анкѠтный/ankѠtnyj 'pertaining to a form'. The suffix -ск-/-sk- makes adjectives describing the characteristics of individuals or groups thereof. Expansions of these suffixes are productive in the adaptation of foreign words and technical vocabulary (эллинѠстѠческий/ellinističeskij 'Hellenistic', амфибрахѠческий/amfibraxičeskij 'amphibrachic'). Nouns of mass and essence yield relational adjectives by suffixation of -ист-/-ist- (abundance) or -оват-/-ovat- (attenuation): щелѠстый/ščelistyj 'having slits', стекловѠтый/steklovѠtyj 'glassy'. Adjectives can be gradated with -еньк-/-en'k- (слѠвненький/slѠvnen'kij 'rather wonderful') and its expansions (худѠхонький/xudѠxon'kij 'thinnish', чернѠшенький/černѠšeňen'kij 'blackish') or with -оват-/-ovat- (хитровѠтый/xitrovѠtyj 'a bit clever').

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

Verbs are derived from other parts of speech by characteristic morphological operations. Assigning the verb the shape {CVC-i- ~ CVC-lii} makes a causative ((о)сушѠть/(о)sušit' 'dry'), the shape {CVC-e- ~ CVC-ej-lel} an inchoative ((о)стервенѠть/(о)stervenѠt' 'become frenzied'). The suffixes -нича-/-niča- and -ствова-/-stvova- yield simplexes with the sense of engaging in a characteristic activity (церемѠнничѠть/ceremѠnničѠt' 'act ceremoniously', филѠсѠфствовѠть/filosѠfstvovat' 'philosophize'). The suffix -ова-/-ova- and its expansions are widely used in adapting foreign roots (классѠфицировѠть/klassificirovat' 'classify'). The etymological reflexive affix derives verbs from verbs, the most productive subprocess being detransitivization, whereby the subject of the reflexive corresponds roughly to the object of the transitive (сушѠться/sušit'sja 'dry' (ITR)).

The basic and productive aspectual system, viewed as a set of

derivational relations among lexical units, is tripartite. Simplex (unprefixed) verbs describe states or undelimited activities and are typically imperfective: *мотать/мотат'* 'wind, shake'. To simplexes are added prefixes, making perfectives that impute a limit to the state or activity: *вымотать/вы-мотат'* 'wind out', *у-мотать/u-мотат'* 'wind up', *с-мотать/s-мотат'* 'wind off', *от-мотать/от-мотат'* 'wind off', *на-мотать/на-мотат'* 'wind onto'. Prefixed perfectives then form secondary imperfectives by the addition of a suffix while retaining the sense of an imputed limit: *вы-мáтьывать/вы-мáтыvat'*, *с-мáтьывать/s-мáтыvat'*, *от-мáтьывать/от-мáтыvat'*, *на-мáтьывать/на-мáтыvat'*. Prefixed perfectives and their corresponding imperfectives clearly constitute 'aspectual pairs'. For certain prefixal meanings – beginning or end phases of an activity or quantification of an activity – a prefixed perfective normally does not form a secondary imperfective, or forms one only in an iterative sense; such a perfective may be the closest thing to a perfective partner that a simplex has. Even *на-мотать/на-мотат'* 'wind onto', which forms a regular secondary imperfective *на-мáтьывать/на-мáтыvat'*, may function as the perfective of *мотать/мотат'*. Simplexes suffixed with {-nu-} yield semelfactive perfectives, reporting a single token of undifferentiated activity: *мóтнуть/мóтнут'* 'make a shaking motion'. The 'verbs of motion' distinguish two imperfectives, one a directed, or determinate, process (*идти/idti* 'walk'), the other an undirected, or indeterminate, process (*ходить/hodit'* 'walk'). The distinction is available for a dozen or so verbs, the number depending on where one draws the line. Reasonably certain as pairs of determinate and indeterminate verbs are *бежать/bežat'* ~ *бегать/bëgat'* 'run', *везти/vezti* ~ *возить/vožit'* 'take (by conveyance)', *вести/vesti* ~ *водить/vodit'* 'lead', *гнать/gnat'* ~ *гонять/gonjät'* 'chase', *ехать/ëxat'* ~ *ездить/ëzdit'* 'ride', *идти/idti* ~ *ходить/hodit'* 'walk', *лететь/letet'* ~ *летать/letät'* 'fly', *нести/nesti* ~ *носить/nosit'* 'carry', *плыть/plýt'* ~ *плавать/plavat'* 'swim', *ползти/polzti* ~ *ползать/polzat'* 'crawl', *тащить/taščit'* ~ *таскать/taskät'* 'drag'. Less certain are *брести/bresti* ~ *бродить/brodit'* 'wander', *катить/katit'* ~ *катать/katät'* 'roll', *лэзть/lëzt'* ~ *лázить/lázit'* 'climb'.

The mechanics of imperfectivization depend on the type of verb formation. The older strategy puts verbs directly in the {CVC-a- ~ CVC-aj-lel} class (*-печь/-pëč'* ~ *-пекать/-pekät'* 'bake'), sometimes with C' (*-править/-pravít'* ~ *-правлять/-pravljät'* 'direct'). The productive strategy yields a derived verb of the shape {CVC-iva- ~ CVC-ivaj-lel}, with C' mutation (*-винтить/-vintit'* 'screw' ~ *-винчивать/-vinčivat'*) or without (*-писать/-pisät'* ~ *-писывать/-pisyvat'* 'write').

4 Syntax

4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

As is often observed, the word order of the predicate and its major noun phrases (subject and objects) is relatively free in Russian, but its freedom is not without consequences. The naturalness and frequency of various orders depends on the role of the noun phrase and the semantics of the verb (see the classic Адамец/Adamec 1966 or, more recently, Yokoyama 1986), and different orders have different stylistic consequences.

In describing word order, one may take the view that the predicate is central, and work outwards from it. If X and Y are major constituents, the order X|Verb implies that the current text is a statement about an individual (the referent of X) which is assumed to be known independently of the verb. Conversely, the order Verb|Y implies that Y is relevant as part of the information reported by the verb. Positions next to the verb are less prominent than those distant from the verb; thus initial position X in X|Y|Verb is an emphatic topic imposed on the addressee, and conversely, Y in Verb|X|Y is the position for elaborated comment. In examples below, it will be convenient to identify constituents in the Russian examples by self-evident superscripted abbreviations.

For subjects, Subject|Verb order is unmarked. This order is used when the subject is known in context, as are the speaker and his companion in:

Он^S крепко сжал^V мне руку. Мы^S поцеловались^V. Он^S сел^V в тележку./Он^S krépkó szál^V mné rúku. Mý^S pocelováliš^V. On^S sél^V v teléžku.
'He firmly squeezed my hand. We kissed. He sat down in the cart.'

This order can be used even if the subject has not been specifically mentioned, provided it is implied by the prior text, as horses would be in the continuation of the foregoing:

Мы^S простылись^V ещё раз, и лошади^S поскакали^V./Mý^S prostilis^V eščé ráz, i lóšadi^S poskakáli^V.
'We took leave once more, and the horses galloped off.'

Verb|Subject order, marked in relation to Subject|Verb, has different functions depending on whether the subject is known in context. If the subject is not known, Verb|Subject order may be used to describe a scene:

В отдаленье темнеют^V леса^S, сверкают^V пруды^S, желтеют^V деревни^S./V otdalén'c temnéjut^V lesá^S, sverkájut^V prudý^S, želtéjut^V derévni^S.
'In the distance forests look dark, there glisten ponds, villages look yellow.'

Verb|Subject order may establish the existence (and subsequent relevance) of a new individual:

Лёт вóсемь томú назáд проживáл^В у неё мáльчик^С лёт двенáдцати, сын её покойного брáта./Lét vósem' tomú nazád proživál^В u neě mál'čik^С lét dvenádcati, syn eě pokojnogo bráta.

'Eight years ago there lived with her a lad of about twelve, the son of her late brother.'

Verb|Subject order in these functions is common with existential predicates (in the order of 68 per cent), not infrequent with other intransitives (approximately 42 per cent) and rare but not impossible (less than 10 per cent) with transitives. If the subject is in fact known in context, Verb|Subject order is a stylistic device which affects an epic or folkloric style of narrative:

Принялся^В я^С býло за неподслащённую наливку; признаюсь, боялся^В я^С сдéлаться пьяницей с гóря./Prinjalsjá^В já^С býlo za nepodslaščennuju nalivku; priznajsú', pobojsjá^В já^С sdelat'sja p'jániceju s górja.

'I started to take to unsweetened liqueur; but I became frightened of the prospect of becoming a drunkard from grief.'

For objects, Verb|Object order is usual. This order may introduce new entities, as in:

Она^С принимает^В какоё-то лекарство^О, котóрое ёй привезли из Ита́лии./Oná^С prini máet^В kakóe-to lekárstvo^О, kotóroe eě privezli iz Itálii.

'She is taking some medicine which she was brought from Italy.'

Or it may subordinate a previously mentioned object to the current verb, as in:

Её рассердила одна страница, посвящённая смёрти. Она^С прочитáла^В мне^О эту страницу^О вслúх^{ADV} – тихим, рóвным гóлосом./Eě rasserdila odná stranica, posvjaščennaja smérti. Oná^С pročítala^В mné^О ètu stranicu^О vslúx^{ADV} – tixim, róvnym gólosom.

'She was angered by one page devoted to death. She read me this page aloud – in a quiet, even voice.'

Object|Verb order emphatically makes the object the topic when, for example, it is contrasted with other entities:

Она сказала по телефону, что в вóсемь к ней придёт Оксман, а меня^О она^С просит^В прийти в сёмь./Oná skazála po telefónu, čto v vósem' k neě pridét Oksman, a menjá^О oná^С prošit^В pridti v sém'.

'She said over the phone that at eight Oksman would come, and me she was asking to come at seven.'

Pronouns, like ёй^О привезли^В/ёй^О privezli^В 'to her (they) brought' or прочитáла^В мне^О/pročítala^В mné^О 'read to me' above, tend to attach to the verb on one side or the other as quasi-enclitics, consistent with the

observation that positions close to the verb are unprominent. In most narrative, since a general calendrical and geographical orientation can be presumed, temporal and locative phrases naturally occur pre-verbally, like в восемь/в восемь 'at eight' above. Other adverbs – evaluative, degree, modal and manner – gravitate to the verb. Position on one or the other margin is emphatic; thus, вслух/vslux 'aloud' above is an elaborated comment, answering the implied question of how the subject read.

Within noun phrases, adjectives are ordinarily pre-nominal; participial phrases are either, relative clauses and complement noun phrases (including genitives) usually post-nominal: давно не проветривавшиеся бархатные альбомы фотографий/davno ne provetrivavšiesja bárkhatnye al'bomy fotografij 'the long unventilated velvet albums of photographs'. Moving a quantified noun locally in front of the quantifier (and across a preposition) makes the quantification more tentative, as in the example above лет восемь тому назад/lét vosem' tomu nazád, or in раз в десятый/raz v desjátyj 'for the tenth time or so'. Putting the adjective after the noun is a stylistic device suggesting lyric poetry or folklore:

Змий лю́тый о семи́ голо́в ужасных меня́ всю́ цара́пал кочеры́жкой
 о́строй./Zmij ljútyj o semi golóv užásnyx menjá vsjú carápal kočeryžkoj óstroj.
 'A dragon ferocious with seven heads horrible scratched me all over with a cabbage
 stalk sharp.'

One expects constituents of noun phrases to be contiguous, but discontinuity of quantifier and noun is frequent: corresponding to the neutral order тогда́ было́ мно́го та́ких ме́ст/togdá býlo mnógo takix mést 'at that time there were many such places', one can also have та́ких ме́ст тогда́ было́ мно́го/takix mést togdá býlo mnógo 'of such places at that time there were many' and, colloquially, мно́го тогда́ было́ та́ких ме́ст/mnógo togdá býlo takix mést 'many there were of such places at that time'. Discontinuity is less frequent and more marked stylistically with attributive adjectives: шелестя́нные смея́лись голо́сочки во все́х уголо́чках/šelestinnye smejaľis' gosolócki vo vséx ugolóckax 'rustling laughed the voices in all corners'.

4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

Content questions are formed with the appropriate question word, usually in sentence-initial position: что́ случи́лось? како́й до́ктор пи́шет?/čtó slučilos'? kakój dóktor pišet? 'what has happened? what sort of doctor is writing?'. General polarity questions are formed with question intonation (нра́вится?/nrávitsja? 'do you like (it)?'); localizing the intonation contour to some constituent makes a narrow polarity question that questions a specific entity or property against alternatives (со смета́нки нача́ем?/so smetánki načněm? 'is it with the sour cream we should

start?'). The particle *ли/li* after any constituent in sentence-initial position has the same function: *не здесь ли совершён поворот истории?/ne zdés' li soveršěn povorót istórii?* 'was it not here that the turning point in history occurred?' After a verb, the structure with *ли/li* is similar to a general polarity question ('is it the case that ...') and is used regularly in indirect questions:

(Я осмелилась спросить её,) была ли Цветаева первой женщиной в его жизни./*(Ja osmélilas' sprosít' eě,) bylá li Cvetáeva pèrvoj ženščinoj v ego žizni.*
'(I made so bold as to ask her) was Tsvetaeva the first woman in his life.'

The minimal response to a positive polarity question (such as *–а вы и вчера стояли?/–a vŭ i včera stojáli?* '–and did you stand (in the queue) yesterday as well?') would be simply the appropriate particle (*да/da* 'yes' or *нет/nét* 'no') or, frequently, the verb alone (*–стояла/stojála* '(I) stood'). Responses to negative polarity questions, such as *–не дозвонилась?/–ne dozvonilas'?* '–you didn't get through?', depend elusively on presuppositions. The most neutral response would be the particle *нет/nét* 'no'; the doubly negative response would emphasize the failure: *–нет, не дозвонилась/–nét, ne dozvonilas'* 'no, (obviously) I didn't get through'. Mixed responses address the presupposition of failure, *–нет, дозвонилась/–nét, dozvonilas'* countering the expectation ('on the contrary, I did get through') and *–да, не дозвонилась/–da, ne dozvonilas'* confirming the expectation ('as you thought, I didn't get through').

The imperative issues commands; other modal constructions can be used with a comparable illocutionary force. As a rule of thumb, positive imperatives are simplex imperfective (*да держи за ручку!/da derži za rúčku!* 'just hold it by the handle!') or perfective (*Серёж, возьми!/Serëž, voz'mi!* 'Sereža, take it!'), negative imperatives imperfective (*не напираете!/ne napiráete!* 'don't push!'). But there are conventionalized exceptions. A negative perfective is a warning not to proceed with an action that is imminent (*смотри, не подгадь!/smotri, ne podgád'!* 'watch you don't mess up!'), while, conversely, an imperfective in a positive imperative is less categorical (*возьмите ещё, берите, берите!/voz'mite eščë, berite, berite!* 'take some more, go ahead, take some, take some!').

4.3 Copular sentences

Sentences stating copular relations – equations, descriptions, class membership – consist of a (nominative) subject, a predicative noun or adjective and, sometimes, a copular verb. In the present tense, there is normally no overt copular verb, the conjugated forms of 'be' having been eliminated in all functions. The particle *есть/est'*, etymologically the third person singular, can be inserted in emphatic or tautological definitions, and in scientific style the plural *суть/sút'* can be used. Outside of the present, the appropriate forms of 'be' are used (*был/byl* (PAST M SG), *буду/búdu*

(FUT 1 SG) and so on). It is sometimes said that Russian lacks a verb 'be', an observation which may then lead to speculation about the Russian world-view. It should be emphasized that Russian has the syntactic means to express copular and existential relations, even though it fails to employ a verb in the present tense.

A predicative noun can appear in the nominative or instrumental. The instrumental, impossible in the present but usual (in the order of 80 per cent) in the past or future, is used when there is the slightest hint of restriction on the predicative relation. Thus, the instrumental is used if the subject acts in a certain capacity:

Онѝ всё сознательно и по своей волѝ были творцами и соучастниками
всего этого./Oni vse soznatel'no i po svoej vole byli tvorcami i součastnikami
vsego ètogo.

'They all were consciously and by their own choice creators and collaborators in all that.'

or if there is contrast of one time to another:

Но тогда я был мальчишкой, а теперь у меня полно седины в
бородѝ./No togda ja byl mal'čiškoj, a tepér' u menja polno sediny v borodè.
'But at that time I was just a lad, whereas now I have a beard full of grey.'

Nominative is a pure unrestricted description:

Я был несмышлёныш, потеря родителей для меня ничего не
представляла./Ja byl nesmyšlěnyš, potérja roditelej dlja menja ničego ne
predstavljála.

'I was a dunce, the loss of my parents didn't mean anything to me.'

Predicative adjectives have three morphological options. The instrumental, which occurs less frequently with adjectives than with nouns, indicates a restriction on the property; thus она была счастливой/ona byla ščastlivoj 'she was happy' suggests that happiness was limited to some time. The opposition of long form and short form has a noticeably lexical character (though, as a syntactic constraint, two different forms are not normally conjoined). Occasionally, the two are semantically differentiated, as in the textbook opposition of short-form болен/bólen 'sick, ailing' versus long-form больной/bol'noj 'invalid'. Moreover, many lexical items exhibit a strong preference for one or the other form (see Gustavsson 1976). The long form is required of adjectives characterizing a property derived from a noun: деревянный/derevjannyj 'wooden', шведский/švédskij 'Swedish', буржуазный/buržuáznyj 'bourgeois', белокожий/belokóžij 'white-skinned', морщинистый/morščinistyj 'wrinkled' and двухкомнатный/dvuxkómnatnyj 'two-roomed'. As an extension of this lexical rule, one can suggest that the long form signals that the subject, viewed as a type of individual, instantiates an essence, a quality. In:

“сво́й” дедушка добрый, он привозит подарки всем детям и иногда катает их на собственных лошадях./“svój” děduška dóbruj, òn prívòzit podárki všem dětjam i inogdá kataet ix na sòbstvennyx lošadjax.

‘their own grandfather is kind, he brings presents to all the children and sometimes takes them for a ride with his horses.’

the long form describes one individual, implicitly in contrast to another, as a token of a type, as someone who instantiates the quality of goodness.

The short form is required for adjectives that characteristically take a complement stating the circumstances under which, or with respect to what standard, the property holds: *возмо́жен/vozmóžen* ‘possible’, *необходи́м/необходim* ‘necessary’, *обязан/objazan* ‘obligated’, *убежде́н/ubežděn* ‘convinced’, *увере́н/uvéren* ‘certain’, *виден/viden* ‘visible’, *ощути́м/oščutim* ‘perceptible’, *презира́ем/preziræem* ‘despicable’, *вели́к/velik* ‘big’, *дале́к/dalěk* ‘far’, *по́лон/pólon* ‘full’, *дово́лен/dovólen* ‘satisfied’, *согла́сен/soglåsen* ‘agreed’, *прису́щ/prisúšč* ‘intrinsic’, *похо́ж/roxož* ‘similar’, *гото́в/gotóv* ‘ready’ and *способен/sposóben* ‘capable’; for some adjectives, such as *ра́д/rád* ‘pleased’, no long form is said to exist at all. The short form is usual even when the complement is not overt, but imputed; thus *она́ была́ сча́стлива/oná bylá sčástliva* suggests that there was something which was responsible for the happiness of the subject. Further, with an adjective that otherwise prefers the long form, a complement forces the short form (normally *бере́менная/berémennaja* ‘pregnant’ but *бере́менна от него́/berémenna ot negó* ‘pregnant by him’). The short form indicates that the subject, viewed as a unique individual rather than as a type, manifests the property in potentially variable ways under different circumstances. Thus, in

Оте́ц был до́бр, споко́ен и мя́гок, он сгла́живал стра́стную нетерпимость ма́тери./Otec byl dóbr, spokóen i mjágoк, òn sglåžival strástnuju neterpimost’ máteri.

‘Their father was kind, calm, and mild, he smoothed out the passionate impatience of their mother.’

the three short forms describe how the father behaved – how he manifested properties.

Over the long history of Slavonic languages and, specifically, Russian, long forms have been gradually displacing short forms, first from attributive function (starting with cases other than the nominative), and more recently in predicative function as well. Thus it would no longer be appropriate to use a short form in some contexts where Puškin did: *Нашёл он по́лон дво́р услу́ги/Našël on pólon dvór uslúgi* ‘he found the house full of servants’ (Puškin, *Evgenij Onegin*, ch. 1.LIII) or *В привы́чный ча́с пробуждена́/V privýčnyj čas probuždená // Встава́ла при све́чах она́/Vstavála pri svečax oná* ‘awakened at the usual time // she arose to candlelight’ (Puškin, *Evgenij Onegin*, ch. 2.XVIII). The development in

contemporary Russian has reached the point where, at least in the colloquial register, long forms (most readily neuter) can be used anywhere one might expect short forms.

Predicative nouns and adjectives occur with predicates other than 'be' (see Nichols 1981). Most closely related to 'be' are **aspectual** predicates like *остаться/ostát'sja* 'remain' and *оказаться/okazát'sja* 'turn out', which superimpose the notion of change of state on the copular relation, and **epistemological** predicates like *казаться/kazát'sja* 'appear' or *явиться/javít'sja* 'appear', which attenuate the certainty of the copular relation. (The imperfective *являются/javlját'sja* has become a functional synonym of 'be' in scientific and journalistic style.) Since these predicates limit the property, they demand the instrumental or residually allow the short form:

Он встречались, даже слышали стихи друг друга – и остались
[равнодушными ~ равнодушны ~ *равнодушные]./Oni vstrečáliš', dáže
slyšali stixi drug druga – i ostáliš' [ravnodušnymi ~ ravnodušny ~ *ravnodušnye].
'They met, even heard each other's poems – but remained indifferent.'

At the opposite extreme from copular 'be', predicatives may report a circumstantial property of the subject, commonly the subject of a verb of motion or transfer. **Circumstantials** require the instrumental of nouns and nominalized adjectives, such as *взрослая/vzróslaja* 'adult' in:

Уже взрослой Цветаева часто видела умершего Александра Блока
живым./Uže vzróslój Cvetáeva částo videla uméršego Aleksándra Blóka živým.
'Even as an adult Cvetacva often saw the deceased Aleksandr Blok alive.'

Circumstantials prefer but do not require the nominative long form with adjectives: *он вернулся возмущённый/ón vernúlsja vozmuščěnnjy* 'he returned agitated'.

The possibilities for predicatives referring to a nominative subject of a finite verb are summarized in table 15.14.

Predicatives can be predicated of an object, usually in the instrumental, as in *живым/živým* 'alive' above, though adjectives occasionally allow accusative: *мужчин погоняли голодных/mužčin pogonjáli golódnjx* '(they) drove the men off hungry'.

4.4 Coordination and comitativity

Coordination is effected by a conjunction – conjunctive *и/i* 'and' (or folkloric *да/da*), adversative *но/но* 'but', adversative *а/а* 'but (rather)', disjunctive *или/ili* 'or', negative *ни/ни* 'not (even)' – placed before the last conjunct. When *и/i*, *или/ili* or *ни/ни* are repeated before two or more conjuncts, the effect is emphatic, approximately 'both *x* and *y*', 'either *x* or *y*', 'neither *x* nor *y*', respectively, as in *я не хотёл ни есть, ни пить, ни*

Table 15.14 Morphological options for predicatives

	<i>Noun</i> NOM	<i>Noun</i> INST	<i>Adjective</i> NOM	<i>Adjective</i> INST	<i>Adjective</i> <i>short</i>
Copula (present tense)	+	*	+	*	+
Copula (other tense)	±	+	+	+	+
Epistemological Aspectual	*	+	?	+	±
Circumstantial	*	+	+	±	*

спать/я не хотèл ни èст', ни пит', ни спàт' 'I did not want to eat nor drink nor sleep'. With a single conjunct, и/и and ни/ни compare the given entity with other, virtual ones: трèтьего мàрта отрèкся от престòла и егò брàт/трèт'ego màrta otrèksja ot prestòla i ego bràt 'on the third of March his brother also renounced the throne'.

Under coordination of predicates with a shared subject, there are no particular constraints other than semantic compatibility. When two predicates share an object as well as subject, they must govern the same case. Hence conjunction of two predicates governing the accusative is possible: она не переставàла любить и уважàть егò/она не perestavàla ljubit' i uvažàt' ego 'she never ceased to love and respect him'. Predicates governing dative (благоволить/blagovolit' 'be favourably inclined to') and accusative (уважàть/uvažàt' 'respect') cannot be conjoined with a single object pronoun, regardless of whether dative емù/emù or accusative егò/ego is used: она не переставàла благоволи́ть и уважàть (*емù ~ *егò)/она не perestavàla blagovolit' i uvažàt' {*emù ~ *ego} 'she never ceased being favourably inclined to and respecting him'.

Coordination is one context with variation in agreement. Conjoined subject arguments usually occur with plural predicates but singular agreement with the conjunct closest to the predicate is possible, if the conjoined elements form a collective unit:

Егò порази́ло вели́чие архитекту́ры и красота́ вну́треннего убра́нства собо́ра./Egò porazilo veličie arxitektury i krasotà vnútrennego ubrànstva sobòra. 'He was astounded by the grandeur of the architecture and the beauty of the decoration of the cathedral.'

As in this example, singular agreement is more common with abstract nouns and more common with Verb|Subject order.

The comitative expression – preposition с/s plus instrumental – achieves an effect similar to coordination of nouns. It is usual when one element is a

pronoun, which then is almost obligatorily plural with first and second persons and preferably plural with third. Thus, the plural pronoun in the following may have a single referent: они с Парно́к живу́т в э́то вре́мя на да́че/oni s Parnók živút v èto vrémja na dáče 'she and Parnok are living at the dacha then' or геро́й на́шей пе́рвой любви́ с Мари́ной/gerój našej pèrvoj ljubvi s Marínoj 'the hero of the first love of mine and Marina'; as in the latter instance, the comitative can detach from the pronoun. When the head of a subject comitative phrase is a singular noun, the predicate can be plural, indicating the parallel participation of two individuals, as in А́ся со сво́им возлю́бленным уезжа́ли в то́т же де́нь/Ásja so svoim vozljublennym uezzáli v tót že dèn' 'Asja with her beloved left the same day'; the singular (уезжа́ла/uezzála in this example) focuses on the activities of the head noun alone. Agreement is correlated with parameters elsewhere applicable to contexts of optional agreement: Subject/Verb order, animacy, individuation of conjuncts and individuating predicates favour plural agreement over the opposite values of these parameters (Corbett 1983).

4.5 Subordination

Subordinate clauses fulfil the same syntactic roles as lexical units; often a role can be filled by a finite clause or a non-finite one.

Finite clauses functioning as circumstantial modifiers of the predicate are introduced by one of a number of subordinating conjunctions, which encode a mixed temporal-modal meaning; thus когда́/kogdá 'when' is 'on certain occasions' and/or 'under certain circumstances'.

Finite attributive modifiers of nouns – that is, relative clauses – are formed usually with the interrogative pronoun кото́рый/kotóryj, originally 'which of two', at the front of the relative clause, which normally follows the modified noun: все́ сказа́ни, кото́рые мо́гла запо́мнить ключница́/vsé skázki, kotórye móglá zapómnit' ključnica, 'all the stories which the maid could recall'. Restrictive and non-restrictive senses are not distinguished, even by punctuation. Other interrogative pronouns (че́й/čej 'whose', что́/čtò 'what', како́й/kakój 'what kind of', кто́/ktò 'who') can be pressed into service for specific purposes. For example, кто́/ktò 'who', which can only be used with personal masculine (or mixed-gender) antecedents, defines a non-referential possible individual, and is usual with pronominal adjectives as heads: кто́ бы́ли те́, к кому́ она́ ушла́?/ktò býli tè, k komú oná ušla? 'who were those to whom she went?'

Finite subordinate clauses, as arguments of predicates, can occur in positions where one would expect a subject, object or (with a place-marking demonstrative) oblique argument:

{Бы́ло неясно́ ~ На́до бы́ло решит́ь ~ Она́ не интере́совала́сь те́м}, что́ и кому́ оста́вить, ка́кие руко́писи́ взят́ь с собо́й./[Bylo nejasno ~ Nádo býlo]

rešit' ~ Oná ne interesoválas' tём], čtо i komu ostávit', kakie rukopisi vzját' s sobój.

'[It was unclear ~ It was necessary to decide ~ She was not interested in] what to leave with whom, which manuscripts to take with her.'

With such clauses, tense is normally internal – that is, determined relative to the time of the matrix event, not the speech event – there being no sequence of tense rule in Russian. In particular, an imperfective present is used when the embedded event is simultaneous with the matrix event: сын говорил, что не хочет уезжать/syn govoril, čto ne xóčet uezzát' 'her son said he did not want to leave'.

There are four types of governed infinitives, distinguished by the way the infinitival clause is linked to the matrix predicate. Infinitives occur:

(a) as the central noun phrase of 'impersonal' modals, when the implicit subject of the infinitive is linked to the dative domain of the matrix predicate; note the first embedding in:

Мне иногда удавалось умоли́ть её восстано́вливать стро́ки, искалече́нные ёю в уго́ду цензу́ре./Mné inogdá udaválos' umolit' eё vosstanávlivat' stroki, iskaléčennye eju v ugódu cenzúre.

'It was sometimes successful for me to beseech her to restore lines mangled by her for the benefit of censorship.'

(b) As object of intentional predicates, when the implicit subject of the infinitive is linked to the matrix subject:

Я́ изо всѣх сил пы́талась поня́ть её мы́сль, но та́к и не поняла́./Já izo vsѣx sil pytálas' ponját' eё mysl', no ták i ne ponjalá.

'I tried with all my might to understand her idea, but even so did not understand.'

(c) As object of predicates reporting imposition of modality (obligation, possibility or prohibition), with the implicit subject linked to the dative object of the matrix predicate:

А́нна Андре́евна дава́ла ка́ждой го́сьте проче́сть «После́днюю лю́бовь»./Anna Andreévna davála kázdоj góst'e pročest' «Poslédnjuju ljubóv'».

'Anna Andreevna let each guest read "Last Love".'

(d) Or as object of a predicate of request, where the implicit subject is linked to a matrix accusative object; an example is the middle portion of the sentence in (a) above (умоли́ть её восстано́вливать/umolit' eё vosstanávlivat' 'beseech her to restore').

Clauses introduced by the conjunction что́бы/čtoby have the functions both of adverbs and of noun phrases. Purpose что́бы/čtoby clauses occur with infinitives or past finite verbs: как сде́лать, что́бы ухóд не заме́тили?/kák sdélat', čtoby uxód ne zamétili? 'what could be done so

that the departure would not be noticed?' Чтóбы/čtóby clauses occur as arguments in variation with infinitives with certain matrix verbs: она попросила меня передать часыки дяде/ona poprosila menjá peredát' čásiki djáde 'she asked me to deliver the watch to her uncle' ~ она попросила меня, чтóбы я передал часыки дяде/ona poprosila menjá, čtóby já peredál čásiki djáde 'she asked of me that I deliver the watch to her uncle'. They are used when infinitives are not available, as they are not with хотеть/хотét' when its subject is not the same as that of the desired event (thus only она хотела, чтóбы я передал часыки дяде/ona хотела, čtóby já peredál čásiki djáde 'she wanted that I should deliver the watch to her uncle' but not *она хотела меня передать часыки дяде/*она хотела менjá peredát' čásiki djáde 'she wanted me to deliver ...'). They can occur in place of что/čto clauses if the matrix context is heavily modalized or negated, indicating the speaker's lack of credence in the truth of a normally factive complement: невероятно, чтóбы Цветаева не читала ахматовских стихов/neverojátno, čtóby Cvetaeva ne čítala aхmátovskix stixóv 'it's unlikely that Cvetaeva would not have read Axmatova's poetry'.

Extraction, as the linkage between interrogative or relative pronouns and their source predicates has come to be known, is quite restricted in Russian. Although relativization is possible into the argument of an infinitive, such as строки, которые мне иногда удавалось уговорить её восстанавливать .../stróki, kotórye mně inogdá udaválos' umolit' eě vosstanávlivat' ... 'lines, which I sometimes managed to persuade her to restore ...', it is not possible into any finite clause; thus, constructed examples such as *строки, которые я хотела, чтóбы она восстанавливала .../*stróki, kotórye já хотела, čtóby она vosstanávlivala ... 'lines, which I wanted that she restore ...' are regarded by speakers as metalinguistic puzzles at best.

4.6 Negation

The negative particle не/ne can attach to any major constituent, with local scope. Thus Лизу не очень радовала перспектива переезда/Lizu ne óčen' radovála perspektiva pereézda and Лизу очень не радовала перспектива переезда/Lizu óčen' ne radovála perspektiva pereézda differ in the strength of displeasure ('Liza was not particularly pleased' versus 'very displeased by the prospect of moving').

Negation shows an affinity with genitive case marking in place of nominative for subjects of intransitives or accusative for objects of transitives (see Timberlake 1975 or the numerous other studies of the 'genitive of negation' listed in the bibliography of Corbett in Brecht and Levine 1985). Corresponding to the nominative subject of the positive intransitive подлинник письма сохранился/pódlinnik pis'má soxranilsja 'the original of the letter was preserved', under negation one can have, with differ-

ent interpretations, either nominative or genitive. The nominative (пóдлинник письма́ не сохранился/рòдlinnik pis'má ne soxranilsja 'as for the original of the letter, it wasn't preserved') individuates the predicate and its subject – given a certain referent, the predicate states a negative property of it. The genitive, which implies default neuter singular in the predicate (пóдлинника письма́ не сохранилось/рòдlinnika pis'má ne soxranilos'), denies the existence of a kind of individual (accordingly, 'no original was preserved' or 'there was not preserved any original'). What case is selected under negation depends in part on the predicate. 'Be' sharply distinguishes the two options (see Chvany 1975). With predicative nouns and adjectives, which necessarily individuate the subject, only nominative is possible: я нё был каким-нибудь необыкновенным ребёнком/я́ нё byl kakim-nibud' neobyknovénnyum rebénkom 'I was not an unusual child', *меня́ нё было каким-нибудь необыкновенным ребёнком/*menjá́ нё bylo kakim-nibud' neobyknovénnyum rebénkom being inconceivable. With domain phrases the interpretation is usually existential, so that genitive case occurs under negation almost obligatorily (as high as 99 per cent) with nouns, though less frequently with pronouns (70 per cent). Then the verb is neuter singular (in the past or future tenses); in the present tense, the synthetic form нёт/нёт expresses both negation and 'be' in its existential sense: егò {нё было ~ нёт} в конто́ре/ego {né bylo ~ nёт} v kontóre 'there was none of him in the office (= He was not ...)'. Aspectualized copulas like 'remain' and 'become' are similar. Other intransitives normally invoke the individuated reading, but can be existentialized with emphatic negation. Subjects of transitives are never put in the genitive.

In parallel fashion, when one negates a transitive predicate normally taking an accusative object, such as он сохранил пóдлинник письма́/ón soxranil рòдlinnik pis'má 'he preserved the original of the letter', one can have either accusative or genitive: он не сохранил {пóдлинник ~ пóдлинника} письма́/он не soxranil {рòдlinnik ~ рòдlinnika} pis'má 'he didn't preserve the original of the letter'. Though the accusative has been gaining ground, it still occurs less frequently than the genitive (in the order of one-fifth to one-third of examples in texts.)

A genitive object negates the existence of the event involving the object or its result – он не сохранил пóдлинника письма́/он не soxranil рòдlinnika pis'má 'he did not preserve the original of the letter (and the original does not exist)'. As a consequence, under emphatic negation, which proposes that a positive state of affairs might be entertained and then categorically dismisses it, the genitive is almost always used, even with personal nouns: во всё те́ дни я не помню ни па́пы, ни Лёры/vo vsé té dni já ne pómnju ni pápy, ni Lëry 'throughout all those days I remember neither Papa nor Laura'. Among predicates, иметь/imét' 'have', as a transitive existential, strongly prefers genitive. At the level of the object

argument, genitive is appropriate with non-individuated entities, such as with plural nouns and abstracts.

The accusative is appropriate to the extent that the negated event is only one property which might be reported of an individual; it activates the possibility of other events. Thus in *он не сохранил подлинник письма* / *on ne soxranil pòdlinnik pis'mà* 'he failed to preserve the original of the letter', accusative suggests that non-preservation is merely one of the relevant properties of the entity, or that the event might easily have taken place. Accusative is required when the negated verb is contrasted with another verb, as in *она не строила свою жизнь, она её выполняла* / *onà ne stroila svoju žizn', onà eë vypolnjála* 'she didn't construct her life, she performed it'; and accusative is usual when the force of negation is attenuated by particles (*чуть не* / *čút' ne* 'almost not' or *едва не* / *edvá ne* 'almost not') or in rhetorical questions, which presuppose the reality of the positive state of affairs:

Джек Потрошитель! Кто не помнит это страшное имя! / *Džèk Potrošitel'!*
Ktò ne pòmnit èto strášnoe imja!
 'Jack the Ripper! Who does not remember this terrible name!'

At the predicate level, the accusative is required when the predicate governs an instrumental predicative. At the level of the noun phrase, proper and/or animate nouns usually appear in the accusative: *в эти дни я совсем не помню Андриюшу* / *v èti dni já sovsèm ne pòmnju Andrjušu* 'during those days I do not remember Andrijuša at all'.

In some instances the context may not decide case choice, and instead the choice of case may impose a reading on the context:

Помню поездку в театр. Самой пьесы я не помню. Память сохранила только впечатление от театра. / *Pòmnju poèzdku v teàtr. Samój p'èsy já ne pòmnju. Pámjat' soxranila tól'ko vpečatlénie ot teàtra.*
 'I recall a visit to the theatre. The play itself I do not remember. Memory has preserved only the impression of the theatre.'

The genitive here denies the existence of any memory of a possible entity (the something that would be the essence of the play). Compare:

Я не помню канву описанных Мариной событий, но жива в памяти юная романтика отношений. / *Já ne pòmnju kanvu opisannux Marinoj sobýtij, no žívá v pámjati júnaia romántika otnošénij.*
 'I do not recall the thread of the events Marina described, but still alive in my memory is the youthful romanticism of the story.'

The accusative in this virtually identical context denies memory specifically of one entity ('the canvas', the thread of events), which is contrasted with another related entity which is in fact remembered.

4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

Naming devices differ in the way in which they invite one to locate or construct a referent, from selecting a unique individual with multiple properties known independently to defining a possible individual by means of some contextually relevant property.

Demonstratives (proximate ЭТОТ/ètot and distal ТОТ/тòt) differentiate the intended referent from other members of some class of possible entities; this process involves first establishing that class. Thus in

Музей, наконец, открывался. Из всех детей это детище оказалось единственной неомрачённой радостью его старости./Muzèj, nakonèc, otkryvájsja. Iz vsëx egò detèj èto detišče okazalos' edinstvennoj neomračènoj rádot'ju egò stárosti.

'The museum, finally, was about to open. Of all his children this child was the only untainted joy of his old age.'

ЭТОТ/ètot establishes that a certain entity is to be reclassified as a member of the class of 'children', which is different from other members of that class. ТОТ/Тòt is used, anaphorically, to identify the most recently mentioned member of a class (Лиза Марину Ивановну не знала, та ей представилась/Liza Marínu Ivánovnu ne znála, tà èj predstávilas' 'Liza did not know Marina Ivanovna, that one (= M.I.) introduced herself to her (= L.)') and, cataphorically, to introduce an entity defined by a relative clause (в тех городáх, куда эвакуировали население/v tèx gorodáx, kudá èvakuirovali naselénie 'in those cities, to which the population was evacuated').

In anaphora, the most interesting question concerns the use of implicit pronouns, or zero anaphora, in contrast to overt pronouns. In indirect speech, zero anaphora is usual when the embedded subject is the same as the secondary speaker. With zero, the speech is reported from the perspective of the secondary speaker: она сказала, что разделится сама/oná skazála, čto razdénetsja samá 'she said that (she) would undress by herself'. When, occasionally, the overt pronoun is used, as in

Он уверял, что он знает гораздо более, нежели можно было ей предполагать./On uverjal, čto on znaet gorázdo bólee, neželi móžno býlo èj predpolagát'.

'He assured (her) that he knew more than she might suppose.'

the indirect speech becomes a looser paraphrase of the sense of the gentleman's banter.

Zero anaphora also occurs in connected texts:

... Ольга Ивановна не любила думать о неприятном и почти никогда не думала. Избегала разговоров о болезнях, а когда мужу или дочери случалось хворать, говорила с ними так, точно они всё выдумывают.

Разумеётся, при этом окружала их самым заботливым уходом.

Она недурно играла на пианофорте.

... Ol'ga Ivanovna ne ljubila dumat' o neprijatnom i počti nikogdá ne dúmala. Izbegála razgovórov o bolézntax, a kogdá múžu ili dóčeri slučalos' xvorát', govorila s nimi ták, točno oni vse vydúmyvaet. Razumeetsja, pri ètom okružála ix sámym zabótlivym uxódom.

Она недурно играла на пианофорте.

'... Ol'ga Ivanovna did not like to think about anything unpleasant and almost never thought. (She) avoided conversations about illness, and when her husband or daughter should happen to be under the weather, (she) talked with them as if they were making it all up. Of course at the same time (she) surrounded them with the most attentive care.

'She played tolerably on the pianoforte.'

In this extended description, zero pronouns are used consistently so long as the referent remains uniquely identifiable and the text continues in the same thematic vein – here, the protagonist's attitude towards uncontrollable events; the overt pronoun in the final sentence announces a shift to the new theme of her accomplishments.

4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Russian has two reflexive pronouns, an independent pronoun (there being no nominative, the citation form is себя/sebjá (GEN)) and a possessive adjective (сво́й/svój (M NOM SG)). In the vast majority of sentences, the antecedent of a reflexive is the subject of that clause; thus the mother recognizes herself and her attributes in Ма́ть уга́дывала в Мари́не себя́ со сво́ими сло́жностями/Ма́т' ugádyvala v Maríne sebjá so svoimi slóžnostjami 'Mother recognized in Marina herself with her own complications'. Complementarily, a non-reflexive cannot refer to the subject; non-reflexives above (... уга́дывала е́ с е́ сло́жностями/... ugádyvala eě s eě slóžnostjami) would mean that the mother recognized some other person in her daughter. This complementarity holds in finite clauses with third-person subjects, and for first- and second-person antecedents with the independent pronoun. Almost all syntactic relations are accessible to reflexives, including various obliques; linear order is irrelevant, in that the reflexive can occur before its antecedent (see in general Падучева/Padučeva 1985: 180–208).

Complications arise when the syntactic relations between pronoun and antecedent fall short of this ideal. Then, generally, both reflexive and non-reflexive can be used with the same denotation, but with an additional nuance. A non-reflexive specifies a unique individual defined outside the current text. (The non-reflexive can still refer to some other individual.) A reflexive describes a procedure for selecting a referent in terms of the antecedent. Thus, in the example below, with first- (or second-) person antecedent, a non-reflexive possessive adjective is appropriate because the speaker's reckoning with his charges is independently defined:

Я замéтил и положителные послéдствия моéй распрáвы с двумя колонистами./Já zamétil i položitel'nye poslédstvija moéj rasprávy s dvumjá kolonistami.

'I noticed also positive consequences of my dealing with the two members of the colony.'

A reflexive invokes a distributive situation, in which a set of possessed objects is defined in relation to a set of possessors including the speaker: Я горжусь долей своего участия в украшении земли./Já goržus' dólej svoegó učástija v ukrašénii zemli 'I take pride in the fraction of my own participation in the beautification of the land'.

While the subject is the natural antecedent for reflexives within finite clauses, certain predicate–argument relations differ. In passives, reflexives can be anteceded by the passive agent as well as by the surface subject. In ordinary transitives, when the domain (source or goal) is the same as the direct object, a possessive adjective is normally non-reflexive, but an independent pronoun is reflexive:

Цветáева противопоставляет Казанóву не тóлько егó ничтóжному окружéнию в замке, но и егó – самому себе./Cvetáeva protivopostavljaét Kazanóvu ne tól'ko eгó ničtóžnomu okružéniju v zamke, no i eгó – samomu sebe. 'Cvetæva opposes Casanova not only to his insignificant surroundings in the castle, but also (opposes) him to himself.'

But the possessive adjective can be reflexive in a distributive situation:

Начáльство тепёр беспокоилось лишь об однóм – скорée развести пьяных по своим судáм./Načál'stvo tepér' bespokóilos' liš' ob odnóм – skorée razvesti p'jánuх po svoim sudám.

'The authorities were concerned now with just one thing – how to get the drunken men back to their (own) ships as soon as possible.'

With quantifying, existential and modal predicates, the natural antecedent is the domain, expressed by dative or y/u plus genitive. Reflexive for the independent pronoun is usual: у него не оставáлось врéмени для себя/u negó ne ostaválos' vrémeni dlja sebjá 'for him there remained no time for himself'. Possessive adjectives are also typically reflexive, inasmuch as what exists, or is required, or occurs in sufficient quantity, is a type of thing defined by virtue of its relation to the antecedent: Асе хватáло своих бéd и забóт/Аse xvatálo svoix béd i zabót 'for Asja there was enough of her own cares and troubles'.

In non-finite clauses (verbal adverbs, infinitives, participles), the implicit subject is the antecedent for a reflexive:

Поручив себя и свою поэзию Гению, Цветáева утвердила сознание себя поэтом, не поэтéсsoй./Poručiv sebjá i svoju poéziju Géniju, Cvetáeva utverdila osoznánie sebjá poétom, ne poétéssoj.

'Having commended herself and her poetry to the Muse, Cvetaeva confirmed the conception of herself as a poet, not just as a poetess.'

As the third reflexive above shows, the implicit agent of deverbal nouns antecedes reflexives. Infinitives whose implicit subject is an object of the matrix clause allow the subject of the matrix clause to antecede a reflexive (as well as the implicit subject of the infinitive). To illustrate, consider the following frame:

Она́ _____ переда́ть золо́тые ча́сики {своему́ ~ её} дяде./Она́ _____
 peredat' zoloty'e časiki {svoemu ~ eë} djade.
 'She _____ to deliver the gold watch to {her own ~ her} uncle.'

With an auxiliary-like verb such as *дала́ мне́/dalá mně* 'let me', the reflexive *своему́/svoemu* would be normal. At the other extreme, with a matrix verb which makes a request of an accusative object, such as *попросила́ меня́/poprosila menjá* 'asked me', the non-reflexive *её/еë* would be the preferred (but not exclusive) possibility. In between, with a verb which imposes an action on a dative object, such as *велела́ мне́/velëla mně* 'ordered me', either would be possible. The non-reflexive means the uncle is already known; the reflexive defines the destination for the watch ('to deliver the watch to that person defined as her uncle').

Reciprocal *друг дру́г-/drug drúg-* (whose first component is an indeclinable that moves to the left of prepositions) has a distribution similar to *себя́/sebjá*. It occurs in any argument position with a subject antecedent: *они́ дари́ли друг дру́гу свои́ жизни́ до встре́чи/oni darili drug drúgu svoi žizni do vstrěči* 'they gave each other their own lives before they met'. And it can occur with certain non-subject antecedents: *что́ привле́кло их́ друг к дру́гу?/čtò privleklo ix drug k drúgu?* 'what was it that attracted them to each other?'

4.9 Possession

At the sentence level, possession is normally expressed by the existential construction. The possessed entity is the subject whose existence is asserted relative to the domain of some individual – the possessor, approximately – expressed by the preposition *у/у* plus genitive (when the possessor is animate): *у неё́ было́ всё, о чём́ мо́жно мечтáть/у неё́ было́ всё, о чём́ мо́жно мечтáт'* 'by her there was (= she had) everything one could dream of'. As a kind of existential construction, the word order Domain|Verb|Subject is usual. No overt verb is necessary in the present tense, though the relic form *есть/est'* can be added to emphasize existence of the entity against the contrary presupposition. The possessed entity appears in the genitive under negation: *тако́й жизненной́ школы́ у неё́ ещё́ не́ было́/takoj žiznennoj školy u неё eščë né bylo* 'by her there still

had not been any such experience in the school of life (= she still had not had ...).

Transitive *имѣть/imět'* 'have' is used in idioms in which the possessed entity is an abstract quality, possession of which is a property of the possessor, such as *имѣть {чѣсть ~ возможность ~ влияние ~ авторитѣт}/imět' {čest' ~ vozmožnost' ~ vlijānie ~ avtoritēt}* 'to have the {honour ~ possibility ~ influence ~ authority}'. Deviations occur in both directions. The existential construction individuates an abstract quality: *и был у него ещё один талант: талант превращения/i byl u nego eščē odin talant: talant prevraščēnija* 'and there was by him (= he had) yet another talent: the talent of transformation'. Conversely, with a noun for which the existential construction is usual, *имѣть/imět'* can be used if the syntax demands it, such as under coordination: *жил он в бедности, делал переводы, не имел быта/žil on v bēdnosti, délal perevody, ne imél byta* 'he lived in poverty, did translations, didn't have a home'.

At the level of the argument, two formal devices are available, possessive adjective and adnominal genitive. (A third option – no overt marker of the possessor – is often invoked with inalienable (body-part) possession, under conditions similar to the use of zero for subjects.) For first and second persons and the reflexive, the possessive adjectives agree in case, gender and number with the head (which normally follows): *нашего шествия/našego šestvija* 'our (N GEN SG) procession (N GEN SG)', *свою картину/svoju kartinu* 'one's own (F ACC SG) picture (F ACC SG)'. The third-person forms are invariant and identical to the genitive: *их шествия/iš šestvija* 'their procession', *их картину/iš kartinu* 'their picture'.

When the possessor is a noun, it is usual to use the genitive (after the possessed noun): *от имени Мандельштама/ot imeni Mandel'stama* 'in the name of Mandel'stam'. Possessive adjectives can be formed from some nouns, most readily with declension II diminutives. In *она понимала, что окружающие осуждают и винят её в смерти Ирины/ona ponimāla, čto okružajuščie osuždajut i vinjāt eē v smerti Iriny* 'she understood that people around her condemned her and blamed her for the death of Irina', the genitive reflects the opinion of others. Possessive adjectives suggest the speaker's familiarity with the possessor, as in: *Ирина смёрть сыграла огромную роль в маминотъезде за границу/Irina smert' sygrāla oğrōmnuju rol' v māminom ot'ezde za granicu* 'Irina's death played an enormous role in Mama's emigration'.

Like predicates, nouns govern noun phrases. Obvious deverbals govern the same oblique cases as their source predicates (for example, *стремление к полному обладанию чем-нибудь/stremlenie k pōlnomu obladāniju čēm-nibud'* 'the striving for complete possession of something', from *стремиться к чему/stremit'sja k čemū* 'to strive for

something' and обладать чём/obladát' čem 'to possess something'). In the deverbal of an intransitive, a genitive corresponds to the subject (увлечение Марины/uvlečénie Mariny 'the infatuation of Marina', from reflexive intransitive увлечься/uvleč'sja 'to be carried away'). Deverbals of transitives with two nominal arguments look passive – agent in the instrumental, patient in the genitive (окончание им гимназии/okončanie im gimnázii 'completion of the gymnasium by him').

4.10 Quantification

Syntactically, quantifiers are neither fish nor fowl; in some respects they behave like nouns, in others like modifiers of the quantified noun (see in general Мельчук/Mel'čuk 1985). It is useful to distinguish four groups: approximates (несколько/něskol'ko 'some', много/mnógo 'many', мало/málo 'few'); paucal numerals (четыре/četýre '4', три/tri '3', два/dvá ~ две/dvé '2', also оба/óba ~ обе/óbe 'both'); ordinary numerals (пять/pjät' '5', девятнадцать/devjattnácat' '19', семьдесят/sém'desjat' '70' and the like); and collectives (двое/dvóe 'twosome, pair', трое/tróe 'threesome, triplet' and so on). At the margins of quantifiers in the narrow sense are один/odin 'one' (plural 'some'), некоторый/někotoryj 'certain' or многие/mnógie 'many (individual)', which agree in case, gender and number with their head. The large numerals миллион/millión 'million' and тысяча/týsjača 'thousand' normally have the syntax of nouns, so they take genitive plural of the quantified noun in all cases (though тысяча/týsjača residually allows quantifier syntax).

True quantifiers are defined primarily by their sensitivity to case. When the quantifier phrase occurs where one expects oblique case – genitive, dative, locative or instrumental – the quantifier, like any modifier, adopts the same oblique case as the quantified noun: (строение о двух окнах/stroénie o dvux óknax 'a building with two windows', с пятью сидевшими офицерами/s pjät'ju sidévšimi oficérami 'with five seated officers', больше шести лет/ból'se šesti lét 'for more than six years'). When the quantifier phrase is in a direct case – nominative or accusative – the quantifier itself is nominative(–accusative), the quantified noun genitive and usually plural. With paucals, however, the noun is singularized (четыре солдата работали/četýre soldáta rabóti 'four soldiers were working'); this is the reflex of an older construction in which the numeral '2' and noun were nominative dual, a form which was often formally identical with the genitive singular.

Agreement of modifiers in direct cases is largely consistent across quantifiers. Pronominal adjectives preceding the quantifier are nominative–accusative plural. Adjectives between quantifier and quantified noun are genitive plural: эти пять последних писем/èti pjät' poslédnix pisem 'those five last letters', эти два последних письма/èti dvá poslédnix pis'má 'those two last letters'; with the combination of paucals and

feminine nouns, however, nominative plural is preferred; *эти две первые и три последние строки*/èti dvè pèrvye i tri poslédnie stroki 'those two first and the three last lines'.

Only masculine *два́/dvâ* versus feminine *две́/dvè* '2' in direct cases and masculine *оба́/óba* versus feminine *обе́/obe* 'both' in all cases reflect the gender of the quantified noun. Animacy differentiates quantifiers. In the accusative, paucals and collectives obligatorily adopt the genitive, in which instance the noun is genitive plural rather than singular, while higher numerals like *пять́/pját'* retain the nominative-accusative: *он держит {двух ~ пять} соловьев у себя в комнате*/ón déržit {dvúx ~ pját'} solov'ëv u sebja v kómnote 'he keeps {two ~ five} nightingales in his room'. With approximates (*сколько́/skól'ko* 'how many') the animate accusative applies optionally.

Quantifiers allow in principle two agreement patterns in the predicate. Default neuter singular agreement merely establishes the existence of a certain quantity: *по дороге ехало два экипажа*/po doróge éxalo dvâ èkipáža 'there were two conveyances travelling on the road'. Plural agreement reports participation of differentiated entities:

По дороге ехали два экипажа. В передней карете сидели две женщины. Одна была госпожа, другая – горничная./Po doróge éxali dvâ èkipáža. V perédnej karète sidèli dvè ženščiny. Odnâ bylâ gospoža, drugája – gorničnaja. 'On the road two conveyances were travelling. In the front carriage two women were sitting. One was a lady, the other – a maidservant.'

Quantifiers differ in preference, depending on how natural an individuated reading is; the smaller and more precise the quantifier, the more likely plural agreement is. Predicates also show different preferences. Existentials and modals strongly prefer singular (92 per cent in count); other intransitives vary (52 per cent singular). Transitives almost always take plural (only 9 per cent singular), as do copular predicates with predicative nouns or adjectives. Agreement further correlates with word order: Verb|Subject order, usually existential, favours default agreement, while Subject|Verb is more tolerant of plural (see Corbett 1983).

The use of collectives in opposition to ordinary cardinals is possible only for masculine (or mixed) referents, and is encouraged by: small quantities; direct (as opposed to oblique) case; animacy; low stylistic status; adjectival declension; and, within masculines, declension II (*Зализняк/Zaliznjak* 1977: 66–7). A collective imputes the sense that the grouping is natural and organic, and not merely a random collection of entities.

The behaviour of complex numerals is determined largely by the last member. Thus the noun is genitive singular with a paucal (*двадцать три соседа молчат за дверьми*/dvádcát' tri soséda molčát za dver'mi 'twenty-three neighbours were silent behind doors') but plural with an ordinary numeral (*двадцать пять соседей*/dvádcát' pját' sosédej

Table 15.15 Quantifier matrix

	<i>Oblique agreement</i>	<i>Animate accusative</i>	<i>Plural agreement</i>	<i>Singularized noun</i>	<i>Gender agreement</i>
большинство/ bol 'šinstvó	*	*	?	*	*
пять/pjât'	+	*	±	*	*
несколько/ něskol'ko	+	±	±	*	*
двое/dvóe	+	+	±	*	*
три/tri	+	+	±	+	*
два/dvá ~ двѣ/dvě	+	+	±	+	+
один/odin	+	+	—	*	+

'twenty-five neighbours'). They are supposed to decline all parts in oblique cases, but there is a tendency to restrict declension to the last member (Comrie and Stone 1978: 95–6).

The properties of quantifiers are summarized in table 15.15, which is approximately a cline with the diagonal from top left to bottom right reflecting decreasing nominality and increasing adjectivity.

5 Lexis

5.1 General composition of the word-stock

The lexicon of Modern Russian is to a large extent constructed from roots of Proto-Slavonic provenance, though much of it may have been formed by productive processes in the history of Russian. On the general history of the lexicon, see Kiparsky (1963–75, III), Vlasto (1986: ch. 5) and, for the recent history, Comrie and Stone (1978: ch. 5).

5.2 Patterns of borrowing

There are multiple layers and sources of borrowings. Church Slavonicisms, whether genuine or neologistic, occupy a special layer in the lexicon of Modern Russian. A recognizable Church Slavonicism still has the function of making the stylistic register more formal or pompous. After Church Slavonicisms, the most important layer is the last three centuries of European borrowings, in some instances from specific languages, often from a generalized European vocabulary. Direct borrowings from other Slavonic languages are insignificant, except seventeenth-century borrowings from Polish, which in turn often have their source in Czech, German or Latin.

Contiguous languages (such as Finnic) have contributed some etyma, usually on a regional level. The most salient derive from Turkic languages

during the Mongol period; familiar examples include деньга́/den'gá 'coin', чума́/čumá 'plague' and изю́м/izjùm 'raisins'.

5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

Borrowings assimilate reasonably well to Russian phonology, although vowel reduction and palatalization before /e/ may be held in abeyance and geminate consonants maintained. Morphologically, verbs and adjectives are borrowed in suffixed form, and so are regular. Nouns are declined if their structure allows them to be assigned to declension Ia or II. Thus, фи́орд/fiórd 'fiord' and флора́/flóra 'flora' decline but хобби́/xóbbi 'hobby', табу́/tabú 'taboo' and проте́жé/protežé 'protégé' do not. Nouns which could fit declension Ib, like дина́мо/dinámo 'dynamo' and кино́/kinó 'cinema', are not declined except in non-standard speech. Indeclinables are neuter except animates, which use referential gender.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms

Colour terms differ in abstractness, connotations, frequency, morphological productivity and psychological accessibility (see Corbett and Morgan 1988, with references). Unrestricted are бе́лый/bélyj 'white', че́рный/čěrnj 'black', кра́сный/krásnyj 'red', си́ний/sinij 'blue', зе́лёный/zelěnyj 'green' and же́лтый/žěltj 'yellow'. Two additional, typologically surprising, terms belong in this group of basic terms: се́рый/sěryj 'grey' and голу́бой/golubój 'sky-blue', a lighter and paler colour than си́ний/sinij. These eight rank at the top of operational tests of frequency, derivational productivity (only these eight form attenuatives like черно́ватый/čěrnovátj 'blackish', че́рненький/čěren'kij 'a little black') and psychological accessibility to speakers (except for се́рый/sěryj 'grey', which connotes indistinctness of light).

After this, some uncertainty, and some interesting complexity, sets in. In the brown range, кори́чневый/koričnevj, originally a reddish brown derived from 'cinnamon', is expanding, in part at the expense of бу́рый/búryj, which characterizes not so much a specific hue as a dull or mottled appearance. Terms translating English *purple* are not completely abstract: пурпу́рный/purpúrnyj retains imperial connotations; багро́вый/bagróvyj, a purplish red glossed as 'crimson', is the colour of flushed cheeks and hands, blood or dawn; лило́вый/lilóvyj 'lilac' and фиолéтовый/fiolétovyj 'violet' are still associated with flora. The last, however, is becoming more general. Оранже́вый/oránževj 'orange' still seems a compromise between yellow and red. Certain entities that are orange in English (jaguars, carrots, apricots, oranges themselves) were described in pre-revolutionary encyclopedias as кра́сно-же́лтый/krásno-žěltj 'red-yellow' or the like; some, but not all, of these have become 'orange' in the

most recent encyclopedia. 'Pink' (ро́зовый/rózovyj) belongs to this transitional group as well.

Evidently, after the eight basic colour terms, four additional terms – кори́чневый/koričnevuj, ро́зовый/rózovyj, фио́летовый/fiolétovyj and ора́нжевый/oránževuj – are less-than-basic terms which are moving towards greater integration.

5.4.2 Kinship terms

Russian kinship is rich in lexical variants (diminutives) whose usage varies in different contexts – in address, definition and ordinary reference, and in domestic and public situations. Оте́ц/otéc 'father' and ма́ть/mát' 'mother' are neutral, but па́па/pápa and ма́ма/máma (and their diminutives) would be more usual in a domestic context. Children are сы́н/sýn 'son' and до́чь/dóč' 'daughter' (or diminutives). For collective plural reference, де́ти/déti 'children' and роди́тели/roditeli 'parents' are usual. Grandparents are normally referred to by the diminutives де́душка/déduška 'grandfather' and ба́бушка/bábuška 'grandmother'. Grandchildren are вну́к/vnúk 'grandson' and вну́чка/vnúčka 'granddaughter'. Marital partners are individually му́ж/muž 'husband' and же́на/žená 'wife', collectively супру́ги/suprúgi 'spouses'. Siblings are бра́т/brát 'brother' and сестра́/sestrá 'sister'. Дядя/djádja 'uncle' and тётя/tětja 'aunt' are either mother's or father's siblings; their children are племя́нник/plemjánnik 'nephew' and племя́нница/plemjánnica 'niece'.

The modifier двою́родный/dvojúrodnj 'second-degree' characterizes relationships with an additional generation up and down between *ego* and the relative. With бра́т/brát or сестра́/sestrá, it identifies first cousins; with племя́нник/plemjánnik or племя́нница/plemjánnica, child of first cousin (first cousin once removed). The modifier, used to define a relationship, is not essential in ordinary reference or address. Thus, in the chapter of *Family Chronicle* relating the unfortunate marriage of the female cousin of his grandfather, Aksakov first uses двою́родный бра́т/dvojúrodnj brát and двою́родная сестра́/dvojúrodnaja sestrá, but once the relationship has been established, he omits the modifier. Aksakov also states that his grandfather addressed his cousin with diminutives like сестри́ца/sestrica.

5.4.3 Body parts

Much of Russian's terminology for body parts corresponds to English reference: голо́ва/golová 'head', но́с/nós 'nose', у́хо/úxo 'ear' (with an archaic remnant of dual morphology in the nominative plural у́ши/úši), ро́т/rót 'mouth', ше́я/šéja 'neck' and се́рдце/sérdce 'heart'. Гру́дь/grúď covers English 'chest' as well as 'breast'. Во́лос/vólos 'hair', more strictly a count noun than in English, is normally used in the plural (for example, in describing hair colour), the singular being reserved for 'a

strand of hair'. Глаз/gláz 'eye' (nominative plural глаза́/glazá), originally the eyeball, has long since displaced око/óko (nominative plural óчи/óči). The two were still in variation into the nineteenth century. In Puškin's *Evgenij Onegin*, глаза́/glazá refers to eyes as instruments of physical perception, with which one reads or merely looks. With óчи/óči one gazes actively or reflects a sad thought. In an identical collocation, the insensitive general does not take his глаза́/glazá from Tat'jana, but this perceptive heroine does not take her óчи/óči from Onegin.

As is well known, Russian uses a single word рука́/ruká to refer to what English would differentiate as 'arm' and 'hand' and нога́/nogá for 'leg' and 'foot'. (Палец/pálec is the digit indifferently of hand or foot.) Though the extremities can be specified as кисть/kist' and ступня́/stupnjá, respectively, the terms are infrequent. When one hears Russians say in English 'I twisted the hands of my colleagues', one suspects that they think of the limbs and extremities without differentiation. Thus Turgenev writes of an acquaintance that he exuded Russianness down 'to his puffy short-fingered ручки́/ručki and his nimble ножки́/nožki with thick calves'. The modifiers force an English translation with 'hands' and 'legs', obscuring what Turgenev evidently saw as a parallelism between the upper and lower limbs.

6 Dialects

Several layers of innovations can be distinguished in Russian dialects, reflecting shifting political affiliations and demographic movement (see Орлова/Orlova 1970: 223–37; Vlasto 1986: ch. 6). The oldest changes in East Slavonic spread from the south-west to the north-east, leaving behind isoglosses that bifurcate the Russian language area laterally in the middle. As the northern outposts of Kievan civilization become autonomous, they become centres for linguistic innovation. The next layer of changes, accordingly, are either eastern (extending north and south from Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir) or western (distributed in an arc from the south-west through Pskov and Novgorod and on into the north and even into the north-east, following the path of colonization in the thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries). A third layer of innovation is due to the spread of Muscovite norms, which often eroded earlier dialect features. As a consequence, eastern changes are often discontinuous around Moscow, and western features are better preserved in the south-western lands affiliated with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the remote north-east than in their original centre around Pskov and Novgorod.

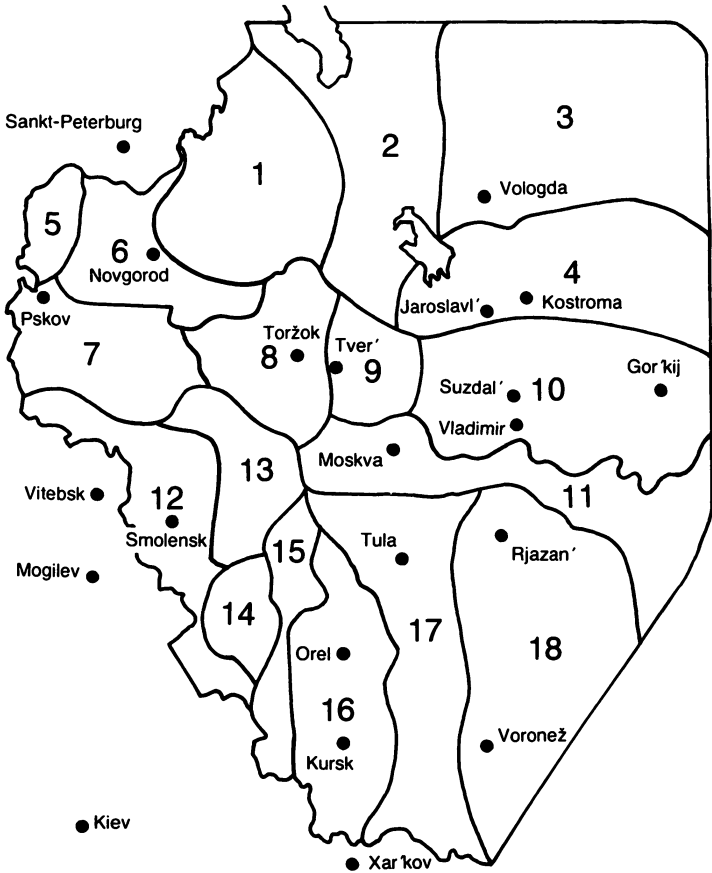
Of the early changes, southernmost is the change of *g > γ, a general East Slavonic innovation that reached a line that starts south of Pskov (56°N) and continues east-southeastwards passing just below Moscow. Next comes the northern limit for **аканье/áкан'е** – merger of /a/ and /o/

after hard consonants in first pre-tonic position; the isogloss, parallel to *g > ɣ, starts between Pskov and Novgorod in the west and runs above Moscow.

Well within the *akan'e* area is the northern limit of dissimilation in unstressed vocalism, similar but not identical for position after hard and position after soft consonant. The most archaic (Obojansk) type uses a low vowel in positions before non-low /i, u, ê, ô/, a high vowel before non-high /a, e, o/: **пѣтнѠ́**/pjatnŏ́ 'spot' and **несѣ́**/nesi 'carry!' have [ä] for the first pre-tonic vowel, marked here in bold, but **взялѧ́**/vzjalä́ '(she) took' and **глядѣ́т**/gljadjät '(they) look' have [i]. The notoriously variegated types of dissimilative vocalism can be derived by adjusting the classes of conditioning vowels. To the north of the dissimilative region, unstressed vocalism is non-dissimilative: western central dialects (Pskov) have strong **яканье**/jakan'e (**пѣтнѠ́**/pjatnŏ́, **несѣ́**/nesi, **взялѧ́**/vzjalä́, **глядѣ́т**/gljadjät, with consistent [ä]), the mid central dialects (Moscow) **иканье**/ikan'e (consistent [i]) and intermediate dialects transitional types, such as the 'moderate' principle ([ä] before hard consonant in **пѣтнѠ́**/pjatnŏ́, **взялѧ́**/vzjalä́, [i] before soft in **несѣ́**/nesi, **глядѣ́т**/gljadjät).

Synchronically, Russian dialects are classified first into two macro-dialects, or dialect complexes (**нарѣчье**/narěcie), which are separated by a narrow intermediate zone, and then further into regional dialects (**гѠворы**/gŏvory) (see Аванесов and Орлова/Avanesov and Orlova 1965). The southern macro-dialect, defined positively by the change of *g > ɣ and unrestricted *akan'e*, divides into three south-western dialects (western; Upper Dnepr; Upper Desna), one mid (Kursk–Orel) and one eastern dialect (Rjazan'), with additional transitional dialects. The northern macro-dialect, defined negatively by the absence of both *g > ɣ and *akan'e* (hence **оканье**/okan'e, the distinction of atonic /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants), divides into north-western (Ladoga–Tixvin), Vologda and Kostroma dialects, with additional transitional regions. In between the two macro-dialects is the central zone (**центрѧльные гѠворы**/centräl'nye gŏvory), which is defined by the absence of *g > ɣ and by partial *akan'e*; it divides into eastern (Vladimir; the eastern *akan'e* dialect) and western (Novgorod; Pskov; Gdov; historical Tver') dialects. This classification, shown in map 15.1, applies only to older, European, Russia, a funnel-shaped area bounded in the south-west and west by the political boundaries with the Ukraine and Belorussia, in the north by 62°N, and in the east by a line which, starting at 46°E, angles first south by eastwards and then southwestwards to Voronež. The far north continues features from adjacent areas to the south. The areas to the south-east and east (and ultimately Siberia) are dialectally mixed, since they have been settled from the sixteenth century on by heterogeneous populations.

Some innovations correlate approximately with the division into northern and southern macro-dialects. The south neutralizes the oblique



Key: Timberlake, "Russian"

Source: Avanesov and Orlova/Аванесов and Орлова 1965

Northern dialects

- 1 Ladoga-Tixvin
- 2 northern transitional zone
- 3 Vologda
- 4 Kostroma

Central dialects

- 5 Gdov
- 6 Novgorod
- 7 Pskov
- 8 Seliger-Toržok
- 9 Tver'
- 10 Vladimir
- 11 eastern *akan'e*

Southern dialects

- 12 western
- 13 Upper Dnepr
- 14 Upper Desna
- 15 southwestern transitional zone
- 16 Kursk-Orel
- 17 southeastern transitional zone
- 18 Rjazan'

Map 15.1 Russian Dialects

cases (except the instrumental) of first and second persons singular and reflexive pronouns, while the north distinguishes two forms, approximately following the **g* > *γ* isogloss. Some dialects fail to distinguish the reflex of the first palatalization and **tj* (both normally *č*) from the reflex of the second palatalization (normally *c*); western central dialects have [c] and the north-east [ç] for both. Given the geography, this **цѡканьѣ/сѡкан'ѣ** is probably a north-western archaism reflecting the incomplete development of the second palatalization. Only northern *okan'e* dialects have experienced loss of intervocalic /j/ and vowel contraction (дѹмаѣт/дѹмаѣт '(he/she) thinks' > [maiet > maet > maat > mat]); this is evidently an eastern (Rostov–Suzdal'–Vladimir) innovation. Northern dialects merge dative and instrumental plural in adjectives and often nouns (маximally к ~ с нѡвѹм домѡм/к ~ с нѡвѹм домѡм 'to ~ with the new houses'). This feature, not attested in the extreme north-east, is a late western innovation. In general, northern features that are not archaisms are either eastern or western innovations.

Differences in consonantism (other than **g* > *γ*) are typically western or eastern innovations. The progressive palatalization of velars after soft consonants (Вѡнѹкѹя/Vѡн'кѹя 'Vanja (DIMIN)', чѡйкѹя/чѡйкѹя 'seagull', with [k]) is an eastern innovation found in an elongated north-south swath from the southern border of Russian as far north as Vologda. This swath, however, is discontinuous around Moscow. Most widely distributed of the western innovations shared with Belorussian is the loss of palatalized labials word-finally, attested in a continuous arc from the south-west through the western central dialects on into the north-east. In the south-west and in significant pockets in the north-east, hard /l/ became /w/ syllable-finally: вѡлк/вѡлк 'wolf' > [vouk]. This feature may once have been distributed continuously from the south-west to the north-east but interrupted in the central western dialects by Muscovite influence.

In syntax, of greatest curiosity value is the use of the nominative case of declension II nouns for objects of impersonal infinitives, as in нѡдо землѹ пахѡтъ/nѡдо zemljѹ paxѡt' 'it is necessary to plough the land'. The construction is now found only in north-eastern dialects, but it was earlier attested in Novgorodian chancery documents. This construction may be a calque of a Finnic construction; the contexts in which the nominative occurs are comparable, and in both the nominative is not used with pronouns.

Another syntactic peculiarity, centred in the west around Novgorod and extending throughout the far north, is the impersonal passive. It is formed regularly from transitives with accusative objects, as in у менѹ телѣнка зарѣзано/u menjѹ telѣnka zarѣzано 'by me there was slaughtered a calf', and less pervasively from intransitives, as in у негѡ залѣзено на ѣлку/u negѡ zalѣzено na ѣlku 'by him it was climbed on the fir tree'. The participle is morphologically neuter singular; the sentential possessive phrase (y/u

plus genitive) optionally expresses the agent.

Throughout the western half of Russia, along a north–south line at 36°E (but most regularly in the central Novgorod area), the morphologically invariant verbal adverb is used as a perfect, or with auxiliaries, as pluperfect or future perfect: *kòt s obèda do večera nè byl i prosnùvši/kòt s obèda do večera nè byl i prosnùvši* ‘the cat had not woken up from dinner till evening’. These western syntactic features have not been codified in the national language.

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